1. INTRODUCTION

Until the past two decades the Ilianen Manobo, one of the indigenous cultural communities of the Philippines, lived in relative isolation, maintaining their Manobo traditions handed down to them by their ancestors over the centuries. Their relative isolation and the high respect they held for their language have enabled them to maintain a very rich body of oral literature.

Drawing upon that extensive body of oral literature, Manobo 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 also functions as a medium of instruction in transmitting their highly-valued cultural mores and customs (Wrigglesworth 1971, 1977a), and as a vehicle for establishing precedent in the formal settlement (egkukum) of Manobo cases involving their custom-law (which shares semantic components of both betasan and adat).

The first part of this paper deals with a Manobo storyteller's acquisition of her repertoire, including a discussion of some of the specific influences which served to broaden and polish her storytelling techniques (Wrigglesworth 1993b). And, while the description found in this section of the paper pertains to one raconteuse, in particular, many of the circumstances are characteristic of all prominent Ilianen Manobo narrators — both male and female. A genealogical study of the most famous Manobo raconteurs revealed that

"All had been the product of a chieftain's home — which served as the locus operandi of the area in providing social gatherings and entertainments. Each narrator had traveled extensively with a chieftain-father who was heavily engaged in Manobo case-settling (egkukum). And most narrators had also benefited from having chieftain grandfathers and
chietain great-grandfathers before them who had been recognized raconteurs as well.5

The section concludes with a description of the raconteuse's long-standing involvement in the settling of Manobo custom-law cases (egkukum) as a vital factor in the shaping of her narratives.

In the second part of the paper, I present an overview of more extensive descriptions (Wrigglesworth 1984, 1993b) of the linguistic devices employed by a Manobo narrator for transporting her audience to the scene where her story is taking place and heightening the vividness of that story, thereby convincing her audience they are witnessing the events of the story taking place.

1.1. The Manobo Raconteuse's Acquisition of Repertoire

The accomplished Manobo raconteuse sat pondering my question concerning past influences which had contributed to the development of her storytelling abilities and the acquisition of her narrative repertoire.6 As she looked back over the experiences of her life, she readily expressed that there had been no earlier occasion which had caused her to attempt to objectively sum up what might have been influences upon her lifelong vocation. But as she began recalling various situations that had undoubtedly been of help, it soon became apparent that there were at least four major factors that had contributed to the development of her expertise — as well as to the mastery of her large repertoire of Manobo narratives.7

First, there was her chieftain father's household where Manobo master storytellers were frequent visitors or were readily sent for when needed to perform for a social gathering; these social gatherings began acquainting her with a wide selection of Manobo narratives at a very early age. Secondly, her later marriage to a Manobo chieftain and shaman provided opportunities for her to accompany him in his frequent travels, thus enabling her to continue broadening and polishing her storytelling techniques. Thirdly, a variety of Manobo audiences, which often required narratives shaped to illustrate the particular issues involved in the settling of Manobo legal-cases and disputes, provided further challenges to her creative ability. And fourthly, there was the important role played by a capable young widowed paternal aunt (also the daughter of a chieftain), who was possibly the most important influence — because she had lived nearby during the narrator's childhood — thus providing her with a personal tutor during her formative years.

She now began nostalgically recalling for me the particular narratives she had learned from this aunt; but for many of the other stories in her repertoire, she did not remember the sources, or narrators, involved. "It has been easy for me to remember those stories I really liked," she now confided, "and it has also been easy for me to forget the ones I didn't care so much about."8

The narrator's famous raconteuse aunt had been widowed very early in life, before she had borne any children. Although it was highly unusual in Manobo society at that time for a young widow to be permitted to remain a widow, at the funeral feast she chose the only option she had which might possibly achieve such results, and that was "to plead to be allowed to continue preserving the memory of her deceased husband." Because her father was the influential chieftain of the area, her wishes were granted. And so she remained in her house next to her parents'
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home, constantly visited by nieces, nephews, and their playmates, who often stayed for days at a time in order to listen to her stories.

Living but a short distance from her aunt's house, my narrator friend as a child of six or seven had begun frequenting her aunt's home to persuade her to tell her some stories. Two of her early favorite stories remain her favorites to this day, and they were her first two proud contributions to my taping sessions with her. She laughingly now recalled the occasion when she heard these two narratives for the first time, and knew then that she wanted to learn to tell them for herself just as Auntie did it.

Arriving at her aunt's home one afternoon with one of her half-sisters, she went on to tell me, she found her aunt still engrossed in harvesting mungo beans out in the field. It didn't take too much coaxing before the aunt succumbed to the children's urgent pleas for another story; she put the last few mungo beans in the basket tied around her waist and returned to the house where she had two willing volunteers ready to help her pound rice for the evening meal.

