

A COMPARISON OF NARRATIVE AND HORTATORY DISCOURSE IN TAUSUG

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by

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from the characteristics of the texts in the particular corpus chosen and not from some inherent narrative-hortatory difference of theoretical interest. As a beginning in answering the question of what does determine the choice of focus affix, when there is a choice, I suggest a set of rules for determining which affix is to be chosen. Regarding the latter point, the data confirm the hypothesis that hortatory discourse contains a significantly greater percentage of non-Entities as focused items than does narrative. The further hypothesis, however, that the majority of the focused Entities are animate in narrative and inanimate in hortatory texts is not confirmed.

The third goal is to determine the correlation between discourse type (i.e., narrative or hortatory) and the frequency of occurrence of the verbal affixes of Tausug apart from the focus affixes. I make a total of eleven hypotheses about six major affix types regarding the relative frequency of each type in narrative and in hortatory discourse (for two affix types there are separate hypotheses for foreground and for background). Eight of these hypotheses are confirmed (one is tautologous) and three are disconfirmed. Explanations are advanced as to why those three hypotheses are not upheld by the data. Finally, a conclusion is drawn for each affix and a general conclusion is drawn for all the affixes to the effect that narrative and hortatory discourse differ significantly only in the affixation categories of Mode and Volitionality.

Included in the thesis are also the following: (1) a chapter dealing with the Tausug language itself in order to acquaint the reader

with the literature and with relevant facts about the language, and (2) a chapter presenting the origin and nature of the data and explaining how I classified it into genres.

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KBC	'Keeping Our Bodies Clean'
lk	linker (in number phrases)
loc	nondirectional site marker
MAT	'The Monkey and the Turtle'
negex	negative existential
nfdo	nonfocused direct object marker
nfs	nonfocused subject marker
OF	object focus
OVL	'Overloading of Launches'
p	plural
pf	focused item marker for personal nouns (names, kinship terms, and some titles)
pnfio	nonfocused indirect object marker for personal nouns (see pf)
p nfs	nonfocused subject marker for personal nouns (see pf)
prt	particle
r	Realis mode
rel	relativizer
RFG	'The Reward for Goodness'
ROO	'A Rooster Doesn't Lay Eggs'
SEF	'Selecting Foods'
SF	subject focus
SIF	site focus
ST	stative affix
STG	'Surrendering to the Government'
top	topicalization marker
UTL	'The Use of Toilets'
WAV	'Roping the Sand and Tying the Waves'

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Purposes and Overview of Thesis

In recent years the importance of discourse analysis to the study of grammar in general has increasingly become recognized. It is now widely held that approaches to grammar that take account only of the sentence and smaller units are inadequate. Indeed, Sanders claims that discourse grammar is a "necessity" for two reasons: (1) "the only possible natural domain¹ for a scientific theory about any language is the infinite set of all possible discourses of that language" and (2) "there are many . . . sentential properties and relations which cannot possibly be accounted for by any grammar whose domain consists only of single sentences" (1970:72-3). Being convinced myself also of the importance of discourse analysis, in this thesis I use the text as the basic unit of analysis of certain aspects of Tausug² grammar. The texts that make up my corpus of data will be classified into two groups on the basis of semantic criteria supplemented by some formal criteria. Certain grammatical features of Tausug will then be investigated with a continual eye to the following question: which of the two types of texts does the text containing this feature belong to?

Discourse analysts have concentrated on narrative discourse. Of the ten approaches to discourse analysis that have recently been used,³ four (Hopper and Thompson 1980, van Dijk 1977 and European textlinguists, Hale 1981, and Schank and Abelson 1977) deal only with narrative and the remainder, except for conversational analysis and speech act theory, deal

primarily with narrative. In Philippine linguistics, more has been done on narrative than on any other discourse type. To illustrate, since 1977 ten articles or monographs have been published on narrative discourse in one or another Philippine language, four on nonnarrative, and five dealing with both. One of the last group, Walrod 1979, devotes four times as much space to narrative as to nonnarrative genres.

I wish for Tausug to explore a nonnarrative type of text, that called by some authors (e.g., Longacre 1968, Grimes 1975) hortatory discourse, the purpose of which is to influence conduct. Narrative, nevertheless, provides a good starting point for the discourse analysis of any language. Grimes (1975:v,33-5), writing from his experience as the consultant in seven field workshops, believes that narratives are the most productive source for different kinds of information in discourse. I have therefore chosen to write about narrative texts also. The present thesis, then, deals with narrative and hortatory discourse of Tausug.

The purposes of this thesis are three. First, I want to find out whether the correlation that Hopper and Thompson 1980 found to exist between high transitivity (in their conceptualization) and foregrounding in narrative also exists in hortatory discourse. Chapter IV is devoted to this subject. Secondly, in Chapter V, I intend to show the extent to which (1) the frequency of occurrence of the focus affixes of Tausug and (2) the semantic domain of the focused item are constrained by discourse type. Such a study should make some contribution to Philippine linguistics since most if not all Philippine languages exhibit a focus system. Finally, I wish to show the extent to which the frequency of occurrence

of the verbal affixes of Tausug (apart from the focus affixes) is constrained by discourse type (Chapter VI). Here I make a hypothesis about the relative frequency of occurrence of each of the major affix types in narrative and in hortatory discourse. For two of the affixes, I make a two-part hypothesis, one for foreground and one for background. The hypotheses are arrived at in such a way that they are claims not only for Tausug but for all languages making the same distinctions of mode, aspect, volitionality-nonvolitionality, duration-punctuality, and causative-noncausative that Tausug makes. Before coming to the "meat" of the thesis, i.e., the three chapters described above, in Chapter II I introduce the reader to the Tausug language (and orient him to the later chapters), and in Chapter III I describe the corpus of data and how I classified it into genres.

1.2. Theoretical Considerations

The theoretical framework I approach the data from is that of tagmemics, whose creator and major exponent has been Pike (magnum opus 1967).⁴ Hence, in my overview of Tausug phonology in 2.3, I essentially give a list of units (a basic tagmemic concept), i.e., the phonemes, and arrange them in a field, i.e., the common phoneme chart. Charting the phonemes contrasts each one with all the others (I do not, however, discuss the distribution of the phonemes). With regard to grammar, which is the subject of this thesis, I implicitly employ the basic tagmemic notion of hierarchy (Pike 1982:69-106, Longacre 1983:269-336). I assume that units at each level group together to form a unit of the next higher

level. This assumption is implicit below when I speak, for example, of "the final paragraph of text X", or "the clauses of text Y" (skipping the sentence and paragraph levels at that point). At times, also, I explicitly speak of levels.

Another tagmemic concept I employ in the description of selected grammatical features of Tausug in Chapter 2 (see sections 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.1.3), and once in the subsequent chapters, is that of the tagmeme. The tagmeme is the grammatical analogue of the phoneme (Pike 1971:5). Just as phonemes contrast with one another, exhibit variants (allophones) dependent on various factors, and occur in a certain distribution (e.g., in Tausug, /dž/ does not occur syllable-finally), so a grammatical construct having the same characteristics can be set up, viz., the tagmeme. As originally conceived, the notion of tagmeme can briefly be defined as a function-set correlation (Longacre 1983:329). To illustrate, suppose we are describing the construction type in English called by Pike and Pike (1982:42-5) Equative Clause Root. This construction type, in tagmemic terms a syntagmeme, is composed of three tagmemes, whose functions are respectively subject, predicate, and complement.⁵ Now the function of subject can be expounded by a NP, as "my study is tiring", an infinitive phrase, as "(For me) to study is tiring", or a clause, as "That I study is surprising" (after Pike and Pike 1982:306). The correlation between "subject" and the class or set of items that may manifest the subject (or fill the slot of subject) constitutes the initial tagmeme of an Equative Clause Root in English. The same type of apparatus works at the discourse level. Here the syntagmeme Narrative Discourse, for exam-

ple, is normally composed of an optional Title tagmeme, an optional Aperture tagmeme, an optional Stage tagmeme, at least one obligatory Episode tagmeme, an obligatory Peak tagmeme (distinguished from the Episode tagmemes in some way in the surface structure), one or more optional post-peak Episode tagmemes, and optional Closure and Finis tagmemes, all of these normally in the order here given (Longacre 1983:22). Longacre (1968:15-44) has also devised similar general formulas for other discourse genres.

One might well ask at this point, "How does one distinguish one genre of discourse from another?" Longacre again provides a useful answer. He sees in language a surface grammar and universal structures he calls notional underlying the surface structures but still part of grammar (albeit "the deep or semantic side of grammar" [1983:ii]), not reference or pragmatics. It is in this semantic side of grammar that Longacre finds criteria by which all discourses can be classified into a small number of broad genres. I will discuss this classification in some detail below in 3.3.

While placing myself squarely in the tagmemic camp, I nevertheless do not hesitate to employ notions from the transformational-generative (TG) framework. Firstly, I use simplified phrase structure rules, rather than complex tagmemic formulas, to describe the main clause types of Tausug (section 2.4.1). Secondly, I account for variations in word order of verbal clauses with a number of transformational rules (section 2.4.1.1). These rules show, succinctly and usefully, the relations between clauses that depart from the normal order and similar clauses

that do not. Finally, in discussing the focus system of Tausug (section 2.4.2), I follow many Philippinists in employing case theory in order to explain which NP's in a clause may be focused and with which verbal affixes⁶ (case theoretical notions have, of course, been commonly employed within frameworks other than TG as well).

1.3. Overview of Literature on Philippine-language Discourse Analysis

The first detailed discourse analyses of Philippine languages (nine in number) were summarized in Longacre 1968. In this comprehensive work, Longacre distinguishes four main discourse genres, describes the kinds of units that make up each of them, and discusses interparagraph linkage in each. In subsequent years, a trickle of papers about some aspect of discourse analysis in one or another Philippine language gradually widened into a flood. I will now mention those papers or monographs that seem to be the most significant.

One of them is Naylor 1973. Though she devotes little attention to discourse per se, the discourse-relevant topics of position in discourse and given versus new information enter into her analysis. The analyst of Tagalog discourse will certainly build on her work. Another is Bangalan 1977, a study after the Longacrean model, positing as it does for Tagalog the same basic four discourse genres that Longacre 1968 presents. Her paper is an excellent "thumbnail sketch"⁷ of the discourse structure of a Philippine language. Another important article on Tagalog is Rafael 1978. In this germinal article she concludes that the focused item (see

2.4.2 below) manifests "higher order phenomena" (1978:47). By "higher order" she seems to mean higher than the clause level. Writing on another central Philippine language, Antworth (1979:101-26) deals with textual cohesion in Botolan Sambal. His analysis applies primarily to narrative discourse. A recent comprehensive work on a northern Philippine language is Walrod 1979. Walrod uses concepts of both tagmemics and stratificational grammar to analyze three discourse genres in Ga'dang.

Turning to sociolinguistics, Wrigglesworth (1977 and 1980) has blazed a trail for Philippine languages. Her first paper attempts to deal with the contextual situation of a narrative as well as with the text itself and her second paper concludes that the Manobo narrator, in addition to entertaining, is transmitting cultural values through his art. The latest work dealing with how a Philippine language is used in given social contexts is Hall 1983.

In the first seven numbers of Studies in Philippine Linguistics (1977-80), 22 articles pertaining to discourse appeared (one of them is Rafael 1978, referred to above). One of these, Brichoux and Hale 1977, has figured significantly in later writings, including the present thesis (see 4.2). A few of the others employ Jones's 1977 notion of script but apply it to other genres than expository. No general topic or theoretical perspective unites these 20-odd articles. Four of them do deal with the focus system as it relates to discourse, but the other 18 concern almost as many different topics ("topic" used in a nontechnical sense).⁸ Finally, in a longer work, Fukuda (1983:142-211) describes the notional structures of expository and behavioral discourses in Eastern Bontoc.

One can see from the sketch given here that the present thesis adds to an already impressive array of studies on discourse patterns in Philippine languages. However, the field still awaits a comprehensive discourse grammar of any Philippine language that will describe the grammatical features while also doing justice to the sociolinguistic setting.

Notes, Chapter I

¹Sanders defines a natural domain as the domain of a natural theory, and a natural theory as a theory that is "not reducible to any other known theory" (1970:52).

²Tausug is a central Philippine language spoken natively by about 300,000 people in the Sulu Archipelago and surrounding areas and as a second language by another 200,000. For more information about the language see Chapter II.

³The ten are as follows:

1. Speech act theory (e.g., Searle 1975)
2. Conversational analysis (e.g., Esau and Bristol-Poth 1981)
3. Longacre 1968, 1981, 1983
4. Beekman and Callow 1974
5. Halliday and Hasan 1976
6. van Dijk 1977 and European textlinguists
7. Schank and Abelson 1977
8. Hopper 1979, Hopper and Thompson 1980
9. Fleming 1979a,b (Stratificational theory)
10. Hale 1981.

⁴A survey of tagmemic theory is found in Pike 1982, chapter 2.

⁵Pike and Pike (1982:305) call these the slot names, and say that the subject functions as Item, the predicate as Statement, and the complement as Character of Subject. I revert to the earlier terminology, still used by Longacre, for simplicity.

⁶See Forster and Barnard 1968 (they call case situational role), Ashley 1973a, McKaughan 1973, West 1973, Ballard 1974, Walrod 1976, and Elkins 1977.

⁷This expression is due to Austin Hale (personal communication).

⁸Various other articles on discourse topics in Philippine languages await publication.

CHAPTER II

THE TAUSUG LANGUAGE

In this chapter I will locate Tausug among Philippine languages. Next I will survey all the material published on Tausug that I know about. There will follow a brief discussion of the phonemes of Tausug and an explanation of the orthography I use. Finally, I will discuss grammatical patterns relevant to the present thesis.

2.1. Affiliation

The center of the Tausug-speaking area is Sulu Province, i.e. Jolo Island and the surrounding smaller islands (see map, p. 11). Tausug is the dominant¹ language in nine of the 14 municipalities of Sulu Province (eight of these on Jolo Island), the majority¹ language in four municipalities, and a large minority¹ in one (none of these five on Jolo Island). Large minorities of Tausug speakers live in the two provinces closest to Sulu, Tawi-Tawi and Basilan, as well as in Zamboanga City at the tip of the Zamboanga peninsula and Alicia, a town about 60 nautical miles up the east side of that peninsula (McFarland 1981:90). There are also speakers scattered along the south coast of Mindanao, in places in southern Palawan, and in Sabah, East Malaysia.

Though the language is native to the Sulu Archipelago, its closest linguistic affinity is with the languages native to northeastern Mindanao and/or the southern Visayan (or Bisayan) Islands.² Philippinists disagree as to just what languages Tausug should be most closely grouped with and how that subgrouping joins with others to form larger groupings.



THE SULU ARCHIPELAGO

(Book House, Inc. 1970. Current province boundaries and names, city names, and island names added by author)

Scale: 1 inch = 95 km

Zorc (1977:32) and Gallman (1979:4) agree that Tausug is most closely related to Butuanon.³ Walton (1979:78,85), however, groups Tausug most closely with Mamanwa,⁴ and McFarland (1981:54) has Tausug grouped at the lowest level with Butuanon, Cebuano,⁵ and Surigaonon.⁶ Zorc and Gallman differ fundamentally, though, about the membership and external relationships of the subgroup to which Tausug belongs. An excerpt from Zorc (1977:32) is given below as Diagram 1.

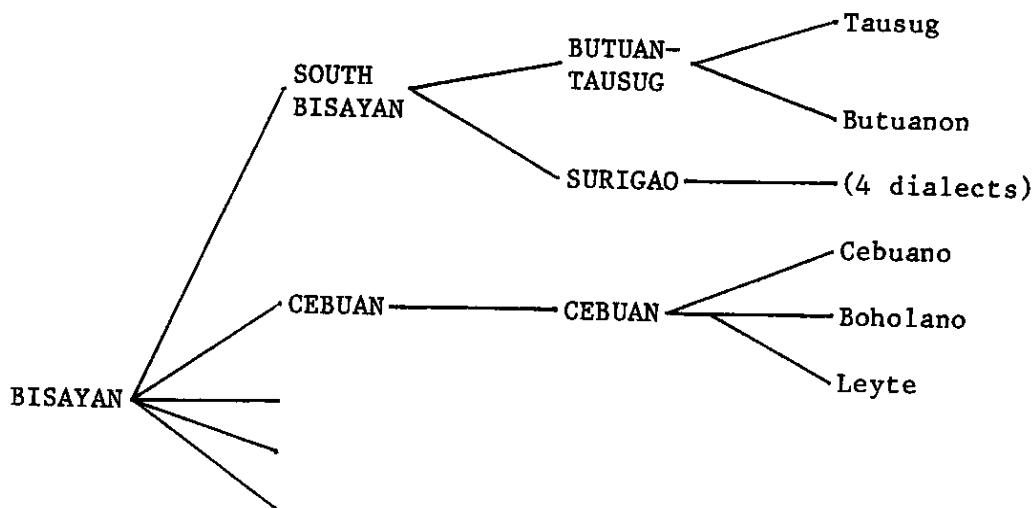


Diagram 1. Genetic Relationships of the Bisayan Dialects
(after Zorc 1977:32)

Zorc places Mamanwa outside the Bisayan subgroup entirely and makes it a group by itself coordinate with Bisayan (1977:33). The view of Gallman (1979 and personal communication) and Pallesen 1978 is presented in Diagram 2.

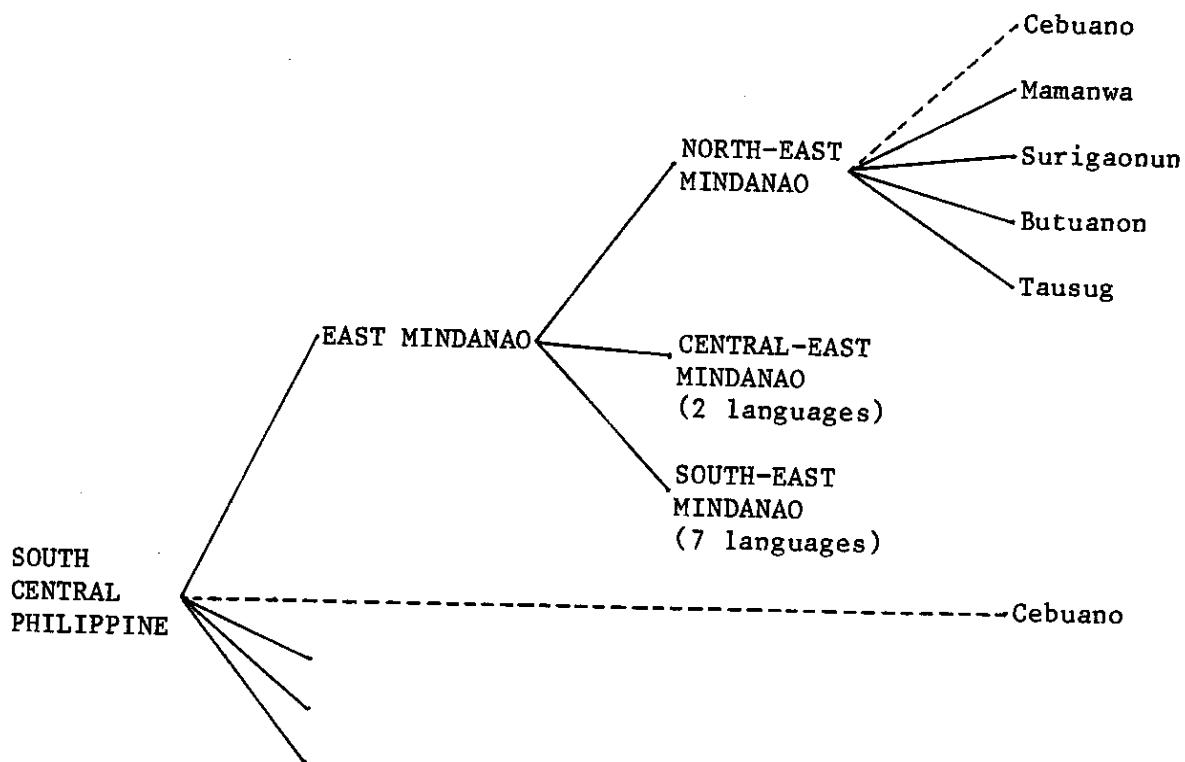


Diagram 2. Relationships between South Central Philippine Languages (after Pallesen 1978:24 and Gallman 1979:4 and personal communication)

Walton (1979:78,85) agrees with Gallman and Pallesen in classing Tausug as a North-East Mindanaoan language. McFarland (1981:16,17,54) does not take sides in the disagreement, but his atlas "reflects the Zorc position" (1981:16) that Tausug is a South Bisayan language. At some point in their genetic classification, however, all the authors have Tausug classed as a Central Philippine language, though there is some disagreement about the membership of this larger subgroup.

Although Tausug is genetically North-East Mindanaoan (NEM) or South Bisayan, seven hundred years of close contact with the Sama-Badjao (SB)

languages of the Sulu Archipelago have resulted in the adoption of numerous SB lexical items and some SB phonological and syntactic features,⁷ so that Tausug is today, in my opinion, no longer a typical NEM or Bisayan language.

2.2. Previous Studies

The first work on Tausug that I know about was an English-Tausug-Malay vocabulary (Cowie 1893), with some grammatical notes. The grammatical comments are not very helpful, however, because Cowie did not grasp the syntactic-semantic structure today called the focus system. Subsequently, two unpublished dictionaries of Tausug were produced, an extensive one by Captain Francis Link in the 1920's and a much shorter one by Fr. Rene Copet OMI in 1957 (Hassan et al. 1975:preface). Both of these were heavily relied on by the editors of Hassan et al. 1975 and the research workers who assisted them.

With regard to phonology, a study of the phonemes of Tausug was published in 1963 (Ashley and Ashley 1963). Next, Tan, a native speaker, analyzed the phonology in her thesis (Tan 1967). Her work is noteworthy for the great number of examples she adduces to establish contrasts. She posits one less phoneme than the Ashleys presently do (see 2.3 below). Finally, Ashley (1973b) presents a certain orthography and argues for it. This article is reprinted, with minor alterations, in the introductory portion of Hassan et al. 1975.

The first paper on the grammar was Ashley and Ashley 1971 on sentence types. The appendix of this paper includes charts which display

the following grammatical structures:

- (a) Clause types
- (b) The NP-markings associated with each focus type
- (c) Focus affixes
- (d) Phrase types
- (e) Pronoun sets

All the information in this appendix is reprinted in Hassan et al. 1975 except for the two tagmemic formulas for types of phrases. Basing his analysis on Fillmore's 1968 case theory, Ashley 1973a categorized many Tausug verb stems into 10 classes according to the set of affixes each verb would accept. Most of this paper is also reprinted, with minor alterations, in Hassan et al. 1975. Meanwhile, Peneyra 1972 wrote a grammatical sketch of Tausug. It appears to me that the data she used were in part unreliable because there are a number of examples I believe to be unacceptable. It may be because of the data she used that she arrives at an analysis which differs from mine.⁸ The crowning work so far on Tausug has been Hassan et al. 1975, in which much of the previous work by the Ashleys is reprinted, but which also contains, in the introductory section: (1) brief discussions of relators, adjectives, and adverbs (the labels are those of the editors), (2) a sketch of the verbal affixation system accompanied by a paradigm of a verb in subject focus, and (3) a discussion of the phenomenon of focus. The main body of Hassan et al. 1975 is a Tausug-to-English dictionary of about 3800 entries. In addition, there are five appendices: birds and flying insects, fish and aquatic creatures, seashells and seaweeds, etc., non-flying animals, and plants. Each appendix lists Tausug words and gives English glosses, and, in some cases, scientific names. Finally, there is

an English index to the dictionary and the appendices.⁹

Two other works germane to the linguist must be mentioned. The first is the important article by Rixhon 1974 entitled "Tausug literature: an overview". Rixhon's two major types of Tausug literature are Islamic ritual literature and Tausug oral traditions, a division "made for analytical purposes only" since "in real life both Islamic and folk traditions either mesh together or alternate with each other" (1974:4). Under the oral traditions category Rixhon gives three types, folk narratives, symbolic speech forms (such as riddles), and songs. The narratives studied for the present thesis fit under the folk narrative type. The second such work (Tuban 1978) discusses "Tausug folk literature as it reflects Tausug life and culture" (1978:57). The folk literature that is Tuban's topic seems to be equivalent to Rixhon's category of "Tausug oral traditions", and Tuban's classification of folk literature is into the same three classes as Rixhon's. The various genres discussed by Rixhon and Tuban are obviously fertile ground for the analyst of Tausug discourse. My purposes, and the limitations of a thesis-size project, led me to restrict the present study to one type of narrative, the kata-kata 'tale, legend, fable' (Rixhon 1974:32). In addition, I investigated types of literature not discussed by Rixhon or Tuban because they are written, and a tradition of writing did not exist among the Tausug, except for (1) Arabic words or phrases written as charms and the writing worn on the body and (2) books containing ilmu' 'esoteric knowledge', which are written in either an archaic kind of Tausug or a mixture of Tausug and Arabic. I will discuss the classification of the 16 texts in

my corpus further in 3.2.

Finally, two texts which have been supplied with glosses and a free translation are published in a volume of folktale texts (*Studies in Philippine Linguistics* volume 2, no. 2, 1978).

None of the works discussed above has treated either grammar or phonology above the sentence level, except that Hassan et al. (1975:24a) make a comment that the phenomenon of focus (see 2.4.2) may be important at the paragraph and discourse levels, a statement to which I will return in Chapter V.

2.3. Phonology and Orthography

In this section I present a brief statement of the phonemes of Tausug and describe the orthography presented in Ashley 1973b, which is also adopted here. In their 1963 article the Ashleys stated that Tausug has 21 phonemes, three vowels (i, a, and u) and 18 consonants, charted as follows.

CHART 2.1.--Consonant Phonemes of Tausug

	labial	alveolar	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal
stops voiceless	p	t		k	?
voiced	b	d	d ^v	g	
fricatives		s			h
nasals	m	n	ñ	ŋ	
lateral		l			
flap		r			
semivowels	w		y		

In addition, the feature length can occur on any vowel and all the consonants except /?/, /h/, and /ñ/. Later the Ashleys added another consonant phoneme, a voiceless alveopalatal affricate /t^v/, orthographically ch. Their later chart is in Hassan et al. (1975:2a). I accept the earlier conclusion since there is good evidence that [t^v] is a subphonemic variant of the phoneme /s/ when it is accompanied by length (written ss). In every word containing [t^v], there are alternate pronunciations with [ss] and [ts], e.g. [bichara/bissara/bitsara] 'speech' and [kacha/kassa/katsa] 'bottle'.

In the orthography of Ashley 1973b, adopted here, the vowels are written as a, i, and u. The consonants are all written as in Chart 2.1 except /d^v/, /ñ/, /ŋ/, and /?/. The first three are written j, ny, and ng respectively. In the matter of how to write the glottal stop, however, opinions differ among Tausug speakers and analysts of the language. When /?/ begins a word, it is never symbolized, as is the practice in

English, Tagalog, and every other language having no contrast between $\#V_iX$ and $\#V_i?X$. Likewise, when a prefix is added to a word that otherwise begins with $/?$, some speakers do not symbolize it (maganad 'practice'), others leave a space between the prefix and the stem (mag anad), and still use a hyphen (mag-anad). The Ashleys symbolize the rough onset in this position with an apostrophe (mag'anad).

Word-medially, when $/?$ occurs between two vowels it seems that almost no speakers symbolize it, following well-established Tagalog precedent. The Ashleys do not symbolize it in this position either. Thus we have taas /ta?as/ 'height', pais /pa?is/ 'skin', taud /ta?ud/ 'quantity, number', kampian /kampi?an/ 'to take sides with someone', and so on. When $/?$ occurs next to a consonant it is always the first member of the cluster. When writing it in this position many speakers use h (sahbu 'while'), but the Ashleys use an apostrophe (sa'bū).

The remaining position is word-final. Here quite a few people leave $/?$ unsymbolized (bunu 'fight'), a great number write it with h (bunuh), and the Ashleys use the apostrophe (bunu'). (On the distribution of $/?$ see Ashley and Ashley 1963.)

It is much more acceptable to the Tausugs themselves to use h for glottal stop, except between vowels, than the apostrophe. There is an extreme reluctance to write anything that is not a "real letter."¹⁰ I use the apostrophe, however, to avoid giving one symbol (h) two values (/h/ and /?/).

The symbolization of vowel glides presents several problems because every glide involves at least one high vowel. The following spelling

rules have been adopted by Ashley 1973b and in this paper.

1. The sequence ai is spelled ay: bay 'house', ayaw 'don't'.
2. The sequence au is spelled aw: saw 'anchor', awn 'there is, there are'.
3. The sequences ia and ua are spelled:
 - a. Word-initially, ya and wa respectively: yari 'here', walu 'eight'.
 - b. In all other positions, iya and uwa respectively: diyā 'carried' (stem dā), tuwan 'sir'.
4. The sequence ui is spelled:
 - a. Following a and i, wi: kawin 'marry', ilawi 'light it for me'. (I have no examples of ui following i.)
 - b. In all other occurrences, uy: babuy 'pig', uy (polite reply when called).
5. The sequence iu is spelled:
 - a. Following a and u, yu: kayug 'thin', guyud 'drag, pull'.
 - b. In all other occurrences, iyu: hisiyu 'who(m)', biyunu 'killed' (stem bunu).¹¹

Two more orthographic conventions deserve mention. First, vowel length is symbolized by a macron over the vowel: kibit 'pinched', cf. kibitun 'to pinch'. Secondly, the elements of a reduplicated stem or word are separated by a hyphen: adlaw-adlaw 'every day' (stem adlaw 'day'); kasakit-sakitan 'illnesses collectively' (stem sakit 'pain, illness'); mataud-mataud 'fairly many' (mataud 'many', stem taud 'quantity, number').

