DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF *SUYOT*: A HANUNUO-MANGYAN FOLK NARRATIVE

YRRAH JANE S. EPO

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
LINGUISTICS

Payap University
June 2014

Title: Discourse Analysis of *Suyot*: A Hanunuo-Mangyan Folk Narrative

Researcher: Yrrah Jane S. Epo

Degree: Master of Arts in Linguistics

Advisor: Assistant Professor Thomas Tehan

Approval Date: 20 June 2014

Institution: Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

The members of the thesis examination committee:

1. _____ Committee Chair

    (Professor Somsonge Burusphat, Ph.D.)

2. _____ Committee Member

    (Assistant Professor Thomas Tehan, Ph.D.)

3. _____ Committee Member

    (Elissa Ikeda, Ph.D.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Never did I think that I would reach this far -- getting a degree in Master of Arts in Linguistics. All I had in mind four years ago was to respond to the great need of Bible translators in the world. However, what a great 4-year adventure of studying Linguistics did I have -- plunging into the sea of linguistic theories, climbing the peaks of linguistic analysis, wrestling with linguistic scholars' ideas, and discovering my linguistic abilities. It was a life-changing journey. And this journey would not have been as meaningful as it was if not for the people who have been part of it.

With a grateful heart, I would like to thank all of you who have been with me in this adventure.

Firstly, to the Translators Association of the Philippines (TAP), thank you for giving me the opportunity to be immersed into such an adventurous intellectual journey. Thank you, TAP family, for all your prayers, encouragements, and support.

To the Mangyan Bible Translation Team, thank you for all your love, care and concern. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to use my skills in translation and for leading me to the people who provided the data for this research.

Para sa kan Kuya Maligday, kan Ate Angelina ag sa kan Beth, aduk gid pag salamat sa kanyu awat sa kangku. Daka gid kanyu niawat hampay matapus niku kang pag-adal.

To the faculty of Payap Linguistics Department, thank you so much for the knowledge you generously shared to every one of us students.

To my adviser, Ajan Tom Tehan, thank you so much for guiding me through the research. Thank you for leading me into deeper thinking and analysis. Thank you so much also, Ajan Elissa Ikeda, for being so willing to be a part of my thesis even with your busy schedule. It is such an honor to be guided through by both of you in writing this thesis. Thank you also, Dr. Somsonge, for sparing some of your time to be a part

of the panel for my thesis defense. Your questions and suggestions were much appreciated.

To Ajan Terry, who even in the US has spared his time to help me deal with the formatting of my thesis, thank you so much! To Ajan Phinnarat, thank you so much for helping me check my Thai abstract. To Khun Yui, thank you so much for also dealing with the other important details that helps make this thesis get done.

To Aj. Art and Pam Cooper, thank you so much for always making sure that I will make it through. You have given me so much love and care; I could not thank you enough.

To Ate Donna and Kuya Ron Schumacher, thank you so much for faithfully backing me up with prayers and loving support.

To all of my financial supporters, known and unknown, thank you so much for generously sharing your resources. May the Lord pour out His blessings on you continually and return to you the blessings that you have extended to me in manifold ways.

To my family and relatives, even though what I'm doing now is not so clear with you, thank you for being supportive still.

To my friends here in Thailand, back home and all around the world, thank you so much for your prayers and for celebrating with me in this accomplishment.

To Jan Daniël, although you came right only when I was about to finish my studies, you certainly are a big part of how I make it through the finnish line. Your love and encouragement have kept me going.

Above all, to the One who orchestrates all of these, to the One who makes this adventure possible, to the One who upholds me until the very end --

Praises, honor and glory to You alone!

<div align="right">Yrrah Jane S. Epo</div>

Title:	Discourse Analysis of *Suyot*: A Hanunuo-Mangyan Narrative
Researcher:	Yrrah Jane S. Epo
Degree:	Master of Arts in Linguistics
Advisor:	Assistant Professor Thomas Tehan, Ph.D.
Approval Date:	20 June 2014
Institution:	Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand
Number of Pages:	122
Keywords:	Discourse Analysis, Hanunuo-Mangyan, *Suyot*, Particles

ABSTRACT

This thesis is initial discourse analysis research of narratives in the Hanunuo language. This language is the mother-tongue of the Hanunuo-Mangyans, which is one of the eight tribes under the Mangyan people group in the island of Mindoro, Philippines.

The data used in this research is a local narrative type known as *suyot*. *Suyot* is one of the well-known folklore genres of Hanunuo-Mangyan people, which is a combination of legend, fable, and fairytale. It is also considered as the "oldest type of story" for the Hanunuo-Mangyan people (Postma 1977:46).

Specifically, this thesis analyzes the boundary and internal unity markers, surface and notional structure, etic salience scheme, and macrostructure of the *suyots*. Moreover, some discourse particles are also identified in the data and included in a tentative analysis.

Analysis of the data yields the following initial findings about the discourse features and structure of the Hanunuo, specifically, the *suyot*.

Seven boundary markers are found in the data: change of participants, change of place, change of time, exit of participants, grammatical marker, tail-head linkage, and summary statement. For internal unity, four markers are found: same participants, same place, same time, and lexical coherence. For the Peak markers the following surface markers are found: rhetorical underlining, shift from narrative-dialogue-drama, concentration of participants, incidence of onomatopoeia, and incidence of

particle. Moreover, a *suyot* can also be an episodic narrative in which the climax or denouement of the story does not have special surface markings.

The surface structure found in the data are Title, Aperture, Stage, Pre-Peak episodes, Peak episode, Post-Peak episodes, Closure, and Finis. Title, Aperture, and Finis appear to be optional since they do not exist in all of the *suyots* in the data.

Seven etic bands are identified in the data: storyline band, background band, setting band, flashback band, irrealis band, author intrusion/evaluation band, and cohesion band. The storyline band is marked by punctiliar verbs identified by affixes, and basic form verbs.

In relation to macroanalysis, the study shows that some supportive materials are important in capturing the full gist of each *suyot* in addition to the storyline.

Finally, there are a number of discourse particles found in the data that reflect the storyteller's attitude towards the story and towards the listeners.

บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เป็นการวิเคราะห์ปริจเฉทเรื่องเล่าในภาษาฮานุนุอุ ภาษาแม่ของชาวฮานุนุอุ-มังยันซึ่งเป็นหนึ่งในแปดชนเผ่าภายใต้กลุ่มมังยันในเกาะมินโดโร ประเทศฟิลิปปินส์

ข้อมูลที่ใช้ในงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้เป็นเรื่องเล่าท้องถิ่นเรื่องหนึ่งที่รู้จักกันในนามของ ซุยุต วรรณกรรมคติชนของคนฮานุนุอุ-มังยัน ซึ่งประกอบไปด้วยตำนาน นิทานคติธรรม และเทพนิยาย โดยวรรณกรรมชิ้นนี้ได้รับการพิจารณาว่าเป็นเรื่องเล่าที่เก่าแก่ที่สุดของคนฮานุนุอุ-มังยัน (Postma 1977: 46)

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้วิเคราะห์ดัชนีปริจเฉทบ่งชี้ขอบเขต และความเป็นเอกภาพในเรื่อง โครงสร้างภายนอก และโครงสร้างภายในของเรื่อง ลักษณะเด่นของการเล่าเรื่องแบบคนนอก และโครงสร้างมหภาคของเรื่อง ซุยุต นอกจากนี้ยังวิเคราะห์อนุภาคปริจเฉทภายในเรื่อง ซึ่งถูกรวมไว้ในการวิเคราะห์เบื้องต้นด้วย

ผลการวิเคราะห์เบื้องต้นแสดงให้เห็นถึงลักษณะของปริจเฉท และโครงสร้างเรื่องซุยุตของชาวฮานุนุอุ โดยพบว่ามีดัชนีปริจเฉทบ่งชี้ขอบเขตทั้งหมด 7 อย่างคือ 1) การเปลี่ยนผู้ร่วมเหตุการณ์ 2) การเปลี่ยนสถานที่ 3) การเปลี่ยนแปลงเวลา 4) การออกจากฉากของผู้ร่วมเหตุการณ์ 5) ดัชนีทางไวยากรณ์ 6) ตัวเชื่อมบอกส่วนหัวและส่วนท้ายเรื่อง และ 7) ข้อความที่แสดงการสรุป ในส่วนของดัชนีปริจเฉทบ่งชี้ความเป็นเอกภาพภายในเรื่องพบว่ามี 4 ลักษณะด้วยกันคือ 1) การใช้ผู้ร่วมเหตุการณ์คนเดียวกัน 2) การใช้สถานที่เดียวกัน 3) การอ้างถึงช่วงเวลาเดียวกัน และ 4) การใช้ความเชื่อมต่อของคำ ในส่วนของดัชนีปริจเฉทบ่งชี้จุดสูงสุดของเรื่องพบว่าใช้โครงสร้างภายนอก

ดังต่อไปนี้ 1) การใช้วาทศิลป์ 2) การเปลี่ยนจากการเล่าไปสู่บทสนทนาและบทละคร การให้ความ
สนใจไปที่ผู้ร่วมเหตุการณ์ การใช้คำเลียนเสียงธรรมชาติ และการใช้อนุภาค ยิ่งไปกว่านั้นยังพบว่า
ซุยุต อาจเป็นเรื่องเล่าแบบหลายตอนที่มีจุดสุดยอดของเรื่อง หรือตอนจบที่ไม่มีดัชนีปริจเฉทบ่งชี้
โครงสร้างภายนอกของเรื่องที่พิเศษด้วย

โครงสร้างภายนอกของเรื่องที่พบในข้อมูลได้แก่ การเกริ่นหัวข้อเรื่อง การปูพื้นเรื่อง การเล่าฉาก
ของเรื่อง การปูพื้นก่อนถึงจุดสุดยอดของเรื่อง จุดสุดยอดของเรื่อง การเล่าเหตุการณ์หลังจุดสุด
ยอดของเรื่อง การเล่าปิดเรื่อง และการจบเรื่อง สำหรับการเกริ่นหัวเรื่อง การปูพื้นเรื่อง และการจบ
เรื่องพบว่าเป็นกลวิธีที่จะปรากฏหรือไม่ก็ได้เนื่องจากพบว่าไม่มีกลวิธีทั้งสามอย่างในทุกๆ ตอนของ
ข้อมูล

สำหรับการเล่าเรื่องแบบคนนอกพบว่ามีกลวิธีดังนี้ คือ การเล่าเค้าเรื่อง การเล่าภูมิหลังของเรื่อง
การเล่าฉาก การเล่าย้อนกลับไปกลับมา การเล่าเหตุการณ์ที่ไม่เป็นจริง การรุกล้ำ/การตัดสิน
ประเมินค่าของผู้เขียน และการเชื่อมโยงของเรื่อง โดยการเล่าเค้าเรื่องพบว่าผู้เขียนใช้คำกริยา
แสดงแก่นเรื่องที่แสดงจุดเริ่มต้นและจุดจบ โดยปรากฏในรูปของหน่วยคำเติม และคำกริยารูปปกติ
ทั่วไป

ในการวิเคราะห์โครงสร้างมหาภาคของเรื่อง การศึกษาพบว่ากลวิธีการสนับสนุนเป็นกลวิธีที่สำคัญ
มากต่อการจับแก่นเรื่องของเรื่องเล่าแต่ละเรื่องในซุยุต นอกเหนือจากการเล่าเค้าเรื่อง

ท้ายที่สุดพบว่ามีอนุภาคปริจเฉทจำนวนมากในข้อมูลที่สะท้อนถึงทัศนคติของผู้เล่าเรื่องที่มีต่อเรื่อง
และผู้ฟัง

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1P   First Person Plural

1PExc   First Person Plural Exclusive

1PInc   First Person Plural Inclusive

1S   First Person Singular

1SPoss   First Person Singular Possessive

2S   Second Person Singular

2SPoss   Second Person Singular Possessive

3P   Third Person Plural

3PExc   Third Person Plural Exclusive

3S   Third Person Singular

3SPoss   Third Person Singular Possessive

A   Agent

adj   Adjective

adp   Adposition

adv   Adverb

art   Article

BM   Boundary Marker

clf   Classifier

CM   Case Marker

Cmd   Command

CP   Connective Particle

Conn   Connective

EP1   Enclitic pronoun

EP   Emphatic Particle

interj   Interjection

IntP   Intensifier

IUM   Internal Unity Marker

lig   Ligature

MP   Monosyllabic PMP

N   Noun Agent

n   noun

OW (SW)   Objectified word (Subject word)

P	Pronoun (Subject word)
PersInd	Person Indicator
PL	Plural Marker
PM1	Predicate modifier (any, except PMP)
PM	Peak Marker
PMP	Predicate modifying dependent particles (post position)
PN	Personal Pronoun
PP	Polysyllabic PMP
PR	Proclitic
pro	Pronoun
prt	Particle
PW	Predicate word
S	Sentence
SC	Sentence connective
SM	Subject modifier (any, except PR)
v	Verb

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 The Hanunuo-Mangyans

The night has completely wrapped the surroundings with darkness and only the flickering flame of the cooking fire was the source of light in the outdoor kitchen. A shadow of eagerness was painted on the faces of the people around the fire as the 'head man' was looking for a good spot to sit. Finally, he found a protruding mound and felt comfortable enough to sit there. He was now ready to tell a story, and everyone knew it would be a good one.

It was already three months since I arrived in the village of Kagankan, one of the interior areas in the southern part of Mindoro Island, where a Hanunuo-Mangyan settlement can be found. Some weeks previously, I had asked *Kuya*[1] Maligday, the head of the clan[2], to tell me a Hanunuo story. I explained to him that I would record it and would use it for my thesis data. A week or so after my request, I was sitting with his children and sisters around the cooking fire eager to listen to the story he was about to tell us.

Known for their "rich and extensive literature" (Dichoso 1968:194), Hanunuo-Mangyans love to gather around and listen to stories. They are one of the eight[3] tribal groups on Mindoro Island collectively known as Mangyan.

This chapter gives a background of who the Hanunuo-Mangyans are and their language. It includes their language classification, geographical location, lifestyle, history and linguistic background. The language's phonology and grammar sketch are also presented in this chapter. Moreover, this chapter presents the objectives of the research, the hypothesis, scope of the thesis and its limitations.

---

[1] *Kuya* means older brother. This is a proper word widely used among Filipinos to address the older males.
[2] Since he is the eldest son, he takes on the leadership in the clan (Rogel 1969:14).
[3] Some researchers claim that there could be more than this number.

1.2 Classification of the Language

The Hanunuo language belongs to the Austronesian language family under the Malayo-Polynesian group in the Greater Central Philippines. Locally, it is under the South Mangyan group (*See figure 1 below)*.

Austronesian
     Malayo-Polynesian
          Philippine
              Greater Central Philippine
                  South Mangyan

Buhid-Taubuid				Hanunoo
Buhid	Eastern Tawbuid	Western Tawbuid		Hanunoo
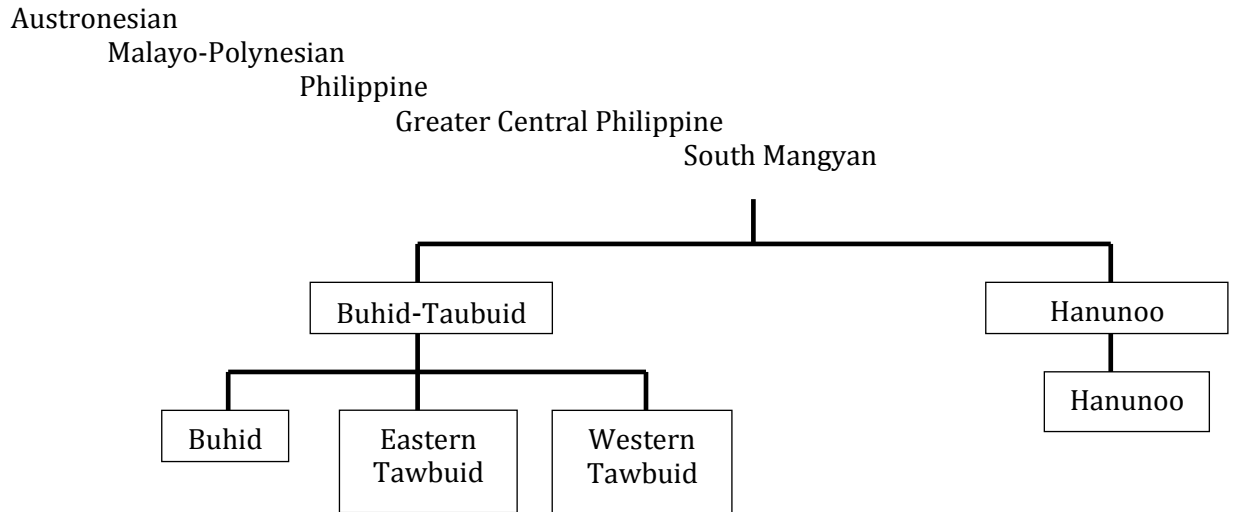
Figure 1 **Hanunuo-Mangyan Linguistic Family Tree (adapted: Ethnologue 2013)**

There are six Hanunuo dialects listed by the Ethnologue namely: Binli, Bulalakawnon, Gubatnon (Gubat, Sorsogonon), Kagankan, Waigan, and Wawan (Lewis *et al.*, 2013).

In this paper, the word Hanunuo-Mangyan is used to refer to the people (in agreement with Miyamoto's argument[4]), and Hanunuo to refer to their language, as it is labeled in Ethnologue.

---

[4] Miyamoto (1988:3) explains that, "[The] ethnolinguistic group was introduced to the anthropological world as "*Hanunoo*" by Gardner and Maliwanag [1939] and Conklin [1949]. Even though this designation has been commonly used in anthropology and linguistics, I hesitate to adopt it. This is because the people of this ethnolinguistic group never use the word *hanunoʔo* independently when referring to themselves. It is only an adjective that means 'genuine', 'real' or 'true'. They sometimes refer to themselves as *hanunoʔo maŋyan* or maŋyan hanunoʔo ('real' Mangyans), so as to distinguish themselves from other mountain peoples of Mindoro. I consider it most acceptable to employ this designation and call them Hanunoo-Mangyan: for it coincides with the designation employed by themselves, it implies the name of their language [*minaŋyan]* (*in* of *minaŋyan* is the infix), and it does not contradict the designation commonly used among anthropologist and linguists."
  When I was in the village, I did only hear them refer to themselves as Mangyans and the other tribes refer themselves in the same way. So, using the more detailed term Hanunoo-Mangyan is really more helpful in scientific research in order to have the different tribal groups referred to accurately.

1.3 Population and Geographical Location

As of year 2000, the known total population of the Hanunuo-Mangyans is 13,000 (Lewis *et al.*, 2013). This population is scattered in the mountainous region of the southeastern part of Mindoro Island, specifically, within the districts of Mansalay and Bulalacao, and also in some areas of San Jose (Miyamoto 1988:4). According to Conklin (1953:10), "the whole region is mountainous or hilly and is covered greatly by second-growth tropical forest or open cogon grass fields." This was sixty years ago but even with the modern developments in some areas, the location could still be described the same way as it was – covered by second-growth forest or open cogon fields. The area pointed to by the arrow in the map below shows the location of the settlements of the Hanunuo-Mangyans on the island of Mindoro.
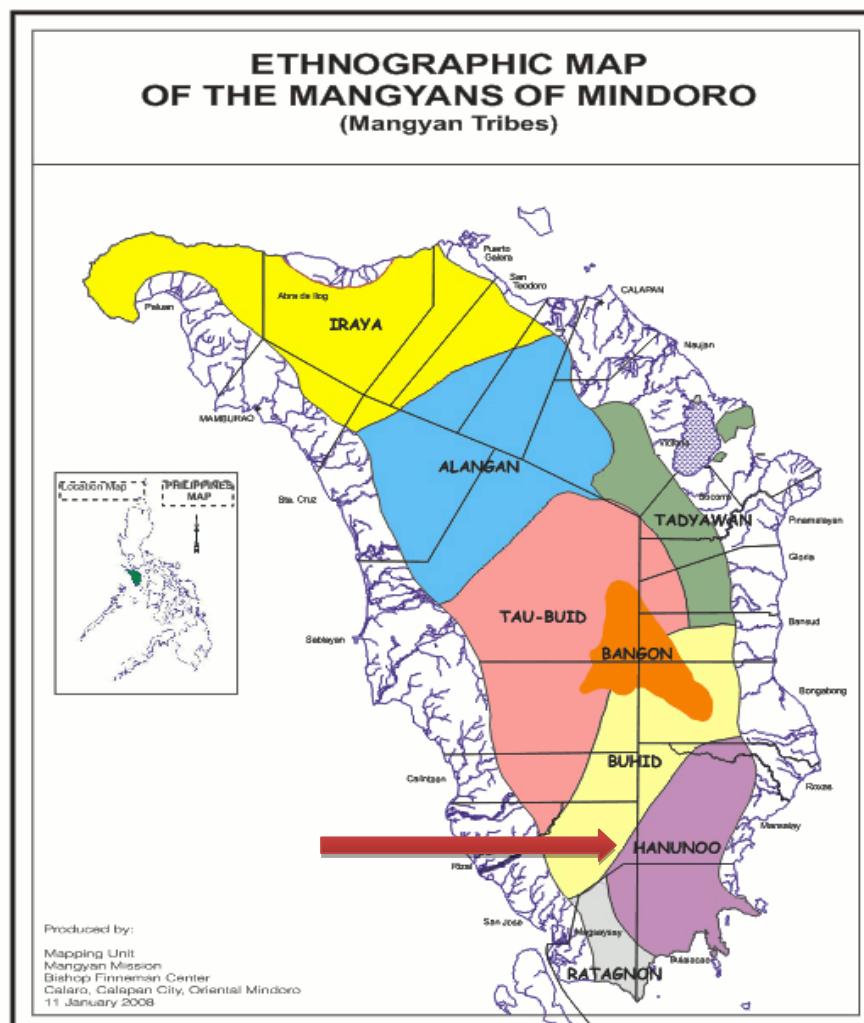
Figure 2 Ethnographic Map of Mangyan Tribes in Mindoro
(http://mangyan.org/content/mangyan-groups)

3

No clear information on the origin of the Mangyans is available, but it has been assumed that they arrived in Mindoro before the Spaniard colonization (Postma 1992:1). It was reported that the Mangyans[5] once occupied the coastal areas of Mindoro until the Mohammedan pirates raided them, and Christian immigrants invaded their lands. On the intrusion of these outsiders the Mangyans were pushed into the hinterlands (Dichoso 1968:193).

1.4 Lifestyle

Every day, the Hanunuo-Mangyans spend their time on subsistence activities, especially on swidden[6] farming (Rogel 1969). Their main sources of food are bananas and root crops.

In recent years, many changes have taken place in the lifestyle of the Hanunuo-Mangyan community. More and more youth have been receiving education in towns and cities, and having been exposed to the culture of the lowlanders, the younger generation has been adapting with the *damoung* 'non-Mangyan' culture. Each of the children of my host family has their own cell phone and the music that they play in their mp3 players are Tagalog and English songs famous among the lowlanders. Their clothing reflects the lowlander's fashion too. They are not seen wearing the *ba-ag*[7] or the *ramit*[8] anymore, as their ancestors often did. One possible reason could be that they do not want to receive the unwanted ridicule of the lowlanders who usually look down on the Mangyans. The younger generation has also adapted more Tagalog words in their vocabulary, especially those who pursue education in the local government schools where Tagalog is the medium of instruction.

1.5 Phonology

There are three phonological write-ups of the Hanunuo language: Conklin's (1953), Postma's (1992) and Elly van der Linden's which was edited by Hazel Page (1960). Postma's (1992) brief phonology description of the Hanunuo language is a probable adaptation of Conklin's phonological sketch, since Conklin is one of his references in his bibliography. Van der Linden (1960) also referred to Conklin's sketch, but she gave a more detailed description of each of the sounds.

---

[5] This includes some other Mangyan tribes, not just Hanunoo-Mangyans.
[6] Swidden, more widely known as "slash-and-burn", is an agricultural strategy that necessitates the slashing, cutting, felling, and burning of forested areas for the planting of impermanent garden plots or agricultural fields (Answers.com).
[7] *Ba-ag*: loin cloth worn by men.
[8] *Ramit*: indigo-dyed short skirt.

In this paper, the results of the three authors' analysis are referred to and a synthesized phonological sketch is presented based on the agreement among the three authors.

There are a total of 16 phonemic consonants in Hanunuo phonology as shown in the table below.

Table 1 Hanunuo Consonants (Adapted from Conklin, Postma & Van der Linden)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t		k	
	b	d		g	ʔ
Nasals	m	n		ŋ	
Fricatives		s			h
Trill		r			
Lateral Approximants	w	l	j		

All consonants, except for 'h', occur in initial, medial, and final syllable positions. The 'h' phoneme occurs only in the syllable final position in reduplicated words[9] like *duluhduluh* 'stuttering' (Conklin 1953:5). When 'p', 't', and 'k' are in initial and medial positions, they are slightly aspirated.

On the other hand, there are only three vowels in the Hanunuo phonology as shown in the table below.

Table 2 Hanunuo Vowels (adapted from Conklin, Postma, and Van der Linden)

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Open		a	

Van der Linden gives specific description of the vowels and their allophones as shown below (1960:3).

---

[9] This is what Conklin says but Van der Linden's transcription shows that 'h' does appear in a syllable final position in non-reduplicated words. However, in this research, the transcription agrees more with Conklin's syllable description.

/a/   [a]   voiced low open front unrounded vocoid. Occurs in open syllables
                except when preceding nasals.

        (1) Example:

                halimbawa 'example'

        [ə]   voiced low open central unrounded vocoid. Occurs in closed syllables
                and in open syllables followed by nasals.

        (2) Examples:

                məŋah 'pluralizer'
                dapət 'but'

/i/   [i]   voiced high close front unrounded vocoid. Occurs in open syllables
                and in final syllables closed by /h/.

        (3) Examples:

                kilat 'lightning'
                kamih 'we'

        [I]   voiced high open front unrounded vocoid. Occurs in closed syllables.

        (4) Examples:

                d' 'still'
                saw'l 'mistake'[10]

        [e]   voiced mid open front unrounded vocoid. Occurs with some speakers
                in a few words.

        (5) Example:

                permih 'regularly'
                 ged 'really'

/u/   [u]   voiced high close back rounded vocoid. Occurs in syllables which are
                not word-final.

        (6) Example:

                magbululagan 'to separate one from the other'

---

[10] It is not clear how Van der Linden is using the apostrophe in these Hanunoo words, making these two examples unclear. If Van der Linden means the word that I am familiar with, then it is pronounced as /dI/, which is not a closed syllable.

[o]   voiced mid close back rounded vocoid. Occurs in syllables which are word final.

(7) Example:

bulhog 'skin rash'

There are also four diphthongs found in the language: *aj, aw, iw, uj.*

Primary stress is always on either the ultima or penultima (Conklin 1953:5).

(8) Example:

paraʔuliʔʔan 'home'

Secondary stress is only marked when "it is peculiar to the constituent prefix" (Conklin 1953:5).

(9) Example:

nagʼpakajaʼmu 'too much; too many'

1.5.1 Syllable Structure

According to Conklin, about 90% plus of the Hanunuo words are disyllabic or derived from disyllabic stems. Around three-fourths of these stems follow the CVCVC formula (Conklin 1953:1, 1949:1).

(10)   Example:

ʔi.nit 'sun'
du.jan 'hammock'
ʔa.tag 'go'

The monosyllabic words, on the other hand, are either independent particles or are results of syncope and metathesis of disyllabic forms in literary or everyday Hanunuo (Conklin 1953:1, 1949:1).

(11) Example:

laŋ 'only'
duj 'Polite Particle'

1.5.2 Hanunuo Script

One remarkable thing about the Hanunuo-Mangyans is their own historic script which, using a knife, is written on bamboo lime containers, tubular tobacco boxes, scabbards of bolos, bamboo beams of houses, and musical instrument and bows. It is written from bottom to top and from left to right (Rogel 1969:16).

The script is syllabic and is related to the Indic-derived writing systems in Indonesia. There are a total of 17 basic syllables of different characters: 3 vowels and 14 consonants. A problem, though, with the writing system is that there is no symbol to indicate a final consonant (Postma 1992:2). Thus, Postma modified the writing system by adding the symbol) called *pamudpod* 'the-one-that-cuts-off'. The Mangyan writing system is shown in the figure below.

Figure 3 Mangyan Syllabic Script (www.mangyan.org)

The figure above shows a table that is split into half to fit side-by-side. The three-columned table on the right could be placed below the other. The first row of the first half of the table represents the row of vowels. Read from left to right, the

symbols represent the three vowels of the language: *a, i*, and *u*. The rows that follow, including the ones in the next table, represents the syllables arranged alphabetically. Each column follows on the vowel that is on the first row. For example, the symbols in the first column are: *a, ba, ka, da, ga, ha, la, ma, na, ŋa, pa, ra sa, ta, wa, ja.*

Although the script has been introduced in some schools, it is rarely used these days in the Hanunuo-Mangyan community. They have now adapted the Latin Script on which the Philippine language orthography is based. The new orthography is referred to as the Hanunuo alphabet.

The data in this thesis is written in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Below is the table that shows the Hanunuo Alphabet with its IPA equivalent.

Table 3 Hanunuo Alphabet with IPA Equivalent

Hanunuo Alphabet	IPA Equivalent
A a	a
B b	b
K k	k
D d	d
I i	i
G g	g
H h	h
L l	l
M m	m
N n	n
NG ng	ŋ
P p	p
R r	r
S s	s
T t	t
U u	u
W w	w
Y y	j
Glottal stop is not marked	ʔ

1.6 Hanunuo Grammar Summary

There are only a few written resources found about the grammar of the Hanunuo language. The only published work available is Harold Conklin's 'A Brief Description of Hanunuo Morphology and Syntax' (1949). Other than this, two unpublished manuscripts about Hanunuo grammar description were written by Elly Van der Linden (1959) and Ann B. Flory (1965) (a revision of Van der Linden's grammar

sketch) were also utilized as a reference for this research. Conklin was an anthropologist known for his varied ethnologic research among the Hanunuo people, while Van der Linden and Flory were missionaries who lived among the tribe. They were the ones who helped translate the New Testament into the Hanunuo language.

The Hanunuo grammar summary described and utilized in this research is dependent on these three resources.

1.6.1 Morphology

Based on Conklin's (1949:3-23) morphological analysis, Hanunuo words can be classified into two groups: "substance or full words" and "particles". The full word class can be categorized into nouns, verbals, verbs and adjectives, while the particle class would correspond to pronouns, numerals, articles, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and adverbs.

Furthermore, the full words can be divided into "static" and "transient" words. Conklin, however, did not give a more detailed explanation to each of his classification of the Hanunuo words. Instead, he noted in his paper that "the alternant classes for both full words and particles comes much closer to the real character of Hanunuo speech and would be used exclusively in this paper [Conklin's write-up on Hanunuo morphology and syntax] if time and space were available to fully explain its implications" (1949:3). He then proceeded to give examples of each category and brief definitions of each classification that he used in the grouping of the Hanunuo words. Thus, one could only define the categories that Conklin posited based on the examples and brief definitions that he gave.

Static words include free morphemes and specific static forms.

> (12)   Examples of simple static morphemes:
>
> - *baul* 'iron',
> - *bagaw* 'word', and
> - *balaj* 'house'.
>
> (13)   Examples of specific static forms:
>
> - *malagti* 'white', and
> - *karan-unun* 'food'.

Based on the examples he gave above, static words are words that have only one definite meaning. Simple static morphemes are "base words" that have only one definite meaning while specific static forms are "derived words" that have only one definite meaning. In example 13 above, the base word for *malagti* is *lagti* 'color white', thus, prefix *ma-* + *lagti* means 'white or being white'. In the same way, the base word for *karan-unun* is *kaun* 'eat' and when added with the infix *–ra-* and suffix *–un* its meaning becomes 'food'.

Transient words, on the other hand, are represented by so-called verbs[11], and abstract forms.