As soon as they had cooked and eaten their supper, the three of them rolled out their 'baruy' "sleeping mats" on the split-bamboo floor and stretched out. As darkness fell and the fireflies hung in clusters like jackfruit glistening on the barak trees at the door of their aunt's house, two children were transported to the very stage of storyland by their auntie's soft voice. For she had confidently begun her favorite "Wide Back" story's setting with the rhythmical rhyming and tongue-twisting names: "Take note, there [far away, out of sight] we [inclusive] are with Berentenigewtigew and Berenqkenitutkitut."

Even at a young age, my now-famous Manobo narrator friend had begun finding it exciting to discover some of the deeper cultural meaning behind the oft-repeated adages used with Manobo children, and to begin adding to her own repertoire those narratives which she found culturally meaningful. "Although my brothers and sisters really like these stones too," she volunteered, "none of them was as interested as I was in learning the stories in order to perform them for an audience." "And when I heard a story told by a renowned storyteller in my father's home that I found particularly meaningful," she continued, "I would beg permission the following day to run to aunt's house to have her help straighten out the lengthy episodes and details. Sometimes I only needed to ask her a few questions, as 'What happened next to...?' Then I would try my own fledgling wings at retelling the entire story that I had heard the night before, and when I faltered then Auntie would prompt me or simply take over until the uncertain details had been smoothed out."

Having her aunt as a patient resource person nearby assisted her in quickly assimilating the contents of those stories which she only had opportunity to hear but once. It also greatly aided her in polishing her "narrative art" from the beginning, since she seldom had to tell a story in public until her narration of it was somewhat perfected. (Young people still learning the art are expected to practise on their peers, not in an adult group. They seek opportunities to do this by grouping themselves separately on days when several families are husking corn together. Also, a group of young men may be requested to stay overnight with a family's small children while their parents attend a wake. This is an opportunity young men seize upon to stay awake late, voluntarily entertaining one another with storytelling.) Thus, the aspiring Manobo narrator's having ready access to her accomplished aunt as a private tutor, coupled with her chieftain father's visiting performers in their
home, contributed to the more rapid development of her expertise and the broadening of her narrative repertoire.

Her childhood and early married life were spent in the area where her father was chief. From then until I located her living where her husband had served as chief, she had moved several times. And during the last decade of unrest in the area, the large evening gatherings of Manobos for the purpose of formal storytelling — such as those which typically followed the settling of Manobo custom-law disputes — were changed to daytime observances.

"In addition to the decreased opportunity today for large social gatherings in which to perform stories," the narrator continued, "only one of my children — a son — has shown any interest in learning the traditional Manobo narratives that have taken me a lifetime to acquire." Somehow she had communicated the same enthusiasm to her son that was evident to me in the performance of her two favorite stories, for she was quick to add that her favorites had become his favorites as well. However, neither of them could estimate a numerical account of his stock of narratives. Neither could she estimate the number of narratives in her own repertoire when I first began recording her narratives; some tabulation of the size of her repertoire was possible only after I had finally finished recording all that she could remember. During the recording process she had daily exhausted her memory, but would return again the following evening with another lengthy story to relate.

1.2. The Raconteuse's Long-standing Involvement in the Settling of Manobo Legal Cases as an Influence in the Shaping of Her Narratives

One gains insight as to the far-reaching extent to which a narrator's long-standing involvement in the settling of Manobo custom-law cases has been instrumental in the shaping of her narratives by closely examining one of those narratives as it occurs elsewhere. Such a narrative, filling a major role in the reinforcement of Manobo cultural values, is her Si Meraat Bawa wey si Mepiya Bawa "Bad Character (Girl) and Good Character (Girl)" narrative. Found in the oral literatures of more than 50 countries of the world, this story has been classified in the world oral literature index of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson as AT480 The Kind and the Unkind Girls. A summary of the Manobo plot is as follows:

SETTING: Two sisters, Bad Character Girl and Good Character Girl, live together

CYCLE ONE begins with Good Character sister inviting Bad Character sister to help her dig sweet potatoes at the farm of a widower. But it is not until Good Character sister returns home laden down with sweet potatoes, and bananas as well, that Bad Character sister decides to go. Because Bad Character girl is rude to the owner of the sweet potato field, she is sent to a portion of the field already harvested, and to a banana patch with only green bananas; thus she is forced to return home with only one small soggy banana.
In CYCLE TWO, Good Character girl invites Bad Character sister to accompany her to the river to do their washing, but Bad Character sister prefers to go later. Upon finishing her washing at the river, Good Character sister washes her hair, encounters a pait-fish which asks to pull her pubic hair and, when Good Character girl does not argue, the pait-fish pulls the hair on Good Character girl's head instead, adding to her beauty with longer hair. Good Character girl then encounters a wild-hen which asks to defecate on her mosquito-net and, when the hen is not refused, it lays eggs on the net instead. When Bad Character sister sees her sister's good fortune, she attempts to obtain the same results. Hurriedly washing her mosquito-net while ignoring its stains, she spreads out the net so Wild-hen can fill it with eggs. Still waiting for Wild-hen to appear, Bad Character girl washes her hair—while questioning where Pait-fish can be. When Pait-fish appears, asking to pull Bad Character girl's pubic hair, she responds with anger and is punished with extra long pubic hair. When Wild-hen finally appears asking to defecate on Bad Character girl's net, it likewise receives a scathing reply, and Bad Character girl is punished by having her mosquito-net filled with chicken manure.