2.4. Selected Grammatical Items

2.4.1. Clause Types and Order of Clausal Elements

The Ashleys (1971:88-9, reprinted in Hassan et al. 1975:26a-27a) present a twofold scheme of clause types: (a) nonverbal, with three subtypes, and (b) verbal, with two subtypes. I separate the Existential type from the Ashleys' nonverbal category and make it a third main type of clause. The following are suggested phrase structure rules for each main clause type. They reflect the unmarked situation, by which I mean the most commonly occurring forms in my experience and in a sampling of the data at hand. They are not meant to be definitive but descriptive of the general form of each type of clause.

I. Verbal clauses

- (1) Cl¹² ----> (Adj) VP (NP) (NP) (NP)

II. Nonverbal clauses

- (2a) Cl ----> NP (NP)

- (2b) Cl ----> AdjectiveP NP

III. Existential clauses

- (3) Cl ----> Exis NP (NP)

2.4.1.1. Verbal clauses

The unmarked order of the elements in a verbal clause is V-S-O.¹³ The following are examples of prototypical unmarked verbal clauses.

- (4) V S O
 tiyaabit sin sultan hi Abunnawas (R00)
 OF-invited nfs king pf

'the king invited Abunnawas'

(5) V S O

Pagdungug sin sultan tingug hi Abunnawas (BAM 23)
 when-hear nfs king voice of

'When the king heard Abunnawas's voice'

V S O

(6) kalagihan sin kitaniyu katantan in ngan marayaw (STG 3)
 need-SIF nfs I-you-p all f reputation good

'we (incl) all need a good reputation'

In an extensive sample of my data consisting roughly of one-third of the clauses of the corpus, V-initial clauses made up 73% of the verbal clauses, 76% for the sample of narrative texts and 70% for the sample of hortatory texts. Where there were both a subject and an object present, the order was always V-S-O except once. In that case the O was a focused pronoun. Tausug clauses with pronominal S or O have a different word order from clauses with nominal S and O, as in many other languages (Greenberg 1963). The Tausug rule moves focused pronouns and nonfocused actor pronouns to second position in the clause. Hence the V-O-S order in this exceptional clause.

I will now discuss the departures from V-initial order in verbal clauses. In the sample of data I used there were 76 such. Forty-eight of these are attributable to obligatory rules of the language. The first such rule, which accounts for 43 of the 48 occurrences, is the pronoun-particle movement rule referred to in the preceding paragraph. Whenever any of a rather large class of adjunct-type words is initial in a clause, focused pronouns and nonfocused actor pronouns and particles move to the position immediately after the adjunct and before the verb or other predicate.¹⁴ Some of these adjuncts may occur post-verbally. When they

do so, they do not attract pronouns and particles to their right. Of course it is only pronouns which are relevant here since particles are neither S nor O. In the following statement of this rule Set 1 refers to the focused set of pronouns and Set 2 refers to the nonfocused actor set.¹⁵

(7) PRONOUN AND PARTICLE MOVEMENT (Obligatory)

SD: [S A - B - C - X ==>

SC: 1+3 2 4

*Not all adjuncts, but a special class of them. See Armour MS. and Ashley and Ashley 1971.

Further rules order the pronouns and particles relative to each other. Below are examples of derivations of clauses from actual text. Adjuncts are marked (Adj).

- (8) a. /Ha sa'bu/ (Adj) miyamanaw sila =====
 while SF-walking they-f

b. /Ha sa'bu/ (Adj) sila miyamanaw (FSC 3)
 'While they were walking'

- (9) a. utungun ta na magtuytuy (Adj) in pukut pa babaw
 pull-OF I-you cp suddenly f net dir surface

Magtuytuy may also be clause-initial

- b. **magtuytuy** (Adj) utungun ta na in pukut pa babaw ==>
c. **magtuytuy** (Adj) ta na utungun in pukut pa babaw (ANH 16)
'we (incl) suddenly pull the net up to the surface'

The second obligatory rule triggering a departure from V-S-O order is one I call EXISTENTIAL FRONTING. If either the S or the O is an

existential morpheme, it is clause-initial.

(10) EXISTENTIAL FRONTING (Obligatory)

SD: VP - X - Exis ==>
1 2 3

SC: 3+1 2

A sample derivation requires some explanation. In text RFG, the old woman gives Rahman magic oil. When he rubs it on his eyelash, his vision is able to penetrate solid objects so that he sees a jar of gold buried in the ground underneath his house. Before he applied the oil, the ground, and possibly also the floor of the house, blocked his vision so that he could not see the gold. After he applied the oil, the storyteller says "there was nothing (negative existential) which covered his sight", i.e., he could see through objects. The underlying form of this clause might have been:

- (11) Nakatampan in lupa' sin pangita' niya.
SF-covered f ground nfdo sight his

'The ground hindered his sight.'

If 'the ground' is replaced by 'nothing', we have:

- (12) a. Nakatampan wayruun sin pangita' niya. ==>
SF-covered negex nfdo sight his

b. Wayruun nakatampan sin pangita' niya. (RFG)

'There was nothing which covered his sight.'

Note that negex counts structurally as an existential.

The final obligatory rule that produces a change from V-S-O order is an Information Question transformation. Following the "Aspects" (Chomsky 1965) generative model at this point, I treat the interrogative

words hisiyu 'who(m)', unu 'what', and diin 'whatever' as generated "under the [appropriate] NP node as in the corresponding declarative sentence" (Burquest 1981:83). The rule which then applies to them is the following:

(13) INFORMATION QUESTION FORMATION (Obligatory)

SD: X - {hisiyu,unu,diin}* =====>
1 ?

SC: 2 ip+1

*Hisiyu, unu, and din are assumed to lack the marker in when generated.

The above rule deals only with the order of elements in a clause. There are changes in the verbal affixes and in the markers on the NP's which this rule is not meant to handle. These changes will be discussed under the heading "focus system" in 2.4.2 below. The following two derivations show how 13 above operates.

- (14) a. Kimaun in bata' ista'
SF-ate f child fish

'The child ate fish.'

- b. Kimaun hisiyu ista'? =====>
who

- c. Hisiyu in kimaun ista'?

'Who ate fish?'

- (15) a. Kiyaun sin bata' in ista'.
OF-ate pfs child f fish

'The child ate the fish.'

- b. Kiyaun sin bata' unu? =====>
what

c. Unu in kiyaun sin bata'?

'What did the child eat?'

There are 31 occurrences of non-V-initial order in the data sample which are due to optional rather than obligatory rules.¹⁶ Twenty-four of these result from simple fronting of the NP with the in marker, the focused NP (see 2.4.2), as captured by the following Clause Topicalization rule:

(16) CLAUSE TOPICALIZATION (Optional)

SD: X - A S] =====>
 1 2

SC: 2 1

Cond: A = NP¹²
 [Set 1]

In roughly 20% of the cases in the sample, the in marker dropped out after fronting, but the norm is for it to remain. (This rule is treated as optional here, though there may well be discourse-level constraints on it.) The remaining non-V-initial clauses are problematical, but they seem to be what may be called "contrastive topicalization", in which the focused NP is fronted in order to be emphasized in contrast to something else but its in marker remains behind, unlike clause topicalization. The following is an example:

- (17) 43 sundalu niya in limamud ha panayam-nayam (R00)
 soldier his' f SF-joined in loc contest

'forty-three of his soldiers took part in the contest'

This sentence seems derived from the following underlying form (with the same translation as above):

- (18) limamud in 43 sundalu niya ha panayam-nayam.

The important question regarding these latter shifts of order that are not due to obligatory rules is this: why did they occur? Most of the seven problematical ones may be due to contextual factors within the same paragraph. In that sense, then, these are not optional at all, but obligatory. But the question of why a speaker uses clause topicalization demands discourse-level answers, I believe. An immediate observation from the sample of five narrative and four hortatory texts was that 19 of the 24 clause topicalizations occurred in the hortatory texts even though there were fewer hortatory verbal clauses (127) than narrative (159). Given that this sample is representative of Tausug written discourse, why is clause topicalization so much more characteristic of hortatory material than of narrative? To answer this question is beyond the scope of this study, but I think a fruitful approach to the problem would be the idea of theme/rheme, "the organization of the clause as a message" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:325). Halliday and Hasan state for English that the theme comes first in the clause; Naylor, following Halliday, says the same for Tagalog (1973:10). Clause topicalization can thus be viewed as thematicization of the focused NP. It seems that in narrative discourse the verbs constitute the main message of the storyteller, and verbs are first anyway in the clause in unmarked order. Hence, there would seldom be reason to thematicize another clause constituent. In hortatory discourse, on the other hand, the message of many verbal clauses is not an action but rather, for example, the fishing equipment or type of food the author is trying to get the readers to adopt. Thus, one would expect clause topicalization to occur with some frequency in hortatory dis-

course.

2.4.1.2. Nonverbal Clauses

Nonverbal clauses in Tausug have a topic-comment structure with no copula except for the form amu, which marks an equational clause (though Ashley and Ashley 1971 treat amu as a sentence-level phenomenon). Since Naylor (1973:103ff) shows that the unmarked order of these two constituents in Tagalog is that the comment, or predicate, is first and the topic, or focused NP, is second, the unmarked order in Tausug is probably the same. Many, many nonverbal clauses do occur in the other order in speech, however. The only exception to a two-constituent structure is a temporal clause, which contains only a predicate, not a focused item.

The following classification of nonverbal clauses is a modification of the one in Ashley and Ashley (1971:88-89) and Hassan et al. (1975:26a-27a). I revert to tagmemic formulas to present the types of nonverbal clauses, because their dual structure allows one to give more information than do phrase structure rules. Each tagmeme will have the name of a grammatical slot followed by a colon and to the right of the colon the class of items which fills that slot. The plus signs indicate obligatoriness and the + signs optionality. The order of the tagmemes left to right indicates the order of their utterance. Each type of clause will be illustrated by at least one example.

I. Temporal

+Predicate:time phrase

- (19) Dūm na.
night cp

'It's night now.'

- (20) Lisag lima pa.
stroke five ip

'It's still only five o'clock.'

(for clauses expressing times of the day, dates of the month,
phases of the moon, seasons of the year, etc.)

II. Descriptive

+Predicate: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AdjP} \\ \text{Dimension phrase} \\ \text{taga-phrase} \end{array} \right\}$ +Focused item:phrase 1

- (21) landu' in dayaw (STG 11)
exceeding f goodness

'(The government of President Marcos is) exceedingly good.'

- (22) hangpu' nga-rupa in tindug (ANH 12)
ten 1k-fathom f width

'ten fathoms wide'

- (23) taga bunut in masuuk pa duhul
having piece of coconut husk f near dir end
bingit niya (EHC)
hook its

'the part near the hook has a piece of coconut husk'

(for clauses that ascribe an attribute to the focused item)

III. Nominal

A. Locative/Directional

+Predicate:phrase 3 +Focused item:phrase 1

- (24) Duun mayan in ista' (ANH 16)
 there when f fish

'When the fish are there'

- (25) Pa tabu' sila.
 dir market they-f

'They're going to the market.'

(for clauses giving the location of the focused item or
 the place it is moving to or from)

B. Possessive

+Predicate:phrase 3 +Focused item:phrase 1

- (26) Kāku' in dampal pa dahun (MAT)
 I f toward dir leaf

'The part toward the leaves is mine.'

(the predicate must be filled by something animate,
 otherwise the clause is understood as Locative [III A])

C. Classificational

+Predicate:phrase 4 +Focused item:phrase 1

- (27) Bisaya' in asawa niya.
 Christian f wife his

'His wife is a Christian (i.e. not a Muslim).'

- (28) Mastal in tau yan.
 teacher f person that

'That person is a teacher.'

(for clauses classifying the focused item as a member of
 a group)

D. Equational

+Link:amu(na) +Focused item₁:phrase 1 +Link:amu(na)*
 +Focused item₂:phrase 1

*One link must be chosen.

(29) In manga pagkaun ini amuna in manga
 f p food this equa f p

paglalamayan (SEF)
 food eaten with viand

'These foods are the ones eaten with viand (i.e. staples).'

(30) Amuna yadtu in kahinapusan sin kata-kata (MAT)
 equa that-f f end of story

'That's the end of the story.'

2.4.1.3. Existential clauses

Existential clauses assert either the existence of something or someone or that something is possessed by something else (see Nominal Possessive clause III B above for another way to express possession). The negative existential of course asserts the negative of either of the above. Formulas and examples are as follows:

I. Existence

+Predicate:awn/way(ruun) +Comp:phrase 4

(31) awn duwa magtiyaun miskinan iban lisuan (BBT)
 exis two married poor and lazy

'there was a poor and lazy couple'

(32) way dan dapat (STG 18)
 negex way possibility

'There is no way possible'

II. Possession

+Predicate:awn/way(ruun) +Comp:phrase 4 +Possessor:phrase 2

- (33) awn na bunga sin sayng hi Bauu (MAT)
 exis cp fruit nfs banana tree of turtle

'the turtle's banana tree now had fruit on it.'

- (34) way piligru sin baran (ANH 9)
 negex danger nfs body

'there will be no danger to our bodies'

I do not call these existential clauses "nonverbal" because the existential indicator is verb-like in that it takes particles following it just like a verb and is in clause-initial position just as a verb normally is. Another reason to make existentials a separate clause type is that they are the only type of clause (except for the temporal type of nonverbal clause) that contains no focused item.

2.4.2. The Focus System

Students of Philippine languages soon encounter the phenomenon of focus.¹⁷ Hassan et al.'s concise definition of this Philippine-language trademark will serve us well:

The term focus . . . refers to the special relationship existing between the topic noun phrase . . . of a[n independent verbal] clause . . . and the clause predicate whereby that one particular noun phrase is highlighted or focused. This relationship is indicated by verbal inflection (1975:24a).

The focus system can be likened to a machine through which every independent verbal clause must pass. The input into the machine is the verb stem and the NP's with their normal case markers preceding them. The output is an affixed verb and a special marker preceding one of the NP's, the one I call the focused item. The case role of the NP receiving the marker of the focused item is signaled by the kind of affix the verb

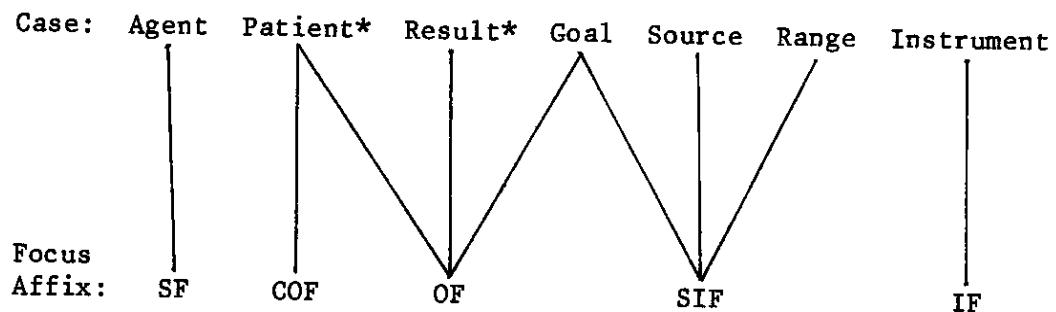
carries.¹⁸

For Tausug it has been claimed that there are four different kinds of verbal affixes making up the system of focus affixes. Ashley (1973a:71) calls them Subject (SF),¹⁹ Object (OF), Referent, and Accessory focus affixes. Other writers have used the same set of labels for languages that have the same four distinctions. The last two I have renamed Site (SIF) and Conveyed Object²⁰ (COF) focus respectively since I think these terms are more descriptive. Under his grammatical category "Accessory" Ashley 1973a included NP's encoding the semantic role of Instrument as well as some Patients. When an Instrument is highlighted or focused, the affix on the verb is often the same as the affix that focuses conveyed objects, namely hi- (for Irrealis mode), -iy- (for Realis mode), or -an (for Imperative). However, sometimes an Instrument is focused on with one of the affixes hipang-, piyang-, or pang-...-an (instead of hi-, -iy-, or -an). A conveyed object Patient never shows these affixes, however. Hence I conclude that a fifth kind of verbal focus affix, Instrument Focus (IF), should be distinguished for Tausug. Case theory according to Fillmore 1968 and others has proved very useful in describing the focus system of Philippine languages. Ashley (1973a:72) uses this theory and posits the following list of cases, which I here adopt:

Agent	Instrument
Patient	Factitive (Result)
Experiencer	Range
Goal	Non-instigative cause
Source	

In the diagram and discussion below I deal only with the focus

system as it appears on verb stems in which an agent is obligatorily present (Ashley 1973a:72, for further discussion cf. 2.4.3 below). Hence the roles Experiencer and Non-instigative cause will not be considered here. I will now describe how the seven remaining cases are mapped onto the five kinds of surface structure verbal affixes. The following diagram indicates which focus affix(es) are used to focus each case role in a clause.



*If Patient and Result co-occur, Result cannot be focused.

Diagram 3. Mapping of Case Roles to Focus Affixes

Ashley 1973a discusses in detail the correlations between case frames and affix possibilities. Suffice it to say here that Tausug verbs can be grouped into a number of classes based on broad areas of meaning, that each class of verbs has a unique case frame associated with it, and that each case frame allows a unique set of affix types. Notice in particular in Diagram 3 that Patient and Goal may be focused on by more than one type of affix. When a Patient is focused on with OF, the

meaning of the verb indicates that the Patient's state is being changed (Ashley 1973a:73). When a Patient is focused on with COF, its location is being changed (hence the term Conveyed Object). The Patient moves "away from the Agent toward the Goal" (Ashley 1973a:76). (See Chart 2.2 below for an example of the same NP focused by both OF and COF.) Regarding the Goal, for verb stems of "travel or intransitive motion" (1973a:75), the Goal of the travel is focused on with OF. An example is as follows:

- (35) Goal
dagun mu na kātu' (in sayng) ampa kita makakaun. (MAT)
climb-OF you cp I-you f bananas then I-you-f can eat
'you climb (to get) the bananas for us (incl) and then we (incl)
can eat.'

With verbs of "conveyance or handling" (1973a:76), however, the Goal toward which the Patient is being conveyed is focused on with SIF, as in the following example:

- (36) Goal Patient
 Dihilan ta kaw hang-gatus pilak (BAM 12)
 give-SIF I you-f one-hundred peso
 'I'll give you 100 pesos'

Thus the meaning of the verb determines which affix focuses the role in question.

The next display is a paradigm showing with a single verb stem how each case is focused on (except that a different verb stem was needed to illustrate that Range can be focused).

CHART 2.2.--Focus Paradigm of a Tausug Verb

	Verb	Agent	Patient	Goal/Source	Range	Instrument ²¹
1.	Magbūd SF-pile	in bata' f child	kaput trash		ha halaman. loc yard	
	(The child will pile up trash in the yard.)					
2.	Būrun pile-OF	sin bata' nfs child	in kaput f trash		ha halaman. loc yard	
	(The child will pile up the trash in the yard.)					
3.	Hibūd COF-pile	sin bata'	in kaput pa halaman dir			
	(The child will pile up the trash over there in the yard (or) " " " take the trash to the yard and pile it up)					
4.	Būran pile-SIF	sin bata'	kaput*	in halaman.* f		
	(The child will pile up the yard with trash.)					
5.	Dīpan slice-SIF	sin bata'		in mangga. f mango		
	(The child will slice off some of the mango.)					
6.	Hipamūd IF-pile	sin bata'	kaput		in kakās yan. f rake that	
	(The child will use that rake to pile up trash.)					

*Patient and Goal/Source may permute. If Patient follows Goal/Source, it must carry the marker sin.

Having discussed the correlation between case and focus affix, I now turn to the actual shape of the verbal affixes for the five focus types. Notice moreover that the verb affix marker is sensitive to

whether the verb is Declarative or Imperative, and if Declarative, whether Irrealis or Realis mode. The following chart displays the focus affixes for clauses with an agent, i.e. the clauses here being discussed.

CHART 2.3.--Focus Affixes of Tausug

Focus Affix	Declarative		Imperative
	Irrealis mode	Realis mode	
SF	mag-, -um-	nag-, -im-	/pag-
OF	-un	-iy-	-a
COF	hi-	-iy-	-an
SIF	-an	-iy-...-an	-i
IF	hi-, hipang-	-iy-, piyang-	-an

2.4.3. Verb Morphology

Tausug is one of a number of Philippine languages characterized by a complex verb morphology. The great majority of forms involved are inflectional-- only one will be discussed in this paper which is not an affix, so I will speak here and in Chapter VI of verbal affixation. The verbal affixes of Tausug and many other Philippine languages have been observed to fall into two groups (Muyargas, Soberano, and Flores 1968). The more frequently occurring group appears in clauses containing either agents that "could . . . initiate and control the activity" (Dixon 1979:105) or inanimate NP's that "do NOT initiate or control the activity, but the role they play can be LIKENED to that of an agent" (107). This set of affixes and the clauses they appear in have traditionally been labeled in Philippine linguistics "active". The other group appears

in clauses containing only one obligatory participant, which may be semantically (in Tausug) Force, Patient, Experiencer, Range, Possessor, or Goal, but never agent. This set of affixes and the clauses they appear in have traditionally been labeled "stative".²² It is the former system of affixes, the active, that will be described here.

I will now give a brief overview of the main types of verbal affixes in order to give the necessary background for understanding the fuller discussion of verbal affixation in Chapter VI. Analysis of these affixes is facilitated by making the distinction between non-imperatives and imperatives the most primary distinction. Thus, there exist two affix systems, Declarative and Imperative. In the Declarative system there are two obligatory affix types: Focus, discussed in 2.4.2 and in Chapter V, and Mode, the label I give to the Realis-Irrealis distinction. Every Declarative verb must be inflected for one of the focuses and one of the modes. In addition there are a number of optional affix types. I have investigated four of these, as follows: (a) the Involuntary affix, (b) the Incomplete Aspect marking (not an affix but C₁V₁-reduplication of the stem), (c) the Durative affix, and (d) the Causative affix. Each of these will be explained in Chapter VI. All the co-occurrence possibilities of these four affixes exist (except that I have never encountered Incomplete Aspect and Causative co-occurring). In addition, there can be two occurrences of Causative on the same verb. There are several other affixes in the Declarative system as yet unanalyzed. In the Imperative system the only obligatory affix is Focus and the only optional affixes of the abovementioned four are the Durative and the Causative.

Both of these may occur on the same verb. The Involuntary and the Incomplete Aspect do not co-occur with an Imperative form. The following outline summarizes the above information:

CHART 2.4.--Major Verbal Affixes of Tausug

I. Declarative Affix System

A. Obligatory affixes

1. Focus (for forms, see Chart 2.3)
2. Mode (see Chart 2.3)

B. Optional affixes

1. Involuntary (prefix ka, except for OF, which has a prefix ma [Irrealis] or na [Realis])
2. Incomplete Aspect (C_1V_1 -reduplication of the stem)
3. Durative (mag- [SF], pag- [all other focuses])
4. Causative (prefix pa)

II. Imperative Affix System

A. Obligatory affix: Focus (see Chart 2.3)

B. Optional affixes

1. Durative
2. Causative

Notes, Chapter II

¹McFarland (1981:50) defines these terms as follows:

dominant: spoken by 90% or more of the population

majority: spoken by 50% or more of the population

large minority: spoken by 10% or more but < 50% of the population

²This fact is well established. For evidence see Pallesen (1978:177-211) and Walton (1979:85). For a theory of how Tausug came to be spoken in the Sulu Archipelago see Pallesen (1978:359-67).

³Butuanon is spoken in and around Butuan City, Agusan del Norte Province (Pallesen 1978:25,179).

⁴Mamanwa is spoken in the area around Lake Mainit on the west coast of Surigao del Norte Province (Pallesen 1978:179).

⁵Cebuano is native to Cebu Island and is spoken on a number of other Visayan islands and widely through much of Mindanao (McFarland 1981:28,33,90).

⁶Surigaonon is spoken in the provinces of Surigao del Sur and Surigao del Norte (Pallesen 1978:179).

⁷The history of the Tausug contact with Sama-Badjao and the linguistic convergence in both directions are treated in Pallesen 1978.

⁸Penevra identifies the subject to be the first constituent and the predicate the second in a sentence such as the following (adapted to the orthography I use, 1972:14):

- (24) biyabas in kiyaun sin bata'
 guava the was eaten by the child
 'It was a guava which was eaten by the child.'

I would call biyabas the predicate and the rest of the sentence the

focused item (her "subject").

⁹Hassan et al. 1975 is now out of print.

¹⁰I am indebted for this observation to Kemp Pallesen (personal communication).

¹¹The above rules and most of the examples are from Ashley (1973b:90-93).

¹²Clauses are connected to the symbol S by rules such as the following (see Ashley and Ashley [1971:61]):

(a) S ----> C1 Comp C1

(b) S ----> Comp_i C1 Comp_i C1

¹³There has been a controversy about whether there exists a subject in Philippine languages. Schachter 1976 argues convincingly that the usual subject properties are split in Philippine languages between the agent and the focused item. Thus ability to be relativized (a property of the subject in Philippine languages since these allow only one constituent to be relativized) belongs in Tausug to the focused item. Yet control of reflexivization, another property usually associated with subjects, belongs in Tausug to the agent. Since I agree with Schachter, I have avoided the term 'subject' in this thesis. I nevertheless use S (for subject) in the discussion of word order simply because S has been traditionally used in typing languages by the order of clause constituents. By S in this section I am really referring to the agent, or, if there is no agent, as in example 6, the constituent that is agent-like (Dixon 1979:107).

¹⁴This phenomenon was noticed by Ashley and Ashley (1971:46-7).

¹⁵For an explanation and chart of the noun phrase sets see Appendix A.

¹⁶The figures 48 (due to obligatory rules) and 31 total 79, not 76, because three clauses are affected by two rules each, one obligatory and one optional.

¹⁷The focus system has been variously labeled also as a voice system (Bloomfield 1917, McKaughan 1958, and others), a voice-mode system (Wolfenden 1961), and a case system (Ramos 1974, Walrod 1976). (This information is from Fukuda 1983:29-30.) I prefer the term focus.

¹⁸What I am calling the focused item has most often been called either topic (e.g., by McKaughan 1958, Muyargas, Soberano, and Flores 1968, Wolfenden 1975) or subject (e.g., by McKaughan 1973, Naylor 1973, Walrod 1979).

¹⁹Though I avoid the term "subject" (see note 13), I use the name "Subject Focus" because "subject", like "object", is usually considered a surface structure term, whereas "actor" and "agent" are more semantic.

²⁰I use this name because a Patient focused with this affix moves "away from the Agent toward the Goal" (Ashley 1973a:76).

²¹Instrument is normally not mentioned unless it is focused. If a nonfocused instrument is mentioned, the marker is sin.

²²Much more accurate terms would be "agentive" and "nonagentive", but I yield to convention.

CHAPTER III
THE CORPUS AND ITS CLASSIFICATION

3.1. How the Data Was Collected

The corpus on which this thesis is based is a body of about 25 written Tausug texts. I classified the texts initially into the four broad genres first suggested by Longacre (1968, 1976, 1983, see 1.2). Since my purpose was to analyze narrative and hortatory discourse, I selected eight texts that I had classified under each of these types for detailed study. The quantity of eight of each genre was arbitrary. Written texts were chosen rather than oral ones for several reasons. First, written texts tend to be shorter than oral ones and hence, for the number of texts I wanted, the task of transcribing, glossing, and translating them is more manageable. Secondly, I was not able to record many relatively short hortatory texts. When a number of written hortatory texts became available, therefore, I decided to use them. The next step, of standardizing the corpus to only written texts, soon followed. Thirdly, I assumed that written texts have undergone a certain amount of editing. Thus presumably the distorting effects of false starts, lapses of memory, and grammatical errors have been eliminated. (Grimes [1975:33-4] agrees with my view that edited texts are more well-formed than unedited ones.) Since the corpus for this study is written, I will refer throughout to "author" and "reader" rather than "speaker" and "hearer".

Ten of the 16 texts were written in August, 1980 by nine staff members of the Community Extension Service (CES) of Notre Dame of Jolo

College, Jolo, Sulu Province, who are all native speakers of Tausug. The authors wrote them for inclusion in a bulletin that the CES began to publish shortly after that date in order to meet a need for reading material in Tausug. After being written, each piece was edited by the author and an editor, who is also a native speaker.¹

Five of the remaining six texts come from published sources. Three are stories about the Arab folk-hero Abunnawas that appear in a book of seven such stories (Hassan 1977). The fourth is a translation of a folktale published in English.² It appears in Bibih 1977. The fifth comes from the Tausug-language section of an English-language magazine entitled The Magbubugsay (a Tausug word meaning 'traveler'), dated January, 1981. The magazine is produced for members of the Barter Traders' Cooperative, an association of businessmen.