(14) Example of verb forms:

rumas-ug 'one who arrives', 'coming', 'to come', 'will arrive', etc.

(15) Example of abstract forms:

paghayin 'sacrifice', 'offering (act of)'.

Thus, transient words are words that have more than one meaning. Verb forms are words that usually function as verb but are not limited to it. Just like the word *rumas-ug,* the meanings given above show that it could also be a noun, 'one who arrives'. Moreover, abstract forms are words that have abstract meaning.

The particles, on the other hand, can be grouped into two kinds: primary and secondary. Primary particles consist mostly of "primitive" morphemes (mono- or di-syllabic) or the combination of the monosyllabic bound morphemes. These particles are not subject to derivational modification. Secondary particles consist of stems that can undergo derivation or closed words[12] that are derived from primary particles (Conklin 1949:4).

(16) Examples of primary particles:

- *ji* 'already'

- *waja* 'still; yet', and

- *niku* 'by-me; my'.

---

[11] Conklin (1949:4) explains that these words differ from the English verb class in that "their function is not restricted to predicates nor are all predicates formed from them".

[12] Conklin did not give any explanation of what he really meant with "closed words" but base on his example, these are words that cannot undergo derivation yet have undergone "combination", that is it is a combination of two primary particles. (See the last two examples of example 16.)

(17) Secondary particles:

- *sab* 'later'

- *duwa* 'two'

- *udwaja* (*ud* 'not' + *waja* 'yet') 'not yet', and

- *udji* (*ud* 'not' + *ji* 'already') 'consumed already' 'nothing already'.

See section 5.2 for more discussion of Hanunuo particles.

1.6.2 Morphological Processes

The morphological processes in the Hanunuo language listed by Conklin (1949:4-6) are sound reduplication, affixation, internal change, compounding, combinations of the four aforementioned processes, and zero modification. Conklin did not specifically state which word class these processes can be applied. Definitions of these processes are discussed below. Examples are found in Table 4.

Sound reduplication can be complete or partial. Iteration is complete sound reduplication where all the sounds of the root word are repeated. Repetition is a partial sound reduplication where the last syllable of the root word is reduplicated. Reduplication is another partial sound reduplication where the first one, two or three phonemes of the stem are repeated.

For affixation, there are four types of processes in the language: prefixation, infixation, suffixation, and the combination of the three previous affixation processes mentioned. Within the combination of the process of affixation, circumfixation is found, which is a "process whereby an affix made up of two separate parts surrounds and attaches to a root or stem" (SIL International, 2004).

Internal change is realized through a shift in stress to make a different word. Compounding, on the other hand, occurs when simple static substance words (nouns and adjectives) are combined. This combination would always result in a noun.

Moreover, two or more of the morphological processes listed above could be manifested together, as is common in many Filipino languages.

Finally, the stems could undergo none of these morphological processes which Conklin calls zero modification. There is no change in the word, but Conklin considers this as a process. He, however, did not give any further explanation about it.

Below is a table of the morphological processes discussed above with their examples.

Table 4 Table of Morphological Processes and Their Examples

Morphological Processes	Examples
Iteration	• *tanantanan* 'all in all' (*tanan* 'all' but less inclusive + *tanan* 'all') • *ʔusa-ʔusa* 'only one; alone' (*ʔusa* 'one' + *ʔusa* 'one')
Repetition	• *ʔujaja* 'lullaby' (*ʔuja* 'falling asleep' + ja)
Reduplication	• *lulubŋan* 'burial place' (*lu + lubuŋ* 'grave' + -an) • *lalaʔun* 'large' (*la + laʔun* 'big')
Prefixation	• *majamu* ' to be many' (*ma-* + *jamu* 'many')
Infixation	• *rinmasʔug* 'arrived' (*rasʔug* 'arrive' + *-inm-*)
Suffixation	• *sabihun* 'be said' (*sabi* 'say' + *-un*)
Combination affixation	• *magtararukan* 'to dance (many)-much' (*mag-* + *taruk* 'dance' + *-ra-* + *-an*)
Shift in stress	• *la'wud* 'region along the sea coast; below' • *lawud'* 'deepest part of the sea'
Compounding	• *timidʔamu* 'type of a clam' (*timid* 'chin' + *ʔamu* 'monkey')
Combination of any of the processes	• *paratagtaguʔan* 'hide and seek' (prefixation *pa-* + infixation *–ra-* + reduplication *tag + taguʔ* 'hide' + suffixation *–an*)
Zero modification	• *ʔinit* 'sun • *batu* 'stone'

All of the processes mentioned above are utilized for word derivation; however, reduplication, prefixation, infixation, suffixation and zero modification are used for inflection. Moreover, except for personal pronouns, there are no obligatory inflectional categories. The reason is that although inflection occurs in the language, inflected grammatical functions could also be manifested by the use of particles and/or modified word order (Conklin 1949:7). Conklin (1949:10) presented a summary table of Eight Hanunuo Inflectional Categories.[13] The table is shown below.

---

[13] The chart is slightly modified by giving the names of the inflectional subcategories under the Number of Types column.

Table 5 Conklin's Table of Eight Hanunuo Inflectional Categories

Category	Number of Types		Word Class *(optional instances are marked with *)*
	#	Label	
1. Number	2	Singular Plural	Personal pronouns Interrogative pronouns* Adjectives*
	3	Singular Dual Plural	Verbs*
2. Person	3	1st Person 2nd person 3rd person	Pronouns
3. Case	4	Nominative Genitive Dative Accusative	Personal Pronouns
4. Inclusion	2	Inclusive Exclusive	Personal Pronouns
5. Aspect	3	Punctual Durative Repetitive	Verbs*
6. Voice	2	Active Passive	Verbs*
7. Mode	2	Indicative Imperative	Verbs*
8. Comparison	4	Positive degree "Somewhat" degree Intensive-indefinite degree Intensive-definite degree	Adjectives*

As shown in the table above, only personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, adjectives, and verbs are inflected.

Although the language does not require inflections, there are a number of affixes found in the language. Van der Linden (1959) and Flory (1965) listed all the affixes that they found in the Hanunuo language along with the description of the affixes' function. Below is a table of Hanunuo affixes.

Table 6 Hanunuo Affixes (adapted from Van der Linden and Flory)

Affixes	Functions/Characteristics
mag-	Makes a verbal form active in present and future. May be used as exhortation.
nag-	Denotes active voice past action.
-um-	Makes verb active and future tense.
magka- and *nagka-*	Have the same tenses with *mag-* and *nag-*. Implies state of becoming or being bothered with.
magpa- and *nagpa-*	Denotes same tenses as *mag-*, *nag-*, and *–um-* Implies causation in active voice
pag-...-un *-in-* *-un*	According to order, denotes present tense, past tense, and future tense. Objective affixes having the topic as the recipient of the action.
pag – *pag-... -un*	The first one is imperative active voice and the second is imperative passive voice.
-a; -i; -un; -an	Imperative passive voice *-un*; *-an* used after consonant or glottal stop *-hun*; *-han* if no final glottal stop
maka- and *naka-*	*maka-* denotes present and future tense while *naka-* denotes past tense. These prefixes denote ability and condition. It is in an active voice.
-an	Denotes place. When in combination with other affixes it becomes referential where the topic is the beneficiary or location of the action. *Pag-...-an* denotes referential present tence (passive voice). *-in-... -an* denotes referential future tense. *-an* denotes referential future tense.
-inm-	Denotes active voice, past tense and aorist meaning.
mag- ...-ra-; -ri-; -ru-; -la-; -li-;-lu-...-an (-han)	Denote group action and active verb forms.
ipag- ; i-...-in-...; a-...-an...	Present (*ipag-*), past (*i-...-in-...*), and future tense (*a-...-an...*) instrumentals.
pag-ika-; ikina-; ika-	Present (*pag-ika-*), past (*ikina-*), and future tense (*ika-*) denoting 'reason for'.
ma-; na-	*ma-* is for present and future while *na-* is for past Denotes ability in passive voice.
magpata-; magpasa-	Referential affixes denoting action towards something.
magpaka-; nagpaka-	Denotes superlative, intensive, repetition or continuance.

The descriptions above are paraphrased notes from Van der Linden (1959) and Flory's (1965) manuscripts. The affixes found in my data which are shaded in the table above are: *mag-*; *nag-*; *-um-*; *magka-* and *nagka-*; *maka* and *naka-*; *magpa-* and *nagpa-*; *na-*; *pag –*; *pag-... -un*; *-un*; *-in-* ; *-in-...-an*; and *-inm-*.

1.6.3 Syntax

Giving a descriptive outline of the Hanunuo syntax is rather challenging due to the fact that there are several possible ways of "saying the same thing" in the language. When shifting sentence stress, a more important constituent may be mentioned first in the sentence, "regardless of its function as a subject or predicate" (Conklin 1949:12).

For example *He was carrying a bow in his hand* may be stated as follows:

(18) **bitbit**   **nija**   **ti**   **baji**
was-carried-in-the-hand   *by-him*   *the*   *bow*

(19) **kaj**   **bitbit**   **ti**   **baji**
his   *was-carried-in-the-hand*   *the*   *bow*

(20) **ti baji kaj bitbit**

(21) **ti baji bitbit nija**

As shown above, in sentences 1 and 2 the predicate precedes the subject and in sentences 3 and 4 the placement of the constituents is inverted. The first two sentences are focused on the agent's act of carrying something while the last two sentences are focused on the bow that was carried, having each of these constituents mentioned first in the sentences. However, even though so much freedom can be found in the formation of Hanunuo sentence structure, there is what Conklin calls as "favorite-sentence construction" which is the passive construction (1949:13). Using this type of construction, Conklin sketched a Summary Chart of Hanunuo Word Order (1949:19-23). From this chart, a sentence formula is drawn as shown below.

- Basic Clause Structure = Predicate + (Subject)

(22) Example:

D.47 narigus	sija
took_a_bath	3S
v	pro

He took a bath.

Although Conklin did not show optional constituents in his chart or discuss it, the data used in this thesis reveals that the subject of a clause is not required.

(23)   Example:

    D.32 hinampak kunu
          hit
          v   prt

[He] was hit [by the king].

The formula of a full sentence structure which is inferred from Conklin's chart is presented below. It is followed by the detailed representation of the structure of the predicate, subject and dependent sentence unit. Abbreviations are found in Table 7 below, as well as, in the Table of Abbreviation in the front matter of this thesis.

Table 7 Sentence Structure Key of Abbreviations

S	Sentence
SC	Sentence connective
PM1	Predicate modifier (any, except PMP)
PW	Predicate word
PMP	Predicate modifying dependent particles (post position)
MP	Monosyllabic PMP
PP	Polysyllabic PMP
A	Agent
EP1	Enclitic pronoun
N	Noun Agent
PR	Proclitic
PN	Personal Pronoun
SM	Subject modifier (any, except PR)
CP	Connective Particle
OW (SW)	Objectified word (Subject word)
P	Pronoun (Subject word)

- Full Sentence Structure = (SC) + Predicate + (Subject) + (Dependent Sentence)

  ➢ Predicate Structure = (PM) + PW + (PMP) + (A) + (PM)

  ➢ Subject Structure = PR + (SM) + (CP) + OW(SW) + (SM) + (P) + (SM or PM)

  ➢ Dependent Sentence Structure = SC + Predicate + Subject

Detailed Sentence Formula:

S = (SC) + [(PM1) + PW + (MP) + (PP) + (EP1) + (N) + PR + (PN) + (PM1)] + [PR + (SM) + (CP) + OW (SW) + (SM) + (P) + (SM or PM1)] + ([SC + Predicate + Subject]).

(24)   Example:

	Predicate				**Subject**		**Dependent**	
TM.3	ʔaj	haŋgan	di	magbantaj	si	paʔuʔu	ʔanuŋ	magkatabuʔ
	oh	until		looking	PersInd	Turtle		getting_consumed
	prt	adv	prt	v	det	n	prt	v

ji	kaj	burak	sagiŋ	tida	.
already	3SPoss	fruit	banana	that	
mod	pro	n	n	dem	

Oh, Turtle was only up to looking [at Old Monkey], the bananas were almost gone.

Example 24 closely reflects the detailed sentence formula above. The sentence's main clause contains the predicate *magbantaj* 'looking' and the subject *paʔuʔu* 'turtle' and is followed by a dependent clause which also consists predicate *magkatabu* 'getting consumed' and subject *burak sagiŋ* 'banana fruit'.

The sentence formula above reflects important syntactic relationships in the language. It must be noted, though, that since the sentence type reflected in this formula is the passive construction, the placement of the subject and predicate may vary in the other sentence construction types.

Moreover, Conklin was also able to make some generalizations about the sentence constructions that are commonly utilized by the native speakers.

Conklin's generalizations of the Hanunuo syntax are as follows (1949:13-15):

1. A full sentence usually consists of an open expression[14] (predicate) containing a full word, followed by a straight object expression[15] containing an objectified word or independent pronoun.

   (25) Examples:

MC.29 ʔaj	**nahalu**	**ti**	**balaj**.
oh	was_shaken	the	house
prt	v	dem	n

   The house was shaken.

magkabajuŋ – bajuŋ	**sija**
feeling_so_melancholic	PersInd
v	det

   He was feeling very melancholic.

2. There is no copula.

   (26) Example:

D.2 ʔinda	kunu	si	duŋhawan	pag	binataʔ	marinu
this	it_is_said	PersInd	Dunghawan	lig	young_man	handsome
det	prt	det	n	expl	n	adj

gid…
Int
mod

   This young man, Dunghawan, (was said to be) very handsome…

3. In actor-action-(object) situations, there is a choice, although, in general, the action-actor-object construction is basic. For passive constructions, the actor becomes an agent and the object is "objectified" to become the subject. While in active constructions, the usual word order is active verb-actor-object where the object is not "objectified" as in the passive construction.

---

[14] Open expression is any word or phrase which cannot stand as complete subject of a sentence (Conklin 1949:13).
[15] Object expression (not to be confused with the subject-object concept) is any word or phrase which can act syntactically as a complete subject, thereby including all the independent pronouns and excluding all particles (Conklin 1949:13).

(27)   Examples:

Passive:	(kaŋ)	kinaʔun	niku	ti	ʔusa ka burak sagiŋ
		was-eaten	by-me	the	one Cp Clf banana
(Actor)		**Action**	**(Actor)**		**(Object)**

I ate banana.

Active:	kinmaun	ʔaku	ʔusa ka burak sagiŋ
	ate I	one	Cp Clf banana
	Verb	**Actor**	**Object**

I ate banana.

Both sentences above can be translated the same way. In the passive construction, *niku* 'by-me' has become the agent of eating the *ʔusa ka burak sagiŋ* 'one-piece-of banana'. While in the active construction, *ʔaku* 'I' is the subject and *ʔusa ka burak sagiŋ* 'one-piece-of banana' is the object.

4. In head-attribute construction, the attribute(s) may precede and/or follow the head. The connective particle *pag/pagka* is used when it precedes the head.

(28)   Example:

PM.91…ʔaduk	pagka	ʔamuʔ	…	**may also be**	ʔamuʔ	ʔaduk
many	ligature	monkey			monkey	many
adj	prt	n			n	adj
many monkeys					*many monkeys*	

5. All names of movable, numerable entities are mass nouns and require the use of classifiers. The typical word order of a classifier phrase is cardinal numeral + *ka* (connective particle used with numerals) + classifier + mass noun. The first three elements are fixed but the noun can be placed at the beginning or the end of the phrase.

(29)   Example:

    PM.11 walu ka   buŋbuŋ   parasan
           eight ligature node   rattan

     eight rattan nodes

6. Paratactic and parenthetic expressions are very common. A paratactic expression is "the placing together of sentences, clauses, or phrases without conjunctive words" (Dictionary.com) while parenthetic expression "is an expression which is inserted into the flow of thought. It may be in the middle of a sentence or between sentences, but it does not deal directly with the topic at hand" (Englishplus.com). A parenthetic expression is very useful in the language since Hanunuo does not have an exact equivalent for relative pronouns. The particle *ti* can function like a relative pronoun which is optional.

(30)   Examples:

    D.10 **magkun kunu**   **ti**   **kapri**   **kita**
          said   it_is_said the Kapri (black_man-like_creature) 1PInc
          v   prt   dem n   pro

     magtukub maglaban kita.
     to_wrestle fight   1PInc
     v   v   pro

     The kapri was said to respond, "Let's wrestle, let's have a fight.

    D.27 **ti**   **kapri**   **kabaj** **ʔuriŋ-ʔuriŋun**
        the   Kapri (black_man-like_creature)   dark_skinned
        dem n   prt   adj

     suruguʔun hariʔ
     servant   king
     n   n

     The Kapri, (as you might have known) has a very dark skin, servant of the king.

7. Postponed monosyllabic particles always precede disyllabic ones.

(31) Example:

D.60 pagka   ʔati   **ji**   **maʔan**
     when   there already again
     coordconn adv   prt   prt

When already there again…

In the example above, the monosyllabic particle *ji* 'already' precedes the disyllabic particle *maʔan* 'again'.

8. Indirect objects are indicated merely by the addition of a proclitic, attributive, directional proposition and the objectified word.

(32) Example:

Sabihun   nimu   **sa**   **kaŋku** nu   hajga katunda
Be-told   by-you   to   me   if   why   that-way

Tell me why (it's) that way.

In the example above, the indirect object is indicated by *sa kaŋku* 'to me'.

1.7 Objectives of the Research

The objectives in this study are to:

1. Describe *suyot* genre.

2. Identify the criteria of discourse unity and boundary used in these *suyot* texts.

3. Describe the surface and notional features of these *suyot* texts, giving emphasis on the Peak markings.

4. Propose an etic salience scheme of Hanunuo narratives.

5. Uncover the macrostructure of each *suyot* text.

In relation to the objectives, the research questions of this study are:

1. What are the distinct characteristics of a *suyot*?

2. What are the criteria of discourse unity and boundary found in *suyot* texts?

3. What are the characteristics of the surface and notional structure of *suyot* texts? How is Peak marked in *suyot* texts?

4. How many etic bands are there in Hanunuo narratives? What are the characteristics of the storyline band? What are the characteristics of the background information bands?

5. What is the macrostructure of each of the story in the *suyot* texts?

The hypothesis of this study is:

The analysis of the criteria of discourse unity and boundary, surface and notional structure, etic salience scheme and macrostructure of *Suyot* texts will reveal important patterns and characteristics of the discourse features and discourse structure of Hanunuo narratives.

1.8 Scope of the Thesis Research

The chosen typology utilized as data in this study is narrative. Among the three identified folktale genres of the Hanunuo-Mangyans namely *suyot, sugidanon*[16], and *tultulanon*[17] (Postma 1977:46), *suyot* was chosen as the focus of this study. The reason for this is because *suyot* is the most widely known among the three, making it easier to find storytellers. The data collection was done through participant observation, i.e. informal interview and audio recording. Discourse analysis theories related to unity and boundary criteria, surface and notional structure, etic salience scheme, macrostructure, and particles were utilized in the analysis of the collected data.

1.9 Limits of the Research

The data of this study is four Hanunuo-Mangyan folktales of the *suyot* genre. It was audio recorded in Hanunuo-Mangyan villages. Good *suyot* storytellers were identified by the local community as resource people in collecting the data that is used in this research.

---

[16] A folktale acquired through Bisayan influences. (Postma 1977:46)
[17] Tales dealing with reputed historical events. (Postma 1977:46)

1.10 Summary

This chapter has discussed the cultural and linguistic background of the Hanunuo-Mangyan people. The phonological and grammar sketch of the Hanunuo language were also described. Moreover, the objective, scope and limits of the research were also presented.

Chapter 2
Literature Review and Methodology

2.1 Introduction

Discourse analysis and the associated theories of linguistic studies were used for the analysis of the data of this research. The theories that are discussed in this chapter include criteria of boundaries, notional and surface structure, etic salience scheme, macrostructures, and methods in dealing with particles.

Discourse Analysis strives to study language text within their context that is, studying whole discourses instead of just elicited sentences. Two of the pioneers of Discourse Analysis, whose theories have greatly influence this research, are Dr. Robert E. Longacre and Dr. Teun Van Dijk.

Discourse Analysis according to Paltridge (2006:2) focuses on the analysis of language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It utilizes a larger data set called a 'text' or a 'discourse', which is made up of sentences, as one whole unit for analysis. Within a coherent text, cohesive ties can be found which connect the sentences to each other allowing the hearer to "interpret [the text] within a single mental representation" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:27).

2.2 Data Collection

A text suitable for discourse analysis could be oral or written (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:15-18; Paltridge 2006:2). Oral texts tend to have more repetition than written ones. They also deviate more often from the default orders of the clauses or sentences of a language. In relation to organization and preciseness, written texts tend to be more concise and precise (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:15-17). However, a text can be like a combination of these two types of texts when an oral text is transcribed and then edited into a better written form. Transcribed and edited text is then what would be called as "edited text" which, according to Grimes, yields the most consistent analysis (1975:33).

Moreover, Levinsohn contends that the "well-formedness" of the data is also another important factor to consider; thus, he and Dooley suggested that the text should be produced by a person who has "a reputation for consistently producing the kind of discourse that other people want to listen to" (2007:13). In other words, the resource person should be a good speaker or a good writer. A text will be considered well-formed if it proves to be grammatically correct and acceptable to the native speakers of the language (Levinsohn 2007:13).

2.3 Text Classification and Selection

In every language and culture, texts can be classified into certain groupings. Each text type has a particular social or cultural purpose, around which clusters a characteristic combination of linguistic or textual properties (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:7). A term commonly used for this is 'genre'.

It is important to note that genre is culture specific (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:7). Each culture will have its own genre classification of its texts. And in selecting data to use in a discourse analysis research project, one should make sure that his collected texts are of the same discourse typology (Longacre 1996:7).

Even though different cultures have different genre classification, Longacre has constructed a table of four etic discourse types which are, present in every language. As shown in the table below, these discourse types are narrative, procedural, expository and behavioral. These types are identified by the presence or absence of two primary features: Contingent Succession and Agent Orientation. Contingent Succession classifies text based on whether an event is dependent on a previous event, while Agent Orientation, as Longacre defines it, refers to orientation towards agents with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse (1996:9).

Table 8 Etic Discourse Types (Longacre 1996:10)

		Agent Orientation (AO)	
		+	−
Contingent succession (CS)	+	Narrative	Procedural
	−	Behavioral	Expository

As reflected in .... ed by +CS
and +AO, Pr............ .... exhortation)
by -CS and + AO and Expository (e.g., budgets) by - CS and - AO.

However, the classification above is still very broad. Therefore, two more
parameters are added into the first two etic parameters. These are: projection and
tension. Projection has to do with situation or action that is contemplated, enjoined,
or anticipated, but not realized. Tension, on the other hand, has to do with whether
a discourse reflects a struggle or polarization (Longacre 1996:9-10). With the
projection parameter added, eight more discourse types are classified as shown in
the expanded table below. The fourth parameter, tension, is not represented in the
table[18].

Table 9 Expanded Etic Discourse Types (Longacre 1996:10)

	+ Agent Orientation	– Agent Orientation	Projection
+ Contingent Succession	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURAL	
	Prophecy	*How-to-do-it*	+ Projection (P)
	Story	*How-it-was-done*	– Projection (P)
– Contingent Succession	BEHAVIORAL	EXPOSITORY	
	Hortatory *Promissory*	*Budget Proposal* *Futuristic Essay*	+ Projection (P)
	Eulogy	*Scientific Paper*	– Projection (P)

As shown in Table 9 above, eight more discourse types are added based on the
presence or absence of projection: Prophecy is characterized by +AO, +CS, +P;
How-to-do-it by –AO, +CS, +P; Story by +AO, +CS, –P; How-it-was-done by –AO,
+CS, –P; Hortatory/Promissory by +AO, –CS, +P; Budget Proposal/Futuristic
Essay by –AO, –CS, +P; Eulogy by +AO, –CS, –P; and Scientific Paper by –AO, –CS,
–P.

---

[18] Longacre, although he mentioned the other discourse types that are marked with plus or minus
tension (episodic narrative has minus tension; climactic narrative has plus tension; theological treatise
has plus tension) did not include this parameter in his table (1996:10).

Of the four major types of discourse, narrative is often chosen as a good place to start discourse analysis. Grimes (1975:33) states that narrative discourse is where the distinction among different types of information is most clearly displayed. However, it is also important to note that "discourses can be embedded in other discourses" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:9). Thus, a narrative might have one of the other three major discourse types in it, or itself be a part of another discourse type.

All of the texts chosen for this research are of narrative type. Specifically, the type of narrative collected as a data of this research is locally known as *suyot*. *Suyot* is one of the well-known folklore genres of the Hanunuo-Mangyans. It is a combination of legend[19], fable[20] and fairytale[21]. It is also considered as the "oldest type of story" (Postma 1977:46). It is a third person type narrative. As I have mentioned previously, each culture has their own genre classification but all of these classifications can be classified under any of the discourse types posited by Longacre. *Suyot* can be classified under narrative and specifically, under, the story subtype.

2.4 Thematic Boundaries

A discourse text is not just made up of sentences that are lined-up one after another to form a whole discourse text but is also comprised of groups of sentences that belong together. These groups of sentences form paragraphs (Levinsohn 2007). Moreover, these paragraphs can be grouped into sections, and sections build up larger units that combine to form a story. A thematic paragraph, according to Givon, is "the most immediately relevant level of discourse within which one can begin to discuss the complex process of continuity in discourse" (1983:7). Each paragraph inside a discourse text has elements in them that form them as a chunk and draw them apart from the other paragraphs.

Givon (1983:7) mentioned three major aspects of discourse continuity that could be found in a (thematic) narrative paragraph. These are:

- unity of time,
- unity of place and
- unity of action and participants.

---

[19] An old story about famous people and events in the past. Legend is usually not true (Macmillandictionary.com).

[20] A traditional story, usually about animals, that teaches a moral lesson (Macmillandictionary.com).

[21] A story or explanation invented by someone in order to make a person believe on something that is not true (Macmillandictionary.com).

Barnwell (1980:237-40), proposed a longer list of elements that signal internal unity in a paragraph or larger section:

- same time
- same place
- same topic
- same participants
- parallel forms
- logical coherence
- lexical coherence

Parallel forms are determined by repeated use of a certain phrase or other form in a series of parallel structures. Logical coherence is determined when "one main statement is accompanied by one or more supporting propositions which are related to that main statement. Moreover, lexical coherence is signaled by repetition of certain word or phrase. It could be in identical form or with slight modification. (Barnwell 1980:240).

Furthermore, she also identified elements that signal boundaries between paragraphs and sections. These elements can be grouped into two: surface structure boundary markers and notional structure boundary markers.

- grammatical markers
- change in place
- change of time
- change of participants
- topic sentences or phrases
- summary or preview statements
- overlap clauses
- rhetorical questions
- direct address or vocative phrase
- use of certain tenses or adverbial markers
- odd clause types
- verbal signals

In relation to oral text, Levinsohn (2007:31) comments that it is common to find additional boundary features: a pause or break in timing, followed by a change in the pitch of the intonation contour. For example, the previous contour may have drifted downwards, whereas the new contour resumes a higher pitch range[22].

The internal unity signals listed by Givon and Barnwell are adapted as criteria in determining the internal unity of the chunks in the data of this research. The list of boundary signals that Barnwell proposed are also taken as criteria to determine the boundaries of the chunks in the data.

2.5 Surface and Notional Structure

Using the criteria of internal unity and boundaries listed above, a discourse text is divided into chunks, which are labeled as "episodes" in this research.

A text, especially a narrative text, having a contingent succession feature, employs sequential events inside it to build up the story. These series of events have structures that could be described as the surface and notional levels. Longacre (1996:8), the innovator of this framework, defines notional structure as "[the thing that] relate[s] more clearly to the overall purpose of the discourse", which he also attributes as the plot of the narrative text. The plot is like a skeleton of the story. It holds all the events within the story together. By just reading the plot, one can know the gist of the whole narrative. Surface structure, on the other hand, deals with the discourse text's formal characteristics which include the linguistic features of the text like the syntax and lexicon.

Longacre, furthermore, claims that "notional structures are etic and heuristic devices to uncover emic structures in given languages" (1996:34) as what is reflected in surface structures.

The features Longacre proposed that might be found in a surface structure of a narrative text are: Title, Aperture, Stage, Prepeak Episode(s), Peak Episode, Postpeak Episode(s), Closure, and Finis. The notional structure of a narrative text, on the other hand, comprises: Exposition, Developing Conflict, Inciting Moment, Climax, Denouement, Final Suspense, and Conclusion. He emphasized, though, that "notional structure is not necessarily in one-to-one correspondence with surface

---

[22] During the transcription of the data of this research, some of the additional boundary features mentioned by Levinsohn were also referred to. However, these oral markers were not discussed in this research anymore as I find it a subject for further investigation.

structure" (1996:34). Longacre provides possible correlations between the surface structure and notional structure as shown in the table below.

Table 10 Possible Correlations of Surface and Notional Structure

Surface Structure	Title	Aperture	Stage	Pre-Peak Episodes	Peak Episode	Peak' Episode	Postpeak Episode	Closure	Finis
			↑	↑ ↖	↑ ↖	↑	↗ ↑	↑	
Notional Structure			Exposition	Inciting Moment; Developing Conflict	Climax	Denouement	Final Suspense	Conclusion	

(adapted from Longacre (1996:36))

2.5.1 Peak

It is posited by Longacre and Levinsohn that the Peak can be a reference of the organization of episodes in the story (1978:105). Peak is like the focal point in a narrative. It typically correlates with the Climax or the Denouement of the story. As Longacre puts it, Peak "is essentially a zone of turbulence" in a text (1996:38). This is where distortion happens, and unexpected change takes place.

Longacre listed surface markers that could signal Peak in a narrative (1996:38-48). These are outlined by Bruce Terry (2003) in his website as follows:

1. Rhetorical underlining
   - repetition
   - paraphrase

2. Concentration of Participants (many on stage at once)

3. Heightened Vividness
   - shift in nominal/verbal balance
   - shift in tense
   - shift in person and/or number
   - shift from narrative to quoted speech to dialogue to drama
4. Change of Pace
   - shift in length of units (clauses, sentences, paragraphs, embedded discourses)
   - shift in types of verbs (e.g. finite to participles)
   - shift in number of conjunctions

- shift to slow motion (increase in background verbage; also in modern movies)

5. Change of Vantage Point and/or Orientation

   - shift in narrator

   - shift in usual sentence topic

6. Incidence of Particles and Onomatopoeia

   - loss of characteristic particles

   - introduction of new particles

   - introduction of onomatopoeia

   - shift in function of particles

However, not all narratives have these Peak markings. These narratives without Peaks are what Longacre calls "episodic narratives", in which the Climax or the Denouement of a story is not marked on the surface structure (1996:37).

These elements of surface structure, notional structure, and Peak markers are used in this research to analyze the functions of the sections identified in the data.

2.6 Storyline and Salience Scheme

Storyline (which may also be called event line, time line, and narrative main line) holds a story together for the audience to process. It determines the flow of the story based on the successive events that constitute it. It is the foreground information of a narrative text (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:81). Grimes (1975:35) identifies two kinds of information in a narrative text which he calls: event and non-event information. The 'event' information is the foreground and the 'non-event' the background. An event is an action or happening which extends the basic structure of the mental representation (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:81, Grimes 1975). Basically, it is a happening in the story that occurs in a particular time and place. In most cases, it is in a temporal sequence with other events (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:42). The non-events, on the other hand, can be analyzed to include the following: participant orientation, setting, explanation, evaluation, discourse irrealis, and performative information. Participant orientation gives introduction or description of the participants, as well as, reintroduces them. The setting signals the time, place, or the situation where the event happens. Explanation gives clarification to what is

happening within any event of the story. Evaluation expresses how the speaker feels towards the story which could be done in a direct or indirect way. Discourse irrealis mentions what does not happen, or what could possibly happen as a way of highlighting what is happening. And performative information is about how the text is produced by the speaker (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:81-83, Grimes 1975:51-71).

Moreover, foreground and background (event and non-event) information have linguistic correlates. Foreground correlates with high transitivity constructions while background with low transitivity ones (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:79).

