

THE FUNCTION OF RHETORICAL DEVICES IN ILIANEN MANOBO¹ FORMAL STORYTELLING

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1. Introduction

Formal storytelling, viewed as a social phenomenon, fills a vital role in Ilianen Manobo society. It not only serves as a means of entertainment but functions as a medium of instruction in transmitting their highly-valued cultural mores and customs, and also serves as a vehicle for establishing precedent in the settling of Manobo custom-law cases.

The first section of this paper builds on earlier analyses (Wrigglesworth 1971, 1977a), describing the sociolinguistic features of the cultural behavior necessary for a formal Manobo storytelling performance.² This includes the behavior required of a *raconteur/raconteuse*,³ as well as the concomitant audience response required to see a story through.

The second section presents an overview of a more extensive description (Wrigglesworth 1984) of the linguistic devices employed by a Manobo narrator for transporting his audience to the scene where his story is taking place and heightening the vividness of that story, thereby convincing his audience that they are witnessing the events of the story as they unfold. This includes the use of a variety of rhetorical features to enable an all-night audience to be able to recognize the various high points and peaks in his narrative.

1.1 *The All-Night Formal Storytelling Complex*

I describe here a typical setting in which formal storytelling occurs, that is, in the sense of locale, or time and place, and situation, which includes the appropriate behavior patterns. It is a Manobo home with relatives gathered from a distance for the two-day "*Kebulangan*" Manobo New Year celebration.⁴

A man (or woman) who wishes to relate a story to those gathered for such an occasion keeps rising from his position on the floor, slightly adjusting his position again and again until he is observed by one of the men.⁵ If he is known to be competent in the storytelling art, he is then invited to speak. Anyone

present may do this with: *Na kalu ke edtetarem si Anggam (or Ayà) ne ebpemineg ki en* "Ah, perhaps Uncle (or Aunt)⁶ will relate a story now, so we will all listen." And while it is not considered appropriate for an audience to suggest to the narrator a specific story, since every performance is tailored to the occasion, it is common for them to suggest that Uncle relate a new episode concerning one of their culture heroes. Such innovations are understood by a Manobo audience to be information that has newly been communicated to the narrator by his familiar spirit, thereby indicating that the familiar spirit was also a friend of the culture hero who is no longer with them.

If the would-be raconteur is not deemed competent, his attempts to be recognized are ignored.⁷ But having been acknowledged and invited to perform, the storyteller may ask the host to extinguish all except a single household candle, while seating himself with his back toward his audience, pulling a tubular sleeping garment up over his head. This is considered modest and appropriate Manobo conduct, while a face-to-face encounter is considered to be both immodest and distracting. Some narrators feel they would forget the story if they faced their audience, they say.

Of deeper significance, perhaps, is the environment of receptivity the narrator is thereby creating for all of his listeners, wherein darkness is necessary in order to give wider scope to their imaginations so that each one can see the story-participants performing before them as he envisions them.⁸

Whatever the Manobo narrator's story, he begins with the narrative discourse introducer *Hane* "Take note" (Wrigglesworth 1971), then pauses slightly to clear his throat before plunging into the story: And there we are with Good-Character and Bad-Character Girl." The throat-clearing pause helps create an expectant air; the narrator is said to be "stretching his mind" to give them a good performance, thus assuring them⁹ that a competent raconteur is in control!

This early in the story the audience is expected to begin assuring the narrator that they are listening by making "*undug te etew*" appropriate responses to the performance. They begin by encouraging him, following the first sentence of his story, with comments as: *Nè be enduena nu ve iya* "Keep on now, for it's just as you say!" Subsequent audience responses often give evidence that the narrator is doing just that: *Na, inteng kew ve!* "Now, just take a look at that (what a sight)!"