The final text of the 16 was written for me by an acquaintance at my request (Text STG, see 3.2.2, given in full in appendix D).

3.2. The Sixteen Texts

3.2.1. Narrative Texts

Of the eight narratives selected for the corpus, four are of the "clever lass" type (Fansler 1965:53-64), except that the hero is a male, named Abunnawas.³ Aarne lists the same type of tale under Type 875: "The Clever Peasant Girl" (1964:293), as "875B: The Clever Girl and the King. For each impossible task she gives countertasks" (295). In each of the four stories the king challenges Abunnawas to perform either an

impossible task or a seemingly impossible one. In the former case Abunnawas "gets out of [his] difficulty by demanding of [his] taskmaster the completion of [a] countertask . . . equally hard, or by showing him the absurdity of his demands" (Fansler 1965:63). This countertask is one that the king must perform first. When he cannot do so, Abunnawas is free from his demand (Child 1882:8). In the latter case Abunnawas cleverly redefines the task so that it is performable. Three Abunnawas stories were compiled by Irene Hassan, who used published material⁴ but reworked it extensively. Summaries of the three follow.

1. WAV "Roping the Sand and Tying the Waves". The king tells Abunnawas (henceforth abbreviated Ab) to go and tie up the waves so they will stop breaking and his headache will go away. Ab counters by asking the king to make a rope out of the sand so that he will have something to tie the waves with.

2. ROO "A Rooster Doesn't Lay Eggs". The king challenges Ab to lay an egg. Ab shouts "Cock-a-doodle-doo" and claims to be a rooster, and so cannot produce one.

3. BAM "Ab Walks on Bamboo" (given in full in appendix C). Ab claims that he walked on top of bamboo. The king does not believe him. Ab then gets some bamboo, makes it into stilts, and stilt-walks to the king's palace. The king acknowledges that Ab has proved his claim.

The fourth Abunnawas text is one of the 10 written by staff members of the Notre Dame of Jolo College CES. The author is Jaina Salahuddin.⁵ The following is a summary.

4. CTS "Counting the Stars". The king commands Ab to count the

stars. Ab counters by having a water buffalo skin brought and asking the king to count the number of hairs on it. However many hairs there are on the skin, that will be the number of the stars.

The next text was translated from English by Jikidil Alih. Because it is a translation it may not be natural in some ways, but since Alih had previous exposure to good translation principles, I suspect that the distortion is small. A summary follows.

5. FSC "The Farmer, His Son, and the Colt" (given in full in appendix B). A farmer and his son are leading their colt to market. They pass, in turn, four groups of people, each of which finds fault with the way they are using the colt. Whatever suggestion the onlookers make, the farmer and son heed it. Finally the colt kicks them and knocks them both off a bridge. The moral is "Don't heed everything people tell you".

This tale is of a type listed in Aarne as a numskull story (1964:374-400), Type 1215: "The Miller, his Son, and the Ass: Trying to Please Everyone". It is a type widespread in Europe (1964:376). The motif is listed in Thompson under the heading of type J1040, "Decisiveness of conduct" (1955-8.4:67-8). The English original did not have a moral. The translator, Jikidil Alih (personal communication), added one because he felt the tale needed an ending to complete it.

The remaining three narrative texts were written by staff members of Notre Dame of Jolo College CES. The titles, abbreviations, and authors' names are as follows:

- 6. MAT "The Monkey and the Turtle", Bebing Milgaril;⁵
- 7. BBT "Bayanbuddiman and Tudjulaksana", Nihmatul M. Kalim;⁵
- 8. RFG "The Reward for Goodness", Araji Haji.⁶

I will now give summa-

ries of these texts followed by a brief discussion.

6. MAT. The monkey eats all the turtle's bananas. To get even, the turtle gets the monkey stuck with thorns and bites his tail. The monkey seizes the turtle, who tricks him into throwing him into the river, the very place where he can be safe.

7. BBT. Bayanbuddiman (BB) and Tudjulaksana' (T) are a childless old couple with nothing to live for. One day a beautiful maiden named Tuwan Putli' (TP) appears to them. They persuade her to stay with them, and she gives them a magic golden pot, by which they are enabled to grow rich. Eventually the king marries TP. Before long they have a child. BB and T then have something to live for because they now have both a child and a grandchild.

8. RFG. A young man named Rahman sees an old woman about to fall off a bridge, rescues her, and carries her to her house. As a reward she gives him magic oil. When he puts this oil on his eyelash he is able to see buried underneath his house a jar full of gold, which he promptly digs up. The gold makes him and his family rich.

Stories about the monkey and the turtle are widespread in the Philippines, according to Fansler (1965:371), who adds that all the stories "tell how a monkey insults a turtle which has done him no harm, and . . . he finally pays dearly for his insult" (1965:372). The motif which seems closest to the main incident in MAT is Thompson's K550, "Escape by false plea" (1955-8.4:313), since the turtle escapes from the monkey by pleading with him not to throw him into the river. With regard to BBT, a "magic wishing object" set of motifs is listed in Thompson

(1955-8.2:237-8), who numbers the "magic wishing pot" as D1470.1.19. The motif might equally well be classified under Thompson's D1450, "Magic object furnishes treasure" as subtype D1452.2, "Magic pot furnishes money" (1955-8.2:233-4). Texts MAT and BBT are the only narratives in the corpus that are relatively long (roughly 750 words each). Text MAT is remarkable in that it is written in drama form, with just the speakers' names given rather than quote formulas. The sentences are short and seem choppy. By number of words, 53% of the text is quoted material. Text BBT, by contrast, is made up of long sentences and only 9.2% of the text is quoted material. This text is legend-like in that it contains two rhyming sections, one near the beginning and the other near the end. The rhymes are aaaa and bbbbb respectively. These rhyming portions in tales often contain poetic expressions, but in this story only aaaa does. Concerning text RFG, the motif of magic objects being received as a reward for kindness is found in other Filipino tales (Fansler 1965:120-1,127). This motif seems to fit under Thompson's classification Q40, "Kindness rewarded" (1955-8.5:187-91).

3.2.2. Hortatory Texts

As stated in 3.1, eight hortatory texts were also selected for the present corpus. Six of these were written by CES staff members. A word about the activities of the CES of Notre Dame of Jolo College is necessary here. In order to help improve the people's standard of living, the CES has started several cooperatives in Jolo, one of which is a fishermen's cooperative. The CES is also interested in helping people in the

community improve their diet and wants to promote good health habits and sanitation practices. All these objectives are reflected in the topics of the six texts I selected. A chart of all eight hortatory texts showing their titles (all author's titles except as indicated), the author's name, and the intended readership is given below. The first six texts in the chart are those authored by CES staff members.

CHART 3.1.--Hortatory Texts Analyzed for Present Thesis

Abbreviation	Title	Author	Intended Readers ⁷
ANH	The Advantages of a Net Over Hook and Line (given in full, appendix E)	Azabawa Bamuhid	Badjao ⁸ fishermen
EHC	Easy Hook-and-Line Fishing for You Children	Azabawa Bamuhid	Children of members of the fishermen's cooperative
IEV	The Importance of Eating Vegetables	Kabila H. Omar	Badjao mothers
SEF	Selection of Food	Nurkia Laja	Members of a mothers' club
KBC	Keeping Our Bodies Clean	Elena S. Suhuran	Functional literacy learners (?) ⁷
UTL	The Use of Toilets	Merriam S. Majan	Functional literacy learners
OWL	Overloading of Launches (my title)	Hadji' Dugasan Lakibul	Members of the Barter Traders' Cooperative
STG	Surrendering to the Government (my title)	Hadja Mussah (Nashra S.) Usman	Tausugs in rebellion against the government

Text OVL is the one from the magazine described above. In the January, 1981 issue the Tausug section dealt with four topics: (1) overloading of launches; (2 and 3) proposed fees; (4) construction of bathrooms and ceremonial washing facilities at a local mosque. For this thesis I analyzed the first (and longest) section, about the recent losses and near disasters brought about by overloading of launches.

The gathering of text STG requires explanation. For some time there has been an element of the Muslim population of the Philippines that has been rebelling against the government. Since Mrs. Usman had had experience in negotiating with rebels who wanted to surrender to the government, I asked her to write a letter in which she would try to persuade some Tausug rebels to surrender, except that she would not send the letter, rather just give it to me. The letter, then, is a made-up hortatory text. Since this text is a letter, it has formal characteristics absent from the other hortatory texts: a formal Arabic greeting, an expression of thanks near the end, and a formulaic finis, the Arabic wassalam 'peace'.

3.3. Classification of Texts into Genres

As a basis for classification, I follow the very useful scheme of Longacre 1983. Longacre assumes two levels of structure in language, notional (i.e. deep or semantic) and surface (1983:3), and sets up a classification scheme for discourse types at each level. I quote his explanation of the scheme for the notional level:

. . . we can classify all possible discourses according to two basic parameters: CONTINGENT TEMPORAL SUCCESSION and AGENT ORIENTATION. Contingent temporal succession (henceforth contingent succession) refers to a framework of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings. Agent orientation refers to orientation towards agents . . . with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse. These two parameters intersect so as to give us a four-way classification of discourse types: Narrative discourse (broadly conceived) is plus in respect to both parameters. Procedural discourse . . . is plus in respect to contingent succession (the steps of a procedure are ordered) but minus in respect to the agent orientation (attention is on what is done or made, not on who does it). Behavioral discourse . . . is minus in regard to contingent succession but plus in regard to agent orientation (it deals with how people did or should behave). Expository discourse is minus in respect to both parameters (1983:3).

The following chart displays this scheme.

CHART 3.2.--Notional Discourse Types (after Longacre 1983:5)

	Narrative	Behavioral	Procedural	Expository
Contingent Temporal Succession (CTS)	+	-	+	-
Agent Orientation (AO)	+	+	-	-

In this section I will first discuss the classification of the texts that I classed as narrative and then those I classed as hortatory behavioral.

3.3.1. Narrative Texts

None of the 25 or so texts from which this corpus was chosen, with one exception, presented a problem as to whether it was narrative or not. Of all the texts that were +CTS, those that were +AO were clearly distinguishable from those that were -AO (see Chart 3.2). The latter were five in number: one on how Tausugs make powdered coffee, one on how to build a boat, and three on how to prepare certain dishes. Though agents are quite often overt in these five texts,⁹ each of them is oriented to a "goal or activity" (Longacre 1983:7), and "attention is on what is done or made, not on who does it" (1983:3). These are procedural texts. Opposed to them are the texts that are +AO, i.e. the eight narrative texts described above (section 3.2).

The lone exception referred to above is text UTL, "The Use of Toilets". A translation of this text is as follows (events which carry the story forward are underlined):

The Use of Toilets

¹There is a story about a certain community which we (incl) can get something to learn from. ²Most of the small children in that community, the children of the people who live there, were thin and easily got sick, especially with cholera. ³The result was that many died from this sickness. ⁴The parents were very worried about their children who had gotten sick. ⁵So they took their sick children to a nearby health center. ⁶The doctor was really puzzled as to why the people there easily became sick.

⁷One day those doctors visited that community. ⁸After they had gone all through the community they found out why the people easily got sick. ⁹The reason was that the majority of the houses there had no toilet.

¹⁰The reason many were getting sick and dying was that they had no toilet. ¹¹After all, we (incl) see and know about the dirty surroundings. ¹²The dirt is lighted on by flies, which carry many kinds of germs. ¹³Then the flies light on our food. ¹⁴Now then, that's what becomes the

cause of sickness.

¹⁵ So we (incl) should make toilets and make a habit of defecating in them in order that we (incl) ourselves as well as our (incl) children will not easily get sick.

The clauses containing the underlined verbs meet the criteria for being a narrative discourse. Yet they are not primary in the text but rather are embedded in a host text. This host text could take place at any point at all in time-- it is timeless, whereas the embedded portion takes place at a certain definite time, signalled by the phrase "One day" (S7). Thus, although the events described in the host text are in contingent temporal succession (eat contaminated food, get sick, build toilets, use them habitually) and there seems to be orientation to the agents involved, the host text does not constitute a narrative since a narrative must be located in some definite time, either past, present, or future. This text exemplifies the fact that the Longacrean criteria are sometimes not entirely adequate and must be supplemented by other criteria.

There are two reasons why I think text UTL is hortatory. First, the author says in S1 that her story is a pamintangan 'something to study/consider and learn from'. Use of this term shows that there is something the author wants her readers to learn, namely, the bad consequences of not having a toilet. In the last sentence she states the contrapositive of the above in an exhortation, i.e. "let us make toilets and use them so that these bad consequences will not happen". Secondly, if S1 is taken to be hortatory, then the text returns to exhortation at the end. If the same genre occurs at the beginning and the end of a text, i.e. brackets the text, this genre I think is a strong candidate

for being the genre under which the text should be classified. (I use the term bracketing again below [3.3.2]).

3.3.2. Hortatory Texts

It is in general much more difficult to classify texts as either hortatory or not than to classify them as narrative or not. The reason is that the author of an exhortation may well have an additional purpose in mind as well as to exhort. If his additional purpose is to instruct, one can expect the text he produces to have some features of an expository or a procedural or perhaps even a narrative discourse as well as a hortatory discourse. If his additional purpose is to inform, one can expect his text to resemble an expository discourse as well as a hortatory one. Hence different parts of the same text may meet Longacre's criteria for different genres. The task of the analyst is to determine the primary purpose of the author by either asking him or examining the text itself carefully for clues.

Now one text, STG, presented no problem to classify because of the way I elicited it. I specifically asked the author to persuade rebels to surrender. Exhortation was thus a priori the primary purpose of this text. Another text not difficult to classify as hortatory was UTL, which has been discussed above.

The remaining texts which were candidates for classification as hortatory posed some difficulties. I asked the authors of three of these what their main purpose was. Two responded that their main purpose was

to inform. I therefore classified these as expository and excluded them from the corpus. The third responded that his main purpose was to persuade; hence I classed this text (OVL) as hortatory and included it in the corpus even though the main bulk of the text is informative. I was not able to obtain statements of purpose for the seven other texts that were candidates for classification as hortatory and are not discussed above.¹⁰ Searching the texts themselves carefully for clues as to the correct classification was the only remaining option.

An important such clue is the title the author gave the text. Here I make the assumptions that titles are generally well chosen and that a well-chosen title accurately states the theme¹¹ of a text. Two titles confirmed the classification of the texts they headed: "The Advantages of a Net Over Hook and Line" (ANH) and "The Importance of Eating Vegetables" (IEV) (emphases mine). Text ANH not only praises the pukut (type of large net) but also explains how it is used-- the text is thus a candidate for being a procedural text. Text IEV not only warns the readers of the bad things that will happen if they don't eat vegetables but also explains the three food groups and states what each group does for the body. Thus IEV could conceivably be classed as expository. In both cases, however, the title strongly suggests that the texts are hortatory.

Other clues are the bracketing referred to in 3.3.1 in the discussion of text UTL and the occurrence of a resultative which often seems to introduce a culmination or climax, the word hangkan 'therefore/that's why'. Both of these occur in text SEF. The first exhortation in SEF is

"Food must really be chosen well" (S3), and the next three sentences explain why this is so. The next section is expository, listing the three food groups and stating what each type does for the body. There follow two more hortatory points,¹² after which the text ends with a final exhortation introduced by hangkan restating the first exhortation: "That's why what we (incl) eat every day must really be chosen . . . well". Both the bracketing and the hangkan indicate that SEF is a hortatory text.

Yet another clue a text may offer is the sheer frequency of a particular feature that would strongly suggest a classification as one genre or another. The text I classified by this criterion is KBC. Text KBC was written in outline form. The points in the outline were underlined in the original typescript. Each heading is a question and the body underneath the heading answers the question. The following is the outline:

¹What is the way to clean the body?

²⁻⁸(An explanation of what bathing involves. This section seems expository.)

⁹Why do we (incl) clean our (incl) bodies?

¹⁰⁻¹²(Reasons are given. This section also seems expository but possibly hortatory.)

¹³What all is it proper to clean on the body?

¹⁴These are what it is proper to clean on a person's body:

¹⁵Hair- The hair should be washed well . . .

¹⁶Face- The face should be washed well

In the last section eight body parts are listed altogether. After seven

of them there is an exhortation to keep that part clean and reasons why it should be kept clean. The final section concludes with a summary paragraph which is clearly hortatory.

This text contains a total of 13 exhortations, one in the first section, two in the second, and the remainder in the last. Though the outline of the text would suggest that it is expository, what led me to class it as hortatory was the high frequency of exhortations (an average of one every 36 words, a far higher ratio than in any other text that was a candidate for being classed as hortatory).

A final type of surface structure clue, the syntax of a sentence, gave the key to the proper classification of text EHC (which, after being classified, rounds out the hortatory corpus at eight texts). The following is a translation/summary of this text.

Easy Hook-and-Line Fishing for You Children

¹It is really necessary for you children to learn the methods of fishing.

²Don't just play with your companions. You also must learn how you can find a way to help your parents and your brothers and sisters.

³Now then these are the things to learn about:

-hook and line	-float
-trolling hook	-a type of small net
-daytime shrimp lure	-spear gun

(S4-10 describe what each of these is and explain how to use them.)

¹¹Now then you can find here in these instructions something good for children like you to do so that you can at least be able to help your parents and your brothers and sisters.

¹²Your father and mother are old now. You must help them earn a living so that their economic condition will improve a little.

¹³These methods are easy for you to do. They are just right for what your bodies can do and for your limited

strength.

If the theme¹¹ of this text is the methods of fishing, then it should be classed as expository, with S3-10 the expository point¹³ and S1,2 and S11-13 a hortatory introduction and conclusion respectively. If on the other hand the theme of the text is "Children, learn more ways to fish!", then it should be classed as hortatory, with S1,2 and S11-13 hortatory points and S3-10 an embedded expository point. The first sentence seems to provide the clue to the better classification:

- (37) In manga kamu kabataan wājib tuud umingat sin manga
 top p you-p-f children obligatory really SF-learn nfdo p
 panghindu' /ha hal sin/ pag'ista'. (EHC)
 teaching concerning fishing

'As for you children, it is really necessary for you to learn the methods of fishing.'

In 37, "you children" is topicalized and thus in some sense is thematic. The children are exhorted to do something and the next sentence continues the exhortation instead of starting into exposition. These facts led me to conclude that the children addressed and what they should do are more important than the fishing methods. Further, there is again bracketing: the author reverts to exhortation near the end, as if to say "In case you've forgotten, here's why I've told you all this: so you can help your parents as you should" (S11,12). Hence I class this text as hortatory. Another analyst might find equally strong arguments for classing it as expository, and I recognize that there are some weighty ones. Though I class it as hortatory, I consider it a text in double function:¹⁴ as hortatory, it exhorts children to help their parents earn a living; as expository, it teaches them how to do so.

3.4. A Typology of Narrative Texts

In this section I will suggest a minimal typology for narrative texts and classify the eight narratives in my corpus by types. The typology is rooted in the idea that storytellers have differing purposes. Sometimes they tell stories to entertain, sometimes to pass on certain cultural values, sometimes to convey a moral, and sometimes to achieve more than one of these purposes. Thus we find first of all that some narratives seem to have no or minimal hortatory intent-- probably they were told purely to entertain. Such a text is MAT "The Monkey and the Turtle", for the author stated that on the occasion this story was told to her its purpose was to entertain.¹⁵ Others would presumably be the Abunnawas narratives, although these may also have the purpose of poking fun at the king (Abunnawas' opponent), of protesting half seriously against the structure of Tausug society as it was under the sultanate. Secondly, one narrative selected for the corpus seems to have the purpose of reinforcing cultural values. I speak of text BBT, in which Tuwan Putli' provides for her adopted parents by giving them a magic golden pot, so that through this story the cultural value of taking care of one's parents is reinforced. Finally, of those narratives which teach a moral lesson, two types may be distinguished, each type represented by one text in the corpus. The first type is a narrative with a moral, as text FSC. Longacre (personal communication) calls this type a compromised narrative. In the second type the hortatory intent is primary.¹⁶

This kind is typified by the medieval morality plays and also by text RFG. In RFG the intent to teach that goodness is well rewarded seems to dominate the narrative. The last clause of the story ("and that is the reward for kindness") reinforces this impression. The old woman in the story is not named. As in the morality plays the characters (e.g. Everyman) stood for groups of people, so the woman here stands for anyone in need. This type of narrative I term a Disguised Exhortation Narrative.

The typology here suggested is, then, as follows:

- I. Pure Narrative (no or minimal hortatory intent)
- II. Compromised Narrative (moral attached)
- III. Disguised Exhortation Narrative (hortatory intent permeates the text)

3.5. Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to acquaint the reader thoroughly with the data on which this thesis is based. I have described how the data was gathered, stressing that I used written data which had undergone editing before I obtained it. I have also given a summary of each of the narratives and a chart of the hortatory texts showing the title of each, which states the topic of the text. Next I devoted considerable discussion to the classification of the texts into genres, focusing on the hortatory texts, which are more difficult to classify than the narratives. Since different parts of most of the hortatory texts met the Longacrean criteria for different genres, I classed them as hortatory largely on the basis of surface structure clues. Finally, in section 3.4 I have discussed a typology of narrative discourse based on different

degrees of hortatory intent.

The preceding two chapters (II and III) have been prolegomenous to the next three. Chapter IV will discuss transitivity in hortatory discourse. Chapters V and VI will address the question of to what extent and in what ways discourse type (i.e. narrative or hortatory) affects verb morphology.

Notes, Chapter III

¹He is Edgar Requejo, whose father is from the Bikol region but who was born and grew up on Jolo Island and is culturally Tausug.

²I do not have the bibliographic information for the English source.

³Abu Nawas (756 (762?)-810) went to Baghdad as a young man during the reign of Caliph Harun al-Rashid and soon attracted the Caliph's attention. Harun attached him to his palace as a court poet. Abu Nawas gained the reputation of being the greatest Arab poet of his time. He was renowned for his dissolute life as well as his great wit and ready answer for every occasion. A wealth of stories grew up about him (all this information is from Ingrams 1933). These stories were carried to the Philippines by those who spread Islam, generally considered to be Arab traders.

⁴Published in Sulu Studies volume 2 (1973 or 1974), Quezon City: Bustamente Press.

⁵The story was related to the author by another lady.

⁶I was not able to determine where Mr. Haji obtained this story, but it seems like an original composition based on a story he remembered.

⁷This information was obtained for the first six texts by means of a questionnaire after I had left the area. Text KBC was added to the corpus after these questionnaires had been sent out.

⁸"Badjao" is the term used in texts ANH and IEV to refer to Sama people. As best I remember, Mr. Bamuhid said that the majority of those he dealt with as overseer of the fishermen's cooperative were Samas.

Apparently the majority if not all of the learners in Mrs. Omar's functional literacy class were Sama. The Sama are a distinct ethnic and linguistic group from the Tausug. On the numerous dialects spoken by Samas see Pallesen 1978.

⁹A count of the references to an agent in these five texts reveals the following:

Text	No. of steps in procedure	No. of agent pronouns	Percentage of steps in which pronouns occur
1	7	0	0
2	9	0	0
3	9	6	67
4	29	10	34
5	35	29	83
Total	89	45	51

Texts 1 and 2 are by the same author.

¹⁰Perhaps an inevitable result when one's research is done long after the data is collected and on a different continent. I attempted to obtain more information about most of the texts in the corpus by means of questionnaires sent to the Philippines but unfortunately for most of them I filled in my own answers to the question "What was the purpose of this text?" beforehand. Two of my statements of purpose were corroborated by the authors or the editor.

¹¹At this point I use the term theme the way van Dijk appears to use it, i.e., in the sense of "topic of discourse" (1977:6), a phrase I interpret to mean simply "main point of the text", or "what the text is all about". Jones comments as well on "the . . . understanding of theme that most of us had in primary and secondary school". There, she says,

"'Theme' had to do with the most important, or main, ideas of a text" (1977:1, emphasis hers). This is precisely the way I am using the term here.

¹²This is the name Longacre gives to the nuclear tagmemes of a hortatory discourse (1968:34-41).

¹³This is the name Longacre gives to the nuclear tagmemes of an expository discourse (1968:27-30).

¹⁴The phrase "double function" is borrowed from Pike (1971:574-5): A single morpheme may . . . simultaneously serve as manifesting a part of two overlapping grammatical constructions. This morpheme is in double function between the two tagmemes or tagmeme sequences. See the illustration from Fries: They have to have the students pay (in which the second have serves simultaneously in reference to the infinitive relation and in reference to the verb pay).

¹⁵She stated this in the reply to one of the questionnaires mentioned in note 7.

¹⁶This gradation of types of narrative from those with minimal to those with maximal hortatory intent is due to Longacre (personal communication), as is the morality play's being an example of narrative with maximal hortatory intent.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSITIVITY IN HORTATORY DISCOURSE

4.1. Introduction and Statement of Hypothesis

The assumption that underlies this part of the thesis is the following: the notions of foreground and background (defined as per Hopper and Thompson 1980:280) can profitably be extended to hortatory discourse. I will define foreground for hortatory discourse below. Hopper and Thompson 1980 (henceforth abbreviated HT) showed clearly that, for narrative discourse, "the foci of high Transitivity and low Transitivity correlate with the independent discourse notions of foregrounding and backgrounding respectively" (1980:294).¹ The basic question which motivates this part of the thesis is whether the same holds for hortatory discourse, i.e., whether there are significant differences in HT transitivity scores between foreground and background of hortatory texts.

The reader will recall from the discussion in 3.3 that hortatory texts can be extremely complex. In addition to exhortation a hortatory text may include, in approximate order of likelihood in my experience with Tausug texts, expository material, procedural material, narrative, or some combination of these as support for the exhortation itself. Of the eight hortatory texts in the corpus at hand, two deal with improvement of diet. In each of these the author included an explanation of the three food groups (Exposition). Two others deal with fishing technology. One of these contains a section on how to use a certain type of net (Procedure). The other contains a long section (59% of the text) explaining what some fishing equipment is and how each kind is used

(Exposition). Text KBC is written under three main headings, and one of the headings (see 3.3.2) heads an expository section. Text STG intersperses explanations of good things the government is doing (Exposition). Finally, two of the texts contain narrative. UTL contains a true narrative, while OVL contains a high percentage (73%) of quasi-narrative-- the events are in temporal succession like narrative, but are not contingent upon one another (Longacre 1983:3-5).

It is noteworthy that so much of the bulk of these texts is composed of Expository material, which seems to me to be the least dynamic of Longacre's four genres.² The expository genre often exhibits a high frequency of equational, nominal, descriptive, and existential clauses. In contrast, however, the portions of hortatory discourse that encode the actual exhortations seem to be fairly dynamic, with a high percentage of verbal clauses and a fairly high percentage of clauses containing agents, the latter percentage depending, of course, on the subject matter of the text. On the strength of these hunches, then, I formulate the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1. The HT transitivity score will be significantly higher for foreground than for background of hortatory texts.

4.2. Definition of Foreground in Hortatory Discourse

As far as narrative discourse is concerned, the term foreground is well established. For narrative, the foreground is that part of the text that "narrate[s] the main events" (Hopper 1979:213), i.e., carries the story line forward, and the background is the remainder of the text. For

behavioral discourse, the foreground would seem to be the actual exhortations, commands, pleas, requests, promises, expressions of thanks, and whatever else might be included under the rubric of behavioral discourse, and the background would again be the remainder of the discourse.

In their important article, Brichoux and Hale propose a semantic structure of hortatory discourse consisting of three elements (1977:76):

1. Hortatory Motivations (reasons for obedience to the Command Element of the exhortation)
2. Projected Conflict Situation
3. Command Element (action called for, the nucleus of the hortatory point)

When Brichoux and Hale speak about the "backbone" (i.e. foreground) of a hortatory discourse (1977:75,78,83), they mean the Command Element.

Several authors have followed Brichoux and Hale in considering the backbone or nucleus (i.e. foreground) of hortatory discourse to be a set of commands (Wallace 1980:44; Fukuda 1980:76-7; Madrid 1980:113). Fukuda specifically states that the "command element . . . is the foregrounded part of a behavioral discourse" (1983:153). But limiting the foreground to a set of commands does not account for those discourses that have no overt commands or mitigations of commands yet meet the defining criteria for behavioral discourses. In the present corpus, IEV is such a text. Its author never says "We should eat vegetables because . . .". Instead, there is a warning giving four bad consequences that will result if the readers do not eat vegetables. I provide the translation of the relevant sentence below.

- (38) If we (incl) don't eat vegetables
 (a) we (incl) can easily become sick,
 (b) our (incl) bodies will be sickly-looking,
 (c) we (incl) will be underweight, and
 (d) our (incl) vision will be blurred. (IEV)

Since warnings should be classed with commands, I suggest the term persuasion element to cover both, and will define the foreground of a hortatory discourse to be its persuasion element, with the background being the remainder, except that I exclude greetings, farewells, and formulaic finises from background. Following Longacre (1983:22), I consider these to be strictly surface structure phenomena, not part of the underlying structure.

There are various ways in which a persuasion element may be encoded in the surface structure. First, and most common in the present corpus, is the use of a prepredicate deontic modal particle, usually subay 'should' (sometimes may be glossed 'must'), or, less often, wajib 'must'. I illustrate from text EHC (in English translation):

- (39) you (p) should (subay) help them (your parents) earn a living
 (40) (You children) really must (wajib) learn the methods of fishing.