In CYCLE THREE, Good Character girl invites Bad Character sister to go fishing and when again refused, goes alone to Crocodile's house where she asks for help in fishing. Crocodile agrees if Good Character girl will take care of Crocodile's child. As Crocodile hears Good Character girl's lullaby flattering Crocodile's child, she redoubles her efforts—bringing back a huge variety of fish. Bad Character girl, upon seeing her sister's huge catch of fish, immediately sets out to get her share. But when her insulting lullaby to Crocodile's child is overheard, she is repaid with but one very small fish.

In CYCLE FOUR, Good Character girl invites Bad Character sister to help gather bamboo shoots and is again refused. While cutting bamboo shoots, Good Character girl encounters a deer asking for help to cut off some of its fat so it will be able to walk again. When she shows great pity for the deer, carefully cutting off only what Deer wishes to be rid of, she is rewarded with a long string of tender deer meat. Bad Character girl, upon hearing of her kind sister's encounter with Deer, sets out with a large knife, finds the deer but ignores his pleas not to touch his heart, and is gored to death by Deer as a result.

I examine this narrative in light of some of its European, Asian, and Philippine variants. In making such a comparison, I employ the eight basic elements of this narrative, along with their sub-categories, as determined by Aarne and Thompson's index of world oral literature (1961), in order to compare the events of the Manobo narrator's version of "Bad Character (Girl) and Good Character (Girl)" with the well-known German version "Frau Holle" (Olms 1963:207-266); two Indonesian versions "De twee Zusters," (De Vries 1925, Vol. 1:110-118) and "Bawang Putih und Bawang Merah" (Kratz, ed. 1973:108-110);16 three Maranao versions "Fat Thin Deer," "Mapiya a Baioura's Visit to the Balbal," and "Marata a Balowa's Good Neighbor" (Agamaniyog Folktales 1979:1:66-72); and a Maguindanaon variant "Dagkabudai endu si Dagkabudsai" (Wein 1986:5-26).
As one examines the story-events in each of these narratives, according to Aarne and Thompson’s (A&T) eight basic elements and their sub-categories, certain similarities and contrasts become apparent.

I. Kind and Unkind Girls. The dramatis personae of the German and Indonesian versions are accounted for by A&T’s category of I(a) “a real daughter and a step-daughter”; in the Manobo version, they are A&T I(b) “two sisters (unmarried)”; in the Maguindanaon they are A&T I(b) “two sisters (married, each with a daughter)”; in one of the Maranao versions, they are A&T I(b) “two sisters (widowed)”; and in two of the Maranao versions, they are A&T I(c) “other girls (widowed neighbors).”

II. Start of the Journey. The undertaking of the journey is most dramatically portrayed in the German version, where the kind sister’s action is described by the category of A&T II(a) “She falls/jumps into a well [to reclaim a lost shuttle, thereby entering the underworld].” In both Indonesian versions her action is categorized by A&T II(g) “she goes from home for other reasons (to wash clothes)”; in the Maranao variants her action is described by A&T II(c) “to gather firewood” and A&T II(g) “she goes for other reasons (to visit, or to wash clothes); in the Maguindanaon text it is A&T II(c) "to gather food"; and in the Ilianen Manobo text it is A&T II(c) "to gather food" and A&T II(g) "she goes for other reasons (to wash clothes)."

III. The Pursuit. While in the German and Indonesian versions the pursuit is as described in A&T III(c) "for a lost object," in the Maranao, Maguindanaon, and Manobo variants, the element of "an object which is lost, blown away, or carried away" is not present. The reason the girls leave home (or undertake a journey) is the more practical reason already stated in category II.

IV. Encounter en Route. Three variants, the Indonesian version entitled "De twee Zusters," the Maguindanaon version, and the Ilianen Manobo version, contain a very similar encounter of the type classified by A&T (a) “an animal asks for help.” In all three texts it is a crocodile who asks the girls help in singing a lullaby to Crocodile’s child. The lullabies in these narratives, as sung first by the kind sister, and later by the unkind one, likewise bear strong resemblances. That the lullaby motif may be characteristic of most East Indies versions, as well, is suggested by Warren Roberts’ extensive study of this narrative, where he states that six of the seven East Indies versions that he found contained the element of “the heroine being asked to tend a baby” (Roberts 1958b:109).