Longacre synthesized Grimes' classification of the events and nonevents information and Hopper & Thompson's parameter of scalar transitivity into his Etic Salience Scheme (1996:23). This scheme helps determine the distinctive features of foreground and background information of a narrative. He proposes 9 etic Bands which are organized into a hierarchical representation. The figure below shows the Etic Salience Scheme.

Band	Description
1'	Pivotal Storyline
1	Primary Storyline
2	Secondary Storyline
3	Routine
4	Background actions/events
5	Background activity
6	Setting
7	Irrealis
8	Evaluations
9	Cohesive and thematic
-	*Flashback – can be under 2, 4, or 5

Figure 4 Longacre's Etic Salience Scheme for Narrative Discourse (1996:28)

The order of the bands in the hierarchy reflects the salience of each band to the storyline of the narrative text. Salience refers to the prominence of the events in the story. Those that are on the top have high saliency than those below them.

Somsonge (1991), in her study of the Thai narratives, sorted out the background bands first to uncover the storyline band.

33

Others who have used the Etic Salience Scheme approach in Payap University include: Minh Thi Tuyet Pham (2006), Daniel Arisawa (2006), Amber Morris (2008), and David Greninger (2009).

In this research, Longacre's Etic Salience Band is applied on the data incorporating Somsonge's technique of sorting out the background bands first in order to uncover the storyline band.

2.7 Macrostructure

Tuen A. Van Dijk with Walter Kintsch (van Dijk and Kintsch 1978) have developed the concept of macrostructures in order to reveal the overall semantic content of a discourse text. A set of rules is proposed which, when applied to a discourse text, unfolds the most important component of the text. Longacre states that "macrostructure analysis attempts to make explicit how the overall plan and global purpose of a story exercise a selective control on the incidents that are included and the relative elaboration of detail that characterize the presentation of each incident" (1989:42). Somsonge, quoting from Van Dijk, states that the linearly ordered sentences in a text has a global and abstract structure that controls the arrangement of these sentences (1991:15). This shows that the macrostructure of a text, other than it is the "overall plan" of the text, also determines which information can be included in the details of the text, and how these details are organized and presented in the text. It has also been pointed out that studying both the "whole" and the "parts" is of great importance in fully understanding the text (Longacre 1989:42).

Macrostructures can be constructed by rules called 'macrorules'. These rules are developed by Van Dikj and Kinstch, starting out with four rules but then later on reduced to three. These three are: Deletion, Generalization and Construction. These rules are presented in details in Table 11 below.

Table 11 Macrorules of Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983:190)

Macrorule #1	DELETION	Delete each proposition in a sequence that is not an interpretation condition (e.g., a presupposition) for another proposition in the sequence.
Macrorule #2	GENERALIZATION	Substitute the sequence of proposition a proposition that is entailed by each of the proposition in the sequence.
Macrorule #3	CONSTRUCTION	Replace the sequence of propositions with a proposition that is entailed by the joint set of the propositions of the sequence.

No macrorule applies when a proposition can be itself a macroproposition, and this is called the Zero rule for convenience.

The process of macrostructure analysis is, as Longacre puts it, "necessarily circular" (1989:42). The application of the macrorules can be done repeatedly on a text until it has completely shrunk down into its very gist (Louwerse & Graesser 2006:4). Even though a macrostructure is condensed greatly from the original discourse text, it still is a "coherent whole" by itself (Van Dijk & Kintsch 1983:52).

Somsonge adapted Van Dijk's macrorules in analyzing the macrostructure of the Thai narratives and applied Longacre's suggestion that instead of applying the macrorules in an unrestricted text, one starts with the storyline (1991:17). The storyline is already an abstract similar to a macrostructure in itself but still needs to be completely refined. The clauses in the storyline are the macropropositions on which the macrorules are recursively applied until "the most general macrostructure of the text" is distinguished (Somsonge 1991:17-18).

However, Greninger's analysis of the Sherpa texts' macrostructures has shown that the background information is also important in the formulation of the macrostructures. The result in his study shows that "although the storyline is the most used information type for constructing second-level macropropositions of the Sherpa texts, supportive material is employed more often than storyline material" (Greninger 2009:134).

In this research, important background information is utilized with the storyline as macropropositions, synthesizing Somsonge and Greninger's approach.

2.8 Additional Methodology

The steps applied in this research are based on the literature reviewed earlier in this chapter.

2.8.1 Data Collection

As stated in the introductory chapter, the goal of this research is to discover discourse patterns in a folk narrative genre of the Hanunuo-Mangyans called *suyot*.

After choosing the type of data I wanted to use for my thesis, I looked for the best available people who could produce the data for me. I stayed in the Hanunuo-Mangyan village when I was collecting my data, so I was able to ask the locals if they could point me to those who could become a language resource person for me. Not everyone could tell this kind of story and, in fact, there are not many people still alive who could deliver a *suyot* anymore these days. However, I was led to two people who were known to be good *suyot* storytellers in the community. One was Maligday Lawaan, who was my host in the village and a known leader among the Hanunuo Christian community, and the second one was Angelina Mines, who was known for her literary skills.

Kuya[23] Maligday is 53 years old. He lives with his family in Kagankan, Mansalay, Mindoro Oriental. He is a known leader among the Mangyan[24] people, especially among the Christian tribal community. He was able to finish elementary education and is fluent in Tagalog, the national language of the Philippines. He was chosen by the Hanunuo Christian community to be one of the four translators of the Hanunuo Bible translation (Old Testament) project that has been going on for three years as of 2013.

The *suyot* were collected from *Kuya* Maligday in the evening before dinner. We were at the cooking area, which was at the back of the 'main house[25]', out in the open. With his children and nephew, we were sitting on the ground near the cooking fire where *Kuya* Maligday's sister was cooking. Some members of the family, including *Kuya* Maligday's parents and sisters were at the 'main house' listening with us. There

---

[23] *Kuya* means older brother. This is a proper word widely used among Filipinos to address older males.

[24] *Mangyan* is the collective term used for the 8 indigenous people groups found in the island of Mindoro, Philippines. The term covers Alangan, Buhid, Hanunoo, Iraya, Tadyawan, Tawbuid Oriental, Tawbuid Occidental, and Ratagnon.

[25] Kuya Maligday's clan lives close to each other. They had a 'main house' where the cooking area is, and where most of the daily activities take place.

was eagerness among his children and nephew who were always excited to hear stories from him. However, knowing that it was recorded, they were cautious not to make any sound even at the funny part of the stories. Kuya Maligday told us two *suyots* that night: *Si Dungawan* 'Dunghawan', and *Si Palyus ag si Amu* 'Palyus and Monkey'.

Ate[26]Angelina is 42 years old. She lives in Lamak 1, Manaul, Mindoro Oriental with her husband and children. She didn't finish elementary education, but she is literate and a fluent speaker of Tagalog as well. She is even one of the few Hanunuos who could still read and write the Hanunuo script (*see section 1.6*), and who could sing *ambahan*[27]. Just like *Kuya* Maligday, she is also one of the Christian leaders in the Mangyan community.

During my trips to *Ate* Angelina's place, I was accompanied by Beth Lawaan, *Kuya* Maligday's daughter. Our first trip was to schedule for the best time with her to collect *suyot*. On the day of the data collection, it was just me, Beth and her. It was in the afternoon at her family's little shed near their 'main house'. I was able to gather two *suyots* from her on that day: *Si Amu ag si Buaya* 'Monkey and Crocodile', and *Si Pauu ag si Kamayan* 'Turtle and Old Monkey'.

2.8.2 Data Preparation

After I collected the data, I transcribed the collected narratives using the Express Scribe [28] program. Because the language is close to my mother tongue, Cebuano, and two other languages that I know (Tagalog and Hiligaynon), I already have enough knowledge to understand the stories. However there were still words that are not familiar to me, so during the first transcription, I had blanks and question marks in my transcription. I then had my language assistant, Beth Lawaan, check my transcription. Having a degree in Filipino Education, Beth has good skills in writing. In fact, just like her father, she is also a part of the Bible Translation project in their language. I gave her instructions on how to use the Express Scribe program. When she was able to learn it, she listened to all the recordings while reading through my transcription. Those that I left blank, she filled in, and those that she found wrongly transcribed, she corrected. She also changed some sentence cuts in my transcription.

---

[26] *Ate* means older sister. This is a proper word widely used among Filipinos to address the older females.
[27] Ambahan is one of the Hanunoo poetic folk songs.
[28] Express Scribe v5.06. NHC Software. Australia. Copyright (c) 1990-2007.

After this, I transferred the data into a Word[29] file and gave it back to her for editing. I then compared her finished product with the original transcription to produce the final texts for the research.

I made a copy of the edited texts and had the sentences of each *suyot* numbered. I put space under every sentence and asked Beth to translate the stories into Tagalog and instructed her to write it in the space under each sentence. Her translation into Tagalog is the basis for my translation in English.

I transcribed the edited data again using the IPA and pasted it into Fieldworks Language Explore[30] (FLEx) program for interlinearization.

2.9 Particles

As mentioned in Section 1.6.1 Hanunuo words can be classified into two groups: full words and particles. Apparently, a great percentage of the Hanunuo vocabulary can be considered particles –all the words except those that fall under the categories of nouns, adjectives, verbals, and verbs.

According to Grimes, the function of particles in most languages "seems to be related to gluing the parts of discourses together" (1975:93). More definitions of a particle are: "it does not belong to one of the main classes of words, it is invariable in form, and has typically grammatical or pragmatic meaning" (SIL International 2004e). Basically, one can say that a particle is any word in a language that is not yet defined.

Tehan mentions that particles can contribute to the overall "texture" of the discourse in the area of progress, prominence, coherence and cohesion of a text (2014:2). Longacre mentions the term "texture of a discourse" referring especially to "cohesion and coherence" of the discourse's "linear development" (1989:17). Furthermore, he mentions that texture consists of "strands of information of varying relevance crossed by features that mark passages of special significance" (1996:4). Particles also indicate: style, register, genre, sociolinguistic features, evidence, attitude, personality, context, etc. (Tehan 2014:2).

It is then important to identify particles in a language and study their functions in discourse analysis. Some linguists, like Linda Jones (1992), Joseph Cooke (1989), and Thomas Tehan (2014), give suggestions on how to deal with particles in a

---

[29] Microsoft Word 2010 v.14.0.7106.5003. Redmond, Washington.
[30] Field Language Explorer v7.2.6. Copyright 2003-2012. SIL International.

language. For this research, Tehan's method is adapted. A condensed list of his methods is as follows:

1. First, interlinearize texts from several genres.

2. Prepare an exhaustive list of particles (certain or suspected).

3. Periodically return to all the texts, as one learns the language and its structure better, and apply more descriptive names to particles.

4. Refine the labels according to their function.

5. As the information is accumulating, sort the particles into genre, register, style, context, etc. lists.

6. Determine the scope of effect of a particle.

7. Determine where particles must, may and cannot appear by interviewing mother-tongue speakers and experimenting with phrase, clause, sentence and discourse syntax.

8. Continually look for generalizations as you proceed with grammatical and discourse analysis, employing insights of linguistically aware mother-tongue speakers.

2.9.1 Data Analysis

When all the texts were ready for analysis, selected methodologies of discourse analysis were applied to the interlinearized texts.

The initial step was to determine the phrases and clauses in the texts. After this was the charting of the texts using a modified chart that Levinsohn (2007:17-18) suggested which separates the main clause from the pre-nuclear and post-nuclear constituents. Boundaries were then determined using internal unity criteria and boundary markers.

Once the boundaries were determined, an analysis of surface and notional structure of the data was performed. After this, a proposed etic salience scheme was constructed. When the storylines of the texts were identified, macrorules were applied to uncover a macrostructure of the *suyots*. Particles where also identified, analyzed, and given initial description of their function.

2.10 Overview of the *Suyots*

This section gives an overview of the four *suyots* utilized as data in this research.

The stories collected as data for this research, as mentioned in section 2.8.1, are *Si Dunghawan* 'Dunghawan', *Si Palyus ag si Amu* 'Palyus and Monkey, *Si Amu ag si Buaya* 'Monkey and Crocodile', and *Si Pauu ag Si Kamayan* 'Turtle and Old Monkey'. Below are overviews of each *suyot*.

The story of Dunghawan[31] is about a smart and handsome guy who, because of his desire to gain more knowledge about the world, goes on a lone journey. Along the way, he meets Kapri[32], a servant of the king, who challenges him to fight. The condition is, whoever wins will skin the one who will be defeated. Dunghawan agrees hesitantly but defeats Kapri. He then skins Kapri, just as how they came to agree before they started to fight. Dunghawan then makes Kapri's skin his 'clothes' and goes back to the house of the king replacing Kapri who was the king's servant. Since he is donning Kapri's skin, the king does not realize that he is not Kapri. However, it turns out that the youngest daughter of the king catches Dunghawan bathing in the river without Kapri's skin, thus revealing his true identity to her. The youngest daughter then falls in love with Dunghawan. She, however, did not tell her family about Dunghawan's secret. One day, Dunghawan goes back to the river and the youngest daughter followed him again. The girl then reaches out for Kapri's skin and Dunghawan has to go home without it. All the while, he thinks that the king is surely going to kill him. However, opposite to the consequence of death that he expects when the king discovers his identity, the king is so please to know who he really is and asks him to marry his daughter. At this very same moment of revelation, the king suddenly dies and Dunghawan replaces him.

The story of Dunghawan has a total of 90 sentences with 190 clauses.

The story of Palyus and Monkey is about a crafty man, Palyus, and the monkeys. One day, Palyus meets a monkey who wants to swing on his hammock. With the condition of putting thorny rattan nodes first in the monkey's butt and nose, he allows the monkey to swing on his hammock. The monkey agrees but because of this, the monkey dies and Palyus takes makes him his special dish. He then sets aside the monkey's intestine and goes to the river where he cleans the intestine and weaves it. Later on, another monkey appears and asks him what kind of intestine he is weaving. Palyus does not tell the

---

[31] *Dunghawan* is one of the famous *suyot* characters. There are many other *suyots* in which he is the main actor.

[32] *Kapri* is a mythical black, human-like creature well-known not only among the Hanunoo-Mangyans, but among many Filipinos.

monkey the truth but instead plays a trick on him which makes him laugh. The monkey then sees Palyus' black teeth and desires to have his teeth blackened too. With this, Palyus plots a trick on the monkey including his whole clan. He tells the monkey that the reason why he has black teeth is because his parents smoked him, and if the monkey wants to have his teeth blackened too, he should come and meet him on the 8th day bringing the rest of his clan. Palyus then assures the monkey that he would make their teeth black. When the eight day arrives, many monkeys come to Palyus' house. He then leads them to his father's farm where he asks the monkeys to hang-on to the poles so that he can smoke them. The monkeys willingly climb on the poles and Palyus lights a fire in the farm burning all the monkeys. However, Palyus realizes that there is one mother monkey carrying her baby who did not go into the center of the farm where the monkeys are smoked. The monkey then sees the horrible death of the other monkeys. Because of this, the mother monkey swears that all the monkeys will never trust man anymore, thus, monkeys live in the forests and are elusive.

The story of Palyus and Monkey shows a mixture of a fable and a legend, which is a natural characteristic of a *suyot*. The whole story has a total of 105 sentences with 227 clauses.

The story of Monkey and Crocodile is about Monkey escaping from Crocodile who wants to eat his liver.

Monkey goes to the beach in behalf of his son to look for oysters and meets Crocodile. Crocodile then tells him that he wants his tasty liver. However, crafty Monkey escapes from Crocodile by telling him the he did not bring his liver with him. He then suggests that if he really wants to have his liver, they should just meet again on the 8th day to which gullible Crocodile agrees with. On the eight day, the two meet again and Crocodile brings his family with him. Monkey then tells Crocodile that he would count them first but then he sees the biggest Crocodile causing him to run away and escape. Crocodile then chases Monkey into his house and up to the hills. After sometime, Crocodile gets tired and tries to trick Monkey by pretending to be dead. However, Monkey is smart enough to recognize that he is just faking and is able to escape. Crocodile chases him again up to the other hill but, by this time, Crocodile dies from exhaustion.

Monkey and Crocodile story is the shortest among the four *suyots*. It has a total of 50 sentences and with 85 clauses.

The last suyot is the story of Turtle and Old Monkey. The story starts with Turtle and Old Monkey meeting on the road. Turtle is bringing a banana tree. When Old Monkey knows

that Turtle is going to plant the tree, he asks a part of it too from Turtle. Without any hesitation, Turtle gives Old Monkey the other end of the tree. Later on, Turtle's banana grows and bears fruit but Old Monkey's dies. Soon, the banana fruits ripen and Turtle realizes he could not climb it. Therefore, he asks help from Old Monkey to climb it. Old Monkey willingly agrees to climb the tree but when he reaches the top he did not give Turtle any fruit causing Turtle to be very sad. An Ant sees Turtle and volunteers to bite Old Monkey's butt as revenge. However, it still did not make Old Monkey come down. Turtle then expresses his sadness through an ambahan. When Old Monkey hears Turtle's ambahan, he then comes down and asks Monkey if he has an ambahan for himself too. Turtle then instructs Old Monkey to put thorny rattan nodes in his butt before he sings his ambahan and Old Monkey obeys him. Old Monkey did not realize that by doing so, it would lead to his demise. After Old Monkey dies, Turtle cooks him and serves him to Balugbau, who happens to be Old Monkey's son. When Balugbau realizes that Turtle feeds him his father, he chases Turtle and tries to cook him. However, Turtle is clever and escapes from Balugbau. Balugbau catches him again, and again Turtle escapes. The cycle of 'catch and chase' keeps going until Turtle escapes to the pond where Balugbau could not go into. Realizing this, Balugbau brings other animals into the pond to dry it up. Unfortunately, the Sawi bird chirps causing the urine of the animals to gush out, filling the pond again. Moreover, the water buffalo, which is one of the animals that Balugbau has brought to the pond, steps on Turtle's shell which causes his hooves to crack.

Once again, this story is a mixture of fable and a legend. The story has a total of 108 sentences and 200 clauses.

2.11 Summary

This chapter has discussed the Discourse Analysis processes utilized in analyzing the data of this research which include: Barnwell's criteria of internal unity and boundary, Dooley and Levinsohn's concepts, Longacre's theory of Notional and Surface Structure, as well as, his Etic Salience Scheme, Van Dijk's theory of macrostructures, Somsonge and Greninger's adaptation of the macrorules and Tehan's methods on handling particles. This chapter has also discussed the methodology used in the research. Moreover, the overview of the four *suyots* was presented in this chapter.

Chapter 3
Boundaries, Internal Unity, and Surface and Notional Structure

3.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and describes the elements that mark boundaries and internal unity in the corpus. The surface and notional structure of each story in the data are also presented here.

The method used is as follows. Each text was first tentatively divided into bigger segments i.e. grouping of sentences. After that, Barnwell's (1980:237-240) criteria of discourse boundaries and internal unity were adapted to determine more clearly defined units within the *suyots*. (*See section 2.4 for the discussion of boundary and internal unity signals.*)

After the segmentation of each *suyot*, Longacre's (1996:36) concepts of surface and notional structure were applied on the segmented stories. (*See the table of the surface and notional structure in section 2.5.*)

Each segment found in each text was examined for any evidence that would show their correspondence with the *suyot's* surface and notional structure. The Peak in every *suyot* was also determined using Longacre's list of Peak surface structure markings and other special markings found in the data (1996:38-48). *(See section 2.5.1 for a detailed discussion of Peak markings.*)

This chapter ends with the summary of all the findings of the analysis.

3.2 Monkey and Crocodile

This story was elicited from *Ate* Angelina. It has a total of 493 words, 50 sentences, and 85 clauses. It is found in Appendix A.

Table 12 shows the profile of the surface and notional structure segmentation of Monkey and Crocodile story. Details of the table are discussed after the table.

Table 12 Surface and Notional Structure Segment of Monkey and Crocodile Story

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Title			*Si Amu ag si Buaya* 'Monkey and Crocodile'
Stage	S#1 – 3	Expository	**BM**[33]: Introduction of participants (*Amu* 'Monkey', *son of Monkey = present*) *(Buaya* 'Crocodile' = *absent*) New place (*Monkey's house*) **IUM**[34]: Same participant (*Monkey, son of Monkey*) Same place (*Monkey's house*)
Episode 1	S#4-14	Inciting Moment	**BM**: Change of place (*dagat* 'seashore') New participant (*Crocodile*) Tail-Head linkage (*MC.3 & MC.4*) Summary statement (*MC.14*) **IUM**: Same place Same participant Lexical coherence (*tasty liver*)
Episode 2	S#15-23	Developing Conflict	**BM**: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of time (8th day) New participants (*Crocodile's clan*) **IUM:** Same participants Same place
Episode 3	S#24-30	Developing Conflict	**BM**: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Tail-Head Linkage (*MC.23 & MC.24*) Change of place (*Monkey's house*) **IUM**: Same participants Same place
Episode 4	S#31-34	Developing Conflict	**BM**: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of place (*tree top*) Change of activity (*spider hunting*) Tail-Head linkage (*MC.30 & MC.31*) **IUM**: Same place Same participant

---

[33] BM: Boundary Marker
[34] IUM: Internal Unity Marker

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Episode 5	S#35-43	Developing Conflict	**BM**: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Tail-Head linkage (*MC.34 &MC.35*) Change of place (*8th hill*) **IUM**: Same place Same participants
Episode 6	S#44-49	Climax	**BM**: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of place (*on the other hill*) Summary statement (*MC.49*) **IUM**: Same participant Same place
Closure:	S#50	Conclusion	Repeated summary statement by the participant/confirmation of event

As reflected by the table above, the story has 9 segments, reflecting a surface structure of the Title, Stage, six Episodes and the Closure. Furthermore, the story has been analyzed as containing no Peak. The Monkey and Crocodile text is an episodic narrative. (*See section 2.5.1.*)

The title given by the storyteller of the *suyot* was *Si Amu ag si Buaya* 'Monkey and Crocodile'. It gives the listeners a preview of the main participants of the story.

The narrator then sets the stage (S#1 – 3) of the story. However, unlike the typical way of starting a story, which is through descriptive clauses, she started out the story with the dialogue of the two monkeys – father and son. The dialogue gives an overview to the listeners of how the story will turn out. It mentions, *Buaya* 'Crocodile', another character in the story who is about to enter into the upcoming episode, as well as, the seashore which is one of the locations where some scenes in the story is about to take place. Not only that, the dialogue between the father and the son gives the listeners a hint that the other character, *Buaya*, is the antagonist in the story.

The next segment (S#4-14) is Episode 1. The episode is bounded by a change of location which is at the *dagat*[35] 'seashore' and a new participant, *Buaya*, who was mentioned in the stage and now, enters into the scene. Moreover, there is a tail-head

---

[35] *Dagat* literally means 'sea' but as we can see in the story, the narrator actually refers to the seashore, thus, I'm glossing this as 'seashore'.

linkage that separates this segment from the previous segment in MC.3 and MC.4 as shown below:

(33) MC.3 **ʔaku** **ji**   **laŋ** **ti**   **maŋatag**
            1S   already   only   the   be going
            pro   mod   adv   dem   v

I'll go there myself."

MC.4 **ʔati** **ji**   **ŋani** **si**   **ʔamuʔ**
           there   already   EP   PersInd   Monkey
           adv   mod   prt   det   n

Off did Monkey go.

Amu declares that he himself will go to the seashore in S#3 which is the last sentence of the previous segment and then episode 1 started out in S#4 that *Amu* went to the seashore. The segment ends with a summary statement that is marked by the adverbial phrase *sijun ginan* 'from there…' or 'from that time'.

(34) MC.14 **sijun** **ginan** nuli   ji   maʔan si   ʔamuʔ
              there   from   went_home   already   again   PersInd   monkey
              adv   adp   v   mod   adv   det   n

              sa   kaj   balaj
              Loc   3SPoss   house
              prep   pro   n

From there, Monkey went back to his home again.

The internal unity markers found that keep this whole unit together are: same place, same participants, and lexical coherence. The proof of lexical coherence is the repetition of the noun phrase *ataj marabu* 'tasty liver' which occurs 3 times within the segment.

Though *Amu* is in a scary situation in this segment, he does not seem so affected at all with the possible danger that he is facing. He even voluntarily goes into the place. This segment, instead, correlates with the Inciting Moment in the notional structure. *Amu*'s deal with *Buaya* to see him again on the eighth day with his liver keeps the story going.

The next segment (S#15-23) is Episode 2, which correlates with Developing Conflict in the notional structure.

This segment is bounded by the grammatical marker *pagka,* which can be a temporal marker as it may be translated as 'when'. There is also a change of time, and new participants, of which the biggest crocodile is the highlight (MC.20). The exit of *Amu* from the scene in sentence MC.23 marks the end boundary of the segment too.

The next four Episodes can be divided into two types of cycles. The first cycle which occurs in Episode 3 and 4 is 'escape – discovery – chase' while the second cycle which occurs in Episode 5 and 6 is 'escape – trickery – chase'.

Episodes 3 and 4 start with *Amu*'s escape from his predator, *Buaya*. However, *Buaya* then discovers his hiding place, and the two start on a chase again.

In Episodes 5 and 6, *Amu* still escapes from *Buaya*; however, by this time *Buaya* finds a new tactic, which is tricking *Amu* by pretending that he is already dead. But, since *Amu* is shrewder than *Buaya*, he gets away from him. Then the chase starts again.

All of these four episodes have the grammatical marker *pagka* and change of location as boundaries. Episodes 3 to 5 have tail-head linkage (MC.23 and MC.24; MC.30 and MC.31; MC.34 and MC.35) and episode 6 has summary statement in MC.49.

For the internal unity markers of the episodes, same place and same participants are found in all four episodes.

The lack of surface structure Peak was discussed at the beginning of this section after Table 11. Episode 6 corresponds to proposed Climax which is, specifically, in MC.47 and MC.48. During this time, *Buaya* was, for a long time, not moving anymore. *Amu,* wanting to make sure if *Buaya* is dead, pulls *Buaya*'s tail repeatedly to make sure that he is already dead. *Amu*'s act of coming too close to *Buaya* is a dangerous move and this gives a thrill to the hearers knowing the risk that *Amu* is taking.

The Closure is found in S#50. Here, *Amu* confirms that *Buaya* is really dead already. The story does not have a Finis. The story, in fact, ends very quickly.

The boundary markers utilized in this story are: change of time (2 times), change of place (6 times), new participant/exit of participants (3 times)[36], grammatical marker (5 times), tail-head linkage (5 times), and summary statement (2 times).

On the other hand, the internal unity markers found within each segment in the story are: same time (1 time), same participants (7 times), same place (7 times), and lexical coherence (4 times).

3.3 Turtle and Old Monkey

The Turtle and Old Monkey story was elicited from *Ate* Angelina. It has a total of 1,008 words, 108 sentences, and 200 clauses. The whole text can be found in Appendix B. The segments of the story are as shown in Table 13 below.

Table 13 Surface and Notional Structure of Turtle and Old Monkey Story

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Title			*Si Pauu ag si Kamayan* 'Turtle and Old Monkey'
Stage 1	S#1 – 12	Expository	Introduction of participants and props (*Pauu* 'Turtle', *Kamayan* 'Old Monkey', *sagiŋ* 'banana tree') BM: Exit of participants Summary statement (*TM.12*) IUM: Same participant Same time Lexical coherence (*banana*)
Stage 2	S#13 - 18	Expository	BM: Change of time (*8th day*) Exit of participants Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Summary statement (*TM.18*) IUM: Same place Same participant Same topic (*the condition of the banana tree*)

---

[36] I included the "exit of participant" in this count.

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Episode 1	S#19 - 30	Inciting Moment	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of time (*long after the 8th day*) Change of place (*Old Monkey's house*) IUM: Same participants Lexical Coherence (*banana fruit, climbing of the banana tree*)
Episode 2	S#31-47	Developing Conflict	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Tail-Head Linkage (*TM.30 & TM.31*) Change of place (*Turtle's front yard*) New Participant (*Ant*) IUM: Same participants Same place Lexical coherence (*the banana fruit getting consumed, not being given [banana fruit]*)
Peak	S#48 - 62	Climax	BM: Exit of a participant (*Ant's absence*) New props (10 *thorny bamboo nodes; ambahan*) IUM: Same place Same participants Lexical coherence (*ambahan*) PM: Peculiar features (*embedded ambahan, embedded detailed instruction*)
Closure	S#63	Conclusion	Conclusion

Part 2

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Episode 3	S#64 - 80	Inciting Moment; Developing Conflict	BM: Change of place (*Turtle's kitchen*) New participant (*Balugbau*) IUM: Same place Same participants
Episode 4	S#81 - 91	Developing Conflict	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Summary-head linkage (*TM.81*) IUM: Same time Same participants

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Peak	S#92-106	Climax (S#103-105)	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of place (*pond*) New participants (*cows, horses, water buffaloes, Sawi bird*) IUM: Same time Same participants PM: Concentration of participants Onomatopoeia
Closure	S#107-108	Conclusion	Summary and explanation

As shown in the table above, the *suyot* has two parts and is divided into 11 segments: Title, two Stage segments, two first part Pre-Peak Episodes and two second part Pre-Peak Episodes, two Peaks, and two Closures.

The first part is the story of *Pauu* and *Kamayan* and the second part is the story of *Pauu* and *Kamayan*'s son, *Balugbau*. Both parts have a Peak, and the first part does have a Closure but is still hinged with the second part of the story *(More explanation is given below)*.

The title that the narrator gives to the story is Si *Pauu* ag si *Kamayan* 'Turtle and Old Monkey' which again, just like her first story, tells the listeners who the main characters of the story are.

The stage of the story has two segments and both contain a dialogue, instead of descriptive clauses, that gives an overview of how the story will turn out.

The first two main characters in the story, *Pauu* 'Turtle' and *Kamayan* 'Old Monkey', enter in the first part of the stage (S#1 – 12) with the main prop, which is the banana tree. Turtle and Old Monkey meet and find themselves dividing Turtle's banana tree. Though not made explicit in the story, Turtle must have gotten the lower part of the tree which has the root while Old Monkey gets the upper part[37]. Their conversation reveals the place where the two would plant their share of the banana which also gives a hint of who is wiser between the two.

---

[37] The Turtle and Monkey and the Banana tree story is a common story among the Filipinos which was written by the national hero, Jose Rizal. However, this version of the Hanunoo Mangyan has twists that Jose Rizal's version does not have. It would be interesting to know if the Mangyans learned this story from the outsiders and modified it.

In the second part of the stage (S#13 – 18), *Pauu* and *Kamayan* met again to update about the condition of the banana that they have planted.

One new boundary marker found in these two stage segments is participants exiting from the scene. This is different from change of participants since in the next segment these same participants come into the new scene. They exited from the scene for some time to mark a boundary from the next scene.

Segment (S#48 – 62) is the Peak of the first part of the story. There is now a change of focus here which is the *ambahan*[38] instead of the banana, and there are also new props, which are the 10 thorny bamboo nodes. Moreover, Tigasaw is now gone from the scene. All of these are the boundary markers of the segment.

The Peak is marked by two peculiar features, which are embedded *ambahan* and embedded detailed instruction. *Pauu* expresses his deep sadness through reciting an ambahan (TM.49-53) which surprisingly causes *Kamayan* to come down from the tree. *Kamayan* is so mesmerized by the *ambahan* that he, too, wants one for himself. Willingly, *Pauu* gives a detailed instruction to *Kamayan* in TM. 57-59, which is to insert 10 thorny bamboo nodes in his butt before he recites his *ambahan*. The following two sentences, TM.60-61, is where the Climax of the story is. *Kamayan* did just as what *Pauu* instructed him to do. He did not realize that it will lead him to his demise.

S#63 marks the Closure of the first part of the story where the narrator states that *Pauu* has successfully taken revenge against *Kamayan*. The story seems to have ended already, but this is actually just the first part.