Second, and next most common, is the use of the normal non-imperative affixes in Irrealis mode usually with the 1st-&-2nd person pronouns, but in two cases out of nine with 2nd person pronouns. A number of examples are found in text STG:

- (41) maghambuuuk na kitaniyu pikilan (7)
 SF-unite cp I-you-p-f thinking

"Let us (incl) unite our thinking."

- (42) Magad na kamu sin pamandu' sin nakura' niyu. (9)
 SF-follow cp you-p-f nfdo instructions of leaders your-p
 'Follow the instructions of your leaders.'

The imperative form in 42 would be Agad or Pag'agad. The third way to encode persuasion element is by a warning. This method has already been illustrated from text IEV in 38 above. Fourth, and occurring only twice in the eight texts, is the imperative:

- (43) In manga kamu lūd na mari /pa lawm/ sin daira.
 f p you-p-f SF-imp-come down cp here inside of city
 (STG 25)

'Come down here now into the city.'

- (44) Ayaw . . . kamu maglangug iban manga kaibanan niyu (EHC)
 don't you-p-f SF-play with p companion your-p
 'Don't . . . play with your companions.'

Another method, occurring only once, is a positive evaluation, used, it would seem, as a persuasive mechanism:

- (45) You can find here in these instructions something good for children like you (EHC, emphasis mine)

Finally, also occurring only once, is the axiological modal auxiliary mapatut 'right, proper':

- (46) Ini in manga mapatut lanuan ha /ginhawa baran/ (KBC)
 these f p proper clean-SIF nfio body

'These are what it is proper to clean on the body.'

4.3. Transitivity as I Use the Concept

I now resume the discussion of transitivity. HT 1980 attempt to "characterize explicitly and in universal terms" (251) the historical

notion of transitivity "as a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is 'carried-over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient" (251). HT claim that multiple factors, of which the number of participants is only one, influence transitivity. They propose the following well-known list of 10 components of transitivity, "each of which suggests a scale" (for most of them a simple two-valued one) "according to which clauses may be ranked" (1980:251).

	HIGH	LOW
A. PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O. ³	1 participant
B. KINESIS	action	non-action
C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

(1980:252)

Transitivity is, for HT, a continuum (1980:254), with "cardinal transitivity" (1980:253) at one end and absolute intransitivity at the other. A clause can be examined to see whether it falls in the 'high' or 'low' column with respect to each component. If a 'low' rating is assigned the value 0 and a 'high' rating the value 1, then the number of 1's (or their sum) can serve as an index of the degree of transitivity of that clause, on a scale of 0 to 10.

At this point, an assumption of the HT approach must be made explicit, viz., that all the components have equal weight in determining the transitivity score of a clause. Some of the components may be more

central to the "transitive" concept than others, however. Thus two clauses may score the same in transitivity yet one may be less truly transitive than the other. Nevertheless, in this thesis I also am assuming that all ten components have equal weight, for two reasons, first, because I think that to have this measuring scale is better than to have no measuring device at all, and second, the ten factors HT posit constitute a useful etic checklist for evaluating the transitivity of any clause.

I would like to suggest a minor refinement to the preceding chart, however. Under I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O, the clause should be considered low in transitivity if the O is partially affected as well as not affected.⁴ The motivation for this suggestion rests in a morphologized contrast in Philippine languages between totally affected and partially affected objects. Totally affected O's are focused by an object focus affix, partially affected O's by a site focus affix. The following pair of sentences illustrates the contrast.

- (47) Inumun ku in tubig hi Malik (putative sentence).
drink-OF I f water of

'I'll drink Malik's water.'

- (48) Inuman ku in tubig hi Malik.
drink-SIF I f water of

'I'll drink some of Malik's water' (Hassan, et al. 1975:32a).

In 47 all of the water will be drunk but in 48 only part of it. As this pair illustrates, the SIF affix in Tausug, as well as a number of other Philippine languages, signals reduced transitivity⁵ in comparison to OF for those verb stems that accept both.

4.4. Method of Testing Hypothesis

Before I discuss my methodology, it is necessary to refer to Dixon's 1979 discussion of cores of sentences (102-8). He says:

All human languages classify actions into two basic types: those involving one obligatory participant, which are described by intransitive sentences, and those involving two obligatory participants, which are dealt with by transitive sentences (102).

For each clause in the corpus, then, it was necessary to determine first the number of participants and second, if two participants, which was A and which O (see note 3). After the composition of the core of each clause had been determined, I parsed the clauses of the corpus to see if each clause rated high or low with respect to each of the ten components. (The components Affectedness of O (I) and Individuation of O (J) were not pertinent in clauses where neither an A nor an O appears, i.e., intransitive clauses.) With respect to the component Affirmation, a clause received a low score not only if sentence negation was present but also if I judged it to have negative "flavor", indicated by the presence of mahang 'seldom', malayu'/mayu' 'far from', salat-salat 'few', mangi 'bad', or kulang 'insufficient'. Nevertheless, there was one clause with 'not' I scored high in Affirmation:

- (49) In kug niya di' hikasipat. (RFG)
f happiness his not describable

'He was extremely happy.'

I departed from HT's scoring method at two points. First, HT did not have a two-valued scale for the Agency component (H). Instead, they used "an index of agency . . . based on the four most relevant features for the passages under scrutiny: 3rd pers. Human Pronoun > Proper Name >

"Human N > Inanimate N" (1980:287). They then assigned each clause a score "of 1 to 4, the highest A . . . receiving 4, and the lowest . . . receiving 1" (287). Instead of a four-valued scale for this component, I used two values. My method for the agency parameter was as follows: a clause scored 1 if the agent was animate and scored 0 if there was no agent or it was something inanimate like the magic golden pot in text BBT or gravity.

Secondly, in scoring component J, Individuation of O, I used HT's method, i.e. assigning a high score to an O that was both definite and referential, a medium score to an O that was either, and a low score to an O that was neither (287). However, instead of using HT's scores of 2, 1, and 0 for high, medium, and low respectively, I employed 1, 1/2, and 0 in order to allow the score for J to be included in the composite score without being weighted more heavily than the other components.

With regard to the definiteness of the O, O's which are in focus tend very strongly to be definite (see 6.4, rule I). A notable exception to this rule was the list of body parts in text KBC starting with S15. This is the list that answers the question given in S13 as the heading for the third section of the text: "What all is it proper to clean on our bodies?" Part of the list is repeated below:

- (50) Buhuk- In buhuk subay lanuan . . . (15)
hair f hair should clean-SIF

'Hair- The hair should be washed . . .'

- (51) Bayhu'- In bayhu' subay lanuan . . . (16)
face f face should clean-SIF

'Face- The face should be washed . . .'

In these sentences, once the name of the body part is given (the first word in each of eight sentences), it is old information and may therefore be focused in what follows, even though it is not definite, since it refers to the hair, etc. of hambuuk tau 'any person' (S14). Another exception is the group of fishing methods in text EHC. They have been introduced in S3, so they can be in focus later in the text even though no definite hook and line, trolled hook, etc., is in view.

4.5. Difficulties Encountered in Determining Transitivity Scores

There were a number of difficulties encountered in deciding whether a given clause should receive a high (1) or low (0) score with regard to some component.

Regarding the Participants component, clauses with three arguments presented a difficulty, viz. which is 0, the direct object or the indirect object (as traditionally named)? Dixon's (1979:108) definition of 0 as "the other obligatory NP in a transitive clause" fails in these clauses because there are two other obligatory NP's. I resolved the problem by choosing as 0 the argument that was in grammatical focus. Note the following example of contrast between different focused arguments with the same three-place verb (dihil 'give'):

- (52) in adlaw kiyarihil⁶ kātu'niyu sin Panghu' (STG 5)
 f day OF-inv-gave I-you-p nfs president

'the day President (Marcos) has given us (incl)'

- (53) in di' makagaus magpaiskul ha anak niya, dihilan
 top not can afford send to school nfdo child his/hers give-SIF
 sin Panghu' Marcos kapatutan (STG 14)
 nfs president right

'as for those who can't afford to send their children to school,
 they will be given by President Marcos the right (to a scholar-
 ship)'

In 52 the candidates for O are the DO, 'day', and the IO, 'us (incl)'. I chose 'day' to be O since it is the focused item of the clause (focused with OF). Similarly, in 53, the possible O's are the DO, 'right', and the (topicalized) IO, 'those who can't afford to send their children to school'. Here I chose the IO to be O for the transitivity analysis, since, even though it is itself a clause, it is the focused item of the embedding clause (focused with SIF). There was only one occurrence of a three-place verb in the hortatory corpus that was neither OF nor SIF, i.e., that was SF (dā 'bring'). In that clause I arbitrarily chose the DO as the O. Hence, for all but one of the three-place verbs in the corpus, the focused item could determine the O.

A word should be said about the minimal unaffixed speech verbs laung and agi 'said'. Neither the speaker nor the addressee is focused on with these verbs, as the following example shows:

- (54) laung sin ama' ha anak, "Laksu . . . (FSC 6)
 said nfs father loc child SF-imp-jump

'the father said to the son, "Jump on the colt . . .'

The material in quotes was considered by default to be the focused item, and hence was chosen to be O for purposes of determining the values of components I and J, which have to do with the O.

The second area that gave difficulty in determining whether the

various HT components were to receive a high or low score for each clause was the following: many verbs are not cardinally high or cardinally low with respect to a number of the components. For instance, is the following clause punctual or not?

- (55) nagbalik siya pa puun saying (MAT)
SF-returned he-f dir trunk banana

'He (the turtle) went back to the banana tree.'

I feel that an argument can be made for both the punctuality and non-punctuality of this clause. On the one hand, the turtle's return to the banana tree took time-- the clause can thus be considered durative. On the other hand, the action is presented as a punctual one. There is no focus on the lapse of time, as there would have been if, for example, the word nag'us'us 'hurriedly' had been added. Another example of a clause indeterminate as to punctuality is "she immediately connived with Laja Ramsik" (in BBT).

With regard to Volitionality, it is not always clear whether a verb is volitional or not. For example, a clause in MAT runs:

- (56) Iyastulan in bauu
became angry-sta f turtle

'The turtle got angry.'

The monkey is up in the tree eating the turtle's bananas. The turtle has just asked the monkey over and over to throw down some bananas, but the monkey has refused. The story continues with the above clause, "The turtle got angry". Was his anger volitional or not? The affix on the verb seems to indicate that it was not volitional, because, as far as I know, yet another affix possibility exists: imastul 'got angry'. The

contrast between -an and -im- may be one of volitionality. The governing principle in my choice of nonvolitionality in 56 is this: if the semantics of the clause is not clear with respect to that clause's rating for a particular transitivity component, then the surface structure form decides the case.

With respect to Affectedness of O, for certain clauses it is difficult to decide whether the O is totally affected or only partially so. Concepts that created difficulty included:

- (a) transfer of possession of O
- (b) movement of O to another place
- (c) isun 'discuss and come to an agreement about' (the O)
- (d) laughter, when the affix indicates that the one who laughs is O

Finally, the difficulties I had assigning scores for the O-individuation component have been described above (4.4).

The third area of difficulty is theoretical. My personal experience with Tausug, my reading of secondary literature, and my study of Tagalog have all led me to assign intuitive "meanings" to many of the verbal affixes. Hence, in the cases where I was not sure if the verb was, for example, telic according to the global meaning of the clause, I let the affix guide me. If the verb was reduplicated (see 6.5 below), I considered the clause to be atelic, for example. Presence or absence of reduplication was also a guide in determining whether a clause was punctual or not, in certain unclear cases. The affixation was also a guide in determining Volitionality or Nonvolitionality of a clause. A case in point is example 56 above: "The turtle got angry". Another example is the following:

- (57) nakatudju sila pa hambuuk sapa'. (MAT)
SF-inv-go in a direction they-f dir one river
'they headed toward a certain river.'

Now there is nothing in the context that indicates whether the monkey and the turtle knew there was a river ahead or not. For this reason, in accordance with the principle stated above, I based my decision to assign this clause a low score for the Volitionality component on the presence of the Involuntary affix.

4.6. Results

Chart 4.1 shows the average HT transitivity scores for each of the eight hortatory texts and for all the clauses of the eight texts taken together.

CHART 4.1.--Hopper-Thompson Transitivity Scores for
Foreground and Background of Hortatory Texts

Text	Foreground Score N**	Background Score N	Entire Text* Score N
IEV	(2.67)***	3.36 18	3.26 21
UTL	(5.17)	3.17 32	3.34 35
OVL	(7.17)	4.63 49	4.78 52
ANH	(4.38)	3.94 52	3.97 56
SEF	6.56 8	2.58 49	3.14 57
EHC	5.00 8	2.61 30	3.08 38
STG	4.00 18	4.22 54	4.17 72
KBC	5.79 24	3.31 52	4.09 76
All Texts	5.15 71	3.56 336	3.84 407

*Exclusive of Greeting, Farewell, and Finis tagmemes

**N = number of clauses

***For scores in parentheses, N < 5

I hypothesized that transitivity scores in the foreground of hortatory texts would be significantly higher than in background. The chart reveals that for two of the texts, IEV and STG, the hypothesis was not confirmed, since for these texts the average transitivity score for foreground clauses was less than that for background. For IEV, however, N for foreground clauses was < 5; it seems wisest, therefore, not to make any statements about this text. Of the remaining six texts, for which

the average transitivity score for foreground was higher than for background, three (UTL, ANH, and OVL) had so few foreground clauses that these average scores may be deviant. There remain only three texts for which the hypothesis seems to be confirmed: SEF, KBC, and EHC. Of these three texts, the smallest difference in scores between foreground and background clauses is in EHC. The t test of significance, run for text EHC, yielded $t=3.4804$, higher than necessary in order to be 99.95% confident that the differences in scores for foreground and background of EHC could not have occurred by chance. The values of t for the other two texts allow even more confidence than for text EHC. When average scores are obtained over all the clauses in the hortatory corpus (bottom line of chart), the hypothesis is again confirmed, since the t test again allows the null hypothesis, i.e., that there is no significant difference between transitivity scores in foreground and in background, to be decisively rejected.

Let us examine text STG in order to find out why the hypothesis was disconfirmed for this text. There are 54 clauses in STG which I assigned to background. Of these, seven contain the causative marker pa (see 6.7). Pa occurs more often in the background of this text than any of the other seven hortatory texts (about once every eight clauses). Clauses with pa tend to be highly transitive since they have two participants, are apt to be kinetic and telic, are definitely volitional, and the causer is always animate. The average transitivity score for these seven clauses was 6.93. In addition, five clauses in the background of this text contain the verb dihil 'give', all of them referring to some-

thing President Marcos either has given or will give to rebels if they surrender. Now text SEF also has five occurrences of dihil, but all of them are in clauses whose transitivity is quite low, as can be seen by listing the three different O's with which dihil 'give' occurs in SEF.

- (58) S6: karayawan 'goodness': 'give goodness' = 'are beneficial'
- S8: sulig 'growth': 'give growth' = 'make (children) grow'
- S9,10,13: kusug 'strength': 'give strength'

Dihil 'give' is used figuratively in all five cases. In none of these five clauses is there an O being transferred from a giver to a recipient. There is no action at all, hence the clauses score low in the parameters Aspect, Kinesis, Punctuality, and Volitionality. Furthermore, there is no real A. The Agent-like element in these clauses, 'food', is really a Non-instigative cause.⁷ Hence, the parameter Agency receives a low score also. Now apart from SEF, no other hortatory text contains 'give' as often as STG (about once every 14 clauses). The clauses with 'give' in STG involve two arguments, are punctual, volitional, and the agent is animate. The average transitivity score for these five clauses was 7.20.

The fact that 22% of the clauses in STG, i.e., the 12 clauses discussed above, have an average transitivity score of 7.04 accounts in large part for the high overall average score for the background of this text. On the other hand, there are four clauses in the foreground of STG which scored only 1 and one which scored 0, though this last really needs to be studied in relation to the clause following it, to which it is linked closely by the fact that the negatives in both clauses amount to a positive statement. Two of the clauses which scored 1 are existential clauses in a conditional margin, a construction which is used as a miti-

gating device. There is much mitigation in this text: the author apparently felt she had to tread very softly in trying to persuade her readers to surrender to the government (for more on mitigation, see 6.2 below). Finally, the other two clauses which scored 1 are an idiomatic way of making the message more urgent. Taken together, they amount to saying "(Do this) as soon as possible".

In summary, then, Hypothesis 1 is in general confirmed, and instances in which it fails can be explained.

Notes, Chapter IV

¹HT capitalize "Transitivity" throughout but I do not capitalize it.

²I here disagree with Longacre (1983:11,13), who considers hortatory the least vivid genre and expository second least. I myself would reverse the positions of the two genres on such a scale of vividness.

³The labels A and O are from Dixon, who defines them as follows (1979:108):

A (agent): the NP in a transitive clause which can be agent

O (object): the other obligatory NP in a transitive clause.

⁴HT themselves point out, in their discussion of the Indonesian suffixes -kan and -i, (1980:261), that "the more Transitive suffix . . . is correlated with a sense of TOTAL, as opposed to PARTIAL, effect on O".

⁵HT claim (1980:263) that "partitive O's are universally associated with intransitive verbs, or at least with some signal of reduced Transitivity" (emphasis mine).

⁶In Irrealis mode this verb is Conveyed Object Focus but the contrast between OF and COF is neutralized in Realis mode unless the Involuntary affix is present, in which case the contrast reappears. See Chart 2.3.

⁷This term is from Ashley 1973a:80-1.

CHAPTER V
THE FOCUS SYSTEM

5.1. Introduction and statement of problem

In 2.4 the focus system of Tausug was defined and briefly described for clauses containing agents. Ashley (1973a:71) states that focus "seems to function at the paragraph level . . . and perhaps at the discourse level". Although there has been a great deal written on discourse phenomena in Philippine languages, so far no one has succeeded in deciding whether or not focus functions at the paragraph and/or discourse levels. An exhaustive study of the functions of focus in discourse is beyond the scope of this thesis. I have simply concentrated on the question of whether focus is affected by discourse type. Such a study of focus must address two separate questions, each of which will be dealt with below.

I first deal with the question of how the type of focus affix is affected by discourse type, whether subject focus affixes, object focus affixes, or site focus affixes¹ predominate in each discourse type and why. Secondly, I intend to discuss how the choice of the focused item is affected by discourse type. What I am investigating here is basically the degree to which the focused items in narrative and hortatory texts come from different semantic domains. The two questions are not completely equivalent. There are a very few agentive verbal clauses that contain a focus affix but no focused item, and there are a number of clauses that contain a focused item but no verb.

5.2. Effect of discourse type on type of focus affix

In 2.4.3 I explained a broad classification of the verbal affixes of many Philippine languages into two groups, viz., the "active" affixes, which occur in clauses containing agents or agent-like elements, and the "stative" affixes, which occur in agentless clauses. The active affixes are the major focus system of Tausug in that they occur in my corpus about 4 1/2 times as often as the stative ones (active: N=541; stative: N=120). Not only do the active affixes predominate numerically, but they have been much more extensively studied than the statives. For these two reasons the present study is restricted to focus in active clauses.

By way of review I present a summary chart of the five types of focus affixes which can be formally distinguished in Tausug with an indication of their frequency in the entire corpus of narrative and hortatory texts.

CHART 5.1.--Tausug Focus Affixes and Percentages of Their Occurrence in Corpus

Name of affix	Abbreviation	Percentage of occurrence in corpus
Subject focus	SF	51
Object focus	OF	21
Conveyed object focus	COF	8
Site focus	SIF	17
Instrument focus	IF	2

Subject focus is immediately seen to occur more often than all the other focuses combined. The reason for the predominance of SF is that a

great many agentive clauses contain an agent but no other obligatory participant (I am including participants recoverable from the context). In such cases only an SF affix could occur. It is in clauses with two or more obligatory participants that the author has selected one of the affixes given above, depending on which affixes the verb will accept. The remainder of this discussion will deal with those clauses in the active focus system with two or more obligatory participants, those traditionally called "transitive".

The question to be dealt with below is the following: in transitive active clauses (i.e. non-stative, as defined above) does the distribution of the five focuses in narrative texts differ significantly from their distribution in hortatory texts and if so, how can this difference be accounted for? I counted the number of occurrences of the focus affixes in each text of both genres. It was necessary to collapse object focus and conveyed object focus into one category because in the realis mode these two affixes are indistinguishable. Chart 5.2 shows the results for narrative texts, Chart 5.3 shows them for hortatory texts, and Chart 5.4 presents the "total" lines of Charts 5.2 and 5.3. Chart 5.4, when subjected to pairwise chi-square tests, reveals that the frequency of occurrence (1) of SF is significantly greater in narrative than in hortatory material, (2) of OF and COF does not significantly differ between the two genres, and (3) of SIF is significantly less in narrative than in hortatory material. Instrument focus (IF) is so rare in narrative that the chi-square test may not be carried out.² It is striking, however, that in hortatory texts IF occurred about 3.3 times as often as

in narrative.

CHART 5.2.--Distribution of Focuses in Transitive Clauses of Narrative Texts (Clauses with Minimal Quote Formula Excluded)

Text	No. of Occurrences of Affix Type					Total
	SF	OF & COF	SIF	IF	No affix	
FSC	4	6	2			12
WAV	4	1				5
ROO	4	4	1		3	12
BAM	7	3	1		2	13
CTS	1	7	2			10
MAT	20	15	4		3	42
BBT	19	31	9	2	1	62
RFG	6	10	4		1	21
Total	65	77	23	2	10	177
%age	37%	44%	13%	1.1%	5.6%	

CHART 5.3.--Distribution of Focuses in Transitive Clauses
of Hortatory Texts

Text	No. of Occurrences of Affix Type					Total
	SF	OF & COF	SIF	IF	No affix	
STG	10	16	8	1	2	37
ANH	7	15	3	3	1	29
IEV	2	3	3			8
OVL	7	8	11	1		27
SEF	4	12	4			20
EHC	4	7	3	1	1	44
UTL	3	4	3			15
Total	48	71	60	7	4	190
%age	25%	37%	32%	3.7%	2.1%	

CHART 5.4.--Distribution of Focuses in Transitive Clauses of
Narrative (Clauses with Minimal Quote Formula Excluded) and
Hortatory Texts

No. of Occurrences of Affix Type						
	SF	OF & COF	SIF	IF	No affix	Total
Narrative	65	77	23	2	10	177
%age	37%	44%	13%	1.1%	5.6%	
Hortatory	48	71	60	7	4	190
%age	25%	37%	32%	3.7%	2.1%	
Total	113	148	83	9	14	367

I believe that my research has not been extensive enough to warrant advancing an explanation for the significant differences in percentages

of SF and SIF affixes between the genres. That the present corpus is inadequate to yield a decisive result about the effect of discourse type on focus affix can be seen from Chart 5.5. In Chart 5.5, if clauses with the quote formula laung 'he/she said' were included, the percentages of SF affixes for ROO, BAM, and WAV would be much lower because I would count these clauses as OF, with the quotation being the focused item though it is not preceded by the focus marker in. I exclude laung-clauses from the count, however, for two reasons. First, laung is unaffixed. It seems to me that laung is not a verb at all, but merely indicates that what follows, or precedes, as the case may be, is a quotation. Secondly, the text MAT was written in drama form, with the names of the speakers given but with a colon taking the place of the usual quote formula laung niya 'he said'. But there is no guarantee that if the author had written the story in the normal format, she would have used laung niya every place there is a colon. Hence the count of OF clauses in MAT would have depended on a guess about the number of laung-clauses.

CHART 5.5.--Percentages of SF and SIF Affixes in Transitive Clauses of Each Text, by Genre (Clauses with Minimal Quote Formula Excluded)

Narrative				Hortatory			
Text	%ages of		Text	%ages of			
	SF	SIF		SF	SIF		
CTS	10	20	ANH	24	10		
RFG	29	19	SEF	20	20		
BBT	31	15	EHC	27	20		
FSC	33	17	STG	27	22		
ROO	33	8.3	UTL	30	30		
MAT	48	9.5	IEV	25	38		
BAM	54	8.0	OVL	26	41		
WAV	80	0	KBC	25	57		
%age over all texts	37	13	%age over all texts	25	32		

A look at Chart 5.5 will show that, whereas the percentage of SF is quite stable over all the hortatory texts, varying only between 20% and 30%, the same percentage is quite variable in the narrative texts, even if WAV is dropped since N is only 5 for this text. In fact, if text MAT, the longest one with a high percentage of SF, is dropped from the tabulation, the difference in frequency of occurrence of SF verbs as opposed to non-SF ones between the two genres is no longer statistically significant-- the probability is about .12 that the difference could have occurred by chance. If a different set of narratives had been chosen for this study, the percentages in Chart 5.5 might have been quite different.

The situation is reversed for the other affix whose frequency of occurrence differs significantly between the two genres, the SIF affix.

Whereas the percentage of SIF is fairly stable in the narratives (I drop WAV since its N is small), that percentage varies widely in the hortatory texts. In this case, however, even if text KBC, which has the highest percentage of SIF and the greatest number of active transitive clauses of any of the eight hortatory texts, is dropped from the tabulation, hortatory texts still have a significantly higher percentage of SIF than narrative.

Despite the general disclaimer immediately following Chart 5.4, two possible discourse-level motivations for the differences in percentages of SIF affixes between the genres do suggest themselves. Both of them use notions of case grammar (I use the system of cases in Ashley 1973a). One of his case frames is Agent-Range (74-5). Verbs with this case frame "are action process verbs and designate either the field where the action takes place . . . or . . . the field from which the patient is identified and acted upon, in which case . . . Range and Patient are mutually identifying" (1973a:74-5). The first possible explanation for why hortatory discourse has a significantly higher percentage of SIF than narrative is as follows. One could argue that hortatory discourse lends itself to verbs with this Agent-Range case frame more than narrative does. Since Range is focused on with the SIF affix, hortatory discourse therefore has more SIF affixes than narrative. But this case frame also contains Agent. Why is not the agent focused (with SF) equally as often as the range? Why, for example, in KBC, do 21 occurrences of verbs having to do with cleaning and caring for the body, verbs I assume have this Agent-Range case frame, have an SIF affix while only three occur-

rences of this kind of verb have a SF affix?

The second possible line of thought might be as follows: there is something about the structure of narrative such that agents tend to be focused more often and other case roles less often. Conversely, there is something about hortatory discourse such that the role Range tends to be present instead of Patient, and when Range does occur, it tends to be focused. The first part of the previous statement is not supported by this data, however. Hortatory text OVL is made up in greatest part of an account of seven mishaps that have recently befallen ships. The first four incidents are related in the order they actually occurred in and so are the last three. The temporal succession is not contingent, but the whole passage, which makes up 73% of the text, is very like narrative. But the percentage of SF is in fact smaller in the narrative portion of this text than in the text as a whole, not greater (15% as opposed to 26%). Bear in mind the discussion is restricted to transitive clauses. The same is the case with the narrative embedded in hortatory text UTL. Three out of the ten focus affixes in UTL are SF, but none of these is in the narrative section.

The question we have been dealing with may be refined by asking what focus type or types characterize the foreground of narrative discourse and what type(s) characterize(s) the foreground of hortatory discourse. The foreground is the diagnostic part of a genre. I have not pursued these questions in this thesis, however.

I feel that adequate explanations for the preponderance of one type of focus affix or another in a text, or in its foreground, lie not in

which discourse type the text belongs to but rather in such matters as definiteness of the O, new versus old information, and economy of language. In 5.4 below I will discuss this topic further.

5.3. Effect of discourse type on choice of focused item

Before stating my hypothesis and presenting data, I will discuss what kinds of linguistic items may be focused items.³ The term "focused item" has been defined in 2.4.1. The prototypical focused item is a NP, and, indeed, NP's account for 96% of the focused items in my corpus. Focused items that are NP's are divided into four types.

- (1) Unaffixed stems
- (2) Stems with a nominalizing affix /with modifiers, if any
- (3) Pronouns
- (4) Expressions of indefinite quantity

The third and fourth types lack the focus marker in. The fourth type needs definition. It is Bloomfield's (1917:150) term for what are usually called existentials, which are, in Tausug, awn (positive) and way or wayruun (morphologically way + duun 'there', negative). When these are focused items, they do not so much indicate existence or nonexistence as indefinite quantity, and hence are standing for NP's just as the pronouns are.

The remaining 4% of the focused items in the corpus are clauses. The clauses can be grouped loosely into two types. The first type is not preceded by the focus marker in. It consists of clauses that are objects of sensory, cognition, or speech verbs, or anaphoric pronouns for such clauses. The verbs in the corpus that occur with such a sentential O,

not counting the very common quote formula laung, are dungug 'hear', kita' 'see', lawag 'look for', hati 'understand', pikil 'think', tumtum 'remember', iyan 'say', and sabbut 'mention'. An example follows. (In all the examples in this section the focused item will be set off by backwards slash marks.)

- (59) napikil niya \taga akkal hi Abunnawas\ (CTS)
 OF-thought he having wisdom pf
 'he thought that Abunnawas was smart'

The second type of focused items that are clauses is preceded by the focus marker in. These may occur wherever a NP could occur. Some examples are given below.