(Indonesian) (Maguindanaon) (Ilianen Manobo)

"De twee Zusters" "Dagkabudai endu si "Si Meraat Bawa
Dagkabudsai" wey si Mepiya Bawa"
"Lullaby, lullaby, Oh child of the crocodile, Its odor is as a fragrant blossom."

"Adau, adau, adadau, I am fondling the child of Grandfather Crocodile Rocked in something soft like jellyfish, Which is full of golden buttons."

"Lullaby, lullaby, Oh child of the crocodile, Cradled in swinging vines, A cradle of Lubpegida-vines, You smell like Bedak-powder, The smell of Kemeniyana-leaves, Lullaby."

"Lullaby, lullaby, This child of the crocodile, Its odor is as bad as the stench of an open sore."

"Adau, adau, adadau, For the grandchild of Grandfather Crocodile, Rocked as if in a rattan cradle, Who is full of earth, Whose neck is like a stove, Whose tail is like a saw, Whose back is rough like an oyster."

"Lullaby, lullaby, Oh, child of Crocodile, Cradled in swinging vines, A cradle of Lubpegida-vines, You smell like manure, The odor of chicken manure."

The three narratives represented above, along with the Maranao variant "Fat Thin Deer," also include a second animal encounter of the type found in A&T IV(a2) "sheep to be sheared" (deer to have its excess fat cut off so it will be able to walk again).

V. End of Journey. In the German variant "Frau Holle," the Indonesian variant of "Bawang Putih und Bawang Merah," and the Maranao variant "Mapiya a Balowa's Visit to the Balbal," the end of the journey is accounted for by the category of A&T V(e) "the women arrive at the abode of a supernatural person."

VI. The Old Woman's (Man's) Tasks. The assigned tasks are found only in the German and Indonesian variants and are of the category found in A&T VI(a) "doing household chores."

VII. The Reward. When the reward results from the performance of the tasks assigned in VI, as is found in the German variant and in both Indonesian versions, a reward of "gold and gems" as categorized by A&T VII(b) is the result.

In the case of the three Maranao texts, the Maguindanaon text, and the Ilianen Manobo text, which have become well-acculturated to three different indigenous cultural communities of the Philippines, the reward results from the demonstration of "appropriate cultural conduct" which the Manobo audience constantly voices approval of during the storytelling performance; the reward is "an abundance of food" (Cf the category of A&T VII(e) "other good things"). When the Philippine narrative variants consist of more than one cycle of events, there is also the reward of "a handsome young man as husband" as in the Maranao text of "Mapiya a Balowa's Visit to the Balbal" (Cf A&T VII(e)); and in the Ilianen Manobo variant, it is the "added beauty of long hair" (Cf A&T VII(c) "she is made more lovely").
VIII. Kind and Unkind. When upon the kind sister's return home, her unkind sister learns of her success and attempts to have the same adventures, she is unkind and disobedient to everything and everyone encountered, and is subsequently punished. In the German variant of "Frau Holle," the punishment is described by category A&T VIII(c) "she is made hideous" (a kettle of pitch is poured over her which she is never able to remove); in the Indonesian variant of "Bawang Putih und Bawang Merah," the punishment is described by A&T VIII(d) "a gourd filled with animals, snakes and centipedes"; while in the second Indonesian variant of "De twee Zusters," the punishment is described by A&T VIII(a1) "dirt falling from her mouth."

In two of the Maranao variants "Marata a Balowa's Good Neighbor" and "Mapiya a Balowa's visit to the Balbal," the Maguindanaon variant, and the Ilianen Manobo version, the punishment is as described by A&T VIII(b) "she is killed." In all but the second Maranao narrative (where it is a snake) she is killed by a deer.

Such similarities should not appear strange when we realize the extent to which this narrative has traveled throughout the world. In Stith Thompson's lifetime study of world oral literature, he points out that many of the traditional narratives current in Western Asia and Europe are also found in Indonesia. "It is natural," he goes on to say, "that these Indonesian [narratives] should show a greater resemblance to those of India than to those of European countries. The old literary Hindu collections and the Buddhist writings are the direct source of a considerable number of stories in Java, Sumatra, and Borneo (Thompson 1946:284).

When one compares the length of the German and Indonesian variants, an increase in length is noted between the German version (1100 words) and the Indonesian variant of "De twee Zusters" (2100 words). Of the Philippine versions of Maranao, Maguindanaon, and Ilianen Manobo, one notes a steady progression in length from the longest Maranao version (1500 words), to the Maguindanaon version (2300 words), to that of the Ilianen Manobo version (7000 words).