The transition to the second part of the story is quick. The next segment starts out directly with an Inciting Moment. Right at the beginning of the second part of the story, TM. 64-65, *Pauu* butchers *Kamayan* and another participant is introduced in the story, *Balugbau,* who is the son of Old Monkey. This is the major twist that the well-known Filipino Turtle and Monkey story written by Jose Rizal does not have.

The whole segment consists of sentences TM.64-80. Another story starts about *Pauu* and *Balugbau*. A portion of this segment also correlates with a Developing Conflict in the story. The conflict starts to develop in TM.71 when Turtle reveals to *Balugbau* that he is actually eating his father. Because of this, *Balugbau* chases Turtle swearing

---

[38] A song poem that has meter and rhyme. It is usually sung in a style and tune that varies with the person delivering it and is recited without musical accompaniment. It has 7 syllables per line with the final syllable of every line rhyming with all the others (Postma 1977:39).

to roast him in the fire. As what is expected, slow Turtle is caught. However, he finds an escape by tricking *Balugbau* who is as dumb as his father.

The two segments that follow repeat the cycle in the previous episode: Turtle does a mean thing to *Balugbau* – *Balugbau* learns that he is tricked by Turtle – he chases and catches Turtle.

However, the last repeated cycle diverts from what is expected to happen where *Balugbau* is not able to catch *Pauu* anymore. This is where the Peak of the second part of the story is.

The Peak markers found in this segment are: concentration of participants (*Pauu*, *Balugbau*, cows, horses, water buffaloes, and Sawi bird all in one location), and onomatopoeia which is the sound of the Sawi bird "*kabutbuti, kabutbuti, kabutbuti*".

The Closure of the story is an unusual ending. Although the narrator sums the story up that *Balugbau* did not catch Turtle anymore, the final focus is on how the hoof of the water buffalo cracks as a consequence of stepping on Turtle's shell.

The boundary markers utilized in this story are: change of time (3 times), change of place (6 times), new participant (7 times), grammatical marker (6 times), tail-head linkage (5 times), summary statement (4 times), and exit of participants (2 times).

On the other hand, the internal unity markers found within each segment in the story are: same time (2 times), same participants (9 times), same place (4 times), and lexical coherence (6 times).

3.4 Dunghawan

The story of Dunghawan was elicited from *Kuya* Maligday. It has a total of 1,043 words, 90 sentences, and 190 clauses. See Appendix C for the full story.

Table 14 Surface and Notional Structure of the Story of Dunghawan

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Aperture	S#1		*maj ʔusa waja ka tultulanun tuŋkul ŋani …* 'there is one more story about…'
Stage	S#2 – 4	Expository	BM: Introduction of participant (*Dunghawan*) Summary statement (*D.4*) IUM: Same time Same participant
Episode 1	S#5 - 18	Inciting Moment; Developing Conflict	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Tail-head linkage (*D.4 & D.5*) New Participant (*Kapri*) Change of place (*away from home*) IUM: Same place Same participant
Episode 2	S#19 - 24	Climax	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of time (*palis ti init 'around 2PM'*) IUM: Same participants Same time Same place PM: Concentration of participants Change of pace
Closure	S#25 - 29	Conclusion	BM: Grammatical marker (*nu kabitay 'just like how'*) Summary statement (*D.29*) IUM: Same participant
Part 2			
Episode 3	S#30 - 33	Developing Conflict	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of place (*king's house*) New participant (*hari* 'king') IUM: Same place Same participants

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Episode 4	S#34-40	Developing Conflict	BM: Change of time Exit of a participant New props (*kaju* 'firewood') IUM: Same activity Same participants Lexical coherence (*firewood*)
Episode 5	S#41 - 59	Developing Conflict	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of place (*river*) Introduction of new participants (*daughters of the king*) IUM: Same place Same participants
Episode 6	S#60 - 67	Developing Conflict	BM: Change of place (*back to the house*) Grammatical marker (*pagka*) New of participants (*the other daughters of the king*) IUM: Same participants
Episode 7	S#68 - 81	Developing Conflict	BM: Change of place (*river*) Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Summary Statement (*D.81*) IUM: Same time Same participants
Peak	S#81-88	Climax	BM: Change of place (*king's front yard*) Change of participants (*King, daughters, Dunghawan*) Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Tail-Head linkage (*D.81 & D.82*) IUM: Same time Same participants PM: Shift from narrative-dialogue-drama Concentration of participants (not explicit)
Closure	S#89	Conclusion	Summary
Finis	S#90		*Imaw di kang tultulanun* 'This is my story.'

Based on the table above, the story has a total of 13 surface segments which include: Aperture, Stage, seven Pre-Peak episodes, a Peak, two Closures, and a Finis.

This story, again, has two parts within. The first part sets the stage with a mini-narrative for the second part.

There was no title given by the narrator so the title given to this story is my suggestion and stands outside the text. However, the title I have given to the story is extracted from the Aperture of the story.

The story is opened with an Aperture (S#1) *maj ʔusa waja ka tultulanun tuŋkul ŋani sa kan duŋhawan…* 'there is one more story about Dunghawan…'. This phrase is not only a common story opener among the Hanunuo-Mangyans but also in my language, Cebuano. There is a possibility that this formulaic phrase is also common among the other languages in the Philippines.

The story then moves on to the Stage (S#2 – 4) which introduces the main character of the story who is Dunghawan. In the Stage segment, Dunghawan's plan is also revealed.

Episode 1 (S#5 – 18) moves into another place and has another participant, Kapri, come into the scene. This episode correlates with the Inciting Moment and Development Conflict where Kapri challenges Dunghawan to a wrestling match with the condition that whoever wins will skin the one who gets defeated. Though hesitant at first, Dunghawan accepted the challenge.

Episode 2 (S#19 – 24) then follows. Climax is also found in this segment which is in S#19-20. Dunghawan feels hopeless at this point but decides to encourage himself. Eventually, Kapri felt tired and Dunghawan was able to defeat him. However, this Climax has no special marking in the Surface Structure.

Episode 2 is then followed by the Closure (S#25 – 29) of the first part of the story. It is an explanation of what Dunghawan did and the purpose of it after he defeated Kapri.

The two episodes, Episode 3 (S#30 – 33) and Episode 4 (S#34-40), that follow have the same cycle – 'accomplished task – inquiry – hit'. Dunghawan accomplishes a task and asks the king where the place to put things into is. Since the king does not know that it was not really Kapri talking to him, he hits Dunghawan in irritation for not knowing what he should have already known.

Both of these two episodes correlates with Developing Conflict in the notional structure, the king expects that Kapri should know everything in the house but since

it is actually now Dunghawan dressed in Kapri's skin who replaces Kapri, he is disoriented inside the king's house.

The next three episodes; Episode 5 (S#41 – 59), Episode 6 (S#60 – 67), and Episode 7 (S#68 – 81), all correlate with Developing Conflict of the second part of the story. In these episodes, a new character, youngest daughter of the king, enters into the story and plays the important part of discovering Dunghawan's secret. By the time she knows that Kapri is actually Dunghawan, a very handsome man, she falls in love with him. Her father and her sisters are starting to get irritated with her for staying close with Dunghawan but she did not say anything about the truth.

Finally, the Peak episode is found in S#81-88. The Peak markers found in this segment are:

1. Shift from narrative – dialogue – drama
2. Concentration of participants – although this is not explicitly presented, it is inferred that when Dunghawan returns back to the king's house, all of the king's daughters are there too.

This segment correlates with the Climax of the second part of the story. It occurs in S#82-87 where Dunghawan meets the king. He is expecting to be killed by the king, but the king responds the other way. He, instead, asks him to marry his daughter.

The story ends with a one-sentence Closure (S#89) which concludes that Dunghawan becomes the king, and a Finis *imaw di kang tultulanun* 'this is my story.'

The boundary markers utilized in this story are: change of time (3 times), new participant (5 times), grammatical marker (8 times), change of place (6 times), tail-head linkage (3 times), summary statement (4 times), and exit of participants (1 time).

On the other hand, the internal unity markers found within each segment in the story are: same time (4 times), same participants (10 times), same place (4 times), and lexical coherence (2 times).

3.5 Palyus and Monkey

This story was elicited from *Kuya* Maligday. It has a total of 1,040 words, 105 sentences, and 227 clauses. See Appendix D for the full story.

The segments of the story are presented in the table below.

Table 15 Surface and Notional Structure Table of the Story of Palyus and Monkey

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markers
Aperture	S#1 -2	Formulaic Phrase	*ʔinda kaŋ tultulanun tuŋkul ŋani…* 'this is my story about…' *Sa ati katpung pag udas…* 'long time ago'
Stage	S#2 - 3	Expository	Introduction of the participant
Episode 1	S#4 - 15	Inciting Moment	BM: Change of time (*abwat ti init 'noon time'*) New participant (*Amu* 'Monkey') Grammatical marker (*pagka*) IUM: Same time Same participants Same place Lexical coherence (*hammock*)
Part 2			
Episode 2	S#16 - 23	Inciting Moment	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka)* Summary-head linkage (*PM.18-19 & PM.20*) IUM: Same time Same participant Same place Lexical coherence (*puna 'intestine'*)
Episode 3	S#24 - 44	Developing Conflict	BM: Change of place (*river*) Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Tail-Head linkage (*PM.23 & PM.24*) New participant (*another Amu*) IUM: Same place Same participants Lexical coherence (*intestine*)

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markings
Episode 4	S#45 – 58	Developing Conflict	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Tail-Head linkage (*PM.44 & PM.45*) IUM: Same participants Lexical coherence (*intestine*)
Episode 5	S#59 - 78	Developing Conflict	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) IUM: Same participants Lexical coherence (*black teeth, intestine*)
Stage	S#79 - 84	Expository	Introduction of new participants BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Tail-Head linkage (*PM.78 & PM.79*) New participants (*group of monkeys*) Change of place (*Palyus' house*) Change of time (*8th day*) IUM: Same participants Same place Same time
Peak	S#85 - 96	Climax	BM: Grammatical marker(*pagka*) Change of time (*palis ti init 'around 2 PM*) Change of place (*at the swidden*) IUM: Same participants Same place Same time PM: Occurrence of particle (*pagka* 'ligature') Concentration of participants

Surface Structure		Notional Structure	Surface Markings
Episode 6	S#97 - 101	Final Suspense	BM: Grammatical marker (*pagka*) Change of time New participants (*mother monkey with baby*) IUM: Same participants Same place Same time
Closure	S#102 - 104	Conclusion	Summary and explanation
Finis	S#105		*Imaw lang kay tultulanun.* 'This only is my story.'

The story has a total of 12 surface segments: Aperture, two Stage episodes, five Pre-Peak episodes, Peak, a Post-Peak episode, Conclusion, and a Finis.

This story, just like the other two previous stories, has two parts.

There was no Title given to the story. The storyteller, just like his first story, opened it with an Aperture. The title that I have given to this story is, again, extracted from the Aperture of the story.

The story has two Apertures in two succeeding sentences (S#1 and 2).

(35) PM.1 ʔinda   kaŋ   tultulanun tuŋkul ŋani sa   kanda ni
           this   1SPoss   story   about EP   of   3PExc PersInd
           det   pro   n   prep   prt   prep   pro   det

           paljus ni   ʔamuʔ
           Palyus PersInd   Monkey
           n   adp   n

This is my story about Palyus and Monkey.

(36) PM.2 sa   ʔati   katpuŋ pag ʔudas si   paljus sa   balaj
           Loc   there   lig time PersInd   Palyus Loc   house
           adp   adv   adv   prt n   adp   n   adp   n

           magpamataw   ʔunman   sijun kaj   ʔama haŋgan kaj
           watching over not;none   there 3SPoss father until 3SPoss
           v   prt   adv   pro   n   conn   pro

?ina?
mother
n

Long time ago, Palyus was watching over their house; his parents weren't there.

The highlighted portions in the examples above are two formulaic phrases in Hanunuo narratives. One may suggest that PM.1 in example 32 is the Title of the story. However, I still labeled example 35 as an Aperture for the reason that the Title that the Hanunuo-Mangyans would usually give to their stories are made up of phrases and not sentences. PM.1 above is a full sentence introducing who the main participants of the story are.

After the Stage (S#2 – 3) is set, the story moves directly into the Episode 1 (S#4 – 15) of the first part of the story which correlates with the first Inciting Moment. Palyus meets *Amu*, kills him and takes his intestines.

The next episode, Episode 2 (S#16 – 23) again correlates with the with Inciting Moment as Palyus decides to go to the river to weave *Amu*'s intestine while Episode 3 (S#24 – 43) corresponds with Developing Conflict where *Amu*, a new participant, meets Palyus in the river and sees him weaving intestines. He then becomes curious with what kind of intestine Palyus is weaving but *Amu* does not tell him.

Moving on, Episode 4 (S#44 – 58) and Episode 5 (S#59 – 78) repeat the cycle found in Episode 3 which is '*Amu* guesses – Palyus denies – *Amu* leaves – Palyus confesses – *Amu* comes back'. However, there is a diversion of focus at the end of Episode 5. The focus shifts from the intestine to Palyus' black teeth.

The story then halts a bit after Episode 5 where a descriptive Stage segment (S#79 – 84) is inserted. Here, new participants, a group of monkeys, enter into the scene and an overview of the upcoming events is laid out.

After this, the story moves into the Peak episode (S#85 – 95). The Peak markers found are incidence of particles, and concentration of participants.

One thing that stands out in the Peak segment is the usage of *pagka* particle. A discussion of *pagka* particle is presented in Chapter 5, however, the particle *pagka* that stands out here is not the one that is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 but the homonym of it which functions as a ligature. Nowhere in the story is *pagka* ligature used but only in this segment, which is notably used thrice just within the segment.

This ligature links an adjective that modifies a noun in a noun phrase. However, the usage of the *pagka* ligature is not commonly used in the language, based on its rare occurrence in the data. Usually, when a noun is modified, the ligature *pag*[39] is used. The usage of the ligature *pagka* then denotes special marking in the Surface Structure of the story. The sentences below show where the ligature *pagka* occurs in the segment.

(37) PM.86 sa   daka? **pagka** buklid niku   ?ama ?ati kita
            Loc big   **lig**   farm   1SPoss father there 1PInc
            adp adj   **prt**   n   pro   n   adv   pro

We'll go to my father's big farm..."

(38) PM.87b ?adukan gid   **pagka** ?amu?
            so_many Int   **lig**   monkey
            adj   mod   **prt**   n

...there were so many Monkey.

(39) PM.91c ?aduk **pagka** ?amu?
            many   **lig**   monkey
            adj   **prt**   n

So many monkeys.

The usage of the *pagka* ligature, although it would still need more examples to be proven true, seems to also act as an intensifier. The storyteller seems to highlight that there are really so many monkeys; thus, the very big farm of Palyus' father is needed so that all the monkeys will be accommodated in one space. This then makes it easier for Palyus to burn all the monkeys.

After the Peak comes the Post Peak episode (S#96 – 101) which correlates with the Final Suspense of the story. It is followed by a Closure (S#102 – 104), which is an explanation of why the monkeys have become wild and untamed. Finally, the story ended with a Finis (S#105).

The boundary markers utilized in this story are: change of time (4 times), new participant (4 times), grammatical marker (8 times), change of place (4 times), and tail-head linkage (4 times).

---

[39] It is possible that *pag* is a shortened variation of *pagka*. If this proves to be true, the choice of the storyteller to use the full word *pagka* does mark a special marking on this segment.

On the other hand, the internal unity markers found within each segment in the story are: same time (5 times), same participants (8 times), same place (6 times), and lexical coherence (4 times).

3.6 Summary

This chapter presented the Surface and Notional Structure of each *suyot,* as well as, the boundary, internal unity and Peak markers found in the data. A table of summary of the surface structure markers is presented below.

Table 16 Number of Occurrences of Boundary, Internal Unity, and Peak Markers

	Monkey and Crocodile	Turtle and Monkey	Dunghawan	Palyus and Monkey	Total
BM:					
Change of participants/props	2	5	4	4	**15**
Exit of participant	1	2	1		**4**
Change of place	6	6	6	4	**22**
Change of time	2	3	4	4	**13**
Grammatical Marker (*pagka*)	5	6	8	8	**27**
Tail/Summary-Head linkage	5	3	3	4	**15**
Summary Statement	2	4	4		**10**
IUM:					
Same participants	7	9	10	8	**34**
Same place	7	4	4	6	**21**
Same time	1	2	4	5	**12**
Lexical Coherence	4	6	2	4	**16**
PM:					
Rhetorical underlining (embedding of *ambahan*)		1			**1**
Concentration of participants		1	1	1	**3**
Onomatopoeia		1			**1**
Shift from Narrative-Dialogue-Drama			1		**1**
Incidence of particle				1	**1**

The table above shows the total number of occurrences of the boundary, internal unity, and Peak markers found in the data.

As for the boundary markers, there are seven boundary markers utilized in the data namely; change of participants/ props, exit of participants, change of place, change of time, grammatical marker, tail-head linkage, and summary statement. Grammatical marker such as *pagka* 'when; as soon as' shows to be the most used boundary marker among the six, which is used 27 times in the data.

For internal unity markers, there are four markers found: same participants, same place, same time and lexical coherence. Same participant is the internal unity marker that has the highest occurrence within the data. It is utilized 34 times in the data as an internal unity marker.

Finally, for the Peak markers, there are five surface markers found: rhetorical underlining, shift from narrative-dialogue-drama, concentration of participants, incidence onomatopoeia, and incidence of particle. Concentration of participants has the highest number of occurrence in the data which is utilized thrice.

On the other hand, one distinct finding in the segmentation of the *suyots* is that out of the four *suyots* used in the data, three *suyots* have two parts.

One of the four stories, the story of Monkey and Crocodile, is an episodic narrative having no special Peak markings on the Surface Structure.

Moreover, the Surface Structure found in the data are Title, Aperture, Stage, Pre-Peak episodes, Peak episode, Post-Peak episodes, Closure, and Finis. Title, Aperture, and Finis are optional since they do not exist in all of the *suyots*.

For the notional structure, Denouement is not identified in the data. The Peak of the *suyots* usually occurs at the end of the story. It seems that *suyots* tend to end "abruptly" in a sense that a Denouement or a Final Suspense is not employed after the Peak anymore. The data shows that *suyot* tend to end with a Climax.

Chapter 4
Suyot Etic Salience Bands

4.1 Etic Salience Bands

There is more than one approach that can be utilized in identifying, analyzing and discussing the foreground and background information of a text. One typical approach determines the storyline first and then the background information. Another option is the "peeling off approach" -- classify the background information first in order to reveal the storyline of a text -- following Somsonge's analysis and discussion (Somsonge 1991).

In this research, Somsonge's approach is preferred more than the other. However, unlike Somsonge's approach, I did not order my discussion from the least salient band in sorting out the background information (i.e. starting with cohesion band, then evaluation band, irrealis band, and so on). I extracted the background information in order of my discovery, based on what kind of background information was first recognized in the texts.

There are a total of 7 salience bands that were identified in the data. These bands are: Band 1 Storyline, Band 2 Background, Band 3 Setting, Band 4 Flashback, Band 5 Irrealis, Band 6 Evaluation, and Band 7 Cohesion as shown in the table below. The markers for each band are included; they will be discussed in subsequent pages.

Table 17 Proposed Salience Scheme for the Hanunuo Narrative Called *Suyot*

Bands	Markers
Band 1 Storyline	• punctiliar verbs marked with the affixes *na-, naka-, nag-, in-...-an/-in, -in-...-an, napa-,* and *-inm-* in independent clauses • basic verb form
Band 2 Background Activities	• continuous and ongoing activities marked by the verbal affixes *mag-, magka-, ma-...-an, magpaka-, nanga-,* and *pag-...-un* • habitual and repetitive activities marked by reduplicated verbs
Band 3 Setting	• adjectival clause • locative clause • existential clause marked with *maj* 'there is' • verbalized/derived predicates
Band 4 Flashback	• adverb *kis-ʔab* 'a while ago'
Band 5 Irrealis	• negation marked by negative particles *unman* 'no; not', *ud* 'not', *balaw* 'not', *udwaj/a* 'not yet', *udji* 'not already', *daju* 'could not' and *uman* 'not' • futures marked by affixes *ma-, um-* • quotations
Band 6 Author Intrusion/ Evaluation	• author's evaluation • author's explanation and clarification
Band 7 Cohesion	• adverbial clauses - tail-head linkage, summary-head linkage • repeated clause

Collateral information, such as quotations are assigned to Band 5.

I will first discuss the background information, from Band 2 -7, and then move on to foreground information, Band 1.

4.1.1 Background Information Bands

There are five bands that belong to the background information, each one progressively more removed from Band 1. Longacre calls this information as "supportive material" (1996:21) while Somsonge calls them "nonstoryline" (1991:71). This information refers to "all material other than the mainline of development in a discourse". The list of this information is presented below with examples.

4.1.1.1 Band 2 Background Activities

The background band consists of continuous and ongoing activities marked by the verbal affixes *mag-, magka-, ma-…-an, magpaka-, nanga-,* and *pag-…-un.* Habitual and repetitive activities marked by reduplicated verbs also belong in the background band. Lastly, subordinated event clauses are demoted to background activities. Examples of these are given below. For the definitions and functions of the affixes, refer to Table 6 in section 1.6.2.

1. Continuous and ongoing activities

(40)   **mag-** makes a verbal form active in present and future. It may also be used to signal exhortation.

PM.4	pagka	ʔabwat	ji	ti	ʔinit	**magduŋug**	si	paljus
	when; as_soon_as	tall	already	the	sun	**hearing**	PersInd	Palyus
	prt	adj	prt	art	n	**v**	adp	n

maj	magragatik
there_is	clicking_sound
prt	v

*When the sun was already up, Palyus **was hearing** a clicking sound.*

The word *magduŋug* 'hearing' is constructed from the prefix *mag-* and the verb *duŋug* 'hear'.

(41)   **magka-** implies state of becoming or being bothered with.

D.74 **magkaʔibug** ji gid ti daraga sa tida pag kan-ʔakan sa

desiring already IntP the young lady Loc that lig man Loc

v prt prt art n adp art prt n adp

kan duŋhawan ŋani

CM Dunghawan EP

prt n prt

*The young lady was already **falling** so **in love** with the young man who was Dunghawan.*

The word *magkaʔibug* 'desiring' is constructed from the prefix *magka-* and the verb *ʔibug* 'desire'.

(42) **ma-…-an –** denotes ability in passive voice.

PM.26b **maʔanudan** sa danum

floating Loc water

v adp n

*[It] was **floating** on the water.*

The word *maʔanudan* 'floating' is constructed from the circumfix *ma-…–an* and the verb *ʔanud* 'float'.

(43) **magpaka-** denotes superlative, intensive, repetition or continuance.

MC.5 ʔati sa dagat **magpakatiŋtiŋ** diman talaba

there (not visible) Loc sea (beach) **hitting_surface** also oyster

adv adp n **v** prt n

si ʔamuʔ

PersInd Monkey

adp n

*There on the beach Monkey **was hitting surfaces** to look for oysters.*

The word *magpakatiŋtiŋ* 'hitting surfaces' is constructed from the prefix *magpaka-* plus the verb *tiŋtiŋ* 'to hit a surface'.

(44) **pag-…-un –** present tense objective affix that denotes the topic as the recipient of the action.

MC.26	**pagsunsunun**	ni		buʔaja	kaj	lakawan	ni
	following	PersonInd		Crocodile	3SPoss	path	PersonInd
	v	adp		n	pro	n	adp

	ʔamuʔ	ʔatabug	sa	kaj	balaj	.
	Monkey	go	Loc	3SPoss	house	
	n	v	adp	pro	n	

*Buaya **was following** Monkey's path towards his house.*

The word *pagsunsunun 'following'* is constructed from the circumfix *pag-…-un* and the verb *sunsun* 'follow'.

2. Habitual and repetitive activities

(45)	PM.96	si		paljus	di	baj	ʔinda	**magpalibut-libut**	sa	saŋput
		PersInd		Palyus	prt	prt	this	**circling_around**	Loc	circled
		adp		n			art	**v**	adp	v

	gamasun
	swidden
	n

*Now Palyus **was roving around** the swidden…*

The word *magpalibutlibut* 'circling around' is constructed from the prefix *magpa-* and the verb *libut* 'circle around'. The root word *libut* then undergoes iteration.

(46)	MC.48	**paghugut-hugutun**	ni		ʔamuʔ	kaj	ʔikug
		pulled_repeatedly	PersonInd		Monkey	3SPoss	tail
		v	adp		n	pro	n

	ni	buʔaja	.
	PersonInd	Crocodile	
	adp	n	

*Monkey **was pulling** Crocodile's tail **repeatedly**.*

The word *paghuguthugutun* 'pull repeatedly' is constructed from the circumfix *pag-…-un* and the verb *hugut* 'pull'. The root word *hugut* then undergoes reduplication making the verb a repetitive action.

More examples of Band 2 clauses can be found in sentences D.63, MC.20, PM.27, and TM.31a.

4.1.1.2 Band 3 Setting

This band contains clauses that lay out the setting and introduce the characters of the *suyot*. It gives the description of "the spatial, temporal, and situational context of the story". The setting band includes: adjectival predicates, locative clauses, existential clauses, and verbalized predicates.

1. Adjectival predicate or predicate adjective refers to an adjective used to predicate an attribute of the subject (SIL International 2004a).

(47)　D.2　ʔinda kunu　　　si　　　 duŋhawan pag binataʔ　marinu
　　　　　　　this　 as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan lig　young_man beautiful
　　　　　　　art　　prt　　　　adp　　 n　　　　　 prt　n　　　　　adj

　　　　　　　gid
　　　　　　　IntP
　　　　　　　prt

　　　 D.2a ʔag　masuluŋ diman kaj　　ʔugaliʔ　 sa　 kaj　　 ʔatubaŋan
　　　　　　　and　happy　　also　 3SPoss behaviour Loc 3SPoss in_front
　　　　　　　conn adj　　　prt　 pro　　n　　　　 adp pro　　 adv

　　　　　　　nija maŋa ʔama
　　　　　　　3S　 PL　 father
　　　　　　　pro　prt　 n

　　　　　This young man, Dunghawan, was said to be very handsome and had a very favorable behavior in the eyes of his parents.

Clauses D2 and D.2a both give a description of Dunghawan's character, who is the main participant of the story.

2. A locative clause is a clause headed by a locative predicate, "one that has location as a part of its meaning (Dryer 2001:13).

(48)　D.61 kan duŋhawan kunu　　　　kaj　　ʔuliʔan
　　　　　　 CM　Dunghawan as_it_is_said 3SPoss place_to_stay
　　　　　　 prt　n　　　　　prt　　　　 pro　　n

　　　　　　 ʔati　　　　　　　di　 ʔaj **sa　 lawud dapug**
　　　　　　 there (not visible) prt oh **Loc　below cooking_area**
　　　　　　 adv　　　　　　　prt **adp　n　　 n**

　　　　　Dunghawan's space (is said to be) ***at the cooking area****…*

70

3. An existential clause is a clause that "expresses the real or imagined existence of an entity" (SIL International 2004c). In Hanunuo, it is marked with the existential particle *maj* 'there is'.

(49) PM.97

pagka	dugaj	ʔaj	**maj**	ʔusa	waja	ka
when	long_time		**there_is**	one	still; yet	lig
coordconn	adv	prt	**existmrkr**	quant	mod	prt

ʔinaʔan	ʔamuʔ
mother	monkey
n	n

Later on, there was a mother monkey…

4. Verbalized predicates are derived predicates taking on a verb function. These words adapt characteristics of verbs e.g., having tense or aspect, but they are not really real verbs.

(50) PM.91d

halus	**nagbiru**	ji	sa	karaw-ʔan	buklid
almost	**becoming_black**	already	in	middle	farm
adv	**v**	prt	prep	adj	n

sa	gamasun
in	farm
prep	n

*The middle of the farm was almost **becoming black** there in the swidden.*

Nagbiru is a verbalized adjective. *Biru* means black and when added with the prefix *nag-* it would mean 'becoming black'.

More examples of Band 3 can be found in D.42, PM.82, and TM.19.

4.1.1.3 Band 4 Flashback

Somsonge (1991:91) describes flashbacks as events or activities that are out of sequence. Clauses in this band refer back to events that have already happened. These events could have been related in the previous paragraphs in the story or are just implied.

The adverb *kis-ab* 'a while ago' is utilized in the data to mark flashback.

(51) D.18   kan kapri   prt **kis − ʔab**
             CM Kapri (black_man − like_creature)   **awhile_ago**
             prt n   **adv**

             dahil   sija ʔatag ŋani sa   danum ʔaduk kaj   dara
             because   3S   go   EP   Loc water many   3SPoss load
             coordconn   pro   v   prt   adp n   adj   pro   n

             pasuk   walu ka   pasuk
             bamboo_water_container   eight lig bamboo_water_container
             n   quant prt n

             kaj   dara manaʔas sija danum sinugu   hari?
             3SPoss   load fetch   3S   water was_commanded   king
             pro   n   v   pro   n   v   n

*About Kapri **a while ago** (by the way), because he went to the spring (water), he was carrying a lot of bamboo water container with him. He was bringing eight bamboo water containers. He was fetching water [which was] commanded by the king.*

4.1.1.4 Band 5 Irrealis

Irrealis covers the events that could possibly have happened or not happened at the time of speaking. This includes negation, questions, futures, imperatives, and predictions (Somsonge 1991:83). Furthermore, collateral information such as quotation is also included in this band.

Negation and futures are found in the data.

1. Negation is marked by negative particles *unman* 'no; not', *ud* 'not', *balaw* 'not', *udwaj/a* 'not yet', *udji* 'not already', *daju* 'could not' and *uman* 'not'. Examples are as shown below.

(52) D.67   **ʔunman** maj   pag-ʔiŋajun   kunu   ti   daraga
             not; no there_is   said_something   as_it_is_said the young lady
             prt   prt   v   prt   art n

*The youngest daughter (was said to) have **not said anything**.*

(53) TM.62   ʔanuŋ hintaj waja ŋani ʔusa laŋ **ʔud**
             prt   what   yet   EP   one   only **not**
                     adv   prt   prt   adj   prt   **prt**

             nakapadnaʔ   kaj   ʔambahan
             able_to_drop (to_utter) 3SPoss ambahan
             v   pro   n

             *Old Monkey **did not** even get to recite his ambahan…*

(54) D.62   sija **balaw** maʔamutan
            3S   **not**   fellowship
            pro   **prt**   v

            *He does **not** go near [the king's family].*

(55) TM.33a si   ʔamuʔ **ʔudwaj** di maglagpak tabug sa   kanja
             PersInd monkey **not yet**   throw down go   Loc 2SPoss
             det   n   **prt**   prt v   v   adp pro

             *Old Monkey **did not yet** throw down anything to him.*

(56) MC.47 dapat dugaj   ji   **ʔudji**   gid magtandug
            but   long_time   already **none_already** Int move
            conn   adv   prt   **prt**   prt v

            si   buʔaja
            PersInd crocodile
            adp   n

            *However, [it's been] a long time already yet Crocodile was **already not** moving.*

(57) D.72   **daju**   gid   makaʔagwanta   ʔati ti   daraga   hariʔ
            cannot IntP to_be_able_to_take there the young_lady king
            prt   prt   v   adv   art n   n

            *The daughter's king **could really not resist** it…*

(58) TM.106   ʔaj **ʔuman** nakab-ul   duj sa   kan   paʔuʔu si

                   NEG able_to_get   in   PersInd Turtle PersInd

            prt **prt** v   prt prep det   n   det

            balugbaʔu

            Balugbau

            n

            *Balugbau **was not** able to catch Turtle.*

2. Futures, on the other hand, are marked by the affixes *ma-*, and *–um-*.

(59)   D.4a … hampaj   **mamasjar**   tabug sa   ʔun − ʔan

             so that   **will_journey** go   to   ahead

             coordconn **v**   v   prep adv

            …so that he will journey somewhere ahead

The word *mamasjar* 'will_journey' is constructed from the prefix *ma-* and the verb *pasjar* 'stroll_around'.

(60)   PM.83a **…** hampaj   ŋani kunu   **bumiru**   kanda ŋipun

              so that   EP   (it is said) **will_turn_black** 3PExc teeth

              coordconn prt   prt   **v**   pro   n

              … so that their teeth will turn black.