- (60) in \piyagkaluhan nila\ nag'agaw sin batang
 f quarrel-SIF they SF-dispute over possession nfdo trunk
 saying (MAT)
 banana

'What they quarreled about was they disputed over possession of the banana tree.'

Example 60 strongly reminds one of a cleft type sentence. In 61, I consider that the indirect question is a contraction of 'if the plant (i.e., banana tree) he planted was still alive'.

- (61) nangasubu bang buhi' da in \tiyanum niya\ (MAT)
 SF-asked iqm alive f COF-planted he
 '(the monkey) asked (the turtle) if what he planted was still alive.'

Sentence 62 is a good example of the equational sentence (Ashley and Ashley 1971:58-63), which I analyze as being simultaneously a sentence and a clause.

- (62) In kaagi ta . . . amuna in \payguan ta ini adlaw-adlaw.\
 f way my-your equa f bathe-SIF I-you it every day
 (KBC)

'The way we (clean our body) is to bathe it every day.'

The final example (63) arises from the operation of the indirect question transformation (see 2.4.1.1) on 64.

- (63) bangunu in \piyagdaya sin duwa magtiyaun\ (BBT)
 iqm what f IF-got rich nfs two married people
 'what the couple's instrument for getting rich was,' (i.e. 'how
 the couple got rich')

The underlying form of 63 is:

- (64) piyagdaya sin duwa magtiyaun in gusi
 IF-got rich nfs two married people f magic pot
 'the couple got rich with the magic pot.'

In 63, I call the part of the sentence which follows the marker in the focused item for two reasons: it is preceded by in and it is now the given in the clause and the NP being asked about is new. In the discussion below, attention will be restricted to those focused items which are NP's.

In this section we ask the question whether the choice of focused item, when it is an NP, is constrained by discourse type. A start in answering this question may be made by asking the question I noted above (5.1): to what degree do the focused items in the two genres here dealt with come from different semantic domains? I have used the classification of semantic domains made by Nida 1975. He recognizes four major domains that all linguistic items can be classified into: Entities, Events, Abstracts, and Relationals. In an appendix Nida presents a

partial list of subcategories of each of these major domains and examples of linguistic items of English which fall under each subcategory. The domains Events, Abstracts, and Relationals "are represented only in outline" but Entities is subcategorized "in some detail" (Nida 1975:178). Below is Nida's classification of Entities down to the sub-sub-subcategory, with examples from the Tausug corpus, where they exist (1975:178-83).

A. Inanimate

1. Natural
 - a. Geographical: suba 'river', sug 'current'
 - b. Natural substances: kayu 'fire'
 - c. Flora and plant products: kahuy 'wood', batang sayng 'banana tree', ugab 'coconut shell'
2. Manufactured or constructed entities
 - a. Artifacts (non-constructions): kibut 'jar', alta 'possessions'
 - b. Processed substances: foods, medicines, and perfumes: lana 'oil/ointment', pagkaun 'food'
 - c. Constructions: lansa 'type of ship', kuppung 'well' (for water)

B. Animate

1. Animals, birds, insects, fish⁴
 - a. Generic: kahayup-hayupan 'animals', ista 'fish'
 - b. Birds
 - c. Insects: pikut 'common house fly'
 - d. Animals: amu 'monkey', bauu 'turtle', kambing 'goat'
 - e. Animal body parts and products: ikug 'tail' pais kabaw 'carabao skin'
2. Human beings
 - a. Generic and distinctions by age and sex: tau 'person', kabataan 'children'
 - b. Kinship: Ama niyu kay Ina niyu 'your (p) father and mother'
 - c. Groups: manga mag'uuma 'some farmers', tindug 'retainers (of a king)'
 - d. Body, body parts, and body products: baran 'body', mata 'eyes', ipun 'teeth'
 - e. Individuals:⁴ Abunnawas, (Philippine President) Marcos

3. Supernatural powers or beings
 - a. Powers or personifications
 - b. Personal beings: Tuhan Putli' Salasanabintang (name of the young woman in BBT, who is identified in the text as a person from the upper world)

Narrative discourses are stories, in which the focused items are overwhelmingly the participants and the props; all, of course, are Entities. Furthermore, the participants are always animate, or, if inanimate, are provided with some of the characteristics of animate beings, e.g., speech and locomotion, and can thus be classed as animate. Hence one would expect the great majority of focused items in narrative to be Entities and very few to be Events, Abstracts, or Relational. In hortatory discourse, on the other hand, the participants, who are usually the author and the addressees, are often overt in the text but are not the focus of attention. The focus of attention, I think, is rather on a topic, i.e., a behavior and/or attitude the author is urging on the readers. Since attention is not so strongly on participants but more on ideas, it is to be expected that hortatory discourse will have as focused items comparatively more Events, Abstracts, and Relational than narrative discourse. The following then is my hypothesis.

Hortatory discourse will have a significantly greater percentage of focused items that are not Entities than narrative discourse. Further, of those focused items which are Entities, in narrative discourse, the majority will be animate and in hortatory discourse, the majority will be inanimate according to Nida's classification.

The results of this investigation are given in Chart 5.6. Though there are only 1.2 times as many focused items in the hortatory texts as in the narratives, there are 1.7 times as many Events, 4.2 times as many Abstracts, and eight times as many Relational. When these three domains

are grouped together the chi-square test reveals that we can reject with greater than 99.9% confidence the opposite hypothesis, namely that the differences between the numbers of focused items which are Entities and non-Entities in narrative and hortatory discourse could have occurred by chance.

CHART 5.6.--Number of Focused Items, by Genre, in Each Semantic Domain

	Entities (Animate)	(Inan.)	Ev	Ab	Rel	Total
Narrative	272 (235)	(37)	30	10	1	313
Hortatory	276 (169)	(107)	51	42	8	377

Abbreviations: Ev = Events, Ab = Abstracts,
Rel = Relational

The second part of my hypothesis is immediately seen, however, to be false, since not a majority of the Entities in hortatory texts are inanimate, but only 39%. The chi-square test shows, however, that a significantly greater proportion of the focused item Entities are inanimate in hortatory texts than in narrative. I believe, though, that this fact is only an accident of the data. Chart 5.7 will show what I mean. The Entities are entirely or almost entirely animate in three of the hortatory texts, but are about half animate in one, and only from 1/4 to 1/3 animate in the other four. Such a very wide variation in the per-

centage of focused item Entities that are animate from one text to another leads me to conclude that if all the hortatory texts selected had had to do with health and sanitation, like KBC and UTL, the overall percentage of animate Entity focused items would have been very high. Similarly, if all the hortatory texts had had to do with eating the right kinds of foods, like SEF and IEV, the overall percentage of animate Entity focused items would have been low. (Plant products are classed by Nida as inanimate, as are foods, which he calls processed substances.)

CHART 5.7. Number of Focused Entities, by Type,
in Hortatory Texts

Text	Animate	Inanimate	Total	%age Animate
IEV	3	9	12	25
EHC	8	22	30	27
OVL	11	24	35	31
SEF	14	29	43	33
ANH	19	22	41	46
KBC	57	1	58	98
STG	39	0	39	100
UTL	18	0	18	100
Total	169	107	276	61

Thus the first part of the above hypothesis is confirmed by the data but the second part is disconfirmed, and, indeed, I conclude that no sweeping statement can be made about the types of Entities which are

focused items in hortatory discourse, because the domains of the NP's present in hortatory texts vary greatly with the subject matter of the particular texts.

5.4. Suggested Rules for Determining the Focused Item of a Transitive Clause

In the previous two sections I have said that discourse type has only a small degree of influence over the focus system of Tausug. The present parenthetical section will offer tentative suggestions as to what really is governing the choice of focus affix and focused item in a clause, when there is a choice.

I believe that far more important than discourse type in determining what focus affixes will occur are some semantic considerations not tied to a particular level of the grammar and some grammatical considerations at the discourse and sentence levels. On the basis of my intuitions about the language and an experiment I conducted with a native speaker regarding the focus system,⁵ I suggest that the following set of interacting rules are operating in determining which item in a transitive clause will be focused. I make no claim that the list to follow is even observationally adequate. With each rule I present examples from both discourse types.

- I. If the O is definite, it is focused.⁶ (A and O are here used as Dixon 1979 uses them. Hence OF in Chart 5.8 below includes COF, SIF, and IF also.)

Chart 5.8 presents the four possibilities.

CHART 5.8.--Focus Possibilities with Regard
to Definiteness of A and O

	O	Definite	Indefinite
A		OF	SF
	Indefinite	OF	unknown

A. A and O definite

1. Narrative

- (65) Piyaagad nila isab in /anak kura'/ nila (FSC 2)
 OF-took along they also f colt their
 'They took their colt along with them.'

2. Hortatory

- (66) hilapal ku naa in salam sin Islam: (STG 1)
 COF-state I first f greeting of
 'I will first give you the Islamic greeting.'

B. A definite, O indefinite

1. Narrative

- (67) nakalabay sila /dayn ha/ manga tau maas (FSC 10)
 SF-inv-pass they-f by p person old
 'They happened to pass by some old people.'

2. Hortatory

- (68) maghambuuk na kitaniyu pikilan (STG 7)
 SF-unite cp I-you-p-f thinking
 'let us unite (our) thinking'

C. A indefinite, O definite

1. Narrative

- (69) tiyukud sila nanakaw sin alta' ni Laja R. (BBT)
 OF-suspect they-f SF-stole nfdo wealth of
 'they were suspected of stealing Laja Ramsik's wealth'

2. Hortatory

- (70) Subay lagihun (in pukut) sin manga unum tau
 should use-OF f net nfs about six person
 ha hangka sakayan (ANH 13)
 loc one boat

'The net should be used by about six people on one boat.'

D. A and O indefinite

I found only one example, in a hortatory text.

- (71) In katan tau magguna tuud sin pagkaun (SEF)
 f all person SF-need really nfdo food
 'All people really need food (as long as they live).'

II. If one argument is new information and one is old, then the old information is focused.

A. Narrative

- (72) nakalanggal /na isab/ maas babai (FSC 18)
 SF-inv-met next old woman
 '(the farmer and his son) next happened to meet an old woman.'

'The farmer and his son' would have been in focus if they had been mentioned, as the SF marker on the verb indicates.

B. Hortatory

In the entire hortatory corpus only one new phrase-level concept is

being introduced, the fishing net, and it is introduced by means of an existential clause (see rule V below). Hortatory discourse is not concerned with introducing new participants, props, or places. Instead the Entities in a hortatory discourse (and normally the focused item in a clause is an Entity) are shared by the referential framework of both the speaker and the hearer. It seems to me that if the author of a hortatory text digresses every so often to introduce a new Entity concept and explain what it is, his exhortation will be less effective than if he does not do so. Nominal clauses in an expository section of a text may, however, be said to introduce new information in that they may name Entities not previously mentioned. True to rule II above, such Entities are not in focus. Examples follow.

- (73) In tau sapantun jambangan (KBC)
f person likened to garden

'A person is like a garden.'

- (74) in umpan niya ista' buhi' (EHC)
f bait its fish live (adj.)

'its bait is live fish'

Rules I and II seem to correlate very closely with one another. When an NP is definite, it tends to be old information, and when it is indefinite, it tends to be new information. In fact, I did not find any clear examples of either of the other possible cases, i.e., an argument was definite and new, or indefinite and old.

III. If one of the focus constructions allows an NP to be implicit but the other does not, the former is preferred (principle of economy in language).

A. Narrative

- (75) nimaug na (sila) /dayn ha/ taas sin /anak kura'/
 SF-got down cp they-f from top of colt
 ampa nila piya'san. // [sila nagpa'san]. (FSC 30)
 and then they OF-carried they-f SF-carried
 '(they) dismounted from the colt and started carrying it.'

The alternatives on either side of the // above give the affix possibilities for the verb of that clause. The OF construction (underlined) was in the original text. If SF were used in this clause (the alternative in brackets), it would be unknown what the farmer and his son were carrying unless the object were made explicit, viz., as follows:

- (76) *nimaug na (sila) dayn ha taas sin anak kura' ampa
 and then
 sila nagpa'san sin /anak kura'/.
 they-f SF-carried nfdo colt
 '(they dismounted from the colt) and started carrying it.'

Apparently, repetition of the phrase sin anak kura' 'the colt' is unacceptable when there is an alternative, namely the OF construction, which provides unambiguous reference and makes the repetition unnecessary.

B. Hortatory

- (77) (hituntun ta in pukut /pa lawm/ dagat) ha
 COF-let down I-you f net into sea at
 ganta' /di' na/ kakitaan sin ista' (ANH 14)
 estimation no longer inv-see-SIF ofs fish
 'We (incl) let down the net into the sea (to a depth where) at (our) estimation the fish can no longer see it.'

Use of the corresponding SF form for 'see', makakita, would have required the repetition of pukut 'net' in order for the meaning to be clear.

IV. The missing NP in a relative clause is always the focused item, as indicated by the focus affix on the verb of the clause.

This rule is closely connected to the preceding one. It follows from the fact that Tausug permits only focused items to be relativized.⁷ In the examples the relative clause will be set off with backwards slash marks.

A. Narrative

- (78) piyagbak nila in manga kabudjangan
 OF-met they f p group of maidens
 \naglilik'i'-lik'i' kanila\ (FSC 3)
 SF-were making fun of them

'they met a group of girls who were making fun of them.'

B. Hortatory

- (79) yari awn manga amanat \hipasampay ku kaniyu\ (STG 2)
 here exis p message COF-caus-reach I you-p
 'here is a message which I (want to) disseminate to you'

In the above examples the relative clause contains no focused item. Its focused item is in the main clause.

V. If a verbal clause contains an existential form, that existential substitutes for the focused item and its semantic role determines the affix on the verb.

A. Narrative

- (80) awn timagbak pa lawm pamikil niya (ROO)
 exis SF-stabbed dir inside thinking his
 'something flashed into his mind'

Here the role of the NP the existential is substituting for is Agent.
 Hence the verb carries an SF affix.

B. Hortatory

- (81) awn napaawn sin manga tau maladju in pikilan
 exis OF-inv-invent nfs p person far f thinking
 (ANH 4)
 'people who are foresighted have been able to invent
 something'

Here the role of the NP underlying awn is Patient (nonconveyed), and
 hence the OF affix on the verb (see Chart 2.2).

VI. If an item is topicalized, i.e., is brought to the front of its clause, it is normally also the focused item of its clause.

A. Narrative

- (82) In puun sayng biyutangan niya tunuk (MAT)
 f base banana placed-SIF he thorns
 'The base of the banana tree he put thorns around'

B. Hortatory

- (83) In /ginhawa baran/ sin hambuuk tau subay tuud
 f body of one person should really
 lanuan marayaw (KBC)
 clean-SIF good
 'A person's body should really be washed well'

VII. If an O is sentential, it is focused.

A. Narrative

- (84) Ampa niya kiyatumtuman in hula' sin bauu ha tubig
 then he remembered-SIF f place of turtle in water
 (MAT)

'Then he remembered that turtles live in water'

In this clause 'he' (the monkey) is not the focused item but rather the content of what he remembered.

B. Hortatory

- (85) kiyarungugan natu' in lansa M/V Sharqui nalunud.
 heard-SIF I-you f launch sta-capsized
 (OVL 3)

'we (incl) heard that the launch M/V Sharqui capsized.'

As has been stated above, an exhaustive study of focus is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is hoped that the above will be suggestive for future research on this topic.

5.5. Conclusions

In this chapter I have dealt with two questions pertaining to the focus system of Tausug and suggested, very tentatively, a number of rules for determining which NP in a clause will be the focused item. The first question concerned the focus affixes on verbs in active (i.e. agentive), transitive clauses. I asked if the distribution of these affixes over the four possible types (after OF and COF were collapsed) was significantly different in hortatory discourse from that in narrative. The data

showed that there were indeed some significant differences in this distribution: namely, that a significantly greater percentage of verbs were SF in narrative than in hortatory and a significantly greater percentage of verbs were SIF in hortatory than in narrative. I did not satisfactorily explain these differences across genres, however. Instead I attempted to show that the data is inconclusive with respect to the influence, if any, that a particular discourse genre has over the focus affixes that occur in transitive clauses.

The second question concerned the focused linguistic items, almost all of them being NP's. I asked whether the choice of NP to be focused is affected by discourse type. I found that if a dichotomy of semantic Entities versus non-Entities is set up, the choice of focused item is so affected: there is a significantly greater proportion of focused items that are not Entities in hortatory discourse than in narrative.

Finally, I suggested that, in a particular transitive clause, whether the A or the O gets focused is determined far more by semantic considerations and some grammatical considerations at the discourse and sentence levels than simply by discourse type. Seven rules are presented above for the determination of focused item in transitive clauses. There may be others, or some of these might well be combined. The question of whether the focus system in Philippine languages functions above the sentence level, and if so, how, has of course not been answered here. I hope, however, that the data here presented and the discussion may prove useful to future researchers.

Notes, Chapter V

¹These three types of affixes account for about 90% of the affixes of agentive verbal clauses in the corpus that are affixed. The remainder are either Conveyed Object Focus (c. 8%) or Instrument Focus (c. 2%). Material in quotes was included in the compilation of these percentages.

²The rarity of the instrumental focus construction has been noted for Tagalog by Naylor (1973:85). In fact, in her apparently extensive corpus (1973:144-5), IF did not occur at all.

³I refrain from using one of the more commonly used terms, "subject" or "topic". I am doubtful, with Schachter 1976 whether there exists a subject in Philippine languages. The term "topic", I feel, is too easily confusable with the notion of sentence topic or clause topic, the item which is brought to the front for special emphasis, e.g. "As for our nails, if they grow too long and we bump into something, it is painful" (from text KBC).

⁴"Fish" and "Individuals" are my additions.

⁵This experiment consisted of inserting an alternative clause in the narrative corpus alongside every active transitive clause and asking a native speaker to choose which alternative was the better one. If the clause in the text was non-SF, for example, in FSC 2,

- (a) Piyaagad nila in /anak kura'/ nila.
OF-took along they f colt their

I inserted the appropriate SF clause, i.e.,

- (b) *Nagpaagad sila sin /anak kura'/ nila.
SF-took along they-f nfdo colt their

both to be translated 'They took their colt along with them'. If the

clause was SF, I inserted the appropriate non-SF clause.

⁶I am indebted to Austin Hale for reminding me of this principle, which Bloomfield stated in his pioneering work on Tagalog: "the definite, known object [not used in the grammatical sense-- M.A.] underlying the predication . . . is chosen as subject" (i.e. focused item) (1917:154).

⁷Schachter (1976:500) notes:

. . . in Philippine languages . . . only topics can be relativized. Relative clauses in these languages have the form of sentences with deleted topics, and the missing topic of the relative clause is always understood as being coreferential with the head of the relative construction.

CHAPTER VI

THE VERBAL AFFIXATION SYSTEM APART FROM FOCUS

6.1. Introduction

The question to be explored in the present chapter is the following: does whether a Tausug discourse is narrative or hortatory affect the verbal affixation system apart from the focus affixes, which have been treated in chapter 5. As far as possible, I will approach the question by suggesting ways in which the different purposes of narrative and hortatory discourse might be expected to be reflected in the affixation system and make hypotheses in accordance with these expectations. The major affixes will be discussed one by one below in the following order: Imperative, Modal, Involuntary, Incomplete Aspect, Durative, and Causative. The concluding sections of the chapter will bring the results for each affix together and recapitulate.

6.2. Imperative Affixes

6.2.1. Hypothesis

Let us examine first how the intention of the author of a narrative differs from that of the author of a hortatory discourse. It seems to me that the author of a narrative may have one, two, or all of the following intentions: (1) to entertain; (2) to inform others of events which actually occurred; (3) to teach something, either a moral lesson or certain cultural values. The intentions of the author of a hortatory discourse, however, are as follows (from Longacre 1983):

1. To give advice (10), to urge on readers a certain course of conduct (19)
2. To urge on readers a change of conduct (10)
3. To reprimand (7)

The intent of a narrative insures that the foreground of narrative texts, apart from material within quotes, will consist of statements, or declarations, from which word we get the term of traditional English grammar "declarative mood". Indeed, the background of a narrative should consist also of declarations since it adds information that, while not advancing the narrative, is still statements about events, participants, or setting. The intent of hortatory discourse, on the other hand, would seem to insure that hortatory texts will contain a substantial number of two kinds of forms: (1) those whose function is to persuade readers to adopt the conduct or course of action which the author advises, and (2) those whose function is to command, including those forms called in traditional grammar "imperative mood". That part of a hortatory text consisting of both of these types of forms, which I call the persuasional element, has been given above (4.2.) as the definition of foreground in hortatory discourse. Thus the verbs in hortatory foreground would be expected to be to a greater or lesser degree imperative forms, which, it will be recalled (see 2.4.3), are almost completely distinct¹ from the declarative forms.

On the basis of the differing author intentions in narrative and hortatory discourse, then, I expect the following hypothesis about the occurrence of imperative affixes in the two genres to hold.

Hypothesis 1. Narrative discourse, apart from material in quotes, contains no imperatives either in foreground or background. Hortatory discourse has a fairly high frequency of

imperatives in foreground but no imperatives in background.²

6.2.2. Results and Discussion

In agreement with my hypothesis, there are no imperatives in the narrative corpus outside the material in quotes. As mentioned in 4.2, however, and in contradiction to my hypothesis, imperative forms occur only twice in the entire hortatory corpus. Although my corpus contains 39 separate exhortations, still only 5.1% of the clauses that seem to be deep structure commands actually manifest surface imperative mode. This result contrasts starkly with the situation in quotations in the narrative corpus. There there are 40 deep structure commands, 18 of which (45%) are imperative forms.

The reason for the extremely low frequency of imperatives in the deep structure commands of the hortatory corpus can be summed up in one word: mitigation. The fact that mitigation of imperatives commonly occurs is well known. Longacre, for example, notes that the "characteristic tense/aspect/voice features in the verbs that occur on [the] main line" of hortatory discourse are "imperatives or some socially mitigated substitute for an imperative" (1983:7, emphasis mine). And Searle (1975:64) says ". . . we seek to find indirect means to our illocutionary ends because ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative sentences . . . or explicit performatives (e.g., I order you to leave the room)". Thus the widespread occurrence of mitigation is not startling. The Tausug devices for encoding mitigation have in fact already been dealt with in 4.2. What

needs to be explained is why there is so much mitigation in these eight texts. Six of them have no imperatives at all and the other two have only one each, whereas the imperative is fairly frequent in quoted material in the corpus, and quite common in spoken Tausug, much more so than in English, in my observation.

I believe that the extensive use of mitigation in this corpus arises in every case from the relationship of the author to the intended addressees. The relevant parameters of this relationship can be summarized in Brown and Gilman's (1960) dimensions of power and solidarity. Concerning power, Brown and Gilman state, "There are many bases of power—physical strength, wealth, age, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army, or within the family" (1960:255). In Tausug society, all these factors, except possibly physical strength, contribute to establishing high or low status. In the prototypical case, it can be predicted that high-status Tausugs will frequently use imperatives in speaking to those much lower in status than they, whereas lower-status people will always use mitigated forms in speaking to high-status people-- indeed, low-status people do not give any commands to high-status people, only requests. Similarly, old people could be expected to use imperatives frequently when speaking to young people, but the latter to use mitigated forms when speaking to the former unless considerations of solidarity, to be discussed below, override those of power. My observation of high-status/low-status interaction is limited, but of older/younger it is extensive. I have observed that speakers very often use imperatives in addressing those younger than themselves, and that chil-

dren will likely use mitigated forms when making requests of adults, except within their own family.

Brown and Gilman's other term, solidarity, is explained by Hudson in this way: "it concerns the social distance between people-- how much experience they have shared, how many social characteristics they share, that a very important determinant of the degree of solidarity is whether the people involved are members of the same extended family or not. Family members will usually have high solidarity with one another. Those who are not members of one's kin group, on the other hand, are sometimes referred to as dugaing 'different, other'. I have also observed that people will have high solidarity, even if they are not related, if they have lived in the same community for an extended time. Those who have so lived together will say about themselves hangka (one) hula'/lungan kami (we-excl) 'We (excl) come from/live in the same place/community'. Again, it can be predicted that (1) just as those with high solidarity address each other with a familiar pronoun, they will also reciprocally use imperatives with one another fairly frequently; and (2) just as those with low solidarity use a respectful pronoun given that their status is more or less equal (Brown and Gilman 1960:257-61), so also the same people will use a great percentage of mitigated forms. Regarding the former case (prediction 1 above), I have frequently observed family interaction and have noticed the frequent use of imperatives, even by children to their grandparents, although imperatives by children to their parents are likely to be rare. It should be noted that I am not claiming that use or non-use of the imperative is the major linguistic correlate

of power-solidarity distinctions. The major correlate seems rather to be terms of address, which are not in view here. Tausug lacks respect particles like Tagalog's po and ho. Chart 6.1 summarizes the above discussion about the use of mitigation of imperatives in Tausug.

CHART 6.1.--Degree of Mitigation of Imperatives

Solidarity Power	High	Low
Speaker higher status/older than addressee	Little or no mitigation	Some mitigation
Speaker about the same status as addressee	Little or no mitigation	Much mitigation
Speaker lower status/younger than addressee	Little mitigation (solidarity prob- ably overrides power)	Extreme mitigation

Even with the above background it is somewhat difficult to explain the extremely high rate of occurrence of mitigated forms (about 95%) in the data being considered. It will be recalled from 3.2 that the hortatory corpus was collected from three sources. Six of the eight texts were written by staff members of the Community Extension Service (CES) of Notre Dame of Jolo College, Jolo, Sulu, primarily to new literates. It is safe to say that none of the intended readers are high-status persons. In fact, a number of them, perhaps the majority, are not Tausug but Sama, the minority language group on Jolo Island, and a group generally consid-

ered to be lower in status than the Tausug. The five authors employed by the CES are all Tausug and all college graduates, and education confers high status. Since they are of higher status than the addressees, why do they use mitigated forms except in one case, in text EHC, in which the intended addressees are children? I believe the explanation lies primarily in the inequality of the two factors; the solidarity dimension is more important than the power dimension. The social distance (to use Hudson's term) between the authors and the addressees is so great that it overrides the differences in status. Furthermore, four other factors may also be operating. First, if the authors come from humble backgrounds, they may perceive themselves as rather low in status even though they have been educated. Secondly, they may identify fairly closely with the purpose of the CES, which is to serve the community, and hence may assume, in their capacity as employees of the CES, the attitude of servants of the people they are writing to. Servants are of lower status than the people they serve. Longacre (personal communication) suggests two other factors. Thirdly, the authors want to be persuasive, so that "mitigation is the more tactful course". Fourthly, the very act of writing a text instead of speaking it creates distance between the author and readers, distance that would not exist in "a live conversation".

One hortatory text was written at my request and is thus a made-up text. Nine of the 10 exhortations in it are mitigated. I failed to discuss with the author the status of the rebels whom she had in mind to be the recipients of the letter (text STG) if it had actually been a real letter and had been sent. The author of this text, Mrs. Mussah Usman, is

a hadja 'female who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca', however, and as such has high status in the Tausug community. So, if none of the recipients has made the pilgrimage, she is of higher status than they are. Again, however, the social distance between Mrs. Usman and the imagined recipients is probably fairly great unless she had particular people in mind as recipients and a majority of those come from her home community. In addition, the issue at stake, submitting or not submitting to the Philippine government, is one with which the recipients have a high degree of emotional involvement, else it seems to me they would not have taken up arms in the first place. Mrs. Usman is urging the readers to do something they are very averse to doing. She must take every precaution, then, to avoid offending them. In fact, in view of the above, it is surprising that she does use even one imperative.

The final hortatory text was written by a man who is also a hadji' 'male who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca' to his fellow members of the Barter Trade Cooperative. A number of the 1700³ other members of this cooperative are also hadji'. At the time the author wrote this text he was not, as far as I know, in a leadership position in the cooperative. Internal evidence supports this conclusion, for in S11 of text OVL he says "we (incl) should all scream our loudest to our (incl) leaders" (emphasis mine) and in S13 he states that the M/V (Motor Vessel) Nur Hassana "was sent by the Cooperative on a special trip". I think that if the author had been a leader in the cooperative he would not have said "our leaders" and would likely have said "we (excl) sent the M/V Nur Hassana". Since he is writing to his equals, many of whom he presumably

does not even know, the author of OVL cannot use an imperative for his exhortation (there is only one exhortation in this text) but rather must use a mitigated form.

The fact that there are so many imperatives in the quotes in the narratives is also explainable in terms of the concepts of power and solidarity. Six of the 18 imperatives in the quotes are explainable in terms of power. Three of them are by a father to his son, two are by an old couple to the young woman they adopted after she appeared to them, and one is by an old woman to a young man. In the latter two exchanges the age difference is primary and in the first there is age plus parental authority. Eight other imperatives are explainable in terms of solidarity. All of them are by the turtle to the monkey. These two are friends because they address each other often as bagay 'friend', i.e. "Friend Monkey" and "Friend Turtle". Thus their solidarity is high and so it is natural for many of the deep structure exhortations they utter to each other to be unmitigated. The remaining four imperatives are by Abunnawas to the king. Though the king has more power than Abunnawas, the latter can get away with commanding him because he is a jester-type figure who is exempt from the normal rules of addressing a social superior. Apart from Abunnawas, then, the power and solidarity ideas provide an explanation for the relatively frequent use of imperatives in the quotes in narrative.