And since one of the functions of his story is to reinforce acceptable Manobo cultural values for each succeeding generation, the audience lauds acceptable Manobo conduct demonstrated by a story-participant, while showing disapproval for an action which is in violation of a socially-approved norm. *Ken à kew pè be iya rema kayi te meama!* "You can't outdo that man (for generosity)!" they exclaim; while drawing attention to the jealousy and greed of another story-

participant with: *Henà nesihi en maa!* "My, how jealous she is!" Of prime importance to the narrator are those comments of the audience which assure him that his performance is "telling it just as it is (i.e. just as it originally happened)."⁹

The cultural preference is for a narrator's story to last an entire nighttime; for a good Manobo raconteur is expected to hold the attention of his audience until dawn. And while his audience may drink their coffee or chew betelnut throughout those long night hours, he is expected to drink his coffee and chew his betelnut ahead of time in order to avoid any interruption during his storytelling performance. When one considers the irregularity of Manobo meals and hence the low intake of nutritional value, coupled with the daily heat and fatigue, to say nothing of the rigors of planting and harvesting followed by hiking distances to attend a storytelling performance, maintaining one's alertness throughout an entire night is a feat for any audience! But for the narrator, whose voice is often reduced to a whisper for days to come, it constitutes a challenge for the very fittest!

2. Evoking Images for Narrative Settings

As a narrator of traditional narratives, the Manobo raconteur's over-all generic aim is to: *egkepenheewit ke menge etew ne ebpe mineg diyà te edteteremen* "take the listeners to the very place where his story is taking place." To do this he must first create a stage with images to serve as setting for his story. To accomplish this he begins with the obligatory narrative introducer *Hane* "Take note" (Wrigglesworth 1971), before transporting them to the distant scene where his story is taking place: *diyà te pè ma ki Pilanduk* "there [far away out of sight] we [you and I inclusive] are with Pilanduk."¹⁰ The second sentence of the story setting produces an effect analogous to that of a camera lens zooming in on its subject. By emphatically preposing a focused noun phrase: *ini si Pilanduk ini* "this Pilanduk here" (where deictic pronouns and locationals co-occur), the narrator brings the story participant he has just brought on stage up front. *Ini si Pilanduk ini ne etew ne midsiveysivey* "This Pilanduk here is a person who lived all alone." The final sentence of the story-setting makes known the problem, claim, or lack (Labov & Waletzky 1967, Grimes 1971, Longacre 1985) that will provide the plot involvement for the story. *Su wà duma ne ed-ul-ulaan din ke kenà ke tarù ne edlelehen din.* "For there is nothing else he continually engages in except his deception of others when he speaks."¹¹

Having transported his audience to the remote and spatially-defined setting for his story, and zeroed in on its key story-participant with his problem, claim, or lack, it is the narrator's constant aim to keep his audience focused on the story's development as it unfolds.

The narrator shifts the scene from that introduced in his story setting by moving his story-participants offstage by means of motion verbs followed by a time setting which is illustrated by the following examples: "When Pilanduk finished dressing he is then setting out. When he arrived at the river bank..." or "When it was late afternoon Pilanduk returned from looking for rattan. As he was about to arrive at his temporary shelter..." The motion verb may also function in response to a self-command given in soliloquy, or to a command delivered in dialogue: "I had better think of some way for me to get across to the other side. And so Pilanduk is calling out then to the king¹² of the crocodiles (for help)."

However, when the motion verb moves the story-participant offstage without a subsequent time setting, as e.g., by saying, "Pilanduk is running away again to the mountains (taking the story-participant out of sight)," the narrator creates a new episode setting with: *Hane kayi te pè ma te buaya*. "Take note, here [close at hand, within close range of sight] we [you and I inclusive] are with the crocodiles." The new episode setting serves to introduce a new key story-participant or, after they have all been introduced, to span distance in shifting rapidly back and forth between them in order to keep the audience current and involved with the progress of each of them.¹³

It is the narrator's skillful handling of episode settings that enables an all-night, drowsy audience to more easily reorient themselves in the story. *Na pemineg kew su riyan en ke ratu*: "Now pay attention everyone for there's the king back again" after his wife has just been kidnapped by Pilanduk. While the absence of settings cause the audience to complain: *Egkevadti vadti embiya warà 'hane kayi te pè ma...' te teteremà din*. "It's too broken up when there is no 'Take note, here we are now with...' in his story."

3. Heightening Vividness for Maintaining Audience Interest

Having evoked a stage with images as setting for his story, and having transported his audience to the very place where his story is taking place, a Manobo raconteur's aim is to keep his audience focused on the narrative's action as it unfolds. For heightening the vividness of his narrative, and thereby convincing his audience that they are witnessing the events taking place, a Manobo narrator may shift to a more specific person, or he may choose one of two possible shifts in tense in order to effect a more dramatic portrayal of his story.