But more importantly, it is to be noted that two of three Maranao versions, along with the Maguindanaon variant and the Ilianen Manobo version, have become cyclic. The narrators portray the same two key dramatis personae [the kind sister/widow/neighbor, followed by the unkind sister/widow/neighbor] as each woman encounters and responds to the same circumstances throughout at least two complete cycles of events in the narrative. In the case of the Ilianen Manobo version of this narrative (and every other Ilianen Manobo variant of this narrative that has been recorded), the narrative consistently portrays four cycles of events encountered first by Good Character (Girl), then by Bad Character (Girl).

For Ilianen Manobo society, audience participation reflects responses characteristic of the Manobo social context. Each example of acceptable Manobo conduct in the story is lauded by the Manobo audience with responses as: Mepiya mal "Now that's good (that is, that is the proper way to act)" while infringement of Manobo culture never fails to be disapproved of by the audience as violation of a socially-approved norm. Such conduct receives a range of audience responses from mild warnings as Nê ki Meraat Bawa! "Be careful, Bad Character (Girl)!" to a response of mockery as, Ah, merangit si Meraat Bawa! "My, Bad Character (Girl) is angry" to a more stern warning as Nê, su edshahap ke en! "Watch out, or you'll get what's coming to you!" in cases of more flagrant violation.
As a narrator of their traditional oral literature, the Manobo narrator fills the unique role of being a powerful regenerative force in society. For the narrator's repertoire embodies the very Manobo cultural heritage that has thus far been successfully preserved. Rut te kelukesan te enenayan ne melimbag rut te langun dut te sikami ne Manu~ "from our very first ancestors created, down to all of us Manobos today." That such a heritage bears continuance constitutes a sacred obligation enjoined upon every Manobo.

At the level of the speech act, the goal of the accomplished Manobo narrator is not simply one of entertainment, but one carefully intertwined with a steady reinforcement of proper Manobo customs [betasan] and respect [adat]. The plot of the narrative Si Meraat Bawa wey si Mepiya Bawa "Bad Character (Girl) and Good Character (Girl)," with a host of Manobo rhetorical devices available for heightening the vividness of that plot, is utilized as a subtle opening to far more serious and weighty areas of consideration. To accomplish this goal, I suggest that the narrative has been further shaped by the hands of a skillful Manobo narrator to become a narrative consisting of "four cycles," in order to provide maximum opportunity for reinforcing what is acceptable and unacceptable behavior in Manobo society.

2. THE MANOBO FORMAL STORYTELLING PERFORMANCE

Whatever the Manobo narrator's story, she begins with the narrative discourse introducer Hane "Take note" (Wrigglesworth 1971), then pauses slightly to clear her 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 her mind" to give her audience a good performance, thus assuring them that a competent raconteuse 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 her, following the first sentence of her story, with comments as: Në 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 vel "Now, just take a look at that (what a sight)!!"

And since one of the functions of her 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. Kena kew pe 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: Hena nesihi en maal! "My, how jealous she is!" Of prime importance to the narrator are those comments of the audience which assure her that her performance is "telling it just as it is (i.e., just as it originally happened)."
3. EVOKING IMAGES FOR NARRATIVE SETTINGS

As a narrator of traditional narratives, the Manobo raconteuse's over-all generic aim is to *egkepeneheevit ke menge etew ne eb pemineg diyà te edteteremen* "take the listeners to the very place where her story is taking place." To do this, she must first create a stage with images to serve as setting for her story. To accomplish this she begins with the obligatory narrative introducer *Hane* "Take note" (Wrigglesworth 1971), before transporting them to the distant scene where her story is taking place: *diyà te pè ma ki Pilanduk* "there [far away, out of sight] we [you and I inclusive] are with Pilanduk." 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 locations co-occur), the narrator brings the story-participant she has just brought on stage up front: *Ini si Pilanduk ini ne etew ne mid stiveysivey* "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 1987) that will provide the plot involvement for the story. *Su wà dumà ne ed-ul-ulaan din ke kendi ke tarù ne edleleheri din.* "For there is nothing else he continually engages in except his deception of others when he speaks."22

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

The narrator shifts the scene from that introduced in her story-setting by moving her 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 king of the crocodiles (for help)."23

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.24

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 ryan en ke ratù* "Now pay attention everyone, for there's the king back again" after his wife has just been kidnapped by Pilanduk. Meanwhile, the absence of such settings causes the audience to complain: *Egkevdìviavàdì embiya waryi hane kayi te pè ma...* te edteteremà din. "It's too broken up when there is no 'Take note, here we are now with...' in his story."
4. HEIGHTENING VIVIDNESS FOR MAINTAINING AUDIENCE INTEREST

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

4.1. 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 her audience as the hour grows late and heads begin to nod, a Manobo narrator draws heavily upon a shift to the second person "you" to identify with a story-participant on stage. In a lengthy Pilanduk story, 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 herself more closely with her audience; in the latter case overtly injecting herself as a first-person participant observer. 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 her audience to remind them that they are viewing the story together. This time her shift occurs as she 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.
4.2. A Shift to the Dramatic Present Tense

To heighten the vividness of key events in her story, the Manobo narrator shifts her 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." 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 raconteuse herself 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 her narrative, she employs it there as well in order to add its contribution of drama to her aggregate of rhetorical devices marking peak and Peak (Climax in the deep structure) of her story. From over 100 occurrences of the dramatic present tense in the Pilanduk story, I cite the following examples.