In summary, in this section I have noted the very small incidence of imperative forms in this data apart from the quoted material and have attempted to account for their rarity. I have done so in terms of Brown

and Gilman's parameters of power and solidarity, and I have mentioned the further factor of degree of emotional involvement, i.e. readers' degree of aversion to doing what the author wants them to do.

6.3. Modal Affixes

6.3.1. Hypothesis

Narrative discourse has been observed to be unique among all discourse types in that it reports events, either in the real world or in a possible world of the author's construction. Aside from prophecy, which is a type of narrative (Longacre 1983:5) reporting events yet unrealized, all narrative reports events that have occurred (or are claimed to have occurred) in the past or, as in a play-by-play description of a sports contest, are now occurring. The events are realized. In the other type of discourse in which events are prominent, procedural discourse, the author is not reporting what happened when someone, for example, built a boat, nor is he prophesying that when A builds a boat at some future time, he will follow steps X, Y, and Z. Rather, he is saying that when anyone builds a boat at any time whatsoever, he will probably follow steps X, Y, and Z. The important thing is that a procedural discourse is about a hypothetical, generalized set of events, not any actual, specific set.

With regard to expository discourse, it "is generally quite distinct in its preference for existential and equational clauses" (Longacre 1983:8). In Tausug, it seems to prefer nominal and descriptive clauses

as well as existential and equational ones. An excellent specimen of expository discourse in Tausug, entitled "A Description of the Municipality of Parang", yielded seven existential clauses, four equational clauses, five nominal clauses, and a descriptive clause. There were nine verbal clauses in this text, but three of them were predicate complements and two were relative clauses. If embedded clauses are not counted, the ratio of nonverbal to verbal clauses in this text is 17/4. The high percentage of nonverbal clauses in a prototypical expository discourse reflects the small number of events in the deep structure of this genre.

Finally, concerning behavioral discourse, I will discuss only hortatory discourse because the texts here being considered are all of this type. As the name "hortatory" indicates, the essential element of a hortatory text is the clauses that urge the readers to adopt certain behavior or change existing behavior. In contrast to narrative, these clauses are not reporting events, such as "At time C and in place D, A did B". Rather, each of them urges that an event should be done by the ones addressed, e.g., addressing A, "A, do B!" (The time and place at which A should do B are not critical to the discussion here.) The event B in such a clause is unrealized. It is still hypothetical because A has not carried it out. If, for example, it is election day and A has already voted, there would be no need for someone to urge him to go and vote. It is the unrealized nature of the proposed action that gives rise to the exhortation, and thus to the entire hortatory text. A nonprophetic narrative, on the other hand, consists of a report of a chain of actions that are realized or being realized. To continue with the above

illustration, if A votes at 10:00 A.M. on election day, then later that day tells someone else or writes in his diary "I went to the polls today and voted. Then I went to the office", the report of this sequence of realized events constitutes a narrative.⁴

It is reasonable to assume that the distinction between realized and unrealized events is reflected in every natural language. Tausug, quite handily, reflects it in the verbal affixation system in the modal distinction of Realis vs. Irrealis. Every declarative verb must be one or the other. The presence of a Realis affix was one of the criteria I used for assigning a clause in my narrative corpus to foreground. As far as I remember, this criterion was absolute-- if a verb had an Irrealis affix, I assigned that clause to background. The converse does not hold, however. Some background clauses are Realis. I do, however, expect the background of narrative to have a significant percentage of Irrealis affixes since it normally contains a number of unrealized actions, such as purpose clauses, clauses that tell what a participant's custom was to do, and clauses that tell what a participant intends to do. I expect, on the other hand, that hortatory discourse will have only Irrealis affixes in its foreground and still a fairly high percentage of Irrealis ones in its background. Consequently, I hypothesize the following.

Hypothesis 2. In narrative, foreground has 100% Realis affixes (by definition), while background has a significant percentage of Irrealis. In hortatory discourse, foreground has 100% Irrealis and background a majority of Irrealis.

6.3.2. Results and Discussion

Chart 6.2 presents the percentages of Irrealis in the corpus averaged over all the texts of each genre. With regard to the narrative row, I stated above that no clause containing Irrealis was assigned to foreground. Yet Chart 6.2 shows that there was one which was. This exception is as follows.

- (86) Timi'but na sila mag'usaha (BBT 14)
 sta-were diligent cp they-f SF-earn a living

'They worked diligently to earn a living.'

This clause advances the story because in my view it is by reason of the old couple's diligent work that "their economic state and their livelihood improved" (BBT 16). The clause in BBT 14 contains two affixed verbs, both of which I counted in the count of affixes. These dual-verb constructions are infrequent in Tausug but not rare. In this case, the first verb is Realis and the second Irrealis, yet they belong to the same clause, and I assign this clause to foreground. Concerning the background of narrative, I predicted that it would have a significant percentage of Irrealis, and so it does (32%). It should be noted that this 32% figure masks a wide variation of percentages, from 3.6% to 59% (omitting a 0% figure for one text where N=3), a range almost double that for the affix which varied next most widely in narrative background. I do not know why such wide variation occurred.

CHART 6.2.--Percentages of Irrealis Affix by Genre
and Grounding

		Foreground	Background	Entire Text
Narrative	%age	0.6	32	16
	N/NC	1/155	49/152	50/307
Hortatory	%age	87	69	72
	N/NC	55/63	166/242	221/305

N = No. of occurrences of affix, NC = Total no. of clauses

In the hortatory row of Chart 6.2, the chi-square test shows that the percentage of Irrealis in foreground is significantly higher than that in background, as expected. Regarding the foreground cell, however, I expected that hortatory discourse would have only Irrealis affixes in foreground, yet only 87% of the affixed verbal clauses in the corpus were Irrealis. Of the eight Realis affixes in hortatory foreground, two may be due to an optional vowel harmony rule that operates on the SF and stative Irrealis infix -um- to yield the corresponding Realis infix -im-. The rule is as follows:

- (87) +um+ ----> +im+/#C_i

The vowel of the infix -um- optionally harmonizes to the first vowel of the stem when it is /i/.

Two of the Realis affixes are in relative clauses, which are not strictly part of the exhortation. Two others are in clauses only marginally foreground in that the command element in them is implied: "This cleaning is placed (Realis) or indicated (Realis) (i.e. applies) not only to children" (KBC). These verbs are actually pro-words for some sentence

like "It is not only children who should clean themselves like this". If this were the sentence, "clean" would in all likelihood be Irrealis. Thus most of the exceptions to my predicted outcome have an explanation.

The 69% figure for hortatory background conceals the fact that the percentages of Irrealis in the backgrounds of texts OVL and UTL are unusually low: 25% and 39% respectively. The reason is that a large proportion of each of these texts is narrative or narrative-like. By number of words, OVL is 73% quasi-narrative (without contingent temporal succession, Longacre 1983:3-4). In this quasi-narrative only 19% of the affixed verbs are Irrealis, a figure very close to the overall percentage in the narrative corpus, 16% (see Chart 6.2). This 19% pulls the percentage of Irrealis in the background of OVL down to 25%. Similarly, by number of words, UTL is 56% narrative. In this section of the text, only 23% of the affixed verbal clauses are Irrealis. This 23% lowers the percentage of Irrealis in the background of UTL to 39%. If these two hortatory texts with embedded narrative are removed from the calculation, the mean percentage of Irrealis in the remaining six texts is seen to be 84%.

Let us now compare the results in Chart 6.2 across genres column by column. As has been explained above (6.3.1), it is the definition of foreground in each genre that gives rise to the fact that the percentage of Irrealis in narrative is near zero and in hortatory is very high. Regarding the background column, we would expect that narrative would be less strongly Realis and hortatory would be less strongly Irrealis than in foreground. This expectation is indeed the case, since the chart

shows that the background figure for narrative differs sharply from the foreground figure, and the background figure for hortatory is 18% less than the foreground figure, a difference shown by the chi-square test to be significant. Finally, the figures for each genre over the entire text, rather than just foreground or background, are in agreement with hypothesis 2 above, viz. that narrative would contain a minority of Irrealis and hortatory a majority.

6.4. Involuntary Affix

6.4.1. Discussion of Affix and Hypothesis

There is an extremely important affix ka in active verbs in Tausug, that exists in a number of other Philippine languages also, notably Tagalog and Cebuano, which indicates that the performance of the action, or the failure to perform the action if the negative is present, is or was not entirely under the agent's control. Though Muyargas, Soberano, and Flores 1968 label this affix "Circumstantial", I prefer the label "Involuntary" because the root idea of the affix seems to be nonvolitionality. Thus without the affix Tausug kita' and dungug mean 'look' and 'listen' respectively, but with it they mean 'see' and 'hear'. In most cases the Involuntary affix translates into English best as 'is/was able to' (Hassan et al. 1975:23a), or 'can/could', 'happens/happened to', or as sometimes in Bloomfield 1917, 'manage(d) to'. Now clauses which are low in the Hopper-Thompson transitivity parameter Volitionality would seem also to be low in Agency. For example, one who "looks at" something

is doing so purposefully. One who "sees" something, however, (in Tausug, with ka), is still encoded as agent⁵ but in some sense is more like a recipient in that if his eyes are open and he has normal vision, images cannot help but register in his brain. Verbs with the Involuntary affix thus have kinship with the stative verbs (as defined in 2.4.3 for Philippine languages), which have no agent at all. Some statives carry an affix identical in form to the Involuntary one (ka). In fact, I suspect that it indeed is the Involuntary affix. For this reason I classified stative verbs as involuntary for purposes of this analysis.

What predictions can be made from the characteristics of the discourse type about the presence or absence of this Involuntary affix? Narratives, in particular folktales, and my entire narrative corpus consists of folktales, typically report purposive events. Participants in folktales typically travel from one place to another, buy and sell, speak, fight and kill, flee and pursue, and engage in many other purposive actions. It is true that they also meet other participants and things happen to them over which they have no control, but I believe these types of events are peripheral to the genius of a folktale. Given that the above assumptions are valid, it can then be predicted that folktale narrative in Tausug will contain very few verbs with the Involuntary affix either in foreground or in background.

Concerning Involuntary in hortatory discourse, before making predictions about its frequency there I will suggest a framework for analyzing hortatory discourse based on Brichoux and Hale 1977 and Fukuda 1983. Brichoux and Hale divide hortatory discourses into three kinds of ele-

ments (see 4.2): Hortatory Motivations, Projected Conflict Situation, and Command Element (1977:76). Fukuda (1983:151) adds a fourth element, Justification Theme, in which the communicator "establish[es] that he has the experience or the right to give advice to his hearers" (Benn 1979:2). I see two other elements besides these four. First a Performative Element, in which the author enters overtly into the text, as in (with Performative part underlined) "I will give you a reason why we must really unite our thinking" (STG 10). Second, some texts contain an Instructional Element, in which the author explains how the new equipment he is advocating is to be used or the new procedure carried out. In the present corpus only the two texts dealing with fishing technology contain this element.

I believe these six elements constitute a framework much like Grimes' (1975:82-91) kinds of information in narrative discourse. In the same way as Grimes segments a narrative into various kinds of information, all the Tausug hortatory texts I examined can be divided up into the following kinds of information:

- a) Justification Theme
- b) Performative Element
- c) Instructional Element
- d) Situational Element (Brichoux and Hale's Projected Conflict Situation)
- e) Command Element (or Persuasional Element, see 4.2)
- f) Motivational Element (Brichoux and Hale's Hortatory Motivations)

Now the Situational and the Motivational Elements, taken together, make up the bulk of each hortatory text in the corpus. I surmise that the Situational Element contains numerous clauses in which the agents do not entirely control the action since they are describing the situation the

addressees or people in general find themselves in. Thus I would expect a fairly high percentage of Involuntary affixes to occur in this element. Similarly, the Motivational Element would seem to be likely to contain numerous clauses stating what the addressees will be able to accomplish and/or what bad consequences they will be able to avoid if they heed the exhortation given in the Persuasional Element. But the addressees are not certain to accomplish or avoid these things because circumstances may hinder them from doing so. Hence a fairly high percentage of Involuntary affixes is to be expected in the Motivational Element also.

The Persuasional Element, on the other hand, which has been defined in 4.2 to be the foreground of a hortatory discourse, consists of purposive statements of the type "Let us (purposefully) do X". This fact would seem to indicate that the Involuntary affix will be rare in the foreground of hortatory texts. Background makes up the great bulk of the hortatory texts, however, so that on the whole I would expect a fairly high percentage of Involuntary in hortatory material.

To recapitulate, then, I predict that folktale narrative will contain few Involuntary affixes but hortatory discourse will contain fairly many. Hence the following hypothesis is offered:

Hypothesis 3. The affixed verbal clauses of hortatory discourse have a significantly higher percentage of Involuntary affixes than the same clauses of narrative.

6.4.2. Results and Discussion

Chart 6.3 shows the percentages of Involuntary affixes for all eight texts of each genre.

CHART 6.3.--Percentages of Involuntary Affix by Genre
and Grounding

		Foreground	Background	Entire Text
Narrative	%age	17	35	26
	N/NC	26/155	53/152	79/307
Hortatory	%age	13	55	47
	N/NC	8/63	134/242	142/305

N = No. of occurrences of affix, NC = Total no. of clauses

Let us consider first the narrative row. The figures here do not square with my prediction above that narrative would contain very few Involuntary affixes either in foreground or in background. Instead the percentages are 17% and 35% respectively. This fact shows that either my assumptions about the nature of narrative were invalid or that the deduction I made from these assumptions was invalid. It will be seen from Chart 6.3 (and noted below) that the narrative corpus does contain a significantly lower percentage of Involuntary affixes than the hortatory corpus; hence it seems that my judgments about the nature of narrative have some validity but the deduction I made from them was too sweeping.

With regard to the hortatory row, background cell, it is worth mentioning that two of the texts have an unusually high percentage of Involuntary in their background-- IEV with 92% and SEF with 86%. What seems to account in part for these aberrances is the fact that the subject matter of each of these texts is "eating a balanced diet". In

IEV, four of the 12 Involuntary affixes in background are in the affix sequence maka- (the Involuntary marker is the ka part). This affix sequence has almost a causative meaning, i.e., the focused item brings about whatever the verb stem is. In these four occurrences the verbs describe what the various types of foods, the non-instigative cause, do for the body. In SEF 13 of the 31 Involuntary affixes in background are this maka-, and all of them again describe what either a balanced diet or certain foods in particular will do for the body. Now if this maka- were not included in the count, the percentage of Involuntary affix in SEF would be a more normal 64%, but in IEV it would still be unusually high (89%). I have no further explanation of why only one of the background clauses in IEV does not have the Involuntary affix.

The rightmost column of Chart 6.3, when subjected to the chi-square test, shows that hypothesis 3 above is confirmed at greater than the 99.9% level of confidence. When the texts are broken down into foreground and background and the chi-square test is applied, the result is different for each grounding. In foreground, the difference in percentages across genres is not significant. The fact that these percentages are similar neither was predicted nor contradicts a prediction. Both figures are higher than my general predictions above might have indicated. I said "very few" for narrative and "all but absent" for hortatory. I was not intending to be precise about either foreground or background, however. In background, on the other hand, hortatory has a significantly greater percentage of Involuntary than narrative even if texts IEV and SEF are omitted from the count. A further fact shown by

Chart 6.3 is that for both genres, background contained a significantly higher percentage than foreground. This result is, as already stated, contradictory to what I predicted above about narrative, but it is in line with my predictions about hortatory discourse.

6.5. Incomplete Aspect Marking

6.5.1. Discussion of Incomplete Aspect and Hypothesis

Incomplete Aspect is the label I give to C₁V₁ reduplication as in nag'aani 'were harvesting' (stem ani 'harvest'). Hassan et al. (1975:22a) call it "continuative". This morphological phenomenon requires more study. My understanding of it at present is that reduplication⁶ signals either action not yet completed or a state which is an ongoing condition at the "now" point in time. This "now" point may be in narrative time or it may be the time of writing. In narrative texts, if the present corpus is representative, the great majority of occurrences of Incomplete Aspect deal with (1) actions that are ongoing at the time a second action or a change of state occurs or (2) states ongoing at the time a certain action or change of state occurs. In hortatory texts, on the other hand, it seems that none of the occurrences of Incomplete Aspect involve a concomitant action. Rather, all of them are absolute, i.e., the incomplete action or state is just there by itself. The only exceptions to the previous claim would occur in embedded narrative and procedural discourses. Several examples will illustrate. The first set will be those in which a concomitant action is involved. The reduplicated verb will be marked (1) and the second verb will be marked (2).

- (88) One day a certain farmer and his son set out for market. . . . While they were walking (1), they met (2) some young girls (FSC 1,3)
- (89) while they were crossing a bridge, the colt became very uncomfortable (2) because it was tied up (1). (FSC 31)
- (90) But before the contest began (2) the king had placed 44 eggs down in the dry (1) well. (ROO)
- (91) there he saw (2) Abunnawas walking (1) on top of bamboo. (BAM 24)

Example 88 is clear. In 89, the reduplication signals that the colt was still tied up at the very time it became uncomfortable. In 90, the well is still dry (lit. being dried) when the contest begins. And in 91, Abunnawas continues to walk while he is being viewed.⁷

The next set of examples will be the "absolute" ones. The reduplicated verb will be marked (inc).

- (92) although they had been married for more than 10 years they still had not had (inc, lit. found) any children. (BBT)
- (93) foods are divided (inc) into three groups. (IEV)
- (94) what the majority here in the Badjao community are using (inc) is the kinds of equipment handed down from their forefathers. (ANH 2)
- (95) As for a person with malnutrition, his eyes will be sleepy-looking (inc) and his skin will be pale (inc). (SEF)

The first example is related to the "now" of narrative time. The couple still did not have children, or perhaps better expressed, continued not to have children until the time the storyteller is telling about. The other three examples are from hortatory texts and are related to the "now" of the writing of the text or to any point in time at all. In 93, there has been no change in the way foods are classified as of the time

the author is writing. In 94, Badjao fishermen are still using the old methods as of the time of writing. Example 95, however, gives general truths about a person with malnutrition that are true at any point from the time he becomes malnourished until he either dies or becomes properly nourished. The author is presenting the malnourished person as being currently, not formerly, in that state.

What predictions can be made from the nature of narrative and hortatory genres about the occurrence of the Incomplete Aspect in each of them? First of all, in narrative foreground, Incomplete Aspect should not occur at all. The reason is that in Realis mode, which is the only candidate for foreground, an Incomplete Aspect verb is one whose action has begun before the "now" of narrative time and brings its action back to that "now" point. It does not carry the action forward. Secondly, the extent to which Incomplete Aspect occurs in narrative in general depends on how often there is a need to express that a certain action or state is still going on when another action takes place, or is simultaneous with another action. My hunch is that such a need will not be frequent. In hortatory texts, on the other hand, the frequency of Incomplete Aspect depends on how often there is a need to describe an ongoing state of affairs. A glance at 93-95 above shows that these clauses provide part of the backdrop for what the author wants to exhort the readers to do. Such references to a state of affairs still the case at the time of writing would seem to be likely to crop up in the reasons the author uses to support his exhortations. The general formula might be "Do A because B, C, and D are the situation in our country/community".

Hence I will expect to find a significant percentage of Incomplete Aspect forms in hortatory material. My hypothesis therefore is the following.

Hypothesis 4. The affixed verbal clauses of hortatory discourse have a significantly higher percentage of Incomplete Aspect forms than the same clauses of narrative.

6.5.2. Results and Discussion

Chart 6.4 displays the percentages of Incomplete Aspect affixes⁸ for all eight texts of each genre.

CHART 6.4.--Percentages of Incomplete Aspect Marking
by Genre and Grounding

		Foreground	Background	Entire Text
Narrative	%age	1.9	14	8.1
	N/NC	3/155	22/152	25/307
Hortatory	%age	1.6	6.6	5.6
	N/NC	1/63	16/242	17/305

N = No. of occurrences of affix, NC = Total no. of clauses

With regard to the narrative foreground cell, I stated above that Incomplete Aspect would not occur at all in the foreground of narrative, yet there are three occurrences there. Two of them are in FSC. The first is in the sentence that translates as "So the two of them were now riding (inc) on the colt" (S24). This sentence substitutes for some sentence like "So the boy got up on the colt behind his father", which is absent in the text. Instead, the result of that action is given, and I count

this sentence as foreground since it is the only thing that tells us that the event of the son's joining his father on the colt's back actually occurred. The second is in a subordinate clause and is like the first in that it substitutes for an independent clause which would not have had the reduplication. The third occurrence of Incomplete Aspect in foreground is in MAT. After the monkey and the turtle each went home with his half of the banana tree, the text says "Then they planted what they were carrying (inc)". "What they were carrying" is a clause filling the direct object slot of the clause, "they planted X". Thus the exceptions to what was predicted arise from (1) skewing of the event line in that foregrounded events are either omitted or subordinated and (2) the incorporation of a relative clause into the O slot of a foreground clause.

Regarding the narrative row in Chart 6.4, I expected that Incomplete Aspect would not occur frequently in this genre, and indeed, the percentage of occurrence is only 8.1%. In hortatory texts, however, I expected to find "a significant percentage" of this affix, but it occurred in only 5.6% of the affixed verbal clauses. Because of the low incidence of this affix in hortatory, Hypothesis 4 above is disconfirmed, because the chi-square test fails to reject the null hypothesis, viz. that the difference in percentage of occurrence of this affix between genres is due to chance. In fact, there is some tendency in the direction of the opposite conclusion, since hortatory discourse contains a smaller percentage of Incomplete Aspect forms than narrative.

These results indicate that there is some flaw in the reasoning I used in making the hypothesis. Perhaps the idea that Incomplete Aspect

denotes an ongoing state of affairs is incorrect. If this idea is in fact correct, then it would seem that authors of hortatory texts either describe such a state only rarely or describe it without recourse to this particular affix by making certain lexical choices. At any rate, the conclusions I made above regarding the meaning of Incomplete Aspect are very tentative. As stated above, this affix should be studied further to determine its functions.

6.6. Durative Affix

6.6.1. Hypothesis

In this study I count as Durative any form with -ag- and -ang- except if -ang- is in an instrumental focus affix. The infix -ag- with subject focus (mag-/nag-) is so common in Tausug that there is good reason to doubt that it is really Durative. It could be that the punctual SF affixes -um- and -im- are actually the marked forms rather than the unmarked, and that mag- and nag- are the unmarked. It is more convenient, nevertheless, to group mag- and nag- with the non-SF affix pag-, which is clearly durative⁹ (see 2.4.3), than to do separate analyses for SF and non-SF. At any rate, in SF there is a contrast in many, many stems between the punctual set and the nonpunctual one.

With regard to the occurrence of the Durative affix, I claim that there is nothing inherent in the nature of narrative that would lead to a prediction of a low, or a high, frequency of durative affixes in that genre. The semantics of the verbs of a particular text will determine

this frequency. Nor does the nature of the hortatory genre allow any such prediction about the Durative affix. In one hortatory text an author may be trying to get people to adopt a certain behavior and continue that behavior over a period of time. Such continuation may be indicated in Tausug by the Durative affix. The texts in my corpus that deal with eating the right kinds of foods would seem to be examples of this intention. In another text an author may be urging readers to do something just once. Text STG, in which the author is trying to persuade rebels to return to the fold of the government, exemplifies this intention. Coming down from the hills and surrendering to the government are actions that need to be done only once and therefore the exhortation to do them would presumably lack the Durative affix. Since I do not feel any prediction can be made on a principled basis about the frequency of the Durative affix in either of these genres, the following, then will be my hypothesis:

Hypothesis 5. Narrative and hortatory discourse do not differ significantly in the percentage of Durative affixes found in each.

6.6.2. Results and Discussion

Chart 6.5 presents the percentages of Durative in all eight texts of each genre. The pattern of figures is observed to be the same in both genres. The percentages of Durative in background are slightly higher than those in foreground, but, according to the chi-square test, not significantly higher. Similarly, the same trend is seen in both types of

grounding-- the percentages of Durative are higher in narrative than in hortatory, but not significantly higher. And, in the rightmost column, the difference in the percentage of Durative affixes between genres is not significant for the entire text either. The present corpus, then, provides evidence that whether a text is narrative or hortatory genre has no significant effect on the use or non-use of the Durative affix in Tausug; that is, Hypothesis 5 is confirmed.

CHART 6.5.--Percentages of Durative Affix by Genre
and Grounding

		Foreground	Background	Entire Text
Narrative	%age	25	32	28
	N/NC	39/155	48/152	87/307
Hortatory	%age	21	25	24
	N/NC	13/63	61/242	74/305

N = No. of occurrences of affix, NC = Total no. of clauses

There are two figures for individual texts bearing mention because they are anomalous. The first is that in the foreground of text KBC, Durative is totally absent, whereas the average percentage of its occurrence in the foreground of the three other hortatory texts whose N > 5 is 29%. I would have expected Durative to occur often in the foreground of this text because the cleaning of one's body is something that should be done repeatedly and frequently, not just once, and the affix I call Durative carries the meaning of repetition of an action. The reason the

author does not use it in the foreground and not frequently in background, either, may be that she says in S2 "The way we (incl) clean our body is that we (incl) bathe it every day" (emphasis mine). The "every day" establishes that what the author will urge the readers to do in the remainder of the text are not things that are to be done once only but rather repetitively, and the interval between each doing of them should be one day. It may be that having established the above, the author does not need to use the Durative affix. The question of when the Durative is used and when it is not is a topic needing investigation.

The second anomalous result is the figure for the background of text UTL. This figure is 57%, unusually high. It is striking that 10 of the 13 Durative affixes in the background of UTL are in the embedded narrative; outside the narrative part, only 30% of the clauses are Durative. Nine of the 10 Durative affixes in the narrative section are SF. As I indicated above, the SF mag-/nag- may not really be Durative but may rather be neutral with respect to Punctuality-Duration.

6.7. Causative Affix

6.7.1. Discussion of Affix and Hypothesis

The term "causative", which I have adopted from Muyargas, Soberano, and Flores 1968, is widely used in the literature¹⁰ to name the pre-stem affix pa which occurs in a great many Philippine languages, "and . . . with invariant 'causative' meaning in most of them" (Wolfenden 1975:128 fn). The causative affix differs from all the others discussed here in that it does not simply modify a verb but alters the semantic roles of

the NP's of the clause. If the verb is a stative verb, the addition of pa introduces an agent into the underlying case frame, thus making the verb active. If the verb is already active, then a secondary agent, or "causer", is introduced into the case frame and the original agent becomes "the goal of the 'causing'" (Wolfenden 1975:128) while remaining an agent in the sense that it is "the one who actually performs the action specified by the verb stem" (129). I will illustrate both of the above situations. In the following pair of sentences, the first is a putative sentence with a stative verb (change of state) and the second is the same clause with pa added, taken from actual text.

- (96) Sumung in taud sin makawa' ta ista'.
 sta-increase f quantity of can catch I-you fish
 'The quantity of fish we can catch will increase.'
- (97) Maka-pa-sung kita sin taud sin makawa' ta ista'
 SF-caus-increase I-you-f nfdo quantity of can catch I-you fish
 (ANH 8)
 'We'll (incl) be able to increase the quantity of fish we (incl) can catch.'

The case frame of the outer sentence in 96, i.e. "The quantity will increase" is simply Patient. But 97 contains an Agent kita 'I-you-f' as well as a Patient.

The following pair of sentences illustrates the contrast between a putative active verbal clause without pa and an actual clause with it.

- (98) Itungun ku in bituun ha langit.
 count-OF I f stars in sky
 'I'll count the stars in the sky.'

- (99) Hi-pa-itung ku kaymu in bituun ha langit. (CTS)
 COF-caus-count¹¹ I you f stars in sky

'I'll have you count the stars in the sky.'

The case frame in 98 is Agent-Patient, but in 99 it is Causer-Agent-Patient. In 98 the speaker is Agent but in 99 the speaker is Causer and the addressee is Agent.

A peculiarity of the Causative affix is that it can occur more than once on the same verb (as mentioned above in 2.4.3). This phenomenon is not uncommon, though there is only one example in the present corpus, viz.:

- (100) pa-pa-hukut-an ku kaymu in alum (WAV)
 caus-caus-tie-SIF I you f waves

'I'm having you have the waves tied up.'

If this sentence had only one pa on the verb, it would mean that the king wants Abunnawas himself to tie the waves up. With two pa's, it means the king is giving Abunnawas the option of tying the waves up himself or getting someone else to do it. In at least some cases of a double pa, the second one occurs because the first one has produced a derived stem which, in turn, is treated as an ordinary stem without a Causative affix, so that it is free to accept another one. An example from a text not in this corpus is the stem daak 'command, request'. The derived stem paraak means 'send a message'. Then in the same text there is piyaparaakan, with an additional pa (broken up by the non-SF Realis infix -iy-), which means 'had a message sent'.¹²

I can think of no characteristics of either narrative or hortatory discourse that would lead to a prediction about the relative frequency of

the Causative affix across genres. Approaching the matter from the opposite direction, I find no particular reason why secondary and even tertiary agents, which are introduced by the Causative affix, should appear more often in narrative than in hortatory texts, or vice versa. Hence I offer the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 6. Narrative and hortatory discourse do not differ significantly in the percentage of Causative affixes found in each.