3.1 A Pronoun Shift

Except for the pronoun exponents of dialogue, a Manobo narrative is basically told in the third person. But to heighten the imagination of his

audience as the hour grows late and heads begin to nod, a Manobo raconteur draws heavily upon a shift to the second person "you" to identify with a story-participant on stage. In the Pilanduk story, cited earlier, Pilanduk sets out to kidnap a queen to be his wife. In order to cross a river he makes a bargain with the king of the crocodiles to give him the soon-to-be kidnapped queen in return for a ride across the river on the crocodile's back. Pilanduk is thus enabled to continue on to the palace.

As *you* arrived there in the palace yard, how intensely *you* are looking all around. What should *you* see but a mango tree. Said Pilanduk, "I'd better climb that mango tree to the very top," he said, "to sing my song to the queen so that it will be clearly heard."

The narrator may also shift to the second person pronoun "you" or to the first person dual pronoun "we [you and I inclusive]" to tie himself more closely with his audience; in the latter case overtly injecting himself as a first-person participant observer.¹⁴ Somewhat later in the above story, after Pilanduk has lost the kidnapped queen and finds himself cut off in the forest without food or water, the narrator zeroes in on his audience to remind them that they are viewing the story together. This time his shift occurs as he approaches the peak of an episode.

We [you and I] will get right to the point, for the story moves faster now and Pilanduk keeps on wandering around looking for water to drink here in the forest. *You* (listener) might say that Pilanduk could go to the river for water if it weren't for being bitten by the crocodiles (now his enemies).

Audiences often respond to the key story-participant on stage, being focused upon, by shouting bravos to him: "Get going now and prove you can do it; show yourself a man!" In doing so, the audience raises that story-participant to the land of the living, thereby creating an on-the-spot effect as if they were viewing that person for themselves.

3.2 A Shift to the Dramatic Present Tense

To heighten the vividness of key events in his story, the Manobo narrator shifts his surface-structure tense to the irrealis tense. In its lower-level functions, irrealis denotes 'postulated' action rather than 'real' action. On the discourse level, however, it denotes action that is presently taking place, which I refer to as the "Dramatic Present."¹⁵ It most frequently functions in response to a command: either a command to oneself delivered in soliloquy, or a command given by another story-participant in dialogue; even a prognostic interjection by the raconteur himself may prove equally authoritative. When the command is to oneself, the order usually stems from a sudden inspiration gained, from a stated

urgent need to come up with a solution to a dilemma being faced, or an ostentatious speech of boasting and vaunting one's own capabilities (that is, making a claim). It occurs in the initial paragraph of an episode, where it serves not only to initiate the action for that episode, but to dramatize the action being carried out; and it is frequently combined with a shift to the second person to highlight the story-participant involved. And while the use of the dramatic present tense is not a device reserved only for marking the surface structure peaks in his narrative, he employs it there as well in order to add its contribution of drama to his aggregate of rhetorical devices marking peak and Peak (Climax in the deep structure) of his story. From over one-hundred occurrences of the dramatic present tense in the Pilanduk story, I cite the following examples.

3.2.1 Those which occur in the initial paragraph of an episode

In the first episode it is Pilanduk's initial claim, "...I'm going to kidnap the queen and make her my wife" that triggers the use of the dramatic present tense.

Having decided that (his claim), Pilanduk *is dressing up* now. When he had finished dressing, he *is setting out*. Take note, when YOU arrived at the river's bank, Pilanduk had a big problem; for what YOUR problem was is how to get across the river. And so Pilanduk *is staying there* on the river's bank until the seventh day (trying to figure out a solution).

3.2.2 Those which occur at episode peaks

In marking an episode peak with a shift to the dramatic present tense (overlapping somewhat with my discussion of peak marking devices), its use not only heightens the vividness of the action being performed but increases audience suspense by dramatizing an action upon which very often hinges the success or failure of the story's plot. As we approach the peak of episode two and Pilanduk has just directed his song to the queen in order to entice her to try to capture him,

The queen *is getting up* now and *is going over* to her husband. Says she, "Your Highness, you order your servants to capture that bird up in the mango tree for his song is really beautiful."

Of the dramatized action of a story-participant in the initial paragraph of an episode, the Manobo audience often exclaims: *iring te tidtu ne egketemanan* "It's just as though it's really happening." But of dramatized action taking place as tension mounts at an episode's peak, Manobos often slap their thighs in amazement at the kaleidoscope of action before them: *iring te egkekitakita ke uman senge etew kayi te teterehen* "It's just as though I am seeing every person in the story right before my eyes."