4.2.1 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 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).

4.2.2 Those which occur at episode peaks

The use of the dramatic present tense to mark an episode peak 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 egkeitakita ke uman senge etew kayi te teteremen "It's just as though I am seeing every person in the story right before my eyes."
4.3. **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 her story the narrator loosens this restraint and allows events to run headlong toward conclusion. In the latter case, she 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 the 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, 160-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 is excellent for she has sweet and fat foods in abundance. The ones providing it for her are all 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
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 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 eyeballs; 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 her shift to the regular present tense in the depictive paragraph requires special skill; but it is invaluable in helping her maintain the dynamic flow of her all-night story performance. As a strategist, she capitalizes on the momentum gained, for she knows her audience is anxiously waiting for the resumption of action in her 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 backbone or skeletal form that chart the story's progress forward, it is the present combined with features of aspect and topicalization, along with highly topicalized non-verbal clauses, which provides flesh for the skeleton. Indeed, without evaluative or depictive content, a Manobo narrative would lose much of its artistic value.
5. 'CLOSURE' OF HER PERFORMANCE

Just as a Manobo narrator has employed linguistic devices in order to transport her audience to the very scene where her story is taking place, followed by a variety of linguistic features to keep her audience's attention focused on the story as it unfolds, so it is of obligatory importance that she closes her 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 she 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 smoldering 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 raconteuse to formally conclude her performance; in over 2000 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 devices for not only enabling the Manobo storyteller to transport her audience to the very place where her story is taking place, but to also heighten the vividness of her narrative, thereby convincing her audience that they are witnessing the events taking place. In doing so, the Manobo narrator not only proves herself to be a master of dramatic entertainment, but a master in the art of maintaining the emotional involvement of her audience through the important Manobo cultural implications found strategically distributed throughout her story. These cultural implications constantly remind the audience to stay awake as society's jurors and support or condemn a story-participant's action now! The very perpetuation of Manobo culture stands to suffer from their silence! For tomorrow may be too late!

NOTES

1 The Ilianen Manobos are an indigenous cultural community in North Cotabato province on the island of Mindanao, Philippines. They refer to themselves as Ilianen or Menuvu. Their language is Austronesian and belongs to the Manobo subfamily of Philippine languages (Elkins 1974). 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.

2 E. Arsenio Manuel in *Manuvi Social Organization*, speaks of the use of Manobo narratives for instruction. "Parents and other villagers tell stories to their children or relatives...So a bare reference to a *lakwot* likens one to a treacherous individual, to *Tilandoq*, a trickster, or to *Walki*, slowminded. This alerts the child or the adult *Manuvi*, or makes him behave properly." (Manuel 1973:237)

3 In speaking of the Manobo rationale for traditionalism and social control, Manuel also states: "...it is certain that the proverb lore does tricks which no amount of police presence in a modern society can do. Then reinforcement comes from another direction. The precedents are recalled, and these are applied to giving direction to actual problems. Precedents are always cited by melaws and datus in the settlement of cases, and these have reiterative force for the continuance of their traditions, mores and lifeways." (Manuel 1973:297)
4 Since an Ilalian Manobo narrator may be either male or female, I have used narrator/racconteur/racconteeus interchangeably; however, for the sake of conciseness in pronoun usage, I have employed the term she or her throughout the paper since much of the data presented in the first half of the paper concerns a famous Manobo racconteuse.

5 An unpublished manuscript involving an in-depth study recording Manobo narrators' genealogical charts.

6 Walter Ong in Orality and Literacy points out that

Persons whose world view has been formed by high literacy need to remind themselves that in functionally oral cultures the past is not felt as an itemized terrain, peppered with verifiable and disputed 'facts' or bits of information. It is the domain of the ancestors, a resonant source for renewing awareness of present existence, which itself is not an itemized terrain either. Orality knows no lists or charts or figures. (Ong 1982:98)

7 The recorded repertoire of the racconteuse referred to in part 1 of the paper includes several hundred pages of text, some of which appeared in an earlier anthology of Manobo narratives, as well as a more recent book focusing on her repertoire. (Wrigglesworth, ed. 1981:36-42; 180-194; 203-213; 234-241; and 249-286; and Wrigglesworth 1993).