The word *bumiru* 'will turn black' is constructed from the infix *–um-* and the adjective *biru* 'black'.

More examples for Band 5 can be found in PM.43, PM.56, and D.46a.

4.1.1.5 Band 6 Author Intrusion/Evaluation

This band, according to Grimes (1975:61), contains the narrator's evaluation, the opinions of any participant in a discourse, the speaker's evaluation of the culture within which he is speaking, and the discourse' aim in a form of a moral. Moreover, I would add one more kind of author intrusion which is the author's explanation or clarification which was found utilized in the data.

1. The narrator's evaluation found in the data includes the narrator's personal comment about the characters and the narrator's perception of the events that are taking place in the story. However, the narrator's perception of the

events is done implicitly through a particle which is given in an example below.

(61) D.27a ti   kapri   **kabaj** ʔuriŋ — ʔuriŋun
            the   Kapri (black_man — like_creature)   dark_skinned
            dem   n   **prt**   adj

The Kapri, (as you must have known), has a very dark skin...

D.27a is a comment of the author about the color of the Kapri's skin. The particle *kabaj* which can be translated as 'as you might have known' signals that the storyteller assumes that the listeners could have possibly known already that the color of a *kapri's* skin is black.

On the other hand, the interjection expressed by the author in the first clause of sentence D.54 below, expresses the author's feeling towards this event which is a feeling of suspense.

(62) D.54 **ʔagud ʔagud ʔagud**
            —   —   —
            interj interj interj

      D.54a magbantaj kunu   ti   daraga
             wattching   it_is_said the   young lady
             v   prt   art   n

      D.54b pagrinu   maʔaw pag kan-ʔakan
             so_handsome   lig   young_man
             adj   prt   prt   n

      D.54c balaw ʔaj ʔuriŋ-ʔuriŋun
             not   dark_colored
             neg   prt adj

      D.54d balaw ʔaj basta-basta .
             not   common
             prt   prt adj

My, my, my... the king's daughter was (said to be) watching, "What an, actually, handsome young man, not dark skinned at al l—not ordinary".

The author sees this event to be full of suspense as the king's youngest daughter is discovering Dunghawan's true identity in the clauses that follow in the sentence (D.54a – D.54d).

2. Author's explanation and clarification occurs when the storyteller cuts through the flow of the story by giving explanation or clarification about what is happening. This happens when the storyteller wants to clarify who is referred to in the story, and when he explains the background or consequence of an event in the story.

(63) D.35 pagka   kunu   magligaw   maʔan kaju   si
            when   it_is_said looking_for again wood   PersInd
            coordconn prt   v   prt   n   det

            kapri
            Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
            n

     D.35a **dapat ʔaj tida si   duŋhawan diman ŋani balaw**
            however   that PersInd Dunghawan also   EP   not
            coordconn dem adp   n   prt   prt   prt

            si   kapri
            PersInd Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
            prt   n

     D.35b **kaj   laŋ suluŋ sa   kaj   bilug bilaŋ   diman**
            3SPoss only suit   Loc 3SPoss body seems_like also
            pro   prt n   adp pro   n   adv   prt

            si   kapri   .
            PersInd Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
            det   n

            *When Kapri was (said to) be looking for firewood, **but that one was actually Dunghawan and not Kapri, the clothes he was wearing was just like Kapri's.***

The highlighted section in D.35, clauses D.35a and 35b, shows the narrator's clarification of who is really referred to in the sentence and the explanation of it. The storyteller wants to make sure that the listeners know that the person in the story he is calling Kapri is actually Dunghawan. He felt like he needed to clarify it because he has still been calling the new servant as Kapri instead of Dunghawan, who is just wearing Kapri's skin.

(64)   D.75   nu   hintaj pag naʔalaman   kaj   balukas kapri

             if   what   lig being_known   3SPoss wrap   black_man

             conn adv   prt v   pro   n   n

             matuŋbawan sa   babaw batu

             laying_on   Loc top   rock

             v   adp n   n

     D.75a ʔarajuʔ di   sa   kan duŋhawan

            far   prt Loc CM Dunghawan

            adj   adp prt n

     D.75b **ʔati**   **di baj sa   lawud pag magparigus**

            there (not visible) prt prt Loc below lig taking_a_bath

            adv   adp n   prt v

            si   duŋhawan

            PersInd Dunghawan

            adp   n

     D.75c balaw sa   kaj   ʔarani balukas kapri

            not   Loc 3SPoss near   wrap   black_man

            prt   adp pro   adj   n   n

*It happened that Kapri's clothes was at the top of the rock far from Dunghawan, **since Dunghawan was taking a bath down at the river**, Kapri's clothes was far from him.*

D.75b shows the author's intrusion by giving a background of the event. Although it may seem that the highlighted part seems to belong in Band 3, which is the Setting band, in the written text, when the storyteller told this orally he directly addressed this statement to his listeners. The highlighted part is the author's clarification to the listeners that Dunghawan is taking a bath at the lower part of the river, giving a background of where he really is and a reason why Kapri's skin is away from him.

     PM.102 nakan   tunda ginan ʔimaw ti   dahilan nakan   ŋani ti

            therefore that   from prt   the reason therefore EP   the

            conn   art   adv   art n   conn   prt art

            ʔamuʔ balaw marignuk sa   tawu

            Monkey not   tame   Loc person

            n   prt   adj   adp n

PM.103 maʔila sa   basad puruʔ nu   ʔunman pag-ʔiduʔun nu
        wild   Loc inside forest if   not; no to_be_hunted if
        adj   adp adv   n   conn prt   v   conn

        ʔunman pag-ʔinamahun nu   ʔunman maj
        not; no v   if   not; no there_is
        prt   v   conn   prt   prt

        ʔamatuŋ   nu   ʔunman maj   balatik   ti
        box-like_monkey_trap   if   not; no there_is spring_spear the
        n   conn prt   prt   n   art

        ʔamuʔ   daju mablaj
        Monkey not   will_be_captured
        n   prt   v

PM.104 tida kaj dahilan nakan   nagmaʔila   ti   ʔamuʔ   sa   tawu
        that the reason   therefore became_wild   the Monkey Loc   person
        art   art n   conn   v   art n   adp   n

Therefore, since then, this was the reason why the monkeys are not tame towards the people anymore. They are wild in the forest not unless the hunters won't look for them or use a trap on them. That was the reason why the monkeys are untamed with people.

Finally, PM.102 – 104 is an explanation of the consequence of what Palyus did to the monkeys. This could be taken as the moral of the story. Moreover, this narrative can be considered as a "just-so story". A just-so story "is an unverifiable and unfalsifiable narrative explanation for a cultural practice, a biological trait, or behavior of humans or other animals" (Wikipedia 2013). Furthermore, Jacobs mentioned that it is a "reverse-engineering narrative" explaining that "[one] begin[s] with a phenomenon and work[s] backwards in time until [one] hit[s] upon a possible explanation for its origin. Basing on these definitions, the story of Palyus and Monkey may also be considered as a just-so story.

More examples for Band 6 can be found in D.25-27, D30b, and D.48.

4.1.1.6 Band 7 Cohesion

This band contains clauses that connect the segments within the story together without reporting new information. Cohesive devices found in the data are adverbial clauses. Examples are given below.

(65) MC.23 ʔanuŋ si ʔamuʔ nuli ji sa kaj balaj
        — PersInd monkey went_home already Loc 3SPoss house
        interj det n v prt adp pro n

My, Monkey already went back to his house.

MC.24 **pagka ʔati sa kaj balaj si ʔamuʔ**
        when there Loc 3SPoss house PersInd monkey
        coordconn adv adp pro n det n

When Monkey was already in his house…

MC.24 above is an adverbial phrase repeating the event stated in MC.23 which is Band 1 information. MC.24 is an adverbial clause that belongs to the cohesive band, the "head" of a tail-head linkage between MC.23 (Band 1) and MC.24 (Band 7).

Another use of adverbial clause is to connect back to an event that was mentioned before the storyteller's intrusion such as shown below.

(66) D.68 **pagka kunu dugaj magpaʔalam maʔan**
        when it_is_said long_time asking_permission again
        coordconn prt adv v adv

    si duŋhawan
    PersInd Dunghawan
    det n

Later on, Dunghawan was (said to be) asking permission once again.

D.69 pat-aj kaj mag-ʔiŋaran hariʔ balaw si duŋhawan kaj
        but 3SPoss naming king not PersInd Dunghawan 3SPoss
        conn pro v n prt adp n pro

        ŋaran si kapri di ŋani dahil kaj balukas baj
        name PersInd black_man prt EP because 3SPoss wrap prt
        n adp n prt conn pro n

        kapri
        black_man
        n

However, the king calls [him] Kapri and not Dunghawan because his cloth is Kapri's.

D.70	**pagka**	**magpaʔalam**	**maʔan**
	when	asking_permission	again
	coordconn	v	adv

When asking permission again…

D.68, which belongs to Band 2, is the first sentence in a new segment of the story. However, the storyteller inserts an explanation in D.69 which belongs to Band 6. In order to get back to the flow of the event in the story, he repeated in D.70 the statement in D.68 which makes clause D.70 a cohesive clause.

More examples for Band 7 can be found in TM.103, PM.16, MC.24, and MC.35

4.1.2 Foreground Information

Based on the previous discussion of the background information bands in the data, this section discusses the foreground information bands, i.e. the storyline.

4.1.2.1 Band 1 Storyline

This band consists of events that push the story forward. The verbs in the clauses of this band are punctiliar, sequential, dynamic, realis, narrative and substantive (Longacre 1996:25-27). The storyline verbs found in the data are marked with the affixes that signals completed actions. These affixes are: *na-, naka-, nag-, in-…-an/-in, -in-…-an, napa-,* and *-inm-.* (*See Table 6 for the description of these affixes.*) Moreover, basic verb form predicates also mark punctiliar events. Examples of these are provided below.

1. Verbal affixes that denotes punctiliarity.

    (67) **na-** past tense denoting ability in passive voice.

MC.42	ʔanuŋ	**nalagiw**	ji	maʔan	si	ʔamuʔ
	—	**ran_away**	already	again	PersInd	monkey
	interj	**v**	prt	adv	adp	n

*Monkey **ran away** again.*

The word *nalagiw* 'ran' is constructed from the prefix *na-* and verb *lagiw* 'run'.

(68) **nag-** denotes active voice past action.

TM.2	**nagsampak**	sida	ni	kamajan	.
	met	3P	PersInd	Old_Monkey	
	v	pro	adp	n	

He and Old Monkey **met***.*

The word *nagsampak* 'met' is constructed from the prefix *nag-* and the verb *sampak* 'meet'.

(69) **naka-** past tense denoting ability and condition. It also denotes active voice.

TM.107a	bag-ʔu	**nakatata**		waja	ti	karabaw	sa
	then	was_able_to_step_on		still; yet	the	water_buffalo	Loc
	conn	**v**		mod	art	n	adp

	kaj	giriw	ni	paʔuʔu
	3SPoss	shell	PersInd	Turtle
	pro	n	adp	n

…and the water buffalo **stepped on** *Turtle's shell.*

The word *nakatata* 'was able to step on' is constructed from the prefix *naka-* and verb *tata* 'step on'.

(70) **napa-** denotes causality[40].

TM.61	**napalasik**	si	kamajan
	caused to jump	PersInd	Old_Monkey
	v	adp	n

Old Monkey **jumped** *…*

The word *napalasik* 'caused to jump' is constructed from the prefix *napa-* and the verb *lasik* 'jump'.

---

[40] This affix is not included in Van der Linden's list. The definition given here is based on how it functions in the data that I've collected.

(71) **-in- -** past tense objective affix that makes the topic as the recipient of the action.

MC.34 **linagas** ji   maʔan ni   buʔaja   si   ʔamuʔ

chased already again PersInd crocodile PersInd monkey

v   prt   adv   adp   n   prt   n

haŋgan tugka sa ʔikawalu pag tagudtud

until until Loc 8th   lig hill

conn   prep adp adj   prt n

*Crocodile **chased** Monkey again up to the 8th hill.*

The word *linagas* 'chased' is constructed from the infix *–in-* and the verb *lagas* 'run after'.

(72) **in-…-an/-in-…-an** (The prefix *in-* is used when the root word of the verb starts with a vowel and it becomes an infix, *-in-*, when the root word of the verb starts with a consonant.)

a. TM.81a **ʔiniputan** ni   paʔuʔu ti ʔapuj .

pooped   PersInd Turtle the fire

v   adp   n   art n

…Turtle pooped in the fire.

The word *ʔiniputan* 'pooped on' is constructed from the prefix *in-* and the noun *ʔiput* 'poop'. The rootword of this verb (orthographically) starts with a vowel, thus, the affix used here is the prefix *in-*.

b. PM.94 **tinutdan** ni   paljus

lighted_up PersInd Palyus

v   adp   n

*Palyus **started the fire**…*

However, in PM.94 the word *tinutdan* 'lighted up' starts with a consonant, which is constructed from the infix *–in-* and the verb *tutud* 'light up', therefore, the infix *–in-* is used in this verb.

(73) **–inm- -** denotes active voice, past tense, and aorist meaning.

    PM.44 **linmawuj** ji si ʔamuʔ
            passed by already PersInd monkey
            v   prt   det   n

       *Monkey **passed by** already…*

The word *linmawuj* 'passed by' is constructed from the infix *–inm-* and the verb *lawuj* 'to pass'.

   2. Basic verb forms denoting punctiliarity.

    (74) D.22 **talu** ni duŋhawan ti kapri
             defeat PersInd Dunghawan the Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
             v   adp   n   art n

      Dunghawan defeated the kapri.

    (75) MC.43 hintaj gid **lagas** ji maʔan si buʔaja
              what IntP chase already again PersInd crocodile
              adv prt v   prt   prt   adp   n

      What else [could happen] but Crocodile chased after him again.

So far, there has been no adverb identified in the data that promote or demote clauses to different bands. It is possible that if there was more *suyot* text in the data, words that promote or demote bands can be found.

4.2 Summary

This chapter discussed the proposed Etic Salience Band of the *suyots*. There are a total of seven etic bands found in the data which are Storyline band, Background band, Setting band, Flashback band, Irrealis band, Author Intrusion/Evaluation band, and Cohesion band. Examples of the markers found under each band were also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 5
Macrostructure and Particles

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the macrostructures of each *suyot* that were extracted using Van Dijk's macrorules. The macrostructure analysis complements the storyline and salience scheme analysis. Initially following and adapting Somsonge's method in extracting macrostructure, the macrorules were applied on the storylines of the *suyots* instead of the whole text. However, the storyline left out some important information from the background information bands. This background information was added in the first level propositions. See discussion of the macrostructure background and the method used here in section 2.7.

In summary, the method applied here is as follows. Firstly, the macrorules were applied on the storyline of each *suyot*. However, it was recognized along the way that there was important information left out which belong in the background information. These important information were then determined, and the clauses that contain these information were added as macropropositions to be included in the macroanalysis. As Greninger mentions in the conclusion of his research that "it seems that supportive material was interpreted as macrorelevant (and thus used to construct macropropositions) when it was needed to adequately fill superstructural categories which would not be filled by storyline clauses alone" (2009:155). The following sections show the macrostructure analysis of the data.

5.1.1 Monkey and Crocodile

Table 18 below shows the storyline of the Monkey and Crocodile story as well as the background information that were utilized to provide the lacking information in the storyline. The third column is the English translation of the clauses which is what is also used for the first level macropropositions.

Table 18 Monkey and Crocodile Storyline and Selected Background Information

Storyline	Background Information	Translation
	MC.5 ʔati sa dagat magpakatiŋtiŋ diman talaba si ʔamuʔ	*There in the beach Monkey was hitting surfaces to look for oysters.*
	MC.6a ʔaj ʔasan ŋap si buʔaja	*Crocodile was, indeed, there.*
	MC.8 magkaʔibug gid ʔaku kanmu ʔataj marabu	*"I'm really craving for your tasty liver."*
MC.14 nuli ji maʔan si ʔamuʔ sa kaj balaj.		*Monkey went back to his home again.*
	MC.15 pagka sa ʔikawalu ŋani pag siraŋʔati maʔan ŋani si ʔamuʔ	*Indeed, on the 8th day, Monkey was there again.*
	MC.20b ʔati wajdi maʔaw ti pinakadaka pag buʔaja	*There actually was the biggest crocodile.*
MC.21 naŋurit si ʔamuʔ		*Monkey shrieked.*
MC.21a dinmajik [sija] sa kaju		*[He] climbed up on the tree.*
MC.23 si ʔamuʔ nuli ji sa kaj balaj.		*Monkey already went back to his house*
MC.28a nidnaʔ sa kaj balaj ni ʔamuʔ si buʔaja		*Crocodile reached Monkey's house.*
MC.28b sinmulud sija sa balaj ni ʔamuʔ.		*He went inside Monkey's house.*
MC.29 nahalu ti balaj		*The house shook.*
MC.30 naŋurit si ʔamuʔ		*Monkey shrieked.*
MC.30a linmuwas sa kaj balaj		*He went out from his house.*

Storyline	Background Information	Translation
MC.30b ʔati tabug sa suruʔ kaju		*He went up on the tree top.*
MC.34 linagas ji maʔan ni buʔaja si ʔamuʔ haŋgan tugka sa ʔikawalu pag tagudtud.		*Crocodile chased Monkey again up to the 8th hill.*
	MC.35b si balaji matikaŋkaŋan ji	*"Friend is already lying on the ground, with arms and feet wide open."*
MC.40 pag-ʔikuru ni buʔaja kaj kamaŋ haŋgan kaj ʔikug.		*Crocodile curled his hands and tail.*
MC.42 nalagiw ji maʔan si ʔamuʔ		*Monkey ran away again.*
MC.43 lagas ji maʔan si buʔaja.		*Crocodile chased [him] again.*
MC.44a ʔinaliwliw maʔan ni ʔamuʔ si buʔaja.		*Monkey looked back at Crocodile again.*
MC.49 tigbak ji ŋap maʔaw si buʔaja.		*Crocodile was really dead.*

From 85 clauses, the story was reduced to 16 clauses (19%) in the storyline. Moreover, six clauses (7%) from the background information are added.

The non-storyline clauses that were added provide information about the participant that was left out (MC.6a &20b), the location (MC.5), and quoted speeches that connect and explain events in the storyline (MC.35b and MC.8).

The application of Van Dijk and Kintsch's macrorules (see section 2.7) to the selected clauses is shown below in Table 19. The type of macrorule applied is inside parentheses, e.g. "(M2)"; "(M0)" indicates the 'zero rule'. The lines that are stricken through indicate lower level propositions that are not carried through to the next level but are reflected as appropriate to each applied macrorule. The table contains three successive applications of the macrorules. The macrorules application is done three times until the macrostructure is extracted.

Table 19 Macrorules Application in Monkey and Crocodile Story

Macrorules Application 1

1. ~~There in the beach Monkey was hitting surfaces to look for oysters.~~
2. ~~Crocodile was, indeed, there.~~
3. ~~"I'm really craving for your tasty liver."~~
   - ➔ P1 Monkey was looking for oysters at the beach and he met Crocodile who wanted to eat his liver. (M2)

4. Monkey went back again to his house.
   - ➔ P2 Monkey went back again to his house. (M0)
5. ~~Indeed, on the 8th day, Monkey was there again.~~
6. ~~There actually was the biggest crocodile.~~
7. ~~Monkey jolted.~~
8. ~~[He] climbed up on the tree.~~
9. ~~Monkey already went to his home.~~
   - ➔ P3 Monkey went back on the 8th day [to the beach] and when he saw the biggest crocodile, he escaped home. (M2)
10. ~~Crocodile reached Monkey's house.~~
11. ~~He went inside Monkey's house.~~
    - ➔ P4 Crocodile reached Monkey's home and went inside. (M2)
12. ~~The house shook.~~
13. ~~Monkey jolted.~~
14. ~~He went out from his house~~
15. ~~He went up on the tree top.~~
    - ➔ P5 The house shook so Monkey ran outside and went up on a tree. (M2)
16. ~~Crocodile chased Monkey again up to the 8th hill.~~
17. ~~"Friend is already lying on the ground, with arms and feet wide open."~~
    - ➔ P6 Crocodile chased Monkey again up to the 8th hill and pretended to be dead. (M3)
18. ~~Crocodile curled his hands and tail.~~
19. ~~Monkey ran away again.~~
    - ➔ P7 However, Crocodile curled his hands and tail so Monkey ran away again. (M2)
20. Crocodile chased [him] again.
    - ➔ P8 Crocodile chased [him] again.
21. ~~Monkey looked back again towards Crocodile.~~
22. ~~Crocodile was really dead.~~
    - ➔ P9 Monkey realized that Crocodile was already dead. (M2)

Macrorules Application 2

~~P1 Monkey was looking for oysters at the beach and he met Crocodile who wanted to eat his liver.~~
~~P2 Monkey went back again to his house.~~
~~P3 Monkey went back on the 8th day [to the beach] and when he saw the biggest crocodile, he escaped home.~~
   - ➔ P1 Monkey escaped home twice from Crocodile who wanted to eat his liver. (M3)

Macrorules Application 2

P4 ~~Crocodile reached Monkey's home and went inside.~~
P5 ~~The house shook so Monkey ran outside and went up on a tree.~~
      ➔ P2 Crocodile went inside Monkey's house so Monkey ran away.
         (M2)
 	
P6 ~~Crocodile chased Monkey again up to the 8th hill but [he could not catch him] so he~~ ~~pretended to be dead.~~
P7 ~~However, Crocodile curled his hands and tail so Monkey ran away again.~~
      ➔ P3 Crocodile chased Monkey again then pretended to be dead but
         Monkey saw him move so Monkey ran away again. (M2)
 	
P8 ~~Crocodile chased [him] again.~~
P9 ~~Monkey realized that Crocodile was already dead.~~
      ➔ P4 Crocodile chased Monkey again until he died of chasing him.
         (M2)

Macrorules Application 3

P1 ~~Monkey escaped home twice from Crocodile who wanted to eat his liver.~~
P2 ~~Crocodile went inside Monkey's house so Monkey ran away.~~
P3 ~~Crocodile chased Monkey again then pretended to be dead but Monkey saw him~~ ~~move so Monkey ran away again.~~
P4 ~~Crocodile chased Monkey again until he died of chasing him.~~
      ➔ Crocodile chased Monkey because he wanted to eat his liver but
         Crocodile died of chasing Monkey. (M2)

The 22 clauses are reduced to 1 sentence with 3 clauses.

The macrostructure of Monkey and Crocodile Story is as shown below.

Table 20 Macrostructure of Monkey and Crocodile Story

Macrostructure
Crocodile chased Monkey because he wanted to eat his liver but Crocodile died of chasing Monkey.

As shown in the macrostructure above, one important bit of information, "he wanted to eat his liver" from supportive materials is retained. This information is inside a quoted speech, thus, it does not belong in the storyline. However, this information is very important because this is the reason why Crocodile is chasing Monkey. Without this information, the macrostructure would not fully capture the gist of the story.

Moreover, two of the three clauses in the macrostructure come from storyline.

5.1.2 Turtle and Old Monkey

The Turtle and Old Monkey story has a total of 200 clauses and is reduced to 47 clauses (23%) in the storyline. There are 13 clauses (7%) from the background information that are added. (*See Appendix E for details.*)

The background information clauses that are added connect gaps of events in the storyline. They are also explanations that need to be incorporated in the storyline in order for the events to make sense.

The application of macrorules into the selected clauses of Turtle and Old Monkey story is as shown below. The macrorules are applied 3 times until the macrostructure is extracted.

Table 21 Macrorules Application of the Story of Turtle and Old Monkey

Macrorules Application 1
1. ~~Turtle and Old Monkey met~~. (M1)   2. Turtle gave Old Monkey the other half of the banana tree. (M0)   ➔ P1 Turtle gave Old Monkey the other half of the banana tree.   3. ~~From that time the two friends parted.~~ (M1)   4. Turtle planted his banana in his front yard.   ➔ P2 Turtle planted his banana in his front yard. (M0)   5. ~~On the 8ᵗʰ day, the met again.~~ (M1)   6. ~~From that time Turtle and Old Monkey parted again.~~ (M1)   7. ~~In the long run Turtle met Ant.~~   8. ~~Ant bit Old Monkey's butt.~~   9. ~~Old Monkey shrieked.~~   ➔ P3 Old Monkey climbed Turtle's banana but did not give Turtle any fruit so Ant went up and bit Old Monkey. (M2)   10. ~~One banana fruit was accidentally thrown.~~   11. ~~It fell on the ground.~~   12. ~~Turtle rejoiced.~~   13. ~~Even though he only got one he ate it.~~   ➔ P4 A banana fruit fell on the ground so Turtle rejoiced and ate it. (M2)   14. ~~Old Monkey climbed down.~~   15. ~~He heard Turtle's beautiful ambahan.~~   ➔ P5 Old Monkey heard Turtle's ambahan and so he climbed down. (M2)   16. ~~Old Monkey pierced the thorny nodes in his butt.~~   17. ~~Old Monkey shrieked.~~   18. ~~Old Monkey died.~~   19. ~~His butt was pierced.~~   ➔ P6 Old Monkey agreed with Turtle's condition of piercing his butt with thorny nodes to learn his ambahan and he died. (M3)   20. Turtle finally got to revenge against Old Monkey.   ➔ P7 Turtle finally got to revenge against Old Monkey. (M0)   21. ~~Turtle butchered~~ Old Monkey~~.~~   22. ~~He put him inside the pot.~~

Macrorules Application 1

➔ P8 Turtle cooked Old Monkey. (M2)

24. ~~Then, he served it to *Balugbau*.~~
25. ~~*Balugbau* ate it.~~
   ➔ P9 He served it to *Balugbau* who ate it. (M2)
26. ~~Therefore, *Balugbau* chased Turtle.~~
27. ~~What else could happen but *Pauu* got caught.~~
   ➔ P10 *Balugbau* chased Turtle and caught him. (M2)
28. ~~Turtle pooped on the fire.~~
29. ~~Turtle walked away again.~~
30. ~~[He] went again forward.~~
31. ~~He escaped already.~~
   ➔ P11 Turtle escaped again. (M3)
32. ~~*Balugbau* did eat.~~ (M1)
33. ~~*Balugbau* chased Turtle again.~~
34. ~~Turtle got caught again.~~
   ➔ P12 *Balugbau* chased and caught Turtle again. (M2)
35. ~~Again, *Balugbau* put a hole on the pot's cover.~~ (M1)
36. ~~In the long run, Turtle climbed up again.~~(M1)
37. ~~He went out again through the hole.~~(M1)
38. Turtle escaped again.
   ➔ P13 Turtle escaped again. (M0)
39. ~~*Balugbau* checked the pot again.~~ (M1)
40. ~~And he ate what was inside the pot.~~ (M1)
41. *Balugbau* chased Turtle again.
   ➔ P14 *Balugbau* chased Turtle again. (M0)
42. ~~Turtle ran away.~~
43. ~~He went into the water.~~
   ➔ P15 Turtle ran away to the pond. (M2)
44. ~~*Balugbau* brought cow, horses and water buffaloes [to dry up the pond].~~
   ➔ P16 *Balugbau* brought animals to dry up the pond. (M2)
45. The Sawi bird chirped making the animals urinate.
   ➔ P17 The Sawi bird chirped making the animals urinate. (M0)
46. ~~And the water buffalo stepped on Turtle's shell.~~
47. ~~The water buffalo's foot cracked.~~
   ➔ P18 The water buffalo stepped on Turtle's shell and his foot cracked. (M2)

Macrorules Application 2

~~P1 Turtle gave Old Monkey [the other half of the banana tree].~~(M1)
~~P2 Turtle planted his banana in his front yard.~~ (M1)
~~P3 Old Monkey climbed Turtle's banana but did not give Turtle any fruit so Ant went up and bit Old Monkey.~~
~~P4 A banana fruit fell on the ground so Turtle rejoiced and ate it.~~
~~P5 Old Monkey heard Turtle's ambahan and so he climbed down.~~
~~P6 Old Monkey agreed with Turtle's condition of piercing his butt with thorny nodes to learn his ambahan and he died.~~

Macrorules Application 2	
	~~P7 Turtle finally got to revenge against Old Monkey.~~
	➜ P1 Old Monkey climbed Turtle's banana but did not give Turtle any fruit so Turtle took revenge on him and he died. (M2)
	~~P8 Turtle cooked Old Monkey.~~
	~~P9 He served it to *Balugbau* who ate it.~~
	➜ P2 Turtle cooked *Kamayan* and served it to *Balugbau*. (M2)
	~~P10 *Balugbau* chased Turtle and caught him.~~
	~~P11 Turtle escaped again.~~
	~~P12 *Balugbau* chased and caught Turtle again.~~
	~~P13 Turtle escaped again.~~
	~~P14 *Balugbau* chased Turtle again.~~
	~~P15 Turtle ran away to the pond.~~
	➜ P3 *Balugbau* chased and caught Turtle for 3 times but on the third time Turtle escaped to the pond. (M2)
	~~P16 *Balugbau* brought animals to dry up the pond.~~
	~~P17 The Sawi bird chirped making the animals urinate.~~
	➜ P4 *Balugbau* brought animals to the pond to dry it up but the animals urinated. (M2)
	P18 The water buffalo stepped on Turtle's shell and his foot cracked.
	➜ P5 The water buffalo stepped on Turtle's shell and his foot cracked. (M0)

Macrorules Application 3	
	P1 Old Monkey climbed Turtle's banana but did not give Turtle any fruit so Turtle took revenge on him and he died.
	➜ P1 Old Monkey climbed Turtle's banana but did not give Turtle any fruit so Turtle took revenge on him and he died. (M0)
	~~P2 Turtle cooked Old Monkey and served it to *Balugbau*.~~
	~~P3 *Balugbau* chased and caught Turtle for 3 times but on the third time Turtle escaped to the pond.~~
	➜ P2 Turtle made *Balugbau* eat his father, Old Monkey, and so *Balugbau* chased him but he escaped to the pond. (M2)
	P4 *Balugbau* brought animals to the pond to dry it up but the animals urinated.
	➜ P3 *Balugbau* brought animals to the pond to dry it up but the animals urinated. (M0)
	P5 The water buffalo stepped on *Pauu*'s shell and his foot cracked.
	➜ P4 The water buffalo stepped on *Pauu*'s shell and his foot cracked. (M0)

The 60 first level macropropositions were reduced to four sentences with a total of 11 clauses as shown below.

Table 22 Macrostructure of Turtle and Old Monkey Story

Macrostructure
Old Monkey climbed Turtle's banana but did not give Turtle any fruit, so Turtle took revenge on him and he died. Turtle made Balugbau eat his father, Old Monkey, and so Balugbau chased him but he escaped to the pond. Balugbau brought animals to the pond to dry it up but the animals urinated after hearing the sound of the Sawi bird. The water buffalo stepped on Turtle's shell and his foot cracked.

Out of the 11 clauses in the extracted macrostructure, 8 clauses were from the storyline and three clauses were from the selected background information.

The three clauses from background information that were kept in the macrostructure were, again, important events in the story. The first two bits of background information clauses, "Old Monkey climbed Turtle's banana but did not give Turtle any fruit" occur in one sentence which is the first sentence in the macrostructure. This sentence is actually the macrostructure of the first part of the story (*See section 3.3 for the surface structure and boundary of the story.)* The last bit of background information "the animals urinated" gives information about the effect when the animals heard the Sawi bird chirping. This event is, indeed, prominent in the story and correlates with the second Peak of the story. A non-native may not be able to connect with this event in the story since this requires some cultural knowledge. For the Hanunuo-Mangyans, the chirping of a Sawi bird sounds like "*Kabutbuti, Kabutbuti, Kabutbuti…*" which matches with the word in Hanunuo for 'gushing out', *karabutbut* (*See sentences TM.104 and TM.105 in Appendix B.*).