3.3 A Shift to the Regular Present Tense with Continuative and Intensive Aspect.

A further significant device for heightening vividness is a shift to the regular present tense, along with continuative or intensive aspect: "keeps on calling," and "really rains and rains," since concurrency helps create an on-the-spot effect as if the audience were really observing these actions for themselves. Combined with present tense verbs is the frequent use of emphatic adverbial particles such as "intensely" and "thoroughly." Present tense verbs frequently occur in topicalized sentences: "As for what is delaying the princess, it is because she keeps tinkling together the tiny bells." Topicalization thus circumvents the verb ranking rules by transforming the entire sentence into a topic-comment wherein the verb must acknowledge the topic by focus cross reference. Topicalized sentences are further couched in metaphors ranging from diminutives to hyperbole, and are often accompanied by a shift to the second person pronoun in order to highlight a story-participant on stage. The regular co-occurrence of these features constitutes what I call the depictive paragraph.

Because of the unique evaluative content of depictive paragraphs, they occur largely in the earlier portion of a narrative, where they function to characterize the key story-participants being introduced, and to introduce any pertinent cultural issues, then their occurrence tapers off considerably toward the story's concluding episodes. Depictive paragraphs occur strategically interspersed between dramatic event-oriented paragraphs and dialogue paragraphs, and are often found in pre-peak position. Here they serve to stretch time out, thus indicating the narrator's keen awareness of the necessity of maintaining a tense story pulse; later on in his story the narrator loosens this restraint and allows events to run headlong toward conclusion. In the latter case he needs such action in order to enliven a dozing audience. And while depictive paragraphs occur largely in the pre-peak position of episodes, their semantic content is integrally tied to plot.

In a story about a Manobo culture hero, the prince (culture hero), disguised in a monkey skin, wins the favor of a king to the extent that the king offers his youngest and most beautiful daughter in marriage to the monkey in return. Outraged by this, the king's wife and subjects disown him; even his once-trusted head servant now usurps his place as leader of the kingdom. Depictive paragraphs throughout the early episodes of this lengthy, one-hundred-and-sixty-page story portray the difficult situation now faced by the lonely king, his daughter, and her monkey-husband, while the king's wife continues to be well cared for.

Take note, the situation of the king's wife now is excellent for she has sweet and fat foods in abundance. The ones providing it for her are all of the king's subjects. It is only the king that they don't like because of his having married his daughter to a monkey.

And the former head-servant takes over the management of the king's fields

We (you and I) would describe them as sounding like a layer of the sky falling because of their noisy shouting. What they are so happy about is that there are many of them. What you (audience) would compare them to is a long stalk of rattan being pulled along, with all of them in single file.

Finally, the monkey-husband takes his beautiful wife and father-in-law to the mountains, and we approach the peak of this lengthy episode as the monkey-husband reveals his identity to them, showing them his paradise home of luxury, with food beyond their wildest dreams. Once inside the house, the monkey-husband points out the bedroom reserved for the king.

So you (king) are to have that room, and you are delighted with just looking around inside the house, for there are many, many things for you to see. One thing there that you are staring at in wonder is something like a huge lake with seven shoals of real fish in it. What they are doing is continually swimming around and around in the water right inside the house. As he goes inside his room we (narrator and audience) can just see him grab his chest in amazement, for he doesn't recognize a thing in this bedroom that is to be his. What he sees are many kinds of new clothes, and his bed and mattress are of gold. And so the chief remains here inside his room.

But back in the king's former kingdom, a famine of unparalleled severity has struck. As we approach the peak of that episode, which has largely been carried by dialogue, the narrator shifts to a depictive paragraph which soon has the audience slapping their thighs with laughter, mainly with vicarious enjoyment of the punishment that seems to have been meted out to the king's former wife and subjects through their present circumstances of famine. "They finally got what was coming to them!" a person in the audience chuckles.

As for Sebandar (former head-servant of the king) and the others, their backs are now sticking to the floor from being too weak to move. As for the queen, the only thing that she still keeps moving are her eye-balls; she isn't even able to get up now! You (audience) might say that where could you go for food anyway since there isn't any to be had? As for the famine, we can see that it has lasted for quite some time now!