8 The narrator's casual explanation of "remembering" or "forgetting" stories has deep ramifications for Manobo oral tradition literature. Jack Goody and Ian Watt in their article dealing with "The Consequences of Literacy" state:

The social function of memory — and forgetting — can thus be seen as the final stage of what may be called the homeostatic organization of the cultural tradition in non-literate society...What continues to be of social relevance is stored in the memory while the rest is usually forgotten...What the individual remembers tends to be what is of critical importance in his experience of the main social relationships. In each generation, therefore, the individual memory will mediate the cultural heritage in such a way that its new constituents will adjust to the old by the process of interpretation that Bartlett calls 'rationalizing' or the 'effort after meaning'; and whatever parts of it have ceased to be of contemporary relevance are likely to be eliminated by the process of forgetting. (Goody, ed. 1968:30-31)

9 These were Si Meraat Bawa wey si Mepiya Bawa "Bad Character [Girl] and Good Character [Girl]" and Meluag Peka "Wide Back" (Wrigglesworth, ed. 1981:180-194; 234-241).

10 belatung: mungo bean, Phaseolus aureus

11 baruy: generic for the various species for the genus pandanus which are found locally: ulangu, reguruy, and tebuam; specific for Pandanus copelandii

12 barak: the jackfruit tree and its fruit, Artocarpus heterophyllus

13 Five half-brothers and sisters of the narrator became moderately successful as storytellers but did not achieve her wide success and reputation. Over the past 10 years and before meeting her, I had tape-recorded narratives told by three of these, but none demonstrated the consistent display of rhetorical devices so enjoyed by a Manobo audience.

14 Since the time of the recording of the data discussed here, the narrator's son has passed away, and more recently her husband also.
Although this narrative is classified as Märchen "folktale" by Arne and Thompson in their index (1964), I view this as a premature classification of the narrative for societies which are still basically "oral" cultures. As pointed out in Ong's Orality and Literacy, which focuses on the different ways that thought and verbal expression are handled in oral and literate societies, "Thought and expression in oral cultures is often highly organized but calls for organization of a sort unfamiliar to and often uncongenial to the literate mind." (Ong 1982, flyleaf)

Even Manobo narratives clearly recognizable as containing basic tale-types and motifs found in world folktales, involving the world of fantasy, also lay claim to "truth" in establishing precedent in the settling of Manobo custom-law cases because of their Manobo view of life (Weltanschauung). While linguistic features such as rhetorical devices are recognized as a determining factor in distinguishing various genres of oral literature for even the older generation of Manobos, the element of "fact" versus "fiction" (or folktale) is not. A narrator's repeated innovations of a narrative about a Manobo culture hero are simply explained by the audience as information that has newly been communicated to the narrator by his/her "familiar spirit," thereby indicating that the familiar spirit was also a friend of the culture hero who is no longer with them. Thus, for the older generation of Manobo, each genre simply fills a distinctively different role within society.

Ililanen Manobo folk etymology explains "Bad Character Girl" Si Meraat Baua and "Good Character Girl" Si Mepiyaa Baua as being derived from si "person marker" and meraat "bad" (or mepiyaa 'good') along with baua "to carry on the back" since "Bad Character Girl" is repeatedly characterized as greedily taking the largest carrying-basket she can find whenever asking for food. During storytelling performances, Manobo audience interaction often criticizes her for being "covetous" egketma, "selfish" egkelagew, and "jealous" ebpekid-indig, characteristics which are a violation of acceptable Manobo custom. Manobo women displaying these characteristics are often said to be acting like Meraat Baua.

It is of significance to note that the Maranao word for "carry, as on the back" is baua; Ililanen Manobo baua and Maranao baua are genetically related.

The "Bawang Putih und Bawang Merah" narrative is symbolized by present-day speakers of Bahasa-Indonesian (according to a group of Indonesian university students) as "The White (or 'pure') Garlic and the Red Onion," where Bawang Merah's repentance and subsequent weeping over her bad behavior serve to have the story function as an etiological one, explaining "why slicing a red onion makes one cry while slicing a white garlic does not." Since "White Garlic" characterizes a girl of pure motives and "Red Onion" symbolizes one who is otherwise, it is possible that at a much earlier period of time these names also were originally borrowed from Malay baua "character, conduct"; putih "white, pure"; and with a vowel shift in merah to marah "angry, wrathful." With the passing of time, and the similarity of the Bahasa Indonesian word bawang "red onion," this term came to be accepted as a neologism for the story-participant's names, and the original meaning was lost—much as Manobo folk etymology now explains baua to be derived from the Maguindanao borrowing of baua "to carry" (symbolizing the basket carried by each girl) rather than from the possible loanword of baua "character" from Malay.