The macrostructure above seems to be too long; however, all four of these sentences capture the important events of the story. The first sentence, as mentioned above, is the macrostructure of the first part of the story. The second and third sentences are the macrostructure of the second part of the story, with the third sentence capturing the Peak correlating with the climax in the story. Finally, the last sentence, which is quite an unusual part of the story yet seems to be prominent, is the event in the last part of the story that gives an explanation as to why water buffaloes have 'cracked feet'.

5.1.3 The Story of Dunghawan

The story of Dunghawan has a total of 190 clauses, reduced to 21 clauses (11%) in the storyline. Three clauses (2%) from the background information are added. (*See Appendix F for more details.*)

The first two background information clauses that are added, D.30 & D.46, provide information on location while D.89 is an important concluding event in the story.

The application of the macrorules on the selected clauses of the story of Dunghawan is shown in Table 23 below. The macrorules application was done only twice because a macrostructure covering the overall purpose of the story was already extracted after the second set of macrorules application.

Table 23 Macrorules Application in the Story of Dunghawan

Macrorules Application 1

1. ~~Dunghawan met a guy.~~
 2. ~~They started to wrestle.~~
    ➔ P1 Dunghawan met a guy and wrestled with him. (M2)
 3. ~~The Kapri got tired.~~
 4. ~~Dunghawan defeated Kapri.~~
    ➔ P2 Kapri got tired and Dunghawan defeated him. (M2)
 5. ~~He skinned kapri.~~
 6. ~~The skin of the kapri is what Dunghawan wore.~~
    ➔ P3 He took Kapri's skin and wore it. (M2)
 7. ~~When Dunghawan reached the king's house...~~
 8. ~~He was hit by the king.~~
 9. ~~He put the bamboo water container in its place.~~
 10. ~~The king hit him again.~~
 11. ~~Dunghawan put the firewood in its place~~.
    ➔ P4 He went home to the king's house to replace Kapri and since he did not know where to put things, the king hit him. (M2)
 12. ~~When [he] went there [in the river]~~
 13. ~~He removed Kapri's clothes that he is wearing.~~
 14. ~~He took a bath.~~
 15. ~~The girl looked for him in the river.~~
    ➔ P5 He removed Kapri's skin when he took a bath in the river and the youngest daughter of the king saw him there. (M2)
 16. ~~The girl went home again.~~ (M1)
 17. ~~Dunghawan went back to the river again.~~
 18. ~~He took a bath.~~
 19. ~~The girl saw the very handsome man again.~~
    ➔ P6 Dunghawan took a bath in the river again and again the girl saw how handsome he is. (M2)
 20. ~~She reached for Kapri's clothes using a stick.~~
 21. ~~The girl went home again.~~
    ➔ P7 She reached for Kapri's clothes and went home. (M2)
 22. ~~The king just bit his pinky.~~
 23. ~~The king died.~~
 24. ~~Therefore, now, the king's name is already Dunghawan.~~
    ➔ P9 The king died and Dunghawan replaced him. (M2)

Macrorules Application 2

P1 ~~Dunghawan met a guy and wrestled with him.~~
P2 ~~Kapri got tired and Dunghawan defeated him.~~
P3 ~~He took Kapri's skin and wore it.~~
    ➜ P1 Dunghawan defeated Kapri and took Kapri's skin as his clothes. (M2)
P4 ~~He went home to the king's house to replace Kapri and since he did not know where to put things, the king hit him.~~
P5 ~~He took a bath in the river and the youngest daughter of the king saw him there.~~
P6 ~~Dunghawan took a bath in the river again and again the girl saw how handsome he is.~~
    ➜ P2 He went to the king's house to replace Kapri but the youngest daughter of the king discovered his true identity. (M2)
P7 ~~She reached for Kapri's clothes and went home.~~ (M1)
P8 The king died and Dunghawan replaced him.
    ➜ P3 The king died and Dunghawan replaced him. (M0)

The macrostructure of the story of Dunghawan is shown in Table 24 below.

Table 24 Macrostructure of the Story of Dunghawan

Macrostructure
Dunghawan defeated Kapri and took the Kapri's skin as his clothes. He went to the king's house to replace Kapri but the youngest daughter of the king discovered his true identity. The king died and Dunghawan replaced him.

The 24 clauses were reduced to three sentences with a total of six clauses. Out of the six clauses in the macrostructure, two clauses are from the background information. The remaining four clauses come from the storyline.

The two clauses from the background information are, "He (Dunghawan) went to the king's house to replace Kapri", and "Dunghawan replaced him (king)". These two information were not included in the storyline because the storyteller used durative verb and descriptive clause when he told these information. The first clause marks the transition of the second part of the story. The location, "the king's house", mentioned in this clause is important because this is where most of the event in the second part of the story happens. The second bit of background information, on the other hand, is a very important event in the story having Dunghawan, the main character, take on the kingship of his master.

5.1.4 Palyus and Monkey Story

The story of Palyus and Monkey has a total of 227 clauses; the story was reduced to 20 clauses (9%) in its storyline. Moreover, nine clauses (4%) were added from the background information. These clauses, the same way with the background clauses added in the other texts, connect the gap of the events in the storyline. (*See Appendix G for details*.)

The application of macrorules to the story is shown below in Table 25. The macrorules were applied three times before the macrostructure was extracted.

Table 25 Macrorules Application of Palyus and Monkey Story

Macrorules Application 1

1. ~~Palyus looked at what was making a cracking sound.~~ (M1)
2. ~~Monkey indeed agreed.~~
3. ~~Eight thorny rattan nodes in his butt and nose.~~
4. ~~Monkey's intestines tightened around the thorny rattan nodes.~~
5. ~~Right when he swung back, Monkey died.~~
   - ➔ P1 Because Monkey wanted to swing on Palyus' hammock, he agreed to put thorny rattan nodes in his butt and nose which killed him. (M2)
6. Palyus ate the monkey.
   - ➔ P2 Palyus ate the monkey (M0)
7. ~~He put Monkey's intestine in a coconut shell.~~
8. ~~Palyus went to the river.~~
9. ~~Palyus stretched Monkey's intestine downriver.~~
   - ➔ P3 Palyus took Monkey's intestine and brought it to the river. (M2)
10. ~~[Another] Monkey passed by.~~
11. ~~He went upriver.~~
12. ~~Palyus did say,~~
13. ~~"Monkey's intestines."~~
14. ~~Monkey instantly came back [to Palyus].~~
15. ~~He went upriver again~~
16. ~~Monkey came back again~~
    - ➔ P4 Another monkey passed by and inquired what kind of intestine it was but Palyus played a trick on him. (M3)
17. ~~Palyus laughed.~~
18. ~~Monkey said,~~
19. ~~"Your teeth are black."~~
    - ➔ P5 Palyus laughed and the Monkey saw his black teeth. (M2)
20. ~~On the eight [day]~~
21. ~~Here comes the group of monkeys~~
22. ~~so that they could have their teeth blackened.~~
    - ➔ P6 Many monkeys wanted to have their teeth blackened so they came to Palyus on the eight day. (M2)
23. ~~The group of monkeys did go [to the swidden].~~
24. ~~Palyus started the fire~~
25. ~~He circled up the the end of the swidden.~~

Macrorules Application 1
~~26. The monkeys] were burnt in the swidden~~ 27. ~~Many were roasted~~   ➜ P7 Palyus started the fire around the swidden and the monkeys were burned and roasted. (M2)

Macrorules Application 2

~~P1 Because Monkey wanted to swing on Palyus' hammock, he agreed to put thorny rattan nodes in his butt which killed him.~~
~~P2 Palyus ate the monkey~~.
~~P3 Palyus took Monkey's intestine and brought it to the river.~~
    ➜ P1 Monkey was killed and Palyus brought his intestine to the river. (M2)
~~P4 Another *Amu* passed by and inquired what kind of intestine it was but Palyus played a trick on him.~~
~~P5 Palyus laughed and the Monkey saw his black teeth.~~
~~P6 Many monkeys wanted to have their teeth blackened so they came to Palyus on the eight day.~~
    ➜ P2 Palyus met another monkey who wanted to have the same black teeth as him and brought all the other monkeys with him to Palyus. (M2)
 	
P7 Palyus started the fire around the swidden and the monkeys were burnt and roasted.
    ➜ P3 Palyus started the fire around the swidden and the monkeys were burned and roasted. (M0)

Macrorules Application 3

P1 Monkey was killed and Palyus brought his intestine to the river.
    ➜ P1 Monkey was killed and Palyus brought his intestine to the river. (M0)
 	
~~P2 Palyus met another monkey who wanted to have the same black teeth as him and brought all the other monkeys with him to Palyus.~~
~~P3 Palyus started the fire around the swidden and the monkeys were burned and roasted.~~
    ➜ P2 Palyus met more monkeys who wanted to have the same black teeth as him so he tricked them and burned them in the swidden. (M3)

The macrostructure is shown below.

Table 26 Macrostructure of Palyus and Monkey Story

Macrostructure
Monkey was killed and Palyus brought his intestine to the river. Palyus met more monkeys who wanted to have the same black teeth as him so he tricked them and burned them in the swidden.

From 29 clauses, the storyline was reduced to two sentences with a total of six clauses. Out of the 5 clauses, 1 clause was from the background information. This shows that the macrostructure consists of 25% storyline information.

The clause from the background information is a description of the monkeys' desires, "wanting to have the same black teeth as Palyus," which Palyus takes advantage of so that he could trick them.

5.1.5 Macroanalysis Conclusion

This section gives further discussion on the result of macroanalysis application on the data.

Table 27 Summary of Macroanalysis

Title and Author	Total # of Storyline Clauses/Overall # of Clauses in the Story = (Percentage)	Total Number of Clauses in the Macrostructure (Storyline + Background Information)
Monkey and Crocodile *(Angelina)*	16/85 (19%)	3 (2 SL + 1 BI)
Turtle and Old Monkey *(Angelina)*	47/200 (24%)	11 (8 SL + 3 BI)
Dunghawan *(Maligday)*	21/190 (11%)	6 (4 SL + 2 BI)
Palyus and Monkey *(Maligday)*	20/227 (9%)	6 (5 SL + 1 BI)

The table above shows the summary of macroanalysis. Looking into column three (SL means storyline and BI means background information) the total number of clauses in the macrostructure is shown as well as the amount of information that comes from the storyline information and background information. The table shows that storyline information still dominates the macrostructures of the stories. However, eventhough the percentage of the background information utilized in the macrostructures is low; a significant finding shows that these information is all of high importance, because without them, the macrostructures would not fully capture the overall meaning of the stories.

5.2 Hanunuo Particles

This section discusses particles in Hanunuo, specifically, those that are found in the collected data. Particles that function beyond sentence level, classified as discourse particles, are given more attention here. However, one significant non-discourse particle *pagka* 'when/as soon as' is also investigated in this section. (*It is bolded under the list of Discourse Markers in Section 5.2.1.*) These particles are described based on how they behave in the texts. It must be noted, however, that these are just initial descriptions. Further analysis is still needed in order to have a fully accurate description of these particles.

5.2.1 Non-discourse Particles

Conklin (1949:3) posited that Hanunuo words can be classified as "substance or full words" and "particles". Pronouns, numerals, articles, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and adverbs are the word class categories that he classified as particles. Nouns, verbs and adjectives are classified as full words.

However, in classifying the particles that are obtained from the data of this study, Tehan's (2013) more detailed classification of particles, which is based on Shopen and Schachter's parts of speech systems, has been adapted. Thus, pronouns are not included in the list of particles below. Initially, the particles found in the data are assigned under two generic categories: non-discourse particles and discourse particles.

Most of the definitions below are adapted from Shachter & Shopen's Parts of Speech Systems (2007:1-60).

Non-discourse particles include:

1. *Prepositions* are adpositions that occur before its complement (SIL International 2004).

2. *Interjections* are words that can constitute utterances in themselves, and that usually have no syntactic connection to any other words that may occur with them.

3. *Conjunctions* are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses.

4. *Negators* are words which negate a sentence, clause, or other constituent.

5. *Verb auxiliaries* are words that express the tense, aspect, mood, voice, or polarity of the verb with which they are associated.

6. *Verbal particles* are a closed class of uninflected words that co-occur with certain verbs.

7. *Copulas* are words used to indicate the relation between a subject and predicate nominal or adjective.

8. *Existential markers* are words found in a distinct clause type, which marks a referent's existence (SIL International 2004).

9. *Mood markers* are words that indicate the speaker's attitude, or that solicit the hearer's attitude, toward the event or condition expressed by a sentence.

10. *Role Markers* (case markers, discourse markers, and other adpositions) are noun adjuncts that indicate the syntactic and/or semantic role of the noun phrase to which they belong, as well as, indicate discourse role of the associated noun phrase.

11. *Classifiers* are words which are required by the syntax of certain languages when a noun is also modified by a numeral.

12. *Quantifiers* consist of modifiers of nouns that indicate quantity or scope.

13. *Articles/Determiners* indicate reference.

The list of non-discourse particles in Hanunuo found in the data is shown in the list below. Other particles are used in the language but are not used in this data. Note that #11 "Discourse Markers (DM)", are not included in the next section, "Discourse Particles (DP)" because these two sets of particles differ from each other in a way that DMs "signal a sequential discourse relationship" (Norrick 2001:850) while DPs indicate the speaker's attitude, or how he structures his interactions with other participants in a conversation (Wikipedia 2013). Although these discourse particles and discourse markers are, most of the time, lumped together as one category, in this research DMs refer to particles that have relevant function within the text while DPs are particles that signals the storyteller's attitude towards the story and with his listeners.

The language, as one might notice from this list, does not have any copula.

Table 28 List of Non-discourse Particles in Hanunuo

Prepositions			Interjections	
tugka	until		ʔanti	wait
para	for		ʔagud	oh my
tuŋkul	about		huʔ	yes
ginan	from		kalwaj	wait
gin	from		salamat	thank you
ʔarani	near		ʔanuŋ	my
haŋgan	until		bukun	no; nope
			ʔuduj	expression of awe
Conjunctions			malu	?
dahil	because		ʔaj	oh
hampaj	so that		ʔuŋud	truly
nakan	therefore		ʔaw	oh
pat-aj	however			
dapat ʔaj	however		**Verb Auxiliaries**	
nu	if		ji	already
kuntaj	that		diman	also
piru	but		maʔan	again
dapat	but		halus	almost
ʔag	and		waja	still; yet
ŋataj	or		ʔudji	none already
bag-ʔu	then		ʔudwaja	not yet
laŋmadi	even though		gid	really; so much
ʔuna	even though		laŋ	only
			masjadu	very
Negators			di	also
ʔunman	not; none		wajdi	also
ʔud	NEG		dapu	first
ʔuman	NEG		dap	(variant of dapu)
daŋa	do not		wadi	only
balaw	not			
daji	does not want anymore		**Verbal Particles**	
daju	do not		naʔantag	went to
ʔudwaj	not yet		ʔatajtabug	come here
Copulas			**Existential Markers**	
	(not found)		maj	there is

Table 29 List of Non-discourse Particles in Hanunuo (cont.)

Classifiers		Quantifiers	
sapad	bunch	*maŋa*	pluralizer
buŋbuŋ	node	*tanan-tanan*	all
kaban	group	*ʔusa*	one
bilug	body; piece	*sampulu*	ten
kata-ʔu	person	*sijam*	nine
ʔatajtabug	come here	*buʔu*	whole
		sampulu maj duwa	twelve
Discourse Markers		*walu*	eight
ʔati	there	*kaj*	the
ʔiguʔ	exactly		
hintaj	what	**Articles**	
tajŋuna	now	*ti*	the
sjimpri	of course	*ʔindaʔaj*	this (with emphasis)
kadugajan	in the long run	*tida*	that (visible)
kaʔinda	now	*tunda*	that (visible)
katpuŋ	on the opposite side	*ʔimaw*	this
pagka	**when (as soon as)**	*hundaʔ*	that
si	Person Indicator	*ʔinda*	this
sa	to; of (Locative)	*kaj*	the
Case Markers		**Mood Markers**	
kan	genitive	*ʔaw*	(interrogative)
kaj	genitive	*mana*	(optative)
ni	genitive	*bilaŋ*	as if (potential)
si	Person Indicator	*ŋuna*	(reflexive)
sa	to; of (Locative)		

5.2.2 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles, on the other hand, are those that have "no direct semantic meaning in the context of a sentence, having rather a pragmatic function: it serves to indicate the speaker's attitude, or to structure their interactions with other participants in a conversation" (Wikipedia 2013). These particles are special features of a language.

Once the non-discourse particles are identified, nine of discourse particles have been identified in the data. These are: *kabaj* 'might-have-known', *baj, kunu* 'it-is-said', *ta*

'moving on', *duj, ŋani, ʔaj, maʔaw,* and *ŋap*. During my stay in the village, I heard the locals use these particles often in their daily conversation. However, for some of the particles, too few instances occur within the data to allow much confidence in the tentative generalization that are offered.

1. The particle *kabaj* 'might_have_known' is a non-final particle which expresses the speaker's assumption that the listener already knows what he is talking about. It occurs 3 times in the corpus. Examples are shown below.

(76) D.27

ti	kapri	**kabaj**	ʔuriŋ-ʔuriŋun
the	Kapri (black_man-like_creature)		dark_skinned
art	n	**prt**	adj

suruguʔun	hariʔ
servant	king
n	n

*The Kapri, **(as you might have known)**, has a very dark skin, and is the servant of the king.*

In D.27 above, the narrator of the story signals that he assumes that the listeners could have possibly known already that a *kapri* is darked skinned.

(77) D.38

papaʔiŋanaŋana	laŋ	nu	naʔan	ti	ligpitan	kaju	kawu
to ask	only	if	where	the	place_to_keep	wood	2S
v	prt	conj	adv	art	n	n	pro

kabaj	taga-sitaj	diman
	from_here	also
prt	adj	prt

*"You're asking where to put the firewood, are you not, **(as you might have known)**, from here?!"*

On the other hand, D.38 above is a quoted speech of the king who expresses his anger. The particle *kabaj* signals the king's expectation that Dunghawan (who is pretending to be Kapri, the king's servant) should have been familiar inside their house already. The third particle is found in sentence D.83.

It should be noted that in the second example, one does not necessarily have to include the clause "as you might have known" in English. The question "are you not from here?!" plus the tone of voice is enough to signal the function of the particle.

The particle *baj* signals that the speaker is giving an explanation or background information. It occurs 8 times in the corpus.

(78) D.75
nu		hintaj	pag	naʔalaman	kaj	balukas
if		what	lig	known	3SPoss	clothes
coordconn		adv	prt	v	pro	n

kapri					matuŋbawan	sa	babaw	batu
Kapri (black_man-like_creature)					put_over	Loc	top	rock
n					v	adp	adj	n

ʔarajuʔ	di	sa	kan	duŋhawan	ʔati	di	**baj**	sa
far		Loc	PersInd	Dunghawan	there			Loc
adj	prt	adp	adp	n	adv	prt	**prt**	adp

lawud	pag	magparigus	si	duŋhawan	balaw	sa
below	lig	taking_a_bath	PersInd	Dunghawan	not	Loc
n	prt	v	adp	n	prt	adp

kaj	ʔarani	balukas	kapri
3SPoss	near	clothes	Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
pro	adv	n	n

It happened that Kapri's cloth was at the top of the rock far from Dunghawan, --Dunghawan was taking a bath down at the river, and Kapri's cloth was far from him.

In sentence D.75 above, after the narrator mentions that Kapri's cloth was far from Dunghawan. He gives background information about where Dunghawan is in the last two clauses, explaining why the cloth was away from him.

(79) TM.92
si	paʔuʔu	di	**baj**	ʔati	sa	basad	kaldiru
PersInd	Turtle			there	Loc	inside	cooking_pot
adp	n	prt	**prt**	adv	adp	n	n

magpaŋalaka
making_noise_due_to_movement
v

*Now, Turtle **[as a background]** was inside the cooking pot making noise as he moved around.*

TM.92, on the other hand, is background information of where Turtle is.

2. The particle *kunu* 'it_is_said' is a hearsay particle. It occurs 36 times in the corpus.

(80) D.2 ʔinda **kunu**   si   duŋhawan pag binataʔ   marinu
           this **it_is_said** PersInd Dunghawan lig young_man handsome
           art   **prt**   adp   n   prt n   adj

           gid ʔag masuluŋ diman kaj   ʔugaliʔ sa kaj
           IntP and happy   also 3SPoss behavior Loc 3SPoss
           prt conn adj   adv   pro   n   adp pro

           ʔatubaŋan nija   maŋa ʔama .
           front   3SPoss PL   father
           n   pro   prt n

*This young man, Dunghawan, **was said** to be very handsome and had a very favorable behavior in the eyes of his parents.*

The particle *kunu* 'it is said' in D.2 above signals that the main participant of the story, Dunghawan, is reportedly known to be handsome and is favored by his parents. Dunghawan is, indeed, a famous *suyot* protagonist among the Hanunuo-Mangyan people. In fact, there are many more *suyots* in which Dunghawan is the principal character of the story.

(81) PM.83 majamuʔ gid sida sa kan paljus balaj hampaj   ŋani
              many   IntP 3P   Loc CM Palyus house so that EP
              adj   prt pro adp prt n   n   coordconn prt

              kunu   bumiru   kanda ŋipun
              it_is_said will_turn_black 3PExc teeth
              prt   v   pro   n

*There were really so many of them in Palyus' house so that, as **it was said**, they could have their teeth blackened.*

In sentence PM.83 above, the narrator's usage of *kunu* is based on what Palyus, the main participant in the story, says in the previous sentences about blackening the monkeys' teeth. Here, the narrator's 'source of information' is found within the text and not outside like the first example.

3. The particle *ta,* which can be glossed as 'moving on', is a particle that signals movement to the next event or that a next event in the sentence where the particle occurs is going to be performed. It occurs 9 times in the corpus.

(82) D.19 **ta** tajŋuna pagka palis ji ti ʔinit mag-ʔisip
when already the sun thinking
prt prt coordconn adj prt art n v

kunu si duŋhawan bilaŋ kalasi taluhun di
it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan seems_like kind to_defeat
prt adp n adv adj v prt

sija .
3S
pro

***Moving on**, now, when the sun was almost out, Dunghawan was thinking that he might be defeated.*

Sentence D.19 is an example of transition to the next event in the story.

(83) TM.60 **ta** ʔimaw ŋani kaj binwat ni kamajan hinudut
this IntP 3SPoss did PersInd Old_Monkey fitted in
prt dem prt pro v adp n v

sa kaj buliʔ ti parasan .
Loc 3SPoss butt the thorny_node
adp pro n art n

*(**Moving on**), that was, indeed, what Old Monkey did. He fitted the thorny node inside his butt.*

Sentence TM.60 is an example in which the *ta* particle occurs in the sentence where the event mentioned in the previous sentence is performed.

4. The particle *duj* was identified by the mother tongue speakers that I interviewed as a politeness particle. However, this particle also seems to function as an intensifier. It occurs 13 times in the corpus.

(84) TM.36 magkun sa kan paʔuʔu balaji hajga **duj** kawu maruku?
said Loc CM Turtle in − law why 2S sad
v adp prt n n adv **prt** pro adj

*[Ant] said to Turtle, "Why **[politely]** are you sad, friend?"*

In TM.36 the particle *duj* signals politeness on Ant's part, asking Turtle about his condition.

(85) TM.102 ʔaj ʔuman **duj** nakaʔabut si balugbaʔu nalagiw
     − not − able_to_catch_up PersInd *Balugbau* ran
     prt prt **prt** v adp n v

     si paʔuʔu ʔati tag sa danum .
     PersInd Turtle there go Loc water
     adp n adv v adp n

     Balugbau wasn't [really] able to catch Turtle anymore. Turtle ran into the water.

In TM.102, the particle *duj* is used by the narrator to emphasize that Monkey was not able to capture Turtle.

5. The particle *ʔaj* is an emphatic particle if it occurs within an adjectival, noun, and verbal phrase. But if it occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it is an interjection. Thus, this word is also listed under the interjection section of the non-discourse markers. It occurs 72 times in the corpus (counting both emphatic particle and interjection).

(86) D.54 ʔagud ʔagud ʔagud magbantaj kunu ti daraga
             looking it_is_said the young lady
     interj interj interj v prt art n

     pagrinu maʔaw pag kan-ʔakan balaw **ʔaj** ʔuriŋ-ʔuriŋun
     so_handsome actually lig young_man not dark_colored
     adj prt prt n prt **prt** adj

     balaw **ʔaj** basta-basta .
     not common
     prt **prt** adj

     My, my, my... the king's daughter was said to be watching. "What an, actually, handsome young man, not [indeed] dark skinned at all – extraordinary [indeed].

D.54 shows the particle *ʔaj* within an adjectival phrase making Dunghawan's real physical attribute prominent.

(87) TM.69 dapat ʔunman **ʔaj** magpansin   si   paʔuʔu sa
            but   not;none to_give_attention_to PersInd   Turtle Loc
            conn   prt   **prt** v   adp   n   adp

            kan balugbaʔu pagsabihun
            CM   *Balugbau* has_said
            prt n   v

*However, Turtle **[really]** didn't pay attention to what Balugbau said.*

In TM.69, *ʔaj* occurred within a verbal phrase emphasizing that *Pauu* did not listen to what *Balugbau* said.

(88) TM.73 **ʔaj** ʔindaʔaj kan ʔamaŋ **ʔaj** ŋani maʔaw pag maŋa lulud
            —   this   CM   father EP   —   lig   PL   foot
            prt art   prt n   **prt** prt   prt   prt prt   n

            haŋgan kamaŋ
            until   hand
            conn   n

*"**Oh**, this, **indeed**, is my father's feet and hands!"*

Finally, in TM.73, *ʔaj* occurred at the beginning of the sentence as an interjection expressing a surprise on *Balugbau*'s part that he really is actually eating his father's hands and feet. The second *aj* here occurs with a noun phrase. It must be noted that there is another emphasis particle, *ŋani,* after the second *ʔaj* particle in the sentence. Probably, this series of emphasis particle signals so much shocking emotion on *Balugbau*'s part.

6. The particle *maʔaw* signals diversion from what was expected or what was supposed to be the norm. It could also signal that new information is being presented. It occurs 25 times in the corpus.

(89) D.18   kan   kapri   **maʔaw** kis-ʔab

PersInd Kapri (black_man-like_creature)   awhile_ago

det   n   **prt** adv

dahil   sija ʔatag ŋani sa   danum ʔaduk kaj   dara

because 3S go   EP   to   water many 3SPoss load

conn   pro v   prt prep n   adj   pro   n

pasuk   walu ka pasuk

bamboo_water_container eight lig bamboo_water_container

n   quant prt n

kaj   dara manaʔas sija danum sinugu   hariʔ .

3SPoss load fetch   3S   water was_commanded king

pro   n   v   pro n   v   n

*Since Kapri, **by the way**, a while ago was on his way to fetch water, he's got a lot of bamboo water container with him; he was bringing eight bamboo water container to fetch water which was commanded to him by the king.*

In D.18 above, the narrator signals diversion from the flow of his story by giving some background of the event.

(90) PM.5 pagka   maj   magragatik   binantajan ni

when   there_is   clicking_sound looked_at PersInd

coordconn existmrkr v   v   adp

paljus ʔaj si   ʔamuʔ **maʔaw** .

Palyus   PersInd Monkey

n   prt adp   n   **prt**

He looked at it and, oh, it was actually Monkey.

In PM.5, Palyus seemed to expect something else than Monkey.

(91) D.42 ʔinda **maʔaw** pag hariʔ maj   sijam ka ʔanak daraga

this   lig king there_is   nine lig child young_lady

art   **prt**   prt n   existmrkr quant prt n   n

maŋa marinu gid

PL   pretty IntP

prt   adj   prt

***By the way**, this king has nine very beautiful daughters.*

Here in D.42, the narrator introduced new characters in the story.

7. The particle *ŋap* signals emphasis and confirmation. It occurs 3 times in the corpus.

(92) MC.49 ʔaj ʔanuŋ tigbak ji **ŋap** maʔaw si buʔaja
— — dead already — — PersInd crocodile
prt interj adj prt **prt** prt adp n

*Oh my, Crocodile was **really** dead.*

In MC.49, the particle signals emphasis and confirmation that Crocodile is really dead already.

Given the descriptions of the particles' functions above, it must be noted that these are still proposed definitions based on how these particles behaved in the limited amount of data in the research. These discourse particles need to be subjected to a deeper examination and further study.

5.2.3 The *Pagka* Particle

This section devotes additional discussion to *pagka*, classified as a "discourse marker" in the list in section 5.2.1. This non-discourse particle shows a significant number of occurrences in the data and appears to carry a significant functional load in Hanunuo narratives.

The particle *pagka*, as reflected in section 5.2.1, can be translated as 'when' or 'as soon as'.

Pagka occured 64 times in the data, 61 times as a discourse marker and thrice as ligature. Van der Linden (Flory 1965:1) uses the term ligature to gloss particles in Hanunuo that link a constituent and a modifier. The *pagka* ligature is a homonym of the *pagka* discourse marker. An example is shown below.

(93) PM.86 sa dakaʔ **pagka** buklid niku ʔama ʔati kita
Loc big lig farm 1SPoss father there 1PInc
adp adj prt n pro n adv pro

We will go to my father's big farm.

The *pagka* particle in PM.86 acts as a ligature of the adjective *daka* 'big' and the noun *buklid* 'farm' forming the noun phrase *daka pagka buklid* 'big farm'. The two other instances occurred in clauses PM.87b and PM.91c. (*See Appendix D.*)

For the purpose of this study, the rest of this section discusses the *pagka* discourse marker.

The *pagka* particle is typically a sentence-initial particle. (*See Appendix H for the list of pagka occurrences.*) It also always occurs before the constituent that it modifies.

After sorting out all the sentences where *pagka* occurs, the sentences were grouped based on the particle's association with the other constituents in the sentence in which it occurred. Table 30 below shows all the the constituents found in the data that *pagka* associates with.

Table 30 *Pagka* Associations

Pagka Associations	Number of Occurrences
1. *Pagka* + *duɡaj* 'long time'	10
2. *Pagka* + *ʔati* 'there'	26
3. *Pagka* + temporal phrase	6
4. *Pagka* + verbal/adjectival/existential clause	19

1. When *pagka* occurs with *duɡaj* 'long time', it forms an adverbial phrase that can be translated as 'later on' as shown in the example below.

(94)   TM.93   **pagka**   dugaj   dinmajik diman sija
                 when   long_time climbed   also   3S
                 coordconn adv   v   adv   pro

       TM.93a linmuwaŋ maʔan sa   kaj   buslut
              came_out   again Loc 3SPoss whole
              v   adv   adp pro   n

       Later on, he climbed up and went out again through the whole.

Other examples include: TM.35, TM.93, and PM.97. (*Refer to Appendix H for more examples.*)

2. When *pagka* occurs with *ʔati* 'there', it forms an adverbial construction that can be literally translated as a clause similar to 'when [BE] there'. This formulaic adverbial construction seems to give prominence to the fact that the character has really reached the location. I am labeling it as 'formulaic'

because it seems to be the standard construction that is used when the story transitions to a different location and a new episode. Examples are shown below.

(95) PM.24   **pagka**   ʔati sa   sapaʔ
               when   there Loc river
               coordconn adv adp n

       PM.24a mag-ʔisip si   paljus
               thinking   PersInd Palyus
               v   adp   n

       PM.24b naʔan ŋuna katpuŋ
               where   on_the_opposite_side
               adv   prt   adv

          When he got to the river Palyus was thinking, "Where should I do it?"

(96) TM.81   **pagka**   ʔati si   paʔuʔu sa   basad ʔapuj
               when   there PersInd Turtle Loc   inside fire
               coordconn adv adp   n   adp n   n

       TM.81a ʔiniputan ni   paʔuʔu ti   ʔapuj
               pooped   PersInd Turtle the fire
               v   det   n   art n

         When Turtle was already in the fire, he pooped in it.

Other examples include: D.30, TM.42, and PM.24. (*See more examples in Appendix H.*)

3. When *pagka* occurs with a temporal phrase, it marks the fulfillment of the time and signals that the time reported is significant.