Effective as the depictive paragraph is, it does not satisfy a Manobo audience for long. For Manobo audiences recognize that the story's event-line is not promoted by it. And when story participants fail to move the event-line

forward, an audience admonishes the narrator to “keep on now” and “don’t stop here (of all places).”

Thus the narrator’s handling of his shift to the regular present tense in the depictive paragraph requires special skill; but it is invaluable in helping him maintain the dynamic flow of his all-night story performance. As a strategist he capitalizes on the momentum gained, for he knows his audience is anxiously waiting for the resumption of action in his story.

From the foregoing discussion it is therefore meaningful to distinguish between the backbone, or event-line, of a Manobo narrative discourse and evaluative or depictive material (Longacre 1981). The former correlates with independent clauses whose verb is in the past tense or dramatic present, while the present tense forms, by the addition of such features as aspect, emphatic adverbial particles, and topicalization, are indicative of depictive.

And, while it is the past tense and dramatic present tense of the story’s back-bone or skeletal form that chart the story’s progress forward, it is the present tense combined with features of aspect and topicalization, along with *highly topicalized non-verbal clauses, which provide flesh for the skeleton*. Indeed, without evaluative or depictive content, a Manobo narrative would lose much of its artistic value.

4. Rhetorical Devices Marking Surface Structure Peak

In addition to heightening the vividness of his story and thereby convincing his audience that they are witnessing the events of his story taking place, it is also of crucial importance to the narrator that his all-night audience recognize the high points or peaks in his narrative, whether in individual episodes of the story, or as its main climax and final denouement. This is especially true of “oral tradition literature” since there is no recourse to a “rereading” of any portion of it the following day. The Manobo raconteur therefore draws from his wealth of linguistic devices to indicate such peaks in the surface structure of his narrative. Under the following headings I discuss four of the most frequently used devices he employs: rhetorical underlining, a concentration of participants on stage, rhetorical question, and condensation of time.

4.1 Rhetorical Underlining by Parallelism and Paraphrase

A master raconteur does not want his listeners to miss a single crucial point in his story. As an effective rhetorical device he employs paraphrase, or carefully-metered couplet, triplet, and quadruplet stanzas to tautologically underscore a surface structure peak which he does not want to go by unnoticed because the hour grows late and his audience is weary. In a narrative about a

Manobo hunter who wins a skymaiden as his wife by stealing her feather-dress when she and her sisters come to earth to bathe, we approach the first episode's peak as the young hunter walking in the forest hears a rumbling overhead and looks up to see seven equally-beautiful young women with feather wings alighting at a pool a short distance ahead.

You couldn't tell them apart,
for all were exactly alike.

You could not tell which was the youngest,
and you could not tell which was the oldest.
You could not tell which was the most beautiful,
for all were equally beautiful;
all looked exactly alike,
their bearing was exactly the same.

And in the Pilanduk story cited earlier, we approach the second episode's peak as Pilanduk reaches the palace, dresses in black and climbs a tree in the palace yard. Pretending to be a talking bird, he directs his song to the queen in order to entice her to come down from the palace and capture him — so that he, in turn, can kidnap her and carry her off to be his wife. His song goes as follows:

"If I could only be captured
how famous the king would be,
including also his queen;
if I could be captured by them;
for it would be told in places far and near,
that the queen has captured a bird
who knows how to talk,
who knows how to sing."

Pilanduk's song has its desired effect, for the queen begs her husband to send out his servants at once to capture the bird. Then to promote an air of expectancy towards the competency of the king's servants, the narrator rhetorically underlines his description of their deportment for his audience.

My, and you (king) have no difficulty
commanding these servants of yours to do something,
for they always sit ready on their haunches,
so they will be quick to be up at the king's command,
not taking long to get up on their feet.

Although the king loses no time in ordering his men out to search a second time, the third episode closes as his servants return without success. We reach the peak of the final episode (and Peak of the entire embedded narrative as

well) as Pilanduk delivers his final plea that the queen must come alone if she is to capture him. Thus the queen puts an end to any further delay.

"Since that's how it is," said the queen,
 "that I am the one desired by the bird,
 then why should I depend upon someone else?
 I had better go myself.
 Now what I want is for you (maidservants)
 not to go with me;
 for if you do, then that bird will not be caught.
 It's better that I go alone."