Bawang Merah ("Red Onion" to Indonesians) has a mother named Mak Janda on which Wilkinson's Malay-English Dictionary sheds further light. Mak "mother," and janda "widow," Wilkinson tells us, is a term adapted from the original term used for a prince's widow in Hindu times, and more recently, has come to be applied to "widows" in general.

F. Landa-Jocano, in his study of Philippine prehistory, states that Philippine-Indonesian relations during prehistoric times became intensified during the rise of the Madjapahit empire. It was during this time that much of the so-called Indian cultural influences reached the Philippines through Indonesia. But what penetrated into these islands, particularly in the seaport communities, were already the modified version of the original Hindu cultural traits. (1975:139)
And H.O. Beyer points out that as early as the seventh century A.D. emigrants from the Sri-Vishayan empire in Sumatra (where it first developed and flourished) began extending its influence over Southeast Asia including the Philippines. He adds that oral tradition and a few Spanish accounts recovered in Panay indicate that about the time when the Sri-Vishayan Empire was in full power, a group of Borneans led by Dath Puti escaped the tyrannical rule of Sultan Makatunaw and sailed northward to Panay. The group was composed of 10 chieftains, their wives, and some slaves. Of the arrival of this group, Beyer writes: "The pilot of the fleet is said to have visited that island before and to have been acquainted with the route — an evidence of previous Bornean knowledge of the Philippines. ...the personal and religious names mentioned are all Malay or Indian...several manuscripts exist which bear out the data." (1921:861-892. Also see Carreon 1957:52 ff)

Archaeologists also confirm the early interchange of culture between Borneo, Bali, and the Philippines. Stanley J. O'Connor and Tom Harrison, in their study of "Gold-foil Burial Amulets in Bali, Philippines and Borneo," report that

it is possible to identify a number of gold foil pieces in the Manila collection of Dr. Arturo de Santos, which almost certainly functioned as amulets for covering the facial orifices in ancient burials, and they bear the most marked similarities with the Sarawak material...since Southeast Asia has its own speculative tradition about the magical power of gold, and since gold-foil has been recovered from a burial in Bali dating from the beginning of the Christian era, it may be gratuitous to assume an external derivation for a custom that has found popularity in such widely scattered cultures as Egypt, Mycenean, Greece, and Southeast Asia." (O'Connor and Harrison 1971:72-73)

It is also worthy of note that a song, by a cock, fills a quite different role in the German narrative where it functions to announce each girl's return home: "Cock-a-doodle-doo, your golden girl (followed by "dirty girl") has come back to you." The description is based on each girl's reward: gold which clung to the kind one; a dripping of pitch which clung to the unkind one.

18The narrator's function as a regenerative force is based upon the fact that a society must reproduce and regenerate certain elements of value in order for the society to continue to exist. (Babcock, Monthan & Monthan 1990)

19The high incidence of loan words of Malay origin found in Ilianen Manobo, and the title of the Indonesian variant of this story "Bawang Putih und Bawang Merah" may suggest the possibility of baua having been borrowed with the story from their Muslim Maguindanaon neighbors. An Ilianen Manobo 'oral history' account relates the events of the arrival of Islam to their people via Sarip Kabungsuwan. It recounts the subsequent conquest and conversion of some of their Manobo ancestors to Islam and refers to an early ancestor named Beletamey. It is worthy of note that a genealogy chart of Saleeby records an eighth-generation descendant of Sarip Kabungsuwan, named Beratamey, to whom the Maguindanao also trace their ancestry. The Manobo name, Beletamey, is the regular phonological equivalent of Beratamey. (Saleeby 1905:36)

Dell Hymes also suggests the possibility of inherited plots shaped to fill a local function and meaning. (Hymes, "Introduction: Toward ethnographies of communication," in Gumperz and Hymes, eds. 1964, 666 part 2:1-34)

20As pointed out by Dégh and Vazsonyi (1975), "narratives...are shaped by the interaction of three factors: tradition, teller, and audience."

21Planduk also constitutes a cycle of narratives found among the Manobo's Muslim neighbors, the Maguindanaon and Maranao. (McAmis 1966)
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: *lyan din da ed-ul-uulan ne editutarutu te lalag din.* "As for what he constantly does, it is repeated deception in his talking."

23 *datu:* "chief" occurs in Manobo oral literature as a term for king. When it is used as a term of direct address, in narratives, it becomes *Si Keretuan* "Your Highness" derived from *si* "person marker," and *datu* "chief."

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.

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. (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969)

Linguists, grammarians, and rhetoricians have described a similar tense usage for English and other languages as well. Linguist Koehn (1976) demonstrates plot divisions bracketed by groups of verbs marked for historical tense in Apalai narrative.

Grammarians Curme (1947) 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..."

And rhetoricians Perelman & 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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MANOBO FORMAL STORYTELLING


WRIGGLESWORTH