(97) PM.85   **pagka**   maŋa palis ji   ti   ʔinit magkun si
               when   PL   already the sun   said   PersInd
               coordconn prt   adj   prt   art n   v   adp

               paljus
               Palyus
               n

PM.85b	ta	ʔatag	ji	kita	sa	kaŋ	ʔama	buklid
		go	already	1PInc	at	1SPoss	father	farm
	prt	v	prt	pro	adp	pro	n	n

When [it was] about noon already, Palyus said, "Let's go to my father's farm.

In the example given above, *pagka* modifies the phrase *maŋa palis ji ti ʔinit* 'about noon already'. (The free translation makes it into a separate clause because of English syntactic constraints; in Hanunuo, it is a phrase.) The time here is especially significant because this is the time set by Palyus for him and the monkeys to go to his father's farm. The *pagka* particle marks the importance of this time. (*See more examples in Appendix H.*)

4. Finally, when *pagka* occurs with a clause, it highlights the event in that clause. As long as the event in that clause is not the 'head' in a tail-head or a summary-head linkage, which makes the clause into cohesive material, the information in the clause becomes foregrounded information[41]. It also highlights the importance of the event making the event it associates with foregrounded.

There are three types of clauses found in the data which *pagka* associates with:

a. verbal clauses

PM.14 is an example of a verbal clause beginning with *pagka*. In this clause, the event *magpadujan* 'swinging on the hammock' is foregrounded. The event here is a fulfillment of what is expected to happen in the previous sentence.

(98)	PM.14	**pagka**	maɡpadujan	ji	ŋani	si
		when	swinging_on_the_hammock	already	EP	PersInd
		coordconn	v	prt	prt	adp
		ʔamuʔ				
		monkey				
		n				

When Monkey was swinging already on the hammock…

---

[41] There is a probability that this promotes a background activity into a storyline band, however, more data is needed to confirm this. Thus, I did not include this yet in the storyline band.

b. existential clauses

PM.5 below is an example of an existential clause beginning with *pagka*. In the previous sentence before this clause, Paljus hears a clicking sound. This is clause is a head of a tail-head linkage and is thus cohesive material on Band 7.

(99) PM.4

pagka	ʔabwat	ji	ti	ʔinit	magduŋug	si	paljus
when	high	already	the	sun	is hearing	PersInd	Palyus
coordconn	adj	prt	art	n	v	det	n

maj	magragatik
there_is	clicking_sound
existmrkr	v

When the sun was already up, Palyus was hearing a clicking sound.

PM.5

pagka	maj	magragatik
when	there_is	clicking_sound
coordconn	existmrkr	v

When the clicking sound [was heard again]...

c. adjective clauses

Finally, TM.104 is an example of adjectival clause beginning with *pagka*. This is the fulfillment of *Balugbau*'s plan to dry up the pond where Turtle is hiding. This clause is belongs to Setting band as it is a descriptive clause.

(100) TM.104

pagka	diit	wadi	kaj	danum	diit	diit	wadi	gid
when	small	only	3SPoss	water	very_small		only	IntP
coordconn	adj	adv	pro	n	adj		prt	prt

When the water was already too little, really very little...

The data shows that whenever the verb in the verbal clause in which *pagka* occurs has a completed aspect indicated by the affixes listed in Band 1 (*see section 4.1.2*), the clause is usually cohesive material in the narrative. But when the verb in the verbal clause in which *pagka* occurs has a progressive aspect indicated by affixes listed in Band 2 (*see section 4.1.1*), the event becomes a realization of what was planned or expected to happen in the previous sentences preceded by the clause.

(101) D.76 kinuwit   ŋani kunu   daraga   hari? .
          reached_out_to_using_a_stick   EP   it_is_said young_lady king
          v   prt prt   n   n

The king's daughter reached out [for the clothes] using a stick.

   D.77 **pagka**   kinuwit
         when   reached_out_to_using_a_stick
         coordconn   v

   D.77a ?unman maj   na?alaman nu   na?an pag nidna?
          not;none there_is   known   if   where lig dropped
          prt   existmrkr v   conn adv   prt v

When she reached out for it using a stick, nobody knew anymore where it fell.

D.77 is an example of a clause in which *pagka* occurs with a verb *kinuwit* 'reached out to using a stick' which has completed aspect indicated by the infix *–in-*. The clause is the head of a tail-head linkage. The event is performed in D.76 and in D.77 the clause is repeated as a cohesive device.

On the other hand, PM.14 below is an example of a clause in which *pagka* occurs with the verb *magpadujan* 'swinging on the hammock' which has a progressive aspect indicated by the prefix *magpa-*. In context, the previous sentences, PM.9 - PM.13 (*see Appendix D*), Monkey asked Palyus if he could also swing on the hammock, to which Palyus agreed with but with a condition. Monkey accepted Palyus' condition in PM.13 and in PM.14 his desire to swing on the hammock is granted.

(102) PM.14 **pagka**   magpadujan   ji   ŋani si
            when   swinging_on_the_hammock   already   EP   PersInd
            coordconn v   prt   prt adp

            ?amu?
            monkey
            n

PM.14a sa   ʔumpisa   di   waja   pagpatablug ʔudwaja mag-ʔaput
       Loc   beginning   still; yet   swing   not yet   reached
       adp   n   prt   prt   v   prt   v

       panuŋaʔan hintaj waja   kan ʔamuʔ   kaj   maŋa
       middle   what   still; yet   CM   monkey   3SPoss   PL
       n   adv   prt   prt   n   pro   prt

       puna   hugut ji   sa   parasan
       intestine tight   already Loc   thorny node
       n   adj   prt   adp   n

PM.14b kaj   maŋa ʔiruŋ durugu ji   .
       3SPoss PL   nose   bleeding already
       pro   prt   n   v   prt

When Monkey is already swinging, just right there in the beginning and not even getting to the middle anymore, his intestines were tightly [entangled] with the thorny rattan nodes, his nose was already bleeding.

PM.14 is the realization of what was expected to happen as narrated in PM.9 – PM.13.

So far, based on the data, *pagka* particle has the following functions:

1. It marks transition to another event, time or location in another episode and within an episode.

2. It marks the realization of what was planned or expected to happen in the previous sentences.

3. It acts as a 'hinge' for tail-head or summary head linkage between or within paragraphs.

4. It foregrounds or highlights the events or time in the clause that it modifies.

5.2.3.1 Issues in Translation

As I went through my data, I noticed the frequent use of the *pagka* particle in the stories. Curious as to its frequent occurrence, I decided to check my copy of the Hanunuo New Testament translation in *Paratext*[42] and found out that it is, indeed, used frequently, especially in the narratives.

In the Hanunuo New Testament, *pagka* occurred 1239 times, 206 times in Matthew alone. It must be noted, however, that I did not do a thorough analysis in the usage of the particle *pagka* in the Hanunuo New Testament. I only used the 'search' command in Paratext to check the total number of occurrence of *pagka* and compared the results.

At present, the Hanunuo Old Testament is being translated and I have been a part of the project. Realizing that Hiligaynon is a closely related language to Hanunuo, the team decided to use the *Adapt It*[43] program and use the Hilagaynon Old Testament as an 'adaptation' or source language to draft some of the books in the Hanunuo Old Testament. *Adapt It* is a computer program primarily used to "adapt an existing text or translation done in a related language or dialect" (Adapt-it.org). One big advantage of using *Adapt It* is that it is likely to reduce the total time spent in translation.

Basically, the first draft done from *Adapt It* will result to word-to-word translation. However the translation feature of the program will, of course, perform much editing. I have edited some of the *Adapt It* Old Testament drafts with the mother tongue translators (MTT) in the team and the drafts are already comprehensible to them. It seemed to be a good translation for them already. However, there was a time when one of the translators expressed that the New Testament Translation, which was meaning-based and not drafted in Adapt It, is much better than the Old Testament translation. She, furthermore, said that the New Testament is so different from the Old Testament. I tried to ask her what makes it different but, somehow, she could not describe it. She just conclusively said that the Old Testament translation is really different even if it would still undergo editing.

After I realized how frequently *pagka* is used in my data and in the New Testament, I decided to check our Old Testament drafts. One very significant observation I found is that the *pagka* particle is used much less in the Old Testament drafts.

For example, I decided to check the number of occurrence of *pagka* in the book of Matthew which has 28 chapters and compared it with 1 Chronicles which has 29 chapters. These books are both narratives. I was surprised to see that *pagka* occurred only 31 times in 1 Chronicles, but it occurred 206 times in Matthew. I, furthermore, checked 2 Chronicles which was also drafted in *Adapt it* and again, p*agka* only occurred 97 times in 2 Chronicles, which has 36 chapters.

---

[43] Adapt It is a computer program primarily used for facilitating adaptation in translating related languages. http://adapt-it.org/about-adapt-it/

This observation suggests that *pagka* is being regularly left out in the drafting of these books. The source language, Hiligaynon, does have a word that captures a sense of *pagka*, which is signaling transition, and the MTT was able to use the particle in the translation. However, the other functions of *pagka* might probably be missed[44].

Thinking back on the conversation I had with the MTT that I mentioned before, it points to a possibility that what she felt 'missing' in the Old Testament translation could be 'naturalness' of the texts. It is likely that one of the reasons why the MTT felt that the Old Testament translation is not as good as the New Testament is because it lacks the frequently used particles in Hanunuo like *pagka*, making it less natural to them. One wonders how many other natural Hanunuo particles are being missed during the drafting.

In the recent email I received from the MTT, she said the following:

 "Tungkol maaw sa paingana nimu, unman yi doy niku ikinumpara sa salin ni ate Ely dahil iba waydi kanya pag salin, dapat imaw diman kay ibug sabihun. Kang ibug sabihun binuul lang niya kay mahalaga pag bagaw bag-u ipinaliwanang niya. Tuhay waydi sa salin nita-- words by words."

The translation of what she says goes like this:

"About your question, I didn't compare [the Old Testament books I drafted] with Ate Ely's anymore because she had a different way of translation, however, still the same meaning. What I mean is that she only took the important word and explained it. It's different with our translation which is 'words by words' (word to word)."

Her communication partially answers my question, if she compared her drafts with Ate Ely's (the person who translated the New Testament) drafts when she was drafting the books. There were some books in the Old Testament that were drafted by Ate Ely and other MTTs which we suggested for her to compare with when she is drafting. One significant thing that she stated in her response is that she found our translation now as being too word-to-word.

Looking at the situation above, one could see a possible problem when using the *Adapt It* program. The MTT would not have much freedom to construct a sentence that is natural to them. Since the draft is already comprehensible and accurate based

---

[44] This statement is a hypothesis that needs further investigation to be proven true. I must admit that the amount of data that I have would not be enough to cover all the functions of *pagka* or make a complete conclusion of the description of the particle's function. I must also suggest that a knowledge about the particles Hiligaynon, especially *sang* which functions like *pagka* in some ways, would also be very helpful.

on the source language, the MTT would have a hard time figuring out why it is not as good as it should be. Naturalness is an area in translation that only the MTT could fully 'feel' when reading the text. But when they have already constructed sentences that are comprehensible and accurate based on the source language, they would tend to find it hard to add something (like particles) or change the structure of the sentence in order to make it sound natural.

It is then important to note that the translators working with the MTTs must explain to the MTTs the importance of naturalness in translation right at the beginning of their drafting. The translator himself must also constantly try to be aware of what is natural in the language that he/she is working with and ask appropriate questions to help the MTT break out of a word-to-word mode of translating. Perhaps, specific questions such as: "Could *pagka* be used in this sentence?" or "Does it feel like a particle could be added to make it more natural?" could be asked while checking the translation.

5.3 Summary

This chapter presented the macroanalysis of the *suyots* and the extracted macrostructures which are the product of the macroanalysis. The result of the macroanalysis was explained and its implications have been discussed. Moreover, this chapter discussed particles in Hanunuo. Discourse particles were given focus, but a non-discourse particle *pagka* was given special attention and tied to a discussion about some issues in capturing the usage of particles in translation.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the findings in the previous chapters of this research and suggests areas for further research.

6.1 Summary of findings

This study has a total of six chapters including the conclusion chapter.

The 1ˢᵗ chapter of this research introduces the cultural and linguistic background of the Hanunuo-Mangyan people. A phonological and grammar sketch of the Hanunuo language is also discussed in the chapter. The sources for the phonological and grammar sketch are very limited and mostly very old. Due to the limited information on the Hanunuo grammar, the research has also encountered limitations in describing grammatical functions of the constituents in the data that foreground discourse patterns and features in the Hanunuo narrative.

The 2ⁿᵈ chapter discusses the Discourse Analysis processes that were utilized in analyzing the data of this research. These included Barnwell's criteria of internal unity and boundary, Dooley and Levinsohn's concepts of discourse analysis, Longacre's theory of notional and surface structure, and etic salience scheme, Van Dijk and Kintsch's theory of macrostructures, Somsonge and Greninger's adaptation of the macrorules and Tehan's suggestion on handling particles. The chapter also includes the methodology used in the research, with details on how the data was chosen, collected, and transcribed. Finally, an overview of the four *suyots* was presented in this chapter.

The 3ʳᵈ chapter presents an analysis of the surface and notional structure using Longacre's theoretical framework. It also discusses the boundary, internal unity, and Peak markers found in the data. There are seven boundary markers utilized in the data: change of participants, change of place, change of time, exit of participants, grammatical marker, tail-head linkage, and summary statement. Grammatical markers are the most used boundary markers among the six. For internal unity markers, four markers are found: same participants, same place, same time, and lexical coherence. Same participant is the marker that has the highest occurrence

within the data. For the Peak markers, five surface markers were found: rhetorical underlining, shift from narrative-dialogue-drama, concentration of participants, onomatopoeia, and particles. Concentration of participants has the highest number of occurrence in the data. Moreover, there is one distinct finding in the segmentation of the *suyots* identified in the data. Out of the four *suyots* used in the data, three *suyots* have two parts. Finally, the surface structure elements found in the data are Title, Aperture, Stage, Pre-Peak episodes, Peak episode, Post-Peak episodes, Closure, and Finis. Title, Aperture, and Finis are optional since they do not exist in all of the *suyots*.

The 4th chapter proposes a salience scheme for the *suyots*. Seven bands are identified in the data: storyline band, background band, setting band, flashback band, irrealis band, author intrusion/evaluation band, and cohesion band. The storyline band, the band that pushes the story forward, is marked by punctiliar verbs identified by affixes, and verbs in their basic form as markers. The background band consists of continuous and ongoing activities, habitual and repetitive activities, and subordinated verbs. The setting band is characterized by adjectival predicates, locative clauses, existential clauses, and verbalized/derived predicates. Flashback is marked by the adverb *kis-ʔab* 'a while ago'. The irrealis band is marked by negation particles and future tense affixes. The evaluation band consists of the author's evaluation, explanation, and clarification. Finally, the cohesion band is characterized by adverbial clauses in a tail-head linkage and repeated clauses.

The 5th chapter presents an analysis of the macrostructure of the *suyots*. The analysis in this research indicates that these *suyots* are a different genre of narratives than those Somsonge investigated where the storyline itself is sufficient to extract the macrostructure from (1991:17). Some information from the supportive material has been utilized to capture a more complete gist of the story in the macrostructure. The analysis does agree with Greninger's statement "that a macroanalysis that did not include clauses with supportive material would leave out a large portion of the content needed to form an accurate second-level macrostructural summary" (2009:154). However, not all the supportive material was utilized in this data. Only selected background information clauses that enable the macrostructure to completely capture the overall semantic content of the story are utilized. In addition, chapter 5 also discusses the particles in the corpus. Discourse particles are given special attention but one non-discourse particle, *pagka* 'when/as soon as', is also given a additional discussion. The discussion of the *pagka* particle is then reflected on capturing the usage of particles in translation.

6.2 Evaluation of Methods

The methods employed in this research have sufficiently provided findings that are able to meet the objectives of this study, that is, to be able to provide an initial linguistic description of the characteristics of discourse features and discourse structure of Hanunuo narratives, specifically, of the *suyot* genre.

The application of Barnwell's criteria of boundary and internal unity markers has led to the discovery of the special features of surface structure and notional structure of the *suyots*. It has been discovered that not all *suyots* have Peaks. Some *suyot* are episodic narrative. Moreover, *suyots* can have two parts within the story.

Longacre's criteria of Peak surface markers have also revealed that Hanunuo narratives can have embedded texts in them, which marks a special feature of the narrative, just like the embedding of the *ambahan* in Turtle and Old Monkey's story. (*See Appendix B*)

The application of the etic salience scheme framework shows the kind of verbs used in Hanunuo narratives to highlight the storyline. However, because of the limited information of the language's morphology and syntax, a very efficient classification of the affixes that mark storyline verbs was not completely attained in the research.

Moreover, the application of the macroanalysis has shown an important finding in the research that the non-storyline material of the Hanunuo narrarives also presents prominent information that is important in capturing the overall purpose of the story.

Finally, the method of analyzing particles has revealed the functions of some of the discourse particles in the data. However, this still needs further research. Not all of steps in Tehan's list were employed in the analysis of the particles, especially in relation to interviewing native speakers, due to lack of mother tongue speakers who are accessible during the time of the analysis.

6.3 Further Research

This research, as far as the researcher is aware of, is the first discourse analysis research in Hanunuo language. The goal of the study is to provide a linguistic description of important patterns and characteristics of the discourse features and structure of Hanunuo narratives. It is to be noted, however, that the results of the analyses done on the data of this research can only provide "initial" linguistic

descriptions. I hold the findings of this research as tentative and would highly suggest more data to be gathered to confirm the provisional findings presented in this study.

Moreover, more research should be done in the area of discourse analysis in the Hanunuo language. There is more in the Hanunuo language that can be investigated but I am listing four areas below that I would highly recommend.

Firstly, the grammar sketch of the Hanunuo language needs to be updated. Only Conklin's 'A Brief Description of Hanunuo Morphology and Syntax' (1949) and Elly Van der Linden (1959) and Ann B. Flory's (1965) Hanunuo grammar description were found. These sources are rich in information yet still too broad. There is much more in the Hanunuo language in relation to grammar that is a good avenue for research.

Secondly, the data used for this research is only a small sample of one specific genre called *suyot,* which is one of the three well-known Hanunuo folk narratives. Checking these results on a much longer corpus of suyot is necessary. Doing research on the other two genres, *sugidanon* and *tultulanun,* and personal narratives would certainly provide more linguistic information about Hanunuo narratives.

Thirdly, a discourse analysis research can also be done in the area of participant reference, quote formula, information flow, etc., which have not undergone any research yet.

Finally, I would give special emphasis to the study of the particles in the Hanunuo language. The amount of data I have for this research is not sufficient to cover all the particles there are in the Hanunuo language, as well as, completely capture the function of the particles found in this research. Many more instances of particle usage in context need to be investigated. Also mother tongue speakers' intuition concerning the semantics and pragmatics of particles must be accessed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arasiwa, Daniel Tatsuro. 2006. *A story line analysis in Iu-Miehn narrative discourse with some insights from cognitive linguistics*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University MA thesis.

Barnwell, Katharine. 1980. *Introduction to semantics and translation*. Horsley's Green, UK:SIL.

Caldas, Carmen Rosa. 1987. *Introduction: Narrative discourse*. Santa Catarina, Brazil: Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina. ms.

Conklin, Harold. 1949. *A brief description of Hanunoo morphology and syntax*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Conklin, Harold. 1953. *Hanunoo-English vocabulary*. Berkeley, California: University of California press.

Conklin, Harold. 1959. *Linguistic play in its cultural context*. Language 35. 631-36.

Conklin, Harold. 1962. *Lexicographical treatment of folk taxonomies*. International Journal of American Linguistics 28. 119-41.

Dichoso, Fermin. 1968. *Some notes of Hanunoo-Mangyan culture*. Philippine Sociological Review 16. 193-95.

Dictionary.com. 2014. http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Paratactic (accessed January 3, 2014)

Dooley, Robert A. and Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2001. *Analyzing discourse*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Dooley, Robert A. and Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2000. *Analyzing discourse. A manual of basic concepts*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International https://mail.jaars.org/~bt/DooleyLevinsohn.pdf (accessed, June 2014)

Dryer, Matthew S. 2001. Clause Types. SUNY Buffalo. http://dedalvs.com/misc/clausetypes.pdf (accessed, January 2014)

English Plus. 1997-2006. Connecticut, USA. http://englishplus.com/grammar/00000355.htm (accessed January 3, 2014).

Flory, Ann B. 1965. *Hanunoo pedagogical grammar*. unpublished ms.

Gardner, Fletcher. 1905. *The Mangyan*. Mindoro-Palawan Paper. 2. 75-111.

Givon, Talmy, ed. 1983. *Topic continuity in discourse: A quantitative cross language study*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Greninger, David Eugene. 2009. *Aspects of discourse prominence in Solu Sherpa oral stories of personal experience*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University MA thesis.

Grimes, Joseph. 1975. *The thread of discourse*. The Hague: Mouton.

Hopper, Paul J., & Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity and grammar and discourse. *Language* 56:251-99

Jacobs, Alan. (2014) *Just-so stories*. Christianity Today Website. http://www.booksandculture.com/articles/2013/janfeb/just-so-stories.html (accessed, March 4, 2014).

Jasa, Upai. 2009. *Aspects of discourse cohesion in Lahu Si folktales*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University MA thesis.

Kroeger, Paul R. 2005. *Analyzing grammar. An introduction*. Cambridge University Press.

Larsen-Freeman, Diane. 1980. *Discourse analysis in second language research*. Massachusetts. Newbury House Publishers.

Levinsohn, Stephen. 2007. *Self-instruction materials on narrative discourse analysis*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Seventeenth edition.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Longacre, Robert E. & Stephen Levinsohn. 1978. Field analysis of discourse*: Current trends intextlinguistics,* ed. by Wolfgang U. Dressler, 61-80. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Longacre, Robert E. 1983. *The grammar of discourse.* 1st ed. New York: Plenum Press.

Longacre, Robert E. 1989. *Joseph: a story of divine providence—a text theoretical and textlinguistic analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Longacre, Robert E. 1996. *The grammar of discourse.* 2nd ed. New York: Plenum Press.

Louwerse, M.M. & Graesser, A.C. (in press). *Macrostructures.* In E.K. Brown (Ed.) *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics.* Amsterdam: Elsevier. http://141.225.218.248/webcslwebroot/autotutor/publications/newpapers/Louwerse2006-Macro.pdf (accessed, October 14, 2013)

Mann, William C. and Thompson, Sandra A. 1992. *Discourse description: Diverse linguistic analyses of a fundraising text.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Mac Millan Dictionary. 2009-2014. *Fable.* Hampshire, England. http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/fable (accessed, June 2014)

Mac Millan Dictionary. 2009-2014. *Fairy tale.* Hampshire, England. http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/fairy-tale (accessed, June 2014)

Mac Millan Dictionary. 2009-2014. *Legend.* Hampshire, England. http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/legend (accessed, June 2014)

Minh Thi Tuyet Pham. 2006. *Head-hunters and wild pigs: Aspects of Mae Hong Son Shan narrative discourse.* Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University MA thesis.

Miyamoto, Masaru. 1988. *The Hanunoo-Mangyan: Society, religion and law among a mountain people of Mindoro Island, Philippines.* Japan: National Museum of Ethnology.

Morris, Amber. 2008. *Selected discourse feature of Lahu Si folk narrative.* Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University MA thesis.

Norrick, Neal. 2001. *Discourse markers in oral narrative.* Journal of Pragmatics 33. 849-878. http://www.gloriacappelli.it/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/dmnarrative.pdf (accessed, March 2014)

Nunan, David. 1993. *Introducing discourse analysis.* England: Clays Ltd, St. Ives Plc.

Paltridge, Brian. 2006. *Discourse analysis. An introduction.* Great Britain: MPG Books Ltd.

Postma, Antoon. 1977. *Mangyan folklore.* Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society 5. 38-53.

Postma, Antoon. 1980. *The function of folklore in Mangyan literacy*. Dilimnan, Quezon City. unpublished ms.

Postma, Antoon. 1985. *The concept of time among Mangyan.* Asian Folklore Studies 44. 231-40.

Postma, Antoon. 1992. *The (Hanunoo) Mangyan language.* unpublished ms.

Postma, Antoon. 2004. *Hanunoo-Mangyan beliefs: Their visible and invisible world.* Panaytayan, Mindoro Oriental, Philippines.

Schneider, E. E. 1912. *Notes on the Mangyan language*. The Philippine Journal of Science 7. 157-78.

Shachter, Paul & Shopen, Timothy. 2007. Parts of speech systems. *Clause structure: Language typology and syntactic description*, 1-60. Cambridge University Press.

SIL International. 2004a. *Adjectival predicate.* http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/glossaryoflinguisticterms/WhatIsAPredicateAdjective.htm (accessed, January 2014)

SIL International. 2004b. *Circumfixation.* http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/glossaryoflinguisticterms/WhatIsCircumfixation.htm (accessed, January 2014)

SIL International. 2004c. *Existential clause.* http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/glossaryoflinguisticterms/WhatIsAnExistentialClause.htm (accessed, February 2014)

SIL International. 2004d. *Existential marker*. http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/glossaryoflinguisticterms/WhatIsAnExistentialMarker.htm (accessed, February 2014)

SIL International. 2004e. *Particles*. http://www01.sil.org/linguistics/glossaryoflinguisticterms/WhatIsAParticle.htm (accessed, February 2014)

SIL International. 2004f. *Preposition*. http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/glossaryoflinguisticterms/WhatIsAPreposition.htm (accessed, February 2014)

Sin Wai, Chan. 2004. *A dictionary of translation technology*. Hongkong: Chinese University Press.

Somsonge, Burusphat. 1991. *The structure of Thai narrative*. Dallas, TX: SIL and University of Texas at Arlington.

Steeb, Markus. 2008. *Discourse function of right-dislocated repetition and other repetition structures in oral Khmu narrative*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University MA thesis.

Terry, Bruce. 2003. *Peak in discourse*. http://www.ovc.edu/terry/discourse/peak.htm (accessed, March 5, 2014).

Tehan, Thomas. 2011. *Class notes*. unpublished ms.

Tehan, Thomas. 2014. *Class notes on Particles*. unpublished ms.

Van der Linden, Elly. 1959. *List of some Hanunoo affixes*. unpublished ms.

Van der Linden, Elly. 1960. *Phonemic statement of Hanunoo*. unpublished ms.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1972. *Some aspects of text grammar: Study in theoretical poetics*. The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Van Dijk, Teun A., & Walter Kintsch. 1978. Cognitive psychology and discourse: Recalling and summarizing stories. *Current trends in textlinguistics*, ed. by Wolfgang U. Dressler, 61-80. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Vong Tsuh Shi. 2009. *Discourse studies of Makuri Naga narratives*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University MA thesis.

Appendix A

SI AMU AG SI BUAYA (MONKEY AND CROCODILE)

MC.1 magkun kaj ʔanak ni ʔamuʔ
    saying the child PersonInd Monkey
    v art n adp n

MC.1a ʔamaŋ ʔatag ʔaku sa dagat .
    father go 1S Loc sea (beach)
    n v pro adp n

Monkey's child said, "Father, I'll go to the beach."

MC.2 magkun kaj ʔama
    saying 3SPoss father
    v pro n

MC.2a daŋa gid kawu mag-ʔatag
    do_not IntP 2S going
    prt prt pro v

MC.2b ʔasan si buʔaja
    there PersInd Crocodile
    adv adp n

MC.2c kawu masampakan
    2S will_get_to_meet
    pro v

MC.2d kawu kan-un .
    2S will_be_eaten
    pro v

His father said, "Don't you ever go there! Crocodile is there, [if] you will be caught, you will be eaten.

MC.3 ʔaku ji laŋ ti maŋatag .
    1S already only the will_go
    pro prt prt art v

I'll go there myself."

MC.4 ʔati   ji   ŋani si   ʔamuʔ   .
     there (not visible) already   EP   PersInd Monkey
     adv   prt   prt   adp   n

Off did Monkey go.

MC.5 ʔati   sa   dagat   magpakatiŋtiŋ diman talaba si
     there (not visible) Loc   sea (beach)   hitting_surface also   oyster PersInd
     adv   adp   n   v   prt   n   adp
ʔamuʔ   .
Monkey
n

There in the beach Monkey was hitting oysters.

MC.6 pakatiŋtiŋ
     hitting_surface
     v

MC.6a ʔaj ʔasan ŋap si   buʔaja   .
       oh there prt PersInd Crocodile
       prt adv   adp   n

[While he was] hitting oysters, Crocodile was, indeed, there.

MC.7 ʔaj salamat   ʔataj maʔaw kawu balaji   .
     oh   thank you here   2S   in-law (close friend)
     prt interj   adv   prt   pro   n

"Great, you actually are here, friend!

MC.8 magkaʔibug gid   ʔaku kanmu   ʔataj marabu .
     desiring   IntP 1S   2SPoss here   tasty
     v   prt   pro   pro   adv   adj

I'm very much craving for your tasty liver."

MC.9 ʔaj balaji   ʔunman niku nadara   kaŋ   ʔataj marabu
     oh   in-law (close friend) not; no 1S   was_able_to_bring 1SPoss   here   tasty
     prt n   prt   pro   v   pro   adv   adj

"Oh, friend, I wasn't able to bring my tasty liver.

MC.10 dapat ʔaj kalwaj balaji   .
     but   interj   in-law (close friend)
     conn   n

However, wait, friend.

MC.11 nu   kawu magkaʔibug gid kaŋ   ʔataj marabu
     if   2S   desiring   IntP 1SPoss here tasty
     conn pro   v   prt   pro   adv adj

MC.11a sa   ʔikawalu pag siraŋ kita   sitaʔaj maʔan pag magsampak .
      Loc eighth   lig   day   1PIncl here   again   lig   will_meet
      adp adj   prt   n   pro   adv   prt   prt v

If you are really craving for my tasty liver, let's meet here again on the 8th day.

MC.12 kawu pagtipun   tanan-tanan kanmu maŋa ʔinaʔ   kanmu buʔu
     2S   assemble (Cmd) all   2SPoss PL   mother 2SPoss whole
     pro   v   adj   pro   prt   n   pro   adj
magtal-ʔanakan haŋgan kanmu ʔumput   maŋa ʔidu   tanan-tanan .
family (clan)   until   2SPoss grandchildren PL   grandmother all
n   conn   pro   n   prt   n   adj

You assemble all your family, your mother and even your grandchildren, grandmothers (grandparents) --everyone.

MC.13 kamu pagtipun   sitaj
     3PExc assemble (Cmd) here
     pro   v   adv

MC.13a ʔag   pagdara   diman kawu sampulu maj   duwa ka bahaŋ .
      and   bring (Cmd) also   2S   ten   there_is two lig basket
      conn v   prt   pro adj   prt   adj   prt n

You assemble here, and you also bring 12 baskets."

MC.14 sijun ginan nuli   ji   maʔan si   ʔamuʔ   sa   kaj   balaj .
     there from went_home already again PersInd Monkey Loc 3SPoss house
     adv   adv   v   prt   prt adp   n   adp pro   n

From there, Monkey went back to his home again.

MC.15 pagka   sa ʔikawalu ŋani pag siraŋ ʔati   maʔan ŋani
       when; as_soon_as Loc eighth   EP lig day there (not visible) again EP
       prt   adp adj   prt prt n   adv   prt   prt
si   ʔamuʔ .
PersInd Monkey
adp   n

Indeed, on the 8th day, Monkey was there again.

MC.16 ʔasan ji   ŋani sida ni   buʔaja   tanan-tanan kaj   buʔu
       there already EP   3P   PersonInd Crocodile all   3SPoss whole
       adv   prt   prt pro adp   n   adj   pro   adj
magtal-ʔanakan .
family (clan)
n

Buaya's and his whole clan was, indeed, also there.

MC.17 ʔaj balaji   ʔataj ji   maʔaw kamu tanan-tanan .
       oh in-law (close friend) here already   3PExc all
       prt n   adv prt   prt   pro   adj

"Oh, friend, you are all here!