As the onset of a narrative's Peak is a zone of turbulence (Longacre 1985:86) where the regular flow of grammatical rules is temporarily suspended, so may cultural rules and mores similarly be temporarily laid aside. Thus the queen is allowed to go out into the night alone, a night described by the narrator as being "too dark for even brothers to recognize one another." But instances of unacceptable behavior as this are expected to be challenged by the Manobo audience who act as folk-jurors of Manobo custom. "Now just look at the queen going out alone, all by herself!" they interject with disgust.

Thus with the queen's decision made, she goes down the palace steps alone, muttering to herself, "This darkness doesn't bother me, if I can only catch that bird!" And with that she walks into the web of Pilanduk's carefully-laid plans. Here the art of rhetorical underlining serves the Manobo narrator well; not only in alerting his audience to crucial peak points in his story, but in keeping his audience overtly involved as folk-jurors of Manobo morals and cultural values as well.

4.2 A Concentration of Story-Participants on Stage

At the Peak (Climax in the deep structure) of his story, and often at Peak in a lengthy embedded narrative as well, a Manobo narrator frequently brings on stage all who have been associated with his key story-participants—very often to alert his audience to crucial moral judgments about to be made. Thus at Peak in the embedded narrative discussed in the previous section, the Manobo narrator brings on stage the king, his men-servants, the queen, her maid-servants, and even Pilanduk himself, thus approximating the universal set (Longacre 1976). As for Pilanduk's presence on stage, the narrator on two occasions clearly points this out for his audience by saying, "the queen's discussion with her husband concerning the bird is being overheard by Pilanduk as well," and again somewhat later "that Pilanduk intensifies the pleading in his song as he sees the intense anxiety of the queen over her desire to capture him." Thus Pilanduk's involvement with the actors on stage (by being able to see and overhear what is being said and done) places him on a corner of that stage—

with the stage including not only the palace verandah where the royal family and attendants sit, but the palace yard as well, where Pilanduk sits hidden in the mango tree. Certainly he is no farther afield than one of the stage's wings.

4.3 Rhetorical Question

A further means by which the Manobo raconteur marks the surface structure peak of an episode is by the use of rhetorical question. This he frequently rhetorically underlines with parallelism or paraphrase as well. In the skymaiden narrative referred to in the 4.1 section of this paper, the Peak of the entire narrative is marked with a series of rhetorical questions. As the hunter sees the seven skymaidens clad in feather-winged robes descending to a nearby pool, the hunter succeeds in stealing one of their robes as the skymaidens occupy themselves with bathing. When the maidens emerge from the pool and one is unable to find her dress, she is forced to remain on earth as the young man's wife. The hunter hides the feather robe in a bamboo tube zither which he places up in the rafters at the peak of their house. A child is later born to them, who one day, as the father is out hunting, cries for the zither she sees up in the rafters. Unable to pacify her, the mother gives in, and we approach the Peak of the entire narrative as the mother begins her climb. It is marked by the following three rhetorical questions:

"What are you crying for?" (she mutters to her daughter who has not yet learned to talk.) Then reaching for the instrument, "Why can't we have some music now that there is an instrument here to play? For I really like to play the zither!" But there is no sound. "My goodness, what's wrong with this bamboo zither that it makes no sound?"

When she can see nothing by looking inside, she bangs it against the rafters and out tumbles her feather robe, enabling her at last to return home to her own kingdom. In another variant of this narrative where the mother sends her husband to climb up in the rafters for the instrument, its narrator employs three rhetorical questions (one rhetorically underlined with paraphrase) to mark his narrative's peak just as the feather robe tumbles out from its hiding place.

"Why did you put my dress in here if you didn't want it to be discovered? You didn't care enough for me to prevent my leaving by burning it up? Why did you hide my dress in here if you didn't want me to return home to my own folks?"

4.4 A Condensation of Time

A further device for marking peak in the development of a Manobo story's plot involves the condensation of time: "Take note, the story moves faster now....," followed by a statement of the amount of time being spanned, such as,

"for it is afternoon already, and now it is morning again"; or a statement regarding the state of progress in the story's plot. In the Pilanduk story (cited in sections 2, 3, and 4), Pilanduk sits at the top of a mango tree in the palace yard pretending to be a talking bird, his song enticing the queen to come down and capture him. The king's servants have already made two futile attempts and the queen, in desperation, has sent out her maid-servants to search for the bird. We approach the Peak of this lengthy embedded narrative as the queen's servants return to report their lack of success. With only one option remaining – that the queen comply with the bird's request to come alone herself – the narrator employs his first condensation of time,

Take note, *the story goes faster now*, but the situation is still the same; no one has seen this bird.