6.7.2. Results and Discussion

Chart 6.6 shows the percentages of Causative for all eight texts of each genre. In comparisons involving the hortatory foreground cell, the chi-square test may not be applied because Causative does not occur at all there. Where the chi-square test can be applied, it reveals that the differences in percentages of occurrence of Causative are not significant. The conclusion arising from the chart is that this data supports Hypothesis 6, that whether a text is narrative or hortatory does not significantly affect the frequency of occurrence of the Causative affix. Not only is the Causative affix quite rare in the present corpus, it is also rare in the material in quotes in the narrative texts. Of 149 affixed verbal clauses in the quoted material, only 11 have the Causative (7.4%). This result is surprising. My experience with Tausug had led me to believe that Causative was used frequently in speech. If these narratives are similar to actual speech, then it is actually infrequent there.

CHART 6.6.--Percentages of Causative Affix by Genre
and Grounding

		Foreground	Background	Entire Text
Narrative	%age	3.2	5.3	4.2
	N/NC	5/155	8/152	13/307
Hortatory	%age	0	7.9	6.2
	N/NC	0/63	19/242	19/305

N = No. of occurrences of affix, NC = Total no. of clauses

6.8. Affixation Profiles for Narrative and Hortatory Genres

In Chart 6.7, Charts 6.2-6.6 are brought together. The figures on this chart constitute profiles¹³ for each genre of the major affixes of the Tausug verbal affixation system apart from the Imperative, which occurs so infrequently that charting is not profitable (see 6.2), and apart from the focus affixes. Each profile consists of the set of five percentages. Thus for narrative foreground the affixation profile yielded by this corpus is (left to right, with all percentages rounded to whole numbers), 1-17-2-25-3. For hortatory foreground the profile is 87-13-2-21-0. It should be kept in mind that the first percentage in the quintuple is for Irrealis mode, and the percentage of occurrence of the Realis mode affix is 100 minus the figure on the chart.

CHART 6.7.--Percentages of Five Affixes by Genre and Grounding

		Type of Affix						
		Irrealis	Invol.	Incomplete	Durative	Causative	Total	
		%	%	Aspect	%	%	No. of	
		N	N	N	N	N	Affixed	Verbs
<u>Narrative</u>								
1. Fd	0.6%		17%	1.9%	25%	3.2%		
		1	26	3	39	5	155	
2. Bd	32%		35%	14%	32%	5.3%		
		49	53	22	48	8	152	
3. ET	16%		26%	8.1%	28%	4.2%		
		50	79	25	87	13	307	
<u>Hortatory</u>								
4. Fd	87%		13%	1.6%	21%	0		
		55	8	1	13	0	63	
5. Bd	69%		55%	6.6%	25%	7.9%		
		166	134	16	61	19	242	
6. ET	72%		47%	5.6%	24%	6.2%		
		221	142	17	74	19	305	

Abbreviations: Fd = Foreground, Bd = Background, ET = Entire text
 N = No. of occurrences of affix

6.9. Distribution of Affixes in Individual Texts

I charted all the clauses of each text with respect to these five affixes to see how the affixes were distributed within the texts and where the nonverbal clauses occurred. I found no discernable pattern as

to how the affixes are distributed. For example, one can make no statements such as "Incomplete Aspect tends to occur near the beginning of a discourse" or "Involuntary tends to occur episode-initially". Wherever texts of one discourse genre contain embedded paragraphs of a different genre and if either the embedded portion or the host text is narrative, the affixation in the embedded part is significantly different from the profile for the discourse type of the host text. Let us examine the affixation of the texts that fit the above description.

6.9.1. Narrative Texts

The last section of text FSC, S34-37, is a behavioral discourse because it shifts to second person orientation and lacks contingent temporal succession (in fact it has no events at all) (See 3.3 above). It is the moral the translator added to the tale. The affixation profile for FSC is 29-38-18-21-3, in which the first three figures are each at least 10 percentage points higher than those in row 3 of Chart 6.7. If the behavioral section is not counted, however, all the percentages except the middle one come closer to those in the profile-- the profile for this text is now 11-33-22-22-4. With regard to the behavioral section, though it consists of only seven clauses, its affixation profile conforms generally to the hortatory profile in Chart 6.7, row 6: 100-57-0-14-0. It conforms even more closely to the profile for foreground (row 4) than to row 6 except for the Involuntary figure.

The first section of text WAV, S1-3, is an expository portion introducing the main character of the story, Abunnawas. It is expository because it lacks both contingent temporal succession (again, there are no

events) and agent orientation. Five of the eight clauses in this section are nonverbal, a fact in line with Longacre's observation that expository discourse prefers existential and equational clauses (1983:8). The other three are Irrealis. The profile for WAV is 31-15-8-62-0. With the expository part excluded, the profile is 10-20-10-60-0. The Irrealis figure is now much closer to that in Chart 6.7, row 3 (16%).

6.9.2. Hortatory Texts

The two texts with embedded narrative or narrative-like material, OVL¹⁴ and UTL, have been discussed above (6.3.2). If these two narrative sections are taken together, their combined affixation profile is 20-59-2-27-4. Except for the Involuntary affix, this profile is quite similar to that for narrative (Chart 6.7, row 3), as would be expected since they are narrative. The percentage of Involuntary in these narrative portions, 59%, is much higher than the average for the narratives (26%), and in fact is close to the overall percentage in hortatory background (55%). What accounts for the high percentage of Involuntary is that there are many stative verbs in these narrative sections. I have explained above that stative verbs are here being considered involuntary. It is the subject matter of the narratives that lends itself to the use of stative verbs. In OVL, five such verbs deal with some aspect of one of the ship mishaps being described and the other two describe passengers' reactions. In UTL the story is about children getting sick and dying. Consequently 'to get sick', a stative¹⁵ verb that happens to carry the Involuntary affix ka also, is used four times and 'to die' once.

I also examined the affixation of the nonnarrative material embedded in the hortatory texts. There is an embedded expository section in four of them and an embedded procedure in one (see the discussion in 4.1). I constructed affixation profiles for both the expository and the procedural sections but did not find them strikingly different from that for hortatory overall (Chart 6.7, row 6). In each case, however, the N's were small (33 and 26). It seems that whole expository and procedural texts should be examined before making any statements about the affixation pattern in these two genres. I do however hazard the guesses that: (1) Irrealis will be of very high frequency in both expository and procedural because neither of these deals with realized events and (2) Involuntary will be significantly less frequent in procedural than in hortatory and expository, because a procedure involves purposive actions controlled by the one who will perform it.

6.10. Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the six major affix types, not including focus affixes, of the Tausug verbal system. For each of these, I have advanced hypotheses as to how the frequency of their occurrence depends or does not depend on discourse type, considering of course only narrative and hortatory discourse.

Firstly, with regard to the Imperative affixes, I hypothesized (1) that they would not occur at all anywhere in narrative nor in the background of hortatory but (2) that they would occur with high frequency in

the foreground of hortatory. Part 1 of this hypothesis is confirmed by the data but part 2 is highly disconfirmed. I have attempted to explain why the data yield so few Imperatives and so many mitigated forms in terms of the social relationships between authors and readers using the notions of power and solidarity. Secondly, I discussed how the nature of narrative and hortatory discourse would be expected to be reflected in the Modal affixes, i.e. the Realis and Irrealis affixes, which are an obligatory category in the Declarative system. On the basis of these intuitions I hypothesized that narrative would contain a majority of Realis affixes and hortatory a majority of Irrealis. Such indeed is the case in the data, as Chart 6.7 rows 3 and 6 show. Thirdly, with regard to the Involuntary affix, I assumed that narrative would consist primarily of purposive actions but that hortatory, in the parts which are not the actual exhortations, would include a significant number of nonvolitional actions and stative verbs. Hence I hypothesized that the Involuntary affix would be significantly more frequent in hortatory than in narrative. This hypothesis is also confirmed by the data. However, what I expected to be true about Involuntary in narrative, i.e. that narrative would contain very few, is not borne out by the data. Fourthly, I discussed the meaning of Incomplete Aspect. In narrative, it is most often associated with a concomitant action while in hortatory it usually describes an ongoing state of affairs. My hypothesis was that hortatory would contain a significantly higher percentage of Incomplete Aspect than narrative. This hypothesis was not confirmed by the data, however, and the matter of aspect in Tausug awaits further study. Fifthly, for the

Durative affix I hypothesized that there would be no significant difference in the frequency of its occurrence between the two genres. The data bore out this hypothesis. Finally, for the Causative affix, I again hypothesized no significant difference in the frequency of its occurrence between the two genres, and again, the hypothesis was upheld by the data. In addition, in the last two sections of this chapter I defined an affix "profile" and dealt with the deviations of the profiles of individual texts from the overall profile for that genre.

The general conclusion to be drawn from this research is that whether a Tausug text is narrative or hortatory is a predictor of only two things regarding verbal affixes:

- a) which Modal affixes will predominate in the text
- b) that hortatory texts will contain a significantly greater percentage of Involuntary affixes than narrative.

No prediction can safely be made about the Imperative in hortatory texts because the degree of mitigation depends on the social situation. Neither can a prediction be made from these two discourse types about the frequency of occurrence of the Incomplete Aspect, Durative, or Causative affixes.

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¹There is only one point at which the imperative is phonologically identical to the declarative: the imperative in Conveyed Object Focus is marked by an -an suffix and the declarative, Site Focus, Irrealis, purposive is also marked by -an. The following pair of sentences will illustrate.

- (a) Dihilan na in sulat kan Ina'.
give-COF-imp cp f letter pnfio Mother

'Give Mother the letter!'

- (b) Dihilan na hi Ina' sulat.
give-SIF cp pf Mother letter

'Mother will be given a letter.'

²English does have imperatives in hortatory background, in rhetorical commands, e.g., "Take note of X", "Now please consider Y" (examples from Longacre [personal communication]). These may not be part of the persuasional element of the text (see 4.2).

³The figure comes from Hadji' Dugasan Lakibul, the author of text OVL, in January, 1981.

⁴Labov (1972:360) defines a minimal narrative as "a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered". My made-up example fits this definition.

⁵Dixon (1979:103) notes that in "very nearly every language, . . . the participant who makes the incision (for [a prototypically transitive verb like] 'cut') is equated with . . . the person who receives the sense impression (for 'see')".

⁶There are two other types of reduplication in Tausug: (1) redup-

lication of an entire stem: maghali-hali 'to rest a little' (stem hali 'rest') and (2) reduplication of an entire word: mataud-mataud 'fairly many' (mataud 'many', stem taud 'quantity, number'). Since only C₁V₁ reduplication is being discussed in this thesis, I will refer to it simply as reduplication.

⁷Comrie (1976:40) discusses the use of the imperfective aspect in English (the progressive form -ing) after verbs of perception. Thus English parallels Tausug here. Nagpapanaw in #16) must be translated into English as walking, not walked.

⁸I continue to refer to the Incomplete Aspect marking as an affix for convenience. This marking is not an affix but rather C₁V₁ reduplication of the stem.

⁹Pag- also sometimes denotes that an action is carried out a number of times as opposed to just once, but Durative will do for a label.

¹⁰See Wolfenden (1975:128), footnote.

¹¹I do not discuss the shift in focus affix from OF to COF.

¹²The text comes from a concordance of morphemes based on Tausug texts made in 1967 at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

¹³This term is from Longacre 1981, but I use it to name something different from what he names with it.

¹⁴For simplicity, I will refer below to this portion of OVL as narrative even though it lacks the "contingent" part of "contingent

temporal succession".

¹⁵Actually magkasakit 'to get sick' and magkamatay 'to die' denote a change of state, but I follow Ashley (1973a:80-1) in classing these as stative.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the introduction (1.1) I stated that the three main goals of this thesis were to answer the following questions:

- (1) Hopper and Thompson 1980 show that, in narrative discourse, high transitivity correlates with foregrounding and low transitivity with backgrounding (251). Do the same correlations exist in hortatory discourse?
- (2) What effect does discourse type in Tausug have on (a) the frequency of occurrence of each of the focus affixes and on (b) the semantic domain of the NP that is focused?
- (3) What effect does discourse type have on the frequency of occurrence of the verbal affixes of Tausug (apart from the focus affixes)?

I will now repeat the conclusions drawn above about each question in turn and state the significance of the conclusions for Philippine linguistics and linguistics in general.

The results of my study of transitivity generally confirm the hypothesis (see 4.1) that the HT transitivity score is significantly higher for the foreground than for the background of hortatory texts (all the clauses of the foreground of a text are grouped together and a combined score obtained for the entire foreground, and similarly for the background). This result makes a beginning in answering affirmatively the broad question in (1) above. Of course a single study such as this cannot conclusively answer the question— hortatory material from many languages must be examined. Once this has been done, linguists will be

able to draw the "wider conclusions" that HT seem to call for when they state that "before wider linguistic conclusions are drawn, it must be shown that the phenomena exemplified in narrative are also present in other genres" (1980:282). While I call for more studies of transitivity in hortatory discourse, I hasten to add that the choices of what is foreground and what is background in hortatory texts must be carefully made. I assigned to foreground all clauses that I considered to be encoding an underlying exhortation, but I feel that the criteria for deciding what clauses reflect underlying exhortations should be formalized.

The results of my research on question 2a above indicate that SF is significantly more frequent in narrative than in hortatory discourse, that SIF is significantly less frequent in narrative than in hortatory discourse, and that OF and COF (combined into one figure) are not significantly more or less frequent in narrative than in hortatory texts. Though the data yield significant differences for SF and SIF, I have argued in 5.2 that these differences arise from the high percentages of SF and SIF in many of the narrative and hortatory texts respectively in this particular corpus. Different choices of texts for the corpus may well have yielded the opposite result, or at least a nonsignificant difference, for both focus affixes. I conclude, then, that whether a text is narrative or hortatory does not affect the distribution of focus affixes of Tausug in a consistent way.¹ In view of the ubiquity of a focus system in Philippine languages,² I suggest the further question of whether my conclusion above is the rule or the exception among them. Now

the question of what does govern the choice of focus affix in a given clause, when there is a choice, since mere discourse type (at least in Tausug) does not seem to do so, is a crucial one. I have suggested in 5.4 above a set of rules that appear to cover a great majority of clauses, at least of my narrative corpus. I have not systematically studied the matters the rules deal with, such as definiteness of O, new versus given information, relativization, and topicalization. Hence, at this point these rules are simply suggestions. They may provide a departure point for discovering the discourse-level, paragraph-level, and sentence-level functions of focus, matters that are still little understood.

With regard to question 2b above, the data confirms the hypothesis that hortatory discourse has significantly more non-Entities as focused items than does narrative (see 5.3 for Nida's 1975 list of universal semantic domains). On the basis of the characteristics of narrative and hortatory discourses in all languages, (i.e., narrative directs attention to participants and props and hortatory discourse is centered more on ideas), I venture to claim that the above hypothesis would be confirmed for all languages having a focus system.² I further hypothesized that in narrative, the majority of the focused Entities would be animate (according to Nida's definition of animate) and that in hortatory genre, the majority would be inanimate. This second hypothesis was disconfirmed by the data. As I concluded in 5.3, since the semantic domains of the NP's in hortatory texts vary greatly with the subject matter of the particular texts, one cannot predict whether animate or inanimate Entities will

predominate in any given hortatory corpus.

I now turn to the discussion of question 3 above, repeated here: "What effect does discourse type have on the frequency of occurrence of the nonfocusing verbal affixes of Tausug?" (I refer the reader at this point to the chart of major verbal affixes, Chart 2.4.) In my study of this question, I investigated six nonfocusing affix types: Imperative,³ Modal, Involuntary, Incomplete Aspect, Durative, and Causative. Chart 7.1 displays the hypothesis/es I made for each type of affix.

CHART 7.1.--Hypotheses about Frequency of Occurrence of Affixes
in Narrative and Hortatory Genres

Affix Type	Narrative (material in quotes excluded)	Hortatory
Imperative (sec. 6.2)	(A) none	(B) Fd:/* fairly high frequency (C) Bd:/* none
Modal (6.3)	(D) Fd: 100% Realis (by definition)	(F) Fd: 100% Irrealis
	(E) Bd: significant % Irrealis	(G) Bd: > 50% Irrealis
Involuntary (6.4)		(H) Hortatory has significantly higher percentage than narrative
Incomplete Aspect (6.5)		(I) Hortatory has significantly higher percentage than narrative
Durative (6.6)		(J) No significant difference in percentage between narrative and hortatory
Causative (6.7)		(K) No significant difference in percentage between narrative and hortatory

*Fd = Foreground, Bd = Background

Compare it with Chart 7.2, which presents the results of my investigations (and see Chart 6.7).

CHART 7.2.--Results of Frequency Counts of Verbal Affixes

Affix Type	Narrative (material in quotes excluded)	Hortatory
Imperative	(A) none	(B) Fd: 5.1%
		(C) Bd: none
Modal	(D) Fd: 100% Realis	(F) Fd: 87% Irrealis
	(E) Bd: 32% Irrealis	(G) Bd: 69% Irrealis
Involuntary	26%	47%
	(H) Hortatory does have significantly higher percentage than narrative	
Incomplete Aspect	8.1%	5.6%
	(I) No significant difference in these percentages	
Durative	28%	24%
	(J) No significant difference in these percentages	
Causative	4.2%	6.2%
	(K) No significant difference in these percentages	

Of the eleven hypotheses on Chart 7.1, eight are confirmed (one [labeled D] is tautologous). Only B, F, and I are disconfirmed. The picture Chart 7.2 leaves us with is that the narrative and hortatory genres are not very different with regard to the verbal affixation that shows up in each. The only outstanding difference is in the Modal affixes, in that Realis affixes strongly predominate in narratives whereas Irrealis affixes predominate in hortatory texts, a difference that is totally expected. No doubt more interesting results would be

obtained if procedural and expository texts were also analyzed.

In making each of the above hypotheses I attempted to reason from universal characteristics of each of the two genres, e.g., the idea that what an exhorter is urging his readers to do is not yet realized whereas actions reported by a narrator are already realized. I did not make hypotheses primarily on the basis of what I already knew the grammatical or semantic function of the affixes to be, although this knowledge entered into my thinking at some points. To a great extent, then, these hypotheses are not specific to Tausug-- they are valid for other languages as well, just when those languages mark the same semantic distinctions as Tausug marks in its verbal affixation. To be sure, the distribution of Imperative forms versus Declarative is governed by complex social factors (see 6.2), so that predictions about this formal distinction made solely on the basis of discourse genre are likely to be falsified, but I think that predictions about grammatical features serving an equivalent function to those of the other five affix types are less likely to be affected by social factors. I suggest, therefore, that these hypotheses be refined as necessary and tested against data from other languages.

NOTES, CHAPTER VII

¹I suspect that procedural texts will have much higher percentages of non-SF affixes combined than SF. Of the four non-SF affixes, the predominance of OF or SIF (the two most frequent of the four) will depend on the nature of the procedure.

²I have not searched the literature thoroughly to see if every Philippine language (except, of course, Philippine Creole Spanish [Chavacano]) has a focus system. Every modern-day grammatical write-up I have seen of a Philippine language mentions focus, however.

³Imperative affixes do enter into the focus system. I am concerned here, however, only with whether a form is Imperative as opposed to Declarative, not with what focus affix it carries.

APPENDIX A
NOUN PHRASE SETS OF TAUSUG

Following Ashley and Ashley (1971:91), the four types of surface structure NP's, both nominal and pronominal, are here numbered 1-4. The numbers refer as follows:

- Set 1: the focused item
- Set 2: nfs, nfdo, and postposed possessive phrase
- Set 3: location, direction, and clause-initial possessive phrase
- Set 4: the predicate in a Classificational clause (2.4.1.2) and the complement in an Existential clause (2.4.1.3)

A chart of the forms for each set, modified from Ashley and Ashley (1971:91), follows.

			Set Number		
		1	2	3	4
Personal marker*					
	singular	hi	hi/ni**	kan	hi
	plural	hindā	hindā	kanda/kaynda	hindā
Nonpersonal marker		in	sin	ha (location, direction)	∅
Personal pronouns					
Speaker:	singular	aku	ku/ta@	kāku'	aku
Hearer:	plural	kami	namu'	kāmu'	kami
	singular	kaw	mu	kaymu	ikaw
Other:	plural	kamu	niyu	kaniyu	kamu
Speaker-	singular	siya	niya	kaniya	siya
Hearer:	plural	sila	nīla	kanila	sila
	singular	kita	ta	kātu'	kita
	plural	kitaniyu	taniyu/	kātu'niyu	kitaniyu
			nātu'@@		

*Used with names, kinship terms, and some titles

**ni seems to be coming into use in Jolo town but nowhere else that I have been.

@ku is normally used except as follows: ta is used (1) before kaw 'you-f' whether or not one or more words intervenes, (2) immediately

before kamu 'you-p-f'. Yet I was told ku kaw is used when a third person is involved and is actually present, e.g.

Hi-pa-kita' ku kaw kaniya.
COF-caus-see I you-f he

'I'll let him see you' (where 'him' is actually present).

@@ My hunch is that taniyu is more formal than natu'. In my data, taniyu is used only by Mrs. Usman (12 times) and Mrs. Majan (once). Natu' is used by Mrs. Majan (four times) and four other authors. Mrs. Usman does not use it. Mrs. Usman's text (STG) is the most formal in the corpus (see 3.3.2).

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE NARRATIVE TEXT 1

"The Farmer and His Son and the Colt"

1. Hambuuk adlaw, m(iy)anaw pa tabu' in hambuuk mag'uuma ini
 one day SF(r)set out dir market f one farmer this
 /iban sin/ anak niya usug /amu in/ kamanghuran. 2. P(iy)a-agad
 and child his male rel youngest caus-rOF-go along
 nila isab in anak kura' nila.
 they also f offspring horse their

1. One day a certain farmer and his youngest son were going to market. 2. They took their colt along too.

3. /Ha sa'bu/ sila m(iy)a-manaw, p(iy)ag-bāk nila in manga
 while they inc(rSF)-walk dur(rOF)-meet they f p
 kabudjangan nag-li-liki'lik'i' kanila. 4. "/Ay kaw naa,/ dayn
 group of maidens rSFdur-inc-make fun them well, well! from
 tagna' niyu na-tau naka-kita' na kamu manga tau bihan in
 beginning you rST-born rSFinv-see cp you-p-f p person like that f
 karupangan? 5. Mag-panaw sin awn kura' nila di' pang-kura-an"
 foolishness iSFdur-walk when exis horse they not dur-ride on-iSIF
 [panguraan].*

3. As they were walking they met a group of young girls who started making fun of them. 4. "Well, well, since the day you were born did you ever see people as foolish as that? 5. They're walking when they have a horse that they don't ride on."

6. Manjari laung sin ama' ha anak, "Ø-Laksu na kaw pa
 so then said nfs father loc child SFimp-jump cp you-f dir
 taykud sin anak kura' pang-kura-i na. 7. Di' aku ma-baya'
 back of offspring horse dur-ride on-SIFimp cp not I-f iST-want
 bang kita udju-un." 8. Sakali nang-kura' na in anak niya. 9.
 that I-you-f mock-iOF then rSFdur-mount cp f child his
 Manjari m(iy)anaw na sila.
 so then SF(r)walk cp they-f

6. So the father said to the boy, "Jump up on the colt's back and ride on it. 7. I don't want us to be made fun of." 8. So the child got on the colt. 9. Then they walked on.

10. Aha! naka-labay /na isab/ sila /dayn ha/ manga tau maas
 rSFinv-pass again they-f by p person old
 nag-la-laylay. 11. Manjari laung sin pakaniyapakaniya, "ø-Atud
 rSFdur-inc-chat then said nfs one to another SFimp-look
 ba kamu." 12. Na-inuinu tuud sila. 13. "/Amu na/ ini in
 int you-p-f rST-be amazed really they-f equa this f
 tanda' sin ahil jaman. 14. Anak in nang-ku-kura' manjari in ama'
 evidence of new times child f rSFdur-inc-ride while f father
 /amu in/ malaas na pa-pag-panaw-un" [papagpanawn].
 rel old cp caus-dur-walk-iOF

10. Aha! (?) They passed by some old people who were engaged in a long conversation. 11. Some of them said to the others, "Look!" 12. They all gazed in amazement. 13. "That's a sign of modern times. 14. The child's riding the horse and the father who's old is made to walk."

15. "Hatiku bunnal in bissara pila Utu'," laung sin ama'.
 I think true f words their Son said nfs father
 16. "Maray' marayaw bang aku in mang-kura', hati in ikaw mag-panaw
 probably good if I-f f iSFdur-ride and f you-f iSFdur-walk
 na hadja." 17. Manjari nang-kura' na in ama', ampa /na isab/ sila
 cp just so then rSFdur-mount cp f father and again they-f
 1(im)anjal.
 rSF-proceed

15. "Maybe what they say is true, Son," said the father. 16. Probably it's better if I ride and you just walk." 17. So the father got on the horse and they went on again.

18. Hatiku manga pila batu na in na-panaw nila
 I think p how many kilometer cp f rOFinv-walk they

- naka-langgal /na isab/ maas babai /iban sin/ manga anak niya. 19. "In
 rSFinv-meet again old woman and p child her top
 kang'i kasuddahan sin ama' niya yaun!" laung sin maas babai. 20. In
 bad nature of father his that said nfs old woman top
 siya nang-ku-kura', di' niya minsan pa-pang-kura-un in anak niya.
 he-f rSFdur-inc-ride not he even caus-dur-ride-iOF f child his
 21. Makaluuy na yaun nag-u-ungka'ungka' na ha ulihan niya."
 pitiful cp that rSFdur-inc-stagger along cp loc rear his

18. They walked I don't know how many kilometers and then they
 happened to meet an old woman and her children. 19. "How bad-natured
 that father is," said the old woman. 20. He's riding but he doesn't
 even let his son ride. 21. It's a pity of the boy staggering along
 behind him."

22. Manjari laung sin ama' ha anak, "ø-Laksu na kaw Utu'
 so then said nfs father loc child SFimp-jump cp you-f Son
 pa ulihan ku. 23. Di' aku ma-baya' bang aku bissara-hun mangi' aku
 dir rear my not I-f iST-want that I-f speak about-iOF bad I-f
 mag'anak." 24. Na, duwa na sila nang-ku-kura' ha anak kura'.
 parent so two cp they-f rSFdur-inc-ride loc offspring horse

22. So the father said to the boy, "Son, jump up behind me. 23.
 I don't want it to be said that I'm a bad parent." 24. Well then, the
 two of them were now riding on the colt.

25. Sakali naka-sud na sila pa daira pananabuan.
 so then rSFinv-enter cp they-f dir city place for marketing
 26. "Kuwa'!" g(im)asud in manga mag'uuma kaibanan. 27. "Makaluuy tuud
 hey rSF-shout f p farmer some pitiful very
 in anak kura' p(iy)ang-ku-kura-an sin duwa tau. 28. Subay sila
 f offspring horse dur(r)-inc-ride-SIF nfs two person should they-f
 yaun saggaw-un ampa hi-pa-jil. 29. Mayta' bukun anak kura' in
 that arrest-iOF and iCOF-caus-jail why not offspring horse f
 da-hun nila /dayn sin/ sila in da-hun sin anak kura'?"
 carry-iOF they rather than they-f f carry-iOF nfs offspring horse

30. Sakali n(im)aug na in duwa magtay'anak /dayn ha/ taas sin
 so then rSF-dismount cp f two father and son from top of
 anak kura', ampa nila p(iy)a'san.
 offspring horse and they rOF-carry

25. Then they entered the market town. 26. "Hey!" shouted some
 of the farmers. 27. "That colt is very pitiful, being ridden by two,
 carrying the colt instead of the colt carrying them?" 28. They ought to be arrested and jailed. 29. Why aren't they
 and the son both dismounted from the colt and carried it.

31. Sakali /ha sa'bu/ sila m(iy)a-manaw um-untas sin taytayan
 then while they-f inc(rSF)-walk iSF-cross nfdo bridge
 in anak kura' k(iy)angi-an tuud parasahan sabab na-ga-gapus
 f offspring horse r-bad-ST really feeling because rST-inc-tie up
 siya. 32. Sakali s(iy)ipa' sila sin anak kura' bat sila
 it so then rOF-kick they-f nfs offspring horse so that they-f
 ma-hulug pa tubig /ha supaya/ siya makahayang m-panaw [manaw]. 33.
 iST-fall dir water so that it-f freely iSF-walk
 Na, unu pa sa kaw ini, na-hulug na in duwa magtay'anak /pa lawm/
 well what ip you-f this rST-fell cp f two father and son into
 tubig.
 water

31. So then, while they were walking across a bridge, the colt
 became very uncomfortable because it was tied up. 32. So the colt
 kicked them so they would fall into the water so that it could walk
 freely. 33. Well, what do you suppose happened? The father and son
 both fell into the water.