The queen succumbs to Pilanduk's plea and he is able to kidnap her and escape. But an argument with King Crocodile follows when Pilanduk refuses to keep his agreement with Crocodile to give him the kidnapped queen; and the king's servants are thus enabled to rescue the queen, forcing Pilanduk to flee. As this lengthy embedded discourse closes, there is further embedding of a short narrative as the rescued queen relates to her husband back at the palace that she has overheard the argument between Pilanduk and King Crocodile, leaving Pilanduk now to face all King Crocodile's angry subjects. With the queen's report to her husband foreshadowing problems ahead for Pilanduk, the narrator employs his second condensation of time, this occurrence outranking his earlier one by combining it with a new episode setting as well. Here, the narrator spans considerable time by bringing his audience more quickly to the peak of his story's second main episode and Crocodile's ultimatum to Pilanduk, which is further rhetorically underlined with paraphrase.

Take note, we will end our discussion about the queen,
for we will now talk about Pilanduk and Crocodile here.
The story moves faster now, for after two days Pilanduk
again met up with Crocodile. Said Crocodile, "We've
encountered each other again so that you will know that
wherever you go,
whether you crawl inside a hole on earth,
or go up to the sky above,
or go down to the underworld below,
I'm going to follow you until I kill you
because of what you did in deceiving me;
beginning with our meeting today,
I'm really going to be your enemy." said Crocodile.

The narrator's strategy of sandwiching his condensation of time between depictive paragraphs (which have been further enhanced with features of

rhetorical underlining, rhetorical question, and a shift to the second person pronoun to focus directly upon Pilanduk in his dilemma) serve him well in maintaining a tense story pulse. And hopeless as Pilanduk's dilemma appears, the narrator's final use of his condensation of time persuades the audience to expect the impossible. "Hurry, think of something fast!" they interject to Pilanduk. And the narrator tells us, "At that Pilanduk thought of what he could do." Pilanduk's plan proves successful; thus the narrator's final condensation of time correlates with the beginning of a way out for Pilanduk.

5. 'Closure' of His Performance

Just as a Manobo narrator has employed linguistic devices in order to transport his audience to the very scene where his story is taking place, followed by a variety of rhetorical features to keep his audience's attention focused upon the story and aware of its peak as the events unfold before them, so it is of obligatory importance that he closes his story in a formal Manobo fashion. Closures include several variants based on the Manobo word *taman* "the limit, the end," such as "And that's the end now." But he often chooses to employ metaphor because of the colorful images it conjures up: "And now the story has come to the other end and is finished," where the expression "has come to the other end" is derived from *epus* "the final smouldering embers of a log which has burned its way through its entire length." A variant of one of these closures is certain to be employed by the master Manobo raconteur to formally conclude his performance; in over two-thousand pages of recorded narratives, no story occurs without it.

6. Conclusion

It is, therefore, evident that a very integral part of understanding the Manobo storytelling performance, and the Manobo oral transmission process as well, involves their language. And that the Manobo language possesses a dynamic array of rhetorical devices for enabling the Manobo storyteller to become not only a master of dramatic entertainment, but a master in the art of maintaining the emotional involvement of his audience through the important Manobo cultural implications found strategically distributed at peak points throughout his narrative.

Notes:

- ¹ The Ilianen Manobo are an indigenous cultural community in North Cotabato on the island of Mindanao. They refer to themselves as Ilianen or Menuvù. Their language is Austronesian and belongs to the Manobo subfamily of Philippine languages (Elkins 1974:601-641). The data presented here were collected on field trips from 1962 to 1994; the writer has intermittently been a resident in the area since 1962.
The linguistic analysis in this paper is based upon some two-thousand pages of Ilianen Manobo narratives which were tape-recorded in the context of formal Manobo storytelling performances.
- ² I use the term "performance" rather than, for example, "presentation" since a Manobo audience is required for the linguistic responses described here (see Hymes 1981:79-86; 138-141).
- ³ While an Ilianen Manobo narrator may be either male or female, for the sake of conciseness I have opted to use a male narrator, or raconteur, throughout the paper.
- ⁴ Although a chieftain travels from one area to another to celebrate the New Year and anoint his subjects, the older generation of each area will attend at least one celebration other than their own, traveling great distances to do so.
- ⁵ Such gatherings may be comprised of several well-known raconteurs who have been invited by the chieftain, as well as younger narrators anxious to demonstrate their abilities. It is to such gatherings as this that the beginning narrator comes to learn his art.
- ⁶ *Anggam/Ayà*: "Uncle/Aunt" are terms of respect to a person older than oneself.
- ⁷ This is true of young people still learning the art who are expected to practice on their peers. They seek opportunities to do this by staying overnight with relatives where the young men sleep in temporary shelters in newly-planted fields in order to scare away the hungry rice birds, and later the wild pigs which destroy the young plants. This necessitates the boys remaining awake in order to periodically pull on a vine fastened to their shelter and to a stake driven into the ground at the other end. On the vine are strung several short sections of bamboo split down one side so as to produce a clapping noise when vibrated. In order to stay awake the boys take turns retelling the stories they have heard from seasoned raconteurs. It is a time looked forward to by young boys for gaining expertise in their art.
- ⁸ Benedict briefly describes the storytelling situation of a young Bagobo (a language group related to Ilianen Manobo) practicing on her peers. "As twilight comes and young Bagobo women are forced to leave work at their looms," Benedict says, "she sits on the floor, or lies on her back with hands clasped behind her head, and pours out her story in an unbroken flow to the eager young men and girls who gather to listen. I have seen a girl of thirteen the sole auditor while a boy but little older than she rolled off [a story] that seemed interminable....The children did not glance at each other but the face of each was all alight with joy at the tale." (See Laura Watson Benedict 1913:1916.)
For a description of the storytelling situation of isolated farmsteads in Hungary, see István Tömörkény 1914.
- ⁹ As pointed out by Dégh and Vazsonyi, "narratives...are shaped by the interaction of three factors: tradition, teller, and audience." (See Linda Dégh and Andrew Vazsonyi 1975.)
- ¹⁰ Pilanduk also constitutes a cycle of narratives found among the Manobos' Muslim neighbors, the Maguindanaon and Maranao (see Robt. McAmis 1966).
- ¹¹ A frequent linguistic alternative by which the Manobo narrator handles the same information in this final sentence of setting is by means of sentence topicalization, wherein the verb ranking rules are circumvented by transforming the sentence into a topic-comment relationship: *Iyan din dà ed-ul-ulaan ne edarütariu te lalag din*. "As for what he constantly does, it is repeated deception in his talking."

Notes:

- ¹² *datu*: "chief" occurs in Manobo Oral Literature as a term for king. When it is used as a term of direct address it becomes *si Keretuan* "Your Highness" derived from *si* "person marker," and *datu* "chief."
- ¹³ Should an action taking place on stage, such as the tinkling of bells, be heard some distance away in the territory of a yet-unintroduced key story-participant, the narrator will create a new episode setting with *riya* "there [far away, out of sight] the bells are echoing in the country of Tulalang." In such cases the narrator not only brings on stage a story-participant who is already involved in his story's plot (that is, a young man intrigued by the sound of tinkling bells which he recognizes as a Manobo heirloom often associated with a chieftain's daughter, the princess), but the narrator also sparks audience interest by involving them with the ramifications of anticipated action on the stage.
- ¹⁴ Rhetoricians also point out the use of "you" and "us" as devices by which the speaker identifies himself with his audience. In oratorical communion the speaker may try to merge himself with his audience. "The...effect is obtained by enallage of person in which "I" or "he" is replaced by "you" making the hearer imagine he sees himself in the midst of danger, and which is a figure relating both to presence and to communion." (See Ch. Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969:178).
- ¹⁵ Linguists, grammarians, and rhetoricians have described a similar tense usage for English and other languages as well. Linguist Koehn demonstrates plot divisions bracketed by groups of verbs marked for historical tense in Apalai narrative (See Koen 1976). Grammarian Curme says: "In narrative, especially in a lively style, the 'historical present' is much used to make past events more vivid and bring them nearer the hearer...." (See Curme 1947.) And rhetoricians as Ch. Perelman & L. Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) state: "An audience can also be influenced by the use of tense....The present has the further property of conveying most readily what we have called 'the feeling of presence'."

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