34. Hangkan na subay isab kitaniyu mang-pikil [mamikil]
 that's why cp should also I-you-p-f iSFdur-think
 marayaw. 35. Bang awn bissara ka-rungug-an ta subay pikil-un
 well if exis words inv-hear-iSIF I-you should think-iOF
 bang hikadayaw atawa gamman hikangi' pa /ginhawa baran/ ta.
 iqm beneficial or all the more harmful dir selves my-your

36. /Biya' na sin/ duwa magtay'anak ha lawm sin kata-kata ini.
 like two father and son loc inside of tale this
37. In katan bissara sin manga tau ka-rungug-an nila magtuy
 f all words of p person inv-hear-iSIF they immediately
 nila hinang-un.
 they do-iOF

34. That's why all of us (incl) should think carefully. 35. If we (incl) hear something said (we) should think whether it is beneficial or harmful to us (incl). 36. Just like the father and the son in this story. 37. Everything they heard someone say they immediately did it.

*And so with all subsequent instances of Cang + kura'.

APPENDIX C
SAMPLE NARRATIVE TEXT 2

"Abunnawas Walks on Top of Bamboo"

1. Manjari hambuuk waktu m(iy)adtu /na isab/ hi Abunnawas
now then one time SF(r)go again pf
nang-bisita [namisita] pa Sultan. 2. Pagdatung niya pa astana'
rSFdur-visit dir when-arrive he dir palace
magtuy siya nang-paluk [namaluk] pa Sultan.
(advances action) he-f rSFdur-face with awe dir
1. Now once upon a time Abunnawas again went to visit the king.
2. When he arrived at the palace he went in before the king.
3. Laung sin Sultan, "Na, ikaw sa yan Abunnawas. 4. Unu
said nfs well you-f that what
ta' in gawi-gawi mu yan?"
I wonder f purpose your that
3. The king said, "Well, it's you, Abunnawas. 4. I wonder what
you want?"
5. "Wayruun /da isab/ Ampun sa' tuud na
negex conexp Your Highness except really cp
nag-panaw-panaw, kalu-kalu awn ka-samban-an likjiki' ha
rSFdur-walk a little perhaps exis inv-find-iSIF good fortune loc
labayan. 6. Laynsambung Ampun, kahapun naka-panaw aku ha
road by the way Your Highness yesterday rSFinv-walk I-f loc
taas sin patung," laung hi Abunnawas.
top of bamboo said pnfs
5. "Nothing, Your Highness, I'm just on a little walk, maybe I can
find some good fortune on the road. 6. By the way, Your Highness,
yesterday I walked on top of bamboo," said Abunnawas.
7. "Ha! Ha! Ha! bat asal asmak tuud hi Abunnawas ini.
naturally stupid really pf this
8. Biya'diin in manga kapanaw mu ha taas sin patung,"
how f means of walking your loc top of bamboo

laung sin Sultan.
said nfs

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7. "Ha, ha, ha! this Abunnawas always was stupid. 8. How did you walk on top of bamboo?" asked the king.

9. "Alla! Ampun, Gosh Your Highness tantu mabuga' in patik mag-puting certainly afraid f subject iSFdur-lie kaymu paygay iban ka you definitely and (marker of some important time) bulan puti".*
10. Sagawa' in bunnal niya tuud nakapanaw aku ha patung kahapun," but f truth its really rSFinv-walk I-f loc bamboo yesterday laung hi Abunnawas.
said pnfs

9. "Gosh, Your Highness, your subject is afraid to lie to you since this is definitely the holy month. 10. The truth is I really walked on bamboo yesterday," Abunnawas said.

11. "Na, marayaw na. 12. Dihilan ta kaw hanggatus pilak well good cp give-iSIF I you-f 100 peso
bang kaw ka-kita-an ku maka-panaw ha taas sin patung /dayn ha/ if you-f inv-see-iSIF I iSFinv-walk loc top of bamboo from bay mu mari pa astana' kinsum mahinaat. 13. Sumagawa' house your come here dir palace tomorrow morning but
bang mu yan di' ma-hinang asal pa-punggut-an ta kaw tuud if you that not iOFinv-do of course caus-cut off-iSIF I you-f surely liug. 14. Bat marugal aku pag-puting-an sin tau pagkahi ku," neck because angry I-f dur-lie to-iSIF nfs person fellow my laung bihaini sin Sultan.
said like this nfs

11. "OK. 12. I'll give you 100 pesos if I can see you walking on top of bamboo from your house to the palace here tomorrow morning. 13. But if you can't do that I'll be sure to have your head cut off, of course. 14. I'm angry when my fellow men lie to me," the king said.

15. "Lilla' aku Ampun," in sambag hi Abunnawas.
surrender I-f Your Highness f answer of
16. Na, nang-baid [namaid] na m(in)uwi' hi Abunnawas.
well rSFdur-asked leave cp SF(r)go home pf
17. Pag'uwi' niya /magtuy na/ siya t(im)uy madtu
when-go home he (advances action) he-f SF(r)go directly go there
pa lawm kakahuyan nang-pila' [namila'] duwa patung ganta' manga
dir inside forest rSFdur-cut down two bamboo estimate about
tu-nga-rupa in haba'. 18. Pag'ubus ampa na siya isab k(im)awa'
three-lk-fathom f length afterward then cp he-f also SF(r)get
duwa kahuy sangahan s(iy)ugpat niya madtu pa duwa patung
two piece of wood branches rOF-fasten he there dir two bamboo
mahaba' ampa niya h(iy)ukut-an mahugut. 19. Na, naka-hinang na
long then he r-tie-SIF tight now then rSFinv-make cp
siya kaldang.
he-f stilts

15. "At your service, Your Highness," Abunnawas answered. 16. Then Abunnawas asked leave to go home. 17. When he got home he headed straight for the forest and chopped down two pieces of bamboo measuring about 18 feet long. 18. Then he also got two pieces of wood that had branches and connected them to the two long pieces of bamboo and fastened them tightly. 19. Now he had made stilts.

20. Pagbulat mahinaat /magtuy na tuud/ siya
when-open morning (advances action) he-f
nang-kaldang [nangaldang] harap madtu pa astana' sin
rSFdur-walk on stilts toward go there dir palace of
Sultan. 21. Pagdatung niya madtu /magtuy na tuud/ t(iy)awag
when-arrive he go there (advances action) rOF-call
niya in Sultan.
he f

20. When morning dawned Abunnawas got right out there and walked on his stilts toward the king's palace. 21. When he got there he called the king.

22. Laung hi Abunnawas, "O /Ampun Baribu Ampun/
 said pnfs Oh Most Royal Highness

ø-hundaw-hundaw naa kaw dayn tandawan mu."
 SFimp-take a little look for a while you-f from window your

23. Pagdungug sin Sultan tingug hi Abunnawas, /magtuy na tuud/ siya
 when-hear nfs voice of (advances action) he-f
 t(im)andaw. 24. Na, unu pa, yaum niya na k(iy)ita' [kīta'] hi
 rSF-look out well what ip there he cp rOF-see pf
 Abunnawas nag-pa-panaw ha taas sin patung.
 rSFdur-inc-walk loc top of bamboo

22. Abunnawas said, "Oh, Your Highness, just take a little look
 out your window." 23. When the king heard Abunnawas' voice, he looked
 out. 24. And what do you know? There he saw Abunnawas walking on top
 of bamboo.

25. Sa' im-iyan in Sultan,
 all he could do was rSF-say f

"Mag-siddik na aku sin ingat hi Abunnawas ini,
 iSFdur-completely believe in cp I-f nfdo knowledge of this
 bat maka-panaw hati siya ha taas sin patung."
 because iSFinv-walk (indicates surprise) he-f loc top of bamboo

25. The king had to say, "I completely believe that this Abunnawas
 is knowledgeable, because he really can walk on top of bamboo."

*Puti' literally means 'white'.

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE HORTATORY TEXT 1

"Surrendering to the Government"

1. Ha di' ku pa hi-ka-bayta' in manga maksud sin amanat ku
 not I ip iCOF-inv-tell f p purpose of message my
 ini mari kaniyu manga Tuwan, manga rayat sin parinta,
 this come here you-p p sir p subject of government
 hi-lapal ku naa sadyaw-dayaw in salam sin Islam. Assalam
 iCOF-say I first best f greeting of
 mualaykum warahmatullahi Taala warbarakat.

1. Before I tell the purpose of this message of mine to you, gentlemen, citizens of the government, I will first give you the best Islamic greeting: Assalam mualaykum warahmatullahi Talla warbarakat.

2. In mahuli dayn duun, yari awn manga amanat
 top afterward from that here exis p message
 hi-pa-sampay ku kaniyu iban hi-pa-saplag ku kaniyu, /ha sasuku'/
 iCOF-caus-reach I you-p and iCOF-caus-spread I you-p all
 /amu in/ ha ngan sin nag-mu-muparik pa parinta, hati niya, ha
 rel in name of rSFdur-inc-rebel dir government meaning its loc
 kawman kiyabutangan nila in /labi awla/ ha
 community place where put their especially loc
 kagimbagimbahan /iban sin/ ha kapu'puan ha tiyaptiyap
 all parts of interior and loc islands collectively in each
 ngan nag-mu-muparik, in hati niya, /amu na in/ pag-ngan-an
 name rSF-dur-inc-rebel top meaning its rel dur-call-iSIF
 rebels.

2. Aside from that, I have here a message to disseminate to you and spread to you, all you who uphold the cause of rebelling against the government, that is, in the communities where they are living, especially throughout the interior and on all the small islands, to each one who upholds the cause of rebelling, that is, those who are called rebels.

3. Apabila ka-lagi-han sin kitaniyu katantan manga rayat
 if inv-need-iSIF nfs I-you-p-f all p subject
 sin parinta, ha katilingkal sin Pilipinas, hula' taniyu, in
 of government loc whole extent of country my-your-p f
 ngan marayaw, na /labi awla/ /da isab/ in manga
 name good well then especially also f p
 /huling bata'./ 4. In hati niya in subay lawag-un taniyu
 young generation top meaning its f must look for-iOF I-you-p
 in manga ngan marayaw iban kasannyaangan sin kitaniyu katantan
 f p name good and peace & happiness of I-you-p-f all
 manga rayat sin parinta Pilipinas ha pagnakuraan hi Panghu'
 p subject of government loc leadership of President
 taniyu Marcos.
 my-your-p

3. If all of us (incl) citizens throughout the Philippines, our
 (incl) country, need a good reputation, our (incl) young generation
 especially does. 4. That means we (incl) must seek a good reputation
 and peace and happiness for all of us (incl) Filipino citizens under the
 leadership of our (incl) President Marcos.

5. Na, in mahuli dayn duun, /ha tiyaptiyap/ na-timus na
 well top afterward from that inasmuch as rST-finish cp
 in pag-ngan-an election, hati niya amu in adlaw k(iy)a-dihil
 f dur-call-iSF meaning its equa f day inv(rCOF)-give
 kātu'niyu sin Panghu' taniyu Marcos, kamahardikaan
 I-you-p nfs President my-your-p freedom
 mag-pi' sin nakura' taniyu /amu in/ pa-lingkur-un ha hula'
 iSFdur-choose nfdo leaders my-your-p rel caus-sit-iOF loc country
 yan iban kawman yan, nakura' sin pakaniyakaniya manga rayat sin
 that and community that leaders of each and every p subject of
 parinta. 6. Bang makajari manga Tuwan, in aku ini bilang
 government if be all right p sir top I-f this ready
 d(um)ugang sin pangannal niyu, /iban sin/ pikilan niyu. 7. In
 iSF-add nfdo thought your-p and thinking your-p top

manga kamu yan nag-mu-muparik ha parinta (rebels), na, well
 P you-p-f there rSFdur-inc-rebel loc government
 mag-hambuuk na kitaniyu pikilan. 8. Subay in manga kamu yan
 iSFdur-unite cp I-you-p-f thinking should top p you-p-f that
 1(um)ūd na mari pa lawman sin daira. 9. M-agad na
 iSF-come down cp come here dir inside of city iSF-follow cp
 kamu sin pamandu' sin nakura' niyu ha kawman niyu yan,
 you-p-f nfdo teaching of leaders your-p loc community your-p that
 /labi awla/ pagparinta sin Panghu' Marcos, ha katilingkal sin
 especially government of President loc whole extent of
 Pilipinas.

5. Now, aside from that, what is called the election is over now, that is, the day given to us (incl) by our (incl) President Marcos, the freedom to choose our (incl) leaders who will be seated (to govern) in the country and in the communities, the leaders of each and every citizen. 6. If it is all right, gentlemen, I am ready to add to your thinking. 7. You who are rebelling against the government, well, let us (incl) unite (our) thinking. 8. You should come down here now into the city. 9. Follow the instructions of your leaders in your communities, especially of the government of President Marcos, throughout the Philip-

10. Sabab-un ku kaniyu, hangkan subay tuud kitaniyu
 give reason-iOF I you-p why must really I-you-p-f
 mag-hambuuk pikilan, in manga kamu ha kagimbagimbahan
 iSFdur-unite thinking top p you-p-f loc all parts of interior
 nag-mu-muparik, hati niya rebels. 11. In pagparinta sin
 rSFdur-inc-rebel meaning its top governing of
 pakaniyakanaya /amu in/ nagkapi' nakura' ha kawman yan, /labi awla/
 each one rel elected leader loc community that especially
 pagparinta sin Panghu' Marcos, landu' in dayaw, landu' in
 governing of President very great f goodness very great f
 hatul. 12. Ha manga p(iy)a-ragan niya pamarinta ha manga rayat
 order from p caus(rOF)-run he to govern loc p subject

niya, /amu in/ /ha lawm/ sin undangundang, way kagawahan taniyu.
 its rel inside of constitutional law negex misgiving I-you-p

10. I will give you a reason why we (incl) must really unite (our) thinking, you in all parts of the interior who are rebelling, that is, rebels. 11. As for the governing of everyone who has been elected a leader in his community, especially the governing of President Marcos, it is very, very good, it is very, very orderly. 12. We (incl) have nothing to fear from those whom he (Marcos) put up to run and to govern his subjects according to the constitution.

13. Salta' in kasilasa kātu'niyu manga bangsa Muslimin,
 and also top love me-you-p p tribe Muslims
 in way usaha pakaniyakaniya /ha samantala'/ awn /da isab/
 top negex work each & every one but exis conexp

hi-pag-puunpuun ha d(um)aut kita mag-usaha
 iCOF-dur-collect if iSF-earnestly desire I-you-f iSFDur-earn a living
 ha ngan Barter Trade, in kapatutan yan d(iy)ihil [dīhil] da
 loc name f right that rCOF-give

kātu'niyu. 14. In damikkiyan /da isab/ amu in di'
 me-you-p top likewise also top not
 maka-gaus mag-pa-iskul ha anak niya, dihil-an /da isab/
 iSFinv-afford iSFDur-caus-school nfdo child his give-iSIF also
 sin Panghu' Marcos kapatutan subay dihil-an "pension",
 nfs President right should give-iSIF scholarship
 /ha lawm sin/ upat tahun.
 duration of four year

13. And also (consider the government's) love for us (incl) Muslim tribes. Each person who has no income but has enough capital and earnestly desires to go into business in the Barter Trade, that right has been given to us (incl). 14. Likewise also as for those who can't afford to send their children to school, President Marcos will give them the right that they should be given a scholarship for four years.

15. /Biya' (isab) sin/ mapatut pa-lingkur-un ha parinta,
 like (also) deserving caus-sit-iOF loc government

hati niya mag-hinang ha kaupisupisan, meaning its iSFdur-work loc offices collectively those caus-sit-iOF amu pa-lingkur-un niya hadja, iban gadji niya mataas. 16. Na, in Panghu' Marcos he certainly and salary his high well top President yan way pagpi' niya tau, atawa manusiya', tuman that negex favoritism he person or human being definitely hi-pag-dihil niya hadja in kapatutan. iCOF-dur-give he certainly f right

15. Also those who deserve to be seated in the government, that is, to work in the various offices, he (Marcos) will certainly seat them, and their salary will be high. 16. Now as for President Marcos, he does not show favoritism. Definitely he will certainly give (deserving people) the right (to work in a government office).

17. In Panghu' Marcos, way hadja dan simay-an top President amu negez only way move aside-iSIF rel kabayaan sin atay niya, hikasannang sin pikilan niya, ha manga desires of heart his providing peace to mind his p pamandu' niya ha manga rayat sin parinta, hati niya instructions his to p subjects of government meaning its /amu in/ hikasannang sin hula'. 18. Way dan dapat in rel providing peace to country negez way possible top kitaniyu manga rayat sin parinta di' mag-hambuuk pikilan. I-you-p-f p subject of government not iSFdur-unite thinking

19. Pagka isab in pagparinta sin manga nakura' taniyu, awla in since also f governing of p leader my-your-p especially top Panghu' Marcos, landu' hatul iban buntul, ibutibut in manga President very orderly and straight by all means top p kamu yan mari na kamu l(um)ūd pa lawm sin you-p-f that iSF-come here cp you-p-f iSF-come down dir inside of daira, mag-lamudlamud na kitaniyu mag-usaha mabut city iSFdur-mix cp I-you-p-f iSFdur-work including mag-Barter Trade. iSFdur-engage in B.T.

17. As for President Marcos, there is no way (to find fault with the way he is governing because it's the desire of his heart that, through his instructions to the citizens, the country will achieve peace and order. This will give him peace of mind.)** 18. There is no way possible for us (incl) citizens not to unite (our) thinking. 19. Since the governing of our (incl) leaders, especially President Marcos, is very, very orderly and honest, by all means come here now, come down into the city and let us (incl) associate with one another and earn a living and even engage in the Barter Trade.

20. Muramurahan in kitaniyu manga rayat sin parinta,
may it be top I-you-p-f p subject of government

mag-siyugpatsugpati na in suraturrahim, hati niya in ngan
iSFdur-reciprocally connect cp f destiny meaning its f name
taniyu matanyag na pa kaguwa'guwaan hula' sin Pilipinas, in
my-your-p famous cp dir all places outside country of top

sulutsulut na kitaniyu. 21. Hati niya /dayn ha/ ngan taniyu,
harmony cp I-you-p-f meaning its from name my-your-p

awla ngan sin Panghu' Marcos, pag'ingat sin dugaing bangsa,
especially name of President when-learn nfs other tribe

sulut na kitaniyu, landu' isab sila makuyag iban makug in atay
harmonious cp I-you-p-f very also they-f happy and joyful f heart

nila. 22. Munamuna biya' /di' na/ hikasipug
their first of all like no longer have reason to be ashamed of

taniyu in addatmangaddati sin manga tabiat taniyu, ha awn
I-you-p f customs of p habits my-your-p in that exis

hadja /biya' sin/ pag-ngan-an bangsa taniyu nag-mu-muparik pa
always like dur-call-iSIF tribe my-your-p rSFdur-inc-rebel dir

parinta, hati niya manga rebels.
government meaning its p

20. As for all of us (incl) citizens, may (we) go on to fulfill our destiny[@], that is, may our (incl) name be famous in countries outside the Philippines (because of) how well we (incl) get along with one another. 21. This means that because of our (incl) reputation, especially President Marcos' reputation, when other nations learn how well we (incl) get along with one another, they will be very, very happy and their hearts will be joyful. 22. Most importantly, we (incl) will

no longer have reason to be ashamed of our (incl) habits and customs (as we do now), in that there are always those like our (incl) tribe (i.e., Tausug) who are rebelling against the government, that is, rebels.

23. Bang ha awn sarapat in manga pahati ku yan
if exis possibility f p explanation my that
kaniyu, buku-hun tuud ha lawm sin bigi-jantung niyu, in
you-p tie-iOF really loc inside of seed-heart your-p
damikkiyan in dugangmangdugang sin pikilan ku kaniyu /amu in/ subay
likewise top added things of thinking my you-p rel should
tuud ha kasamut really at soonest possible time this take heed-iSIF you-p follow-iOF
niyu tuud. 24. Bang ha awn dapat in dum di' ma-adlaw
you-p really if exis possibility f night not iST-become day
in adlaw di' ma-dum.
f day not iST-become night 25. Hati niya in manga kamu
meaning its f p you-p-f
6-1üd na mari pa lawm sin daira.
SFimp-come down cp come here dir inside of city

23. As for this message of mine to you, if possible, be sure to tie it down inside your innermost hearts. Likewise, as for the added thoughts I have given you, you really should take heed to them and act on them as soon as possible. 24. If possible (do it) as soon as possible.
25. I mean come down here now into the city.

26. In mahuli dayn duun, hi-pa-sampay ku mari kaniyu
top afterward from that iCOF-caus-reach I come here you-p
in munamuna /salam duwaa/ katantan iban pagsukul ku kaniyu katantan
f first of all greeting all and thanks my you-p all
awla pa Tag'ipun. 27. Muramurahan mag-kita'
especially dir owner (God) may it be iSFDur-see one another
kitaniyu ha kabuhi' iban ha kasamut. 28. Wassalam.
I-you-p-f loc life and at soonest possible time peace

26. Finally, I extend to you first of all greetings to all and my
thanks to all of you, especially to God. 27. May we (incl) see one
another alive and as soon as possible. 28. Farewell.

*This sentence could mean, "His way of governing his subjects is within the constitutional law, and so we have nothing to fear."

**The meaning of sentence 17 is uncertain.

@The meaning of suraturrehim is uncertain.

APPENDIX E
SAMPLE HORTATORY TEXT 2

"The Advantages of a Net over Hook and Line"

1. /Ha lawm sin/ manga tahun l(im)abay, in pag'usaha sin
within p year rST-pass f livelihood of
kitaniyu pa dagat biya' wayruun tuud s(im)ung pa kasambuhan.
I-you-p-f dir sea as if not at all rST-advance dir progress
2. /Ha pasal/ hatiku in p(iy)ag-la-lagi sin kamatauran di ha
because I think f dur(rOF)-inc-use nfs majority here loc
kawman Badjao amuna in manga kapanyapan bin sin kamaasan
community equa f p equipment handed down nfs forefathers
/biya' sin/ manga ini: bingit iban naylun, sangkil iban lubid, pana',
like p this hook and line spear and rope arrows
timbak ista', panggal, bubu,
dynamite fish (kind of fish trap) square basket fish trap
lagtang.*
berries of lagtang tree

1. In past years, it seems that the earnings of us (incl) who make our living from the sea have not increased at all. 2. I think this is because what the majority here in the Badjao community are using is the kinds of equipment handed down from their forefathers, like these: hook and line, spear and rope, arrows, dynamiting of fish, panggal fish traps, square basket fish traps, and poison from the lagtang tree.

3. In manga ini agad /di' na/ hi-ka-pag-lagi bang in
f p this sometimes no longer iIF-inv-dur-use if f
ka-guna-han ta maka-kawa' ista' mataud.
inv-need-iSIF I-you iSFinv-catch fish many

3. These are not always useful if we (incl) want to catch many fish.

4. Ha waktu bihaun awn na-pa-awn sin manga tau
at time now exis rOFinv-caus-exist nfs p person
maladju in pikilan ha hal sin pag'ista' amuin maluhay kitaniyu
far f thinking about matter of fishing equa easy I-you-p-f

manga mangingista' maka-kawa' mataud ha tulak makaminsan.
 p fishermen iSFinv-catch many loc trip one time

4. People who are foresighted about matters of fishing have now been able to invent something which makes it easier for us (incl) fisher-men to catch many fish in one trip.

5. In na-pa-awn nila manga panyap ini; /amu (na) in/
 f rOFinv-caus-exist they p equipment this equa (cp)
 pag-tawag-un "net" atawa pukut bang ha bahasa Badjao. 6. In
 dur-call-iOF or net if loc language f
 pag-tawag-un pukut ini wajib natu' tuud lagi-hun /ha supaya/
 dur-call-iOF net this must I-you-p really use-iOF in order that
 ka-luhay-an in biya' kātu'taniyu manga mangingista' maka-kawa'
 inv-easy-iSIF f like I-you-p p fishermen iSFinv-catch
 mataudtaud.
 fairly many

5. What they have invented is the piece of equipment called a net, or pukut in the Badjao language. 6. As for this thing called a net, we men to catch a good number of fish.

7. Di ha kawman natu', mataud tuud in nagkasusa
 here loc community my-your-p many very f became worried
 bang mayta' in biya' kātu' manga Badjao bunnal maka-kawa'
 iqm why f like I-you p to be sure iSFinv-catch
 ista' sa' salatsalat da, bang mayta' in manga kaibanan amuin
 fish but few only iqm why f p other rel
 nag-la-lagi sin pag-tawag-un "net" atawa pukut landu' tuud
 rSFdur-inc-use nfdo dur-call-iOF or net exceedingly very
 mataud in magkakawa' ista'.
 many f catchable fish

7. Very many people here in our (incl) community have become concerned about why we (incl) Badjao can catch fish all right, but only a few, and why other people who use what they call a pukut or net can catch

very, very many fish.

8. Na, /ha supaya/ kita maka-pa-sung sin
now then in order that I-you-f iSFinv-caus-increase nfdo
taud sin ma-kawa' ta ista' hinang-un ta in manga
number of iOFinv-catch I-you fish, follow-iOF I-you f p
panghindu' ini bat /da mayan/ s(um)ambu in parasahan sin
teaching this so that at least iST-prosper f living conditions of
kitaniyu katan iban k(um)ulangkulang /da mayan/ in husa' sin
I-you-p-f all and iST-lessen a little at least f overwork of
pamaranan ta ha hal pag'ista'.
body my-your loc matter fishing

8. Now then, in order that we (incl) can increase the number of
fish we (incl) can catch, let us (incl) follow this new method, so that
at least the living conditions of all of us (incl) can improve and our
(incl) bodies may not be so overworked with the labor of fishing.

9. Na, ha pikilan ku, bang natu' hi-ka-pag-lagi in
now then loc thinking my if I-you-p iIF-inv-dur-use f
panyap ini tantutantu na tuud d(um)ayaw in pag'usaha
equipment this most certainly cp really iST-improve f livelihood
natu' manga mag'iista' iban way piligrus sin baran.
my-your-p p fishermen and negex danger of body

9. Now in my opinion, if we (incl) can use this equipment, the
earnings of us (incl) fishermen will most certainly increase. In
addition there won't be any physical danger.

10. /Biya' sin/ manga panyap nagkasabbut ha tagna'
as for p equipment mentioned loc beginning
gikap sin sulat ini, lamud na didtu in "timbak ista'."
paragraph of letter this included cp there f dynamiting fish
lagtang amuin maka-mula pa manga ista' di' pa
berries of lagtang tree rel iST-harm dir p fish not ip

mapatut kawa-un iban /labi awla/ na maka-mula sin /anggawta' baran/
 right catch-iOF and especially cp iST-harm to body
 ta, sabab in manga ini langgal sara' sin parinta.
 my-your because top p this against law of government

10. Among the equipment mentioned in the first paragraph of this article were included dynamiting of fish and poison from the lagtang tree. These are harmful to the fish. They also kill fish that are too small to legally catch. But above all they are harmful to our (incl) bodies because they are against the law.

11. Na, ampa in panyap pukut, hi-ka-pag-lagi bang
 now then and top equipment net iIF-inv-dur-use if
 bihaini in aturan niya:
 like this f prescribed way its

11. Now as for nets, this is the way they can be used.

12. K(um)awa' kita pukut ha haba' hangpu' nga-rupa in
 iSF-get I-you-f net in length ten lk-fathom f
 tindug, manga kay'man nga-rupa in haba'.
 height p 50 lk-fathom f length

13. Subay lagi-hun sin magkulangmaglabi manga unum tau ha
 must use-iOF nfs more or less about six person loc
 hangka sakayan.
 one boat

14. Bang kita ha takut lagi' mataud ista', hi-tuntun
 when I-you-f loc shallows and many fish iCOF-let down
 ta magtuy in pukut (na-ba-bahagi' /ha ût sin/ baran
 I-you immediately f net rST-inc-divide between hull
 sakayan iban katig niya) /pa lawm/ dagat ha ganta'
 boat and outrigger its into sea in estimate
 /di' na/ ka-kita-an sin ista'.
 no longer inv-see-iSIF nfs fish

15. Buhi-un ta in kulayt alive-iOF I-you f pa-sawa-hun /ha supaya/
 pressure lamp caus-bright-iOF so that

ma-pun in ista' pa si'nag sin kulayt.
 iST-gather f fish dir brightness of pressure lamp

16. Duun mayan in ista' na-pu-pun, magtuytuy ta na
 there when f fish rST-inc-gather suddenly I-you cp
 utung-un in pukut pa babaw sin dagat.
 pull-OF f net dir surface of sea

12. We (incl) get a net 100 yards long by 20 yards wide.
 13. It should be used by about six people on one boat. 14. When
 we (incl) are at the shoal and there are plenty of fish, we (incl)
 let down the net right away (the net is spread out between the hull
 of the boat and one outrigger) into the sea to a depth where (we)
 estimate the fish can't see it. 15. We (incl) light the pressure
 lamp and make it as bright as possible so that the fish will be
 attracted to the bright light from the lamp. 16. When the fish
 have collected under the light, we (incl) suddenly pull the net up
 to the surface.

17. /DI ha ini/ ka-kita-an ta na bang biya'diin in
 here inv-see-iSIF I-you cp iqm how great f
 kalagguan sin ista' ma-kawa' ta.
 size of fish iOFinv-catch I-you

17. When we see the fish inside the net we (incl) will realize
 that we (incl) can catch a great catch of fish (using this method).

* In the original typescript, this list of pieces of equipment was
 arranged vertically in list form and indented.

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