MC.18 dapat kalwaj dap balaji
       but   interj prt in-law (close friend)
       adj   n

MC.18a kaŋ bilaŋun   dapu kamu .
        1S   will_count prt   3PExc
       pro v   pro

But wait a bit, friend, I'll count you all first."

MC.19 si   ʔamuʔ lasik di lasik sa babaw dajuʔ maŋa buʔaja   .
       PersInd Monkey jump prt jump Loc top   back PL   Crocodile
       adp   n   v   v   adp n   n   prt   n

Monkey hopped around on the back of the crocodiles.

MC.20 pabaliw-baliw
       to_and_fro
       v

MC.20a pagka   ʔati   ji   sa   maj   puʔun kaju si

       when; as_soon_as   there (not visible)   already   Loc   there_is   tree   PersInd

       prt   adv   prt   adp prt   n   adp

ʔamuʔ

Monkey

n

MC.20b ʔati   wajdi maʔaw ti   pinakadaka pag buʔaja   .

       there (not visible) also   the   largest   lig   Crocodile

       adv   adv   prt   art adj   prt   n

[He did it] to and fro, when Monkey got near where there was a tree, the biggest crocodile was actually there.

MC.21 nanŋurit si   ʔamuʔ   dinmajik sa   kaju .

      shrieked PersInd Monkey climbed   Loc   tree

      v   adp   n   v   adp   n

Monkey shrieked and climbed up on the tree.

MC.22 ʔaj dajaʔ maʔaw kanmu balaji   magsabi si   buʔaja   .

      oh   cheat   2SPoss   in-law (close friend)   saying   PersInd Crocodile

      prt adj   prt   pro   n   v   adp   n

"Oh, you are cheating, friend," Crocodile was saying.

MC.23 ʔanuŋ si   ʔamuʔ   nuli   ji   sa   kaj   balaj .

      prt   PersInd Monkey went_home already   Loc   3SPoss house

                adp   n   v   prt   adp pro   n

My, Monkey already went home to his house.

MC.24 pagka   ʔati   sa   kaj   balaj si   ʔamuʔ

      when; as_soon_as there (not visible) Loc   3SPoss house PersInd Monkey

      prt   adv   adp pro   n   adp   n

MC.24a magkun si   ʔamuʔ

       saying   PersInd Monkey

       v   adp   n

MC.24b sab   nu   maj   manhalu   sa   kaŋ   balaj

       later   if   there_is   will_shake Loc   1SPoss house

       adv   conn   prt   v   adp pro   n

MC.24c ʔataj maj tawu .
    here there_is person
    adv prt n

When Monkey was already in his house, he said, "Later if there's a movement in my house it means there's someone [inside]."

MC.25 ʔinda wajdi si buʔaja mag-ʔusig sa kan ʔamuʔ .
    this also PersInd Crocodile hunting Loc CM Monkey
    art adv adp n v adp prt n

Meanwhile, Crocodile was hunting Monkey.

MC.26 pagsunsunun ni buʔaja kaj lakawan ni ʔamuʔ
    following PersonInd Crocodile 3SPoss path PersonInd Monkey
    v adp n pro n adp n
ʔatabug sa kaj balaj .
go Loc 3SPoss house
v adp pro n

Crocodile was following Monkey's path towards his house.

MC.27 pagka ʔati
    when; as_soon_as there (not visible)
    prt adv

MC.27a ʔaj ʔinda ji ŋani kan balaji lakawan .
    oh this already EP CM in-law (close friend) path
    prt art prt prt prt n n

When [he got] there, "Oh, here, indeed, is friend's path."

MC.28 pagka ʔati ŋani
    when; as_soon_as there (not visible) EP
    prt adv prt

MC.28a nidnaʔ sa kaj balaj ni ʔamuʔ si buʔaja
    drop Loc 3SPoss house PersonInd Monkey PersInd Crocodile
    v adp pro n adp n adp n

MC.28b sinmulud sija sa balaj ni ʔamuʔ .
    entered 3S Loc house PersonInd Monkey
    v pro adp n adp n

There Crocodile did reach Monkey's house, he went inside Monkey's house.

MC.29 ?aj   nahalu   ti   balaj
      oh   was_shaken the house
      prt v   art n

MC.29a magkun si   ?amu?
      saying   PersInd Monkey
      v   adp   n

MC.29b ?ataj maj   tawu   .
      here   there_is person
      adv   prt   n

The house was shaken, Monkey said, "There's someone here."

MC.30 nanŋurit si   ?amu?
      shrieked PersInd Monkey
      v   adp   n

MC.30a linmuwas sa   kaj   balaj
      went_out Loc 3SPoss house
      v   adp pro   n

MC.30b ?ati   tabug   sa   suru? kaju .
      there (not visible) towards Loc tree top
      adv   preverb adp n

Monkey shrieked, went out from his house, and went up to the tree top.

MC.31 pagka   ?ati   ji
      when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already
      prt   adv   prt

MC.31a si   ?amu?   sa   suru? kaju maglawa?   ma?an
      PersInd Monkey Loc tree top   hunting_spiders again
      adp   n   adp n   v   prt

MC.31b maglawa?   kaj   buwat .
      hunting_spiders 3SPoss work
      v   pro   n

When Monkey was already there on the top of the tree, he was hunting for spiders, hunting spiders was what he was doing.

MC.32 magkun si   buʔaja
      saying   PersInd Crocodile
      v   adp   n

MC.32a dajaʔ maʔaw kanmu   balaji   .
       cheat   2SPoss   in-law (close friend)
       adj   prt   pro   n

Crocodile said, "You are cheating, friend!

MC.33 ʔati   maʔaw kawu suruʔ kaju .
      there (not visible)   2S   tree top
      adv   prt   pro   n

You're there up on the tree!"

MC.34 linagas ji   maʔan ni   buʔaja si   ʔamuʔ haŋgan tugka
      chase   already again PersonInd Crocodile PersInd Monkey until   up_to
      v   prt   prt   adp   n   adp   n   conn   adv
sa   ʔikawalu pag tagudtud .
Loc   eighth   lig   hill
adp adj   prt n

Crocodile chased Monkey again up to the 8th hill.

MC.35 pagka   ʔati   ji   sa   ʔikawalu pag tagudtud
      when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already Loc   eighth   lig hill
      prt   adv   prt   adp adj   prt n

MC.35a nangaliwliw si   ʔamuʔ sa   kan buʔaja
       looked_back PersInd Monkey Loc   CM Crocodile
       v   adp   n   adp prt n

MC.35b ʔaj ʔanuŋ si   balaji   matikaŋkaŋan   ji
       oh prt   PersInd in-law (close friend) laying_down_feet_wide_open already
       prt   adp   n   v   prt
.

There at the 8th hill, Monkey looked back at Crocodile, "Oh my... friend is now lying on the ground already, with arms and feet wide open."

MC.36 nanujaw   ji   kaj   ʔikug
      stiffly_pointed already 3SPoss tail
      v   prt   pro   n

MC.36a haŋgan kaj   kamaŋ nanhunat ji   .
        until   3SPoss hand   stretched already
        conn   pro   n   v   prt

His tail is now pointing stiffly and his hands are already streched.

MC.37 bag-ʔu maŋiritan ji   .
        and   smiling   already
        conn   v   prt

And, [he's] smiling already.

MC.38 pag-ʔapunan   ji   laŋaw kaj   bibig .
        to_be_landed_on   already   fly   3SPoss mouth
        v   prt   n   pro   n

Flies are already landing on his mouth.

MC.39 magkun si   ʔamuʔ
        saying PersInd Monkey
        v   adp   n

MC.39a ʔaj ʔinda kaŋ palatandaʔan
        oh this   1S   sign
        prt art   pro n

MC.39b ʔunman maj   hajup   magkamataj maŋiritan
        not; no there_is animal   dying   smiling
        prt   prt   n   v   v

MC.39c ʔag   mahunatan kaj   kamaŋ
        and   stretching 3SPoss hand
        conn v   pro   n

MC.39d haŋgan matujawan   kaj   ʔikug .
        until   pointing_stiffly 3SPoss tail
        conn   v   pro   n

Monkey said, "Oh, this is my sign: no dying animal is smiling and having stretched hands and stiffly pointed tail."

MC.40 ʔaj pag-ʔikuru ni   buʔaja   kaj   kamaŋ haŋgan kaj   ʔikug .
        oh curled   PersonInd Crocodile 3SPoss hand   until   3SPoss tail
        prt v   adp   n   pro   n   conn   pro   n

Crocodile curled his hands and tail.

MC.41 ʔaj buhiʔ di ŋani si balaji
     oh alive prt EP PersInd in-law (close friend)
     prt adj prt adp n

MC.41a magsabi .
      saying
      v

"Aha, you are, indeed, still alive, friend!" [Monkey] was saying.

MC.42 ʔanuŋ nalagiw ji maʔan si ʔamuʔ .
     prt ran already again PersInd Monkey
        v prt prt adp n

Monkey ran away again.

MC.43 hintaj gid lagas ji maʔan si buʔaja .
     what IntP chase already again PersInd Crocodile
     adv prt v prt prt adp n

What else [could happen] but Crocodile chased [after him] again.

MC.44 pagka ʔati ji sa maj ʔusa waja gid ka
     when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already Loc there_is one yet IntP lig
     prt adv prt adp prt adj prt prt prt
tagudtud sa maj ʔusa waja gid ka luʔung
hill Loc there_is one yet IntP lig valley
n adp prt adj prt prt prt n

MC.44a ʔinaliwliw maʔan ni ʔamuʔ si buʔaja .
     looked_back_to again PersonInd Monkey PersInd Crocodile
     v prt adp n adp n

There on the other hill, on the other valley, Monkey looked back towards Crocodile again.

MC.45 ʔanuŋ matagiriwan ji si buʔaja sa kaj siruŋ .
     prt lying_on_the_side already PersInd Crocodile Loc 3SPoss underneath
        v prt adp n adp pro n

My... crocodile was now lying on his side below [the hill].

MC.46 ʔaj magkun si ʔamuʔ
     oh saying PersInd Monkey
     prt v adp n

137

MC.46a ʔusa waja gid kaŋ palatandaʔan
      one yet IntP 1S sign
      adj prt prt pro n

MC.46b ʔunman gid maj   magkamataj matagiriwan   .
      not; no IntP there_is dying   lying_on_the_side
      prt   prt prt   v   v

"Oh," Monkey said, "I have yet another sign: no dying [animal] is lying on its side."

MC.47 dapat dugaj   ji   ʔudji   gid magtandug si   buʔaja   .
     but   long_time already not_already IntP moving   PersInd Crocodile
     adj   adv   prt   prt   prt v   adp   n

However, [it's been] a long time already and Crocodile was not really moving anymore.

MC.48 paghugut-hugutun ni   ʔamuʔ kaj   ʔikug ni   buʔaja   .
     pulled_repeatedly PersonInd Monkey 3SPoss tail PersonInd Crocodile
     v   adp   n   pro   n   adp   n

Monkey pulled Crocodile's tail repeatedly.

MC.49 ʔaj ʔanuŋ tigbak ji   ŋap maʔaw si   buʔaja   .
     oh prt   dead   already prt   PersInd Crocodile
     prt   v   prt   prt   adp   n

Oh my, Crocodile really died already.

MC.50 ʔaj balaji   kawu maʔaw ʔuŋud tigbak ji   .
     oh in-law (close friend) 2S   IntP dead   already
     prt n   pro prt   prt   v   prt

"Oh, friend, you really are now dead!"

Appendix B

SI PAUU AG SI KAMAYAN (THE STORY OF TURTLE AND OLD MONKEY)

TM.1 si   paʔuʔu maj   dara kaj   sagiŋ   .
PersInd Turtle   there_is load 3SPoss banana
adp   n   prt   n   pro   n

Turtle was carrying banana [tree].

TM.2 nagsampak sida ni   kamajan   .
met   3P PersonInd Old Monkey
v   pro adp   n

He and Old Monkey met.

TM.3 magkun si   kamajan
saying   PersInd Old Monkey
v   adp   n

TM.3a balaji   ʔunhun   tunda kanmu .
in-law (close friend) use_for_what that   2SPoss
n   v   art   pro

Old Monkey said, "Friend, what are you gonna do with that?"

TM.4 ʔaj ʔinda balaji   kaŋ ʔitanum   .
oh this in-law (close friend) 1S   will_plant
prt art n   pro v

"Oh, this, I'm gonna plant, friend."

TM.5 nu   katida balaji   ʔaku ʔajawi   wajdi nimu .
if   like   in-law (close friend) 1S   be_given also   2S
conn adj   n   pro   v   adv   pro

"In that case, give me some too, friend."

TM.6 ʔaj ta   bati lugud balaji   ʔinda kanmu wajdi kaj
     oh (moving on) prt prt   in-law (close friend) this   2SPoss also 3SPoss
     prt prt   n   art   pro   adv   pro

baliw   .
other_side
n

"Oh, why not, friend. Here, you take the other half."

TM.7 ʔinayawan si   kamajan   ni   paʔuʔu .
     was_given PersInd Old Monkey PersonInd Turtle
     v   adp   n   adp   n

Turtle gave Old Monkey [the other half of the banana tree] .

TM.8 ʔaj balaji   kanmu naʔan pag ʔitanum   .
     oh in-law (close friend) 2SPoss where lig will_plant
     prt n   pro   adv   prt v

"Oh, where are you gonna plant yours, friend?

TM.9 ʔaj kaŋkuʔ balaji   ʔati   sa   kaŋ   sugkadan .
     oh 1SPoss in-law (close friend) there (not visible) Loc 1SPoss front_yard
     prt pro   n   adv   adp pro   n

"Oh, I'm gonna plant mine in my front yard, friend.

TM.10 ʔaj kanmu balaji   naʔan .
     oh 2SPoss in-law (close friend) where
     prt pro   n   adv

Where about yours, friend?"

TM.11 kaŋkuʔ ʔati   sa   kaŋ   dapug   .
     1SPoss there (not visible) Loc 1SPoss cooking_area
     pro   adv   adp pro   n

"I'm gonna plant mine in my cooking area."

TM.12 ta   tunda gin   nagbululagan ji   sida magbalaji
     (moving on) that   from parted_ways already 3P both_in-laws
     prt   art   adp v   prt   pro n

TM.12a si   paʔuʔu ʔati   ji   sa   kaj   balaj
      PersInd Turtle   there (not visible) already Loc 3SPoss house
      adp   n   adv   prt   adp pro   n

TM.12b ʔitinanum kaj   sagiŋ   ʔati   ŋani sa   kaj   sugkadan
      planted   3SPoss banana there (not visible) EP   Loc 3SPoss front_yard
      v   pro   n   adv   prt   adp pro   n

TM.12c kan ʔamuʔ   ʔati   wajdi sa   kaj   dapug   .
      CM   Monkey there (not visible) also   Loc   3SPoss cooking_area
      prt n   adv   adv   adp pro   n

From that point the two friends parted ways -- Turtle went to his house and planted his banana in his frontyard while the monkey planted his on his cooking area.

TM.13 ta   pagka   sa   ʔikawalu pag siraŋ nagsampak maʔan
      (moving on) when; as_soon_as Loc eighth   lig   day   met   again
      prt   prt   adp adj   prt   n   v   prt
sida .
3P
pro

On the eight day they met again.

TM.14 balaji   kanmu mag-ʔunu   ji   pag sagiŋ   .
      in-law (close friend) 2SPoss what_is_happening already lig   banana
      n   pro   v   prt   prt n

Friend, how's your banana doing?

TM.15 ʔaj kaŋkuʔ balaji   magsuput-suputdun .
      oh   1SPoss in-law (close friend) sprouting
      prt pro   n   v
"Oh, mine's sprouting already, friend."

TM.16 magkun si   paʔuʔu
      saying   PersInd Turtle
      v   adp   n

TM.16a ʔaj kanmu balaji   .
      oh   2SPoss in-law (close friend)
      prt pro   n

Turtle said, "What about yours, friend?"

TM.17 magkun si   kamajan
      saying   PersInd Old Monkey
      v   adp   n

TM.17a ?aj kaŋku? duj balaji   kajagiŋ-jagiŋdun .
       oh   1SPoss PP   in-law (close friend) withering
       prt pro   prt n   v

Old Monkey answered, "Oh, mine is withering, friend."

TM.18 tunda ginan nagbululagan ji   ma?an sida magbalaji   sida ni
      that   from   parted_ways   already again 3P   both_in-laws   3P   PersonInd
      art   adv   v   prt   prt   pro   n   pro   adp
kamajan   ni   pa?u?u .
Old Monkey PersonInd   Turtle
n   adp   n

From that time the two friends, Old Monkey and Turtle, parted ways again.

TM.19 pagka   dugaj   ji   kan pa?u?u kaj   sagiŋ   ?abwat
      when; as_soon_as   long_time already CM   Turtle 3SPoss   banana   tall
      prt   adv   prt   prt n   pro   n   adj
ji   gid
already IntP
prt   prt

TM.19a bag-?u maj   burak ji   .
       and   there_is   fruit already
       conn   prt   n   prt

Eventually, Turtle's banana was already really tall and and has fruits already.

TM.20 ?aj magbantaj si   pa?u?u
      oh   watching   PersInd Turtle
      prt v   adp   n

TM.20a ?anuŋ kaŋ   sagiŋ   maj   ?imaw ji   gid   ?uŋud lutu? .
       prt   1SPoss   banana there_is prt   already   IntP   IntP   ripe
       pro   n   prt   prt   prt   prt   adj

Turtle [said] while looking [at his banana tree], "Oh my, my banana has ripe fruits already.

TM.21 dapat ʔaj kabitaj ʔinda
      but   how   this
      conn   adv   art

TM.21a ʔaku ʔudwaj di ʔumaput ʔabwat .
      1S   not yet prt able_to_reach tall
      pro   prt   v   adj

However, what do I do? It's so tall, I can't reach it.

TM.22 kabitaj ŋuna ti dapat buwatun .
      how   prt   the must to_be_done
      adv   art adj   v

What should I best do?

TM.23 ʔaj kaʔindaʔaj maʔaw ,
      oh   like_this
      prt adv   prt

TM.23a ʔatag dap ʔaku sa kan balaji .
      go   prt 1S   Loc CM in-law (close friend)
      v   pro adp prt n

Oh, I know, I'll go to my friend.

TM.24 sabihan niku dajika tida kaŋ sagiŋ
      will_tell 1S   climb (Cmd) that 1SPoss banana
      v   pro v   art   pro   n

TM.24a ʔag ʔaku ʔajawi diman nija kaj burak .
      and   1S   be_given also   3S   3SPoss fruit
      conn pro   v   prt   pro pro   n

I'll tell him to climb my banana tree and then he can just give me some of the fruits."

TM.25 ta ʔati ji ŋani si paʔuʔu sa kan
      (moving on) there (not visible) already EP   PersInd Turtle Loc CM
      prt   adv   prt   prt adp   n   adp prt
kamajan .
Old Monkey
n

Off did Turtle go to Old Monkey.

TM.26 ʔaj balaji   ʔaku ʔataj ji   .
      oh   in-law (close friend) 1S   here   already
      prt n   pro   adv   prt

"Oh, friend, I'm here."

TM.27 hintaj kanmu balaji
      what   2SPoss in-law (close friend)
      adv   pro   n

TM.27a magkun si   kamajan   .
       saying   PersInd Old Monkey
       v   adp   n

"What brings you here, friend?" Old Monkey said.

TM.28 magkun si   paʔuʔu
      saying   PersInd Turtle
      v   adp   n

TM.28a balaji   kaŋ   sagiŋ   dajka
       in-law (close friend) 1SPoss   banana climb (Cmd)
       n   pro   n   v

TM.28b ʔaku ʔunman gid   kaʔaput
       1S   not; no IntP able_to_reach
       pro   prt   prt   v

TM.28a ʔati   maj   lutuʔ ji   kaŋ   sagiŋ   .
       there (not visible) there_is ripe   already 1SPoss banana
       adv   prt   adj   prt   pro   n

Turtle said, "You climb my banana, friend, I really can't reach it, it now has ripe fruits."

TM.29 ta   malu balaji   nu   katida ʔaku ʔatag
      (moving on) prt   in-law (close friend) if   like   1S   go
      prt   n   conn adj   pro   v

TM.29a ʔaku ti   dumajik   kanmu sagiŋ   .
       1S   the will_climb 2SPoss banana
       pro   art v   pro   n

"Oh, well, in that case, I'll go, friend, I'll be the one to climb your banana tree."

TM.30 ʔati   ji   ŋani sida ni   paʔuʔu ni

       there (not visible) already EP   3P   PersonInd Turtle   PersonInd

       adv   prt   prt pro adp   n   adp

kamajan   .

Old Monkey

n

Turtle and Old Monkey did go there.

TM.31 pagka   ʔati   ji

       when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already

       prt   adv   prt

TM.31a magdajik ji   ŋani si   kamajan   sa   kan paʔuʔu sagiŋ   .

      climbing already EP   PersInd Old Monkey Loc CM Turtle   banana

      v   prt   prt adp   n   adp prt n   n

When they arrived there, Old Monkey indeed climbed Turtle's banana.

TM.32 ʔaj haŋgan di   magbantaj si   paʔuʔu

       oh until   prt watching   PersInd Turtle

       prt conn   v   adp   n

TM.32a ʔanuŋ magkatabuʔ   ji   kaj   burak sagiŋ   tida .

       prt   getting_consumed already 3SPoss fruit   banana that

               v   prt   pro   n   n   art

Oh, Turtle was only up to looking [at Old Monkey], the bananas were almost gone.

TM.33 pira   wadi ka sapad siti

       how_much only lig bunch there

       adv   prt   prt clf   adv

TM.33a si   ʔamuʔ ʔudwaj di maglagpak   tabug   sa   kanja .

      PersInd Monkey not yet prt throwing_down towards Loc 3S

      adp   n   prt   v   preverb adp pro

There wasn't much left there, Old Monkey didn't throw down anything to him.

TM.34 marukuʔ ji   gid si   paʔuʔu sa kaj   siruŋ

      sad   already IntP PersInd Turtle   Loc 3SPoss underneath

      adj   prt   prt adp   n   adp pro   n

TM.34a ʔunman pag-ajawan ni kamajan .
     not; no to_be_given PersonInd Old Monkey
     prt   v   adp   n

Turtle was so sad down [the tree] because Old Monkey was not giving him [bananas].

TM.35 pagka   dugaj   ʔaj nasampakan   nija ti tigasaw .
     when; as_soon_as long_time oh was_able_to_meet 3S the Ant
     prt   adv   prt v   pro art n

Later on, he met the Ant.

TM.36 magkun sa   kan paʔuʔu
     saying   Loc CM Turtle
     v   adp prt n

TM.36a balaji   hajga duj kawu maruku? .
     in-law (close friend) why   PP   2S   sad
     n   adv   prt pro   adj

[Ant] said to Turtle, "Why are you sad, friend?"

TM.37 balaji   ʔunman ŋani ʔaku pag-ajawan ni   kamajan
     in-law (close friend) not; no EP   1S   to_be_given PersonInd Old Monkey
     n   prt   prt pro v   adp   n

TM.37a tidaʔaj sa   tuŋud hu kaŋ   sagiŋ .
     there   Loc above prt 1SPoss banana
     adv   adp n   pro   n

"Oh, friend, Old Monkey is not giving me anything, there he is up on my banana tree.

TM.38 pira   wadi
     how_much only
     adv   prt

TM.38a ʔudji   ʔaduk kaj   burak tida
     not_already many 3SPoss fruit   that
     prt   adj   pro   n   art

TM.38b sab   matabu   ji   gid .
     later will_be_consumed already IntP
     adv   v   prt   prt

There's only little left. There's not much fruit anymore; that would really be totally consumed minutes from now."

TM.39 ʔaj balaji   daŋa   magkataranta
      oh   in-law (close friend) do_not feeling_disturbed
      prt n   prt   v

TM.39a kalwaj .
        interj

"Oh, friend, don't be bothered, [you] wait."

TM.40 ʔaku ti   dumajik
      1S   the   will_climb
      pro   art   v

TM.40a dajkun   niku si   kamajan   ,
       will_climb   1S   PersInd Old Monkey
       v   pro   adp   n

TM.40b kaŋ   kagtun   sab   kaj   buliʔ .
       1SPoss   will_bite later 3SPoss   butt
       pro   v   adv   pro   n

"I'll climb up. I'll climb up to Old Monkey, then I will bite his butt later."

TM.41 ʔati   ji   ŋani si   tigasaw sa   tuŋud .
      there (not visible) already   EP   PersInd Ant   Loc above
      adv   prt   prt adp   n   adp n

Off did Ant climb up [the banana tree].

TM.42 pagka   ʔati   ji   sa   kan kamajan   ʔarani
      when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already Loc CM Old Monkey near
      prt   adv   prt   adp prt n   adj

TM.42a kinagat kaj   buliʔ ni   kamajan   .
       bit   3SPoss butt PersonInd Old Monkey
       v   pro   n   adp   n

When he was already near Old Monkey, he bit Old Monkey's butt.

TM 1.43 ʔaj naŋarugwasik si   kamajan   .
        oh   v   PersInd Old Monkey
        prt   adp   n

Old Monkey was startled.

147

TM.44 hintaj gid nilasik ti ʔusa ka bilug lutuʔ burak sagiŋ
     what IntP thrown_off the one lig piece ripe fruit banana
     adv prt v art adj prt clf adj n n

TM.45 nalagpak .
     fell
     v

What else could happen but one piece of ripe banana was thrown off and fell.

TM.45 nakabaja gid si paʔuʔu .
     rejoiced IntP PersInd Turtle
     v prt adp n

Turtle did rejoice.

TM.46 kanja ʔuna laŋ tida ʔusa ka burak
     3S even only that one lig fruit
     pro adv prt art adj prt n

TM.47 kaj kinaʔun .
     3SPoss ate
     pro v

Even though that was what he only had, he still ate the fruit.

TM.47 si kamajan balaw waja gid magdugsun
     PersInd Old Monkey not yet IntP coming_down
     adp n prt prt prt v

TM.47a siti di ʔudwaja magkatabuʔ ti sagiŋ .
     there prt not yet getting_consumed the banana
     adv prt v art n

Old Monkey still didn't come down until the banana was not getting consumed.

TM.48 si paʔuʔu di baj magpadujan sa wakat .
     PersInd Turtle prt prt swinging Loc vine
     adp n v adp n

Turtle was swinging on the vine.

TM.49 magkabajuŋ-bajuŋ gid   si   paʔuʔu
      feeling_sad   IntP PersInd Turtle
      v   prt adp   n

TM.49a marukuʔ
        sad
        adj

TM.49b magsabi sija mag-ʔambahan
        saying   3S   reciting_ambahan
        v   pro   v

TM.49c lubad-lubad sa   bantud   karatuŋ sa   ʔilawud .
                   Loc   mountain   Loc
                   adp   n   adp

Turtle felt very melancholic; he was sad. He said by singing ambahan,
'_____.'

TM.50 kan ʔamuʔ   mata ga   nagkalwatan baŋaŋa   .
      CM   Monkey eye   like   a_type_of_a_shell
      prt n   n   adj   n

Monkey's eye is like a ____ fresh water snail.

TM.51 kan ʔamuʔ   ʔikug ga   ʔisda panuʔud .
      CM   Monkey tail   like fish   hook
      prt n   n   adj   n   v

Mokey's tail is like a fish hook.

TM.52 lubad-lubad sa   bantud   karatuŋ sa   ʔilawud .
                  Loc   mountain   Loc
                  adp   n   adp

TM.53 ʔaj dinmugsun wajdi si   kamajan   .
      oh   came_down also   PersInd Old Monkey
      prt v   adv   adp   n

Old Monkey then climbed down.

TM.54 nakadnug ʔati maʔaw marinu ʔaj kaj ʔambahan kan
  heard   there (not visible)   beautiful oh 3SPoss ambahan CM
  v   adv   prt adj prt pro n   prt
paʔuʔu .
Turtle
n

[That was because] he heard Turtle's beautiful ambahan.

TM.55 ʔati   ji .
  there (not visible) already
  adv   prt

There [he] was.

TM 1.56 balaji   kaŋkuʔ kabitaj wajdi pag ʔambahan ?
  in-law (close friend) 1SPoss how also lig ambahan
  n   pro adv adv prt n

"My friend, how does my ambahan go?"

TM.57 ʔaj balaji   kawu nu magkaʔibug wajdi ʔambahan
  oh in-law (close friend) 2S if desiring also ambahan
  prt n   pro conn v   adv n

TM.57a katidaʔaj kanmu ti buwatun .
  like_this 2SPoss the to_be_done
  adv   pro art v

"Well, friend, if you want also want to sing an ambahan, then this is what you should do.

TM.58 ʔindaʔaj ti sampulu ka buŋbuŋ parasan
  this   the ten   lig node rattan
  art   art adj   prt n   n

TM.58a ʔiharug   nimu sa kanmu buliʔ
  pierce (Cmd) 2S Loc 2SPoss butt
  v   pro adp pro n

TM.58b bag-ʔu katidaʔaj kanmu ʔambahan .
  and like_this 2SPoss ambahan
  conn adv   pro n

Here's ten rattan nodes, put these inside your butt and this is how your ambahan goes.

TM.59 katkat punanat kan ʔamuʔ punaʔ   tabuʔ   nahakwat .
                        CM   Monkey intestine consumed come_out
                        prt n   n   v   v

TM.60 ta   ʔimaw ŋani kaj   binwat   ni   kamajan
      (moving on) prt   EP   3SPoss did; make PersonInd Old Monkey
      prt   prt   pro   v   adp   n

TM.60a hinudut sa   kaj   buliʔ ti   parasan .
        pierced   Loc   3SPoss butt   the rattan
        v   adp   pro   n   art   n

That was, indeed, what Old Monkey did. He put the rattan inside his butt.

TM.61 napalasik   si   kamajan
      cause_to_jump PersInd Old Monkey
      v   adp   n

TM.61a magkun
        saying
        v

TM.61b kat .
        prt

Old Monkey jolted saying, "Kat..."

TM.62 ʔanuŋ hintaj waja ŋani ʔusa laŋ   ʔud nakapadnaʔ   kaj
      prt   what   yet   EP   one   only   not   able_to_drop (to_utter) 3SPoss
                adv   prt   prt   adj   prt   prt   v   pro
ʔambahan
ambahan
n

TM.62a si   kamajan   tigbak si   kamajan   natuhug laŋ   parasan
      PersInd Old Monkey dead   PersInd Old Monkey pierced   only rattan
      adp   n   v   adp   n   v   prt   n
kaj   buliʔ .
3SPoss butt
pro   n

Old Monkey didn't even get to continue on with the song anymore, Old Monkey died having his butt pierced by the rattan.

TM.63 hintaj waja nakabalus   ji   si   paʔuʔu sa kan kamajan   .
       what   yet   able_to_revenge already   PersInd   Turtle Loc CM Old Monkey
       adv   prt   v   prt   adp   n   adp prt n

Finally, Turtle was able to take revenge on Old Monkey.

TM.64 ʔinijaw   ji   ni   paʔuʔu si   kamajan
      butchered   already   PersonInd   Turtle PersInd   Old Monkey
      v   prt   adp   n   adp   n

TM.64a ʔisinukad   sa   kaldiru   .
        placed_inside Loc   cooking_pot
        v   adp   n

He butchered Old Monkey and put him in the cooking pot.

TM.65 ʔaj ʔiguʔ   dugaj   nakitan ni   balugbaʔu ʔinda si   paʔuʔu .
      oh exactly long_time   saw   PersonInd   *Balugbau* this PersInd   Turtle
      prt adv   adv   v   adp   n   art   adp   n

Later on, Balugbau saw Turtle.

TM.66 hintaj gid ʔinijaw   ji   ŋani ni   paʔuʔu si   kamajan
      what   IntP butchered   already   EP   PersonInd   Turtle PersInd   Old Monkey
      adv   prt v   prt   prt adp   n   adp   n
ʔati   ji   sa   basad kaldiru   kaj   tinamaʔ .
there (not visible)   already   Loc   inside cooking_pot   3SPoss   cook
adv   prt   adp   adv   n   pro   v

What else but Turtle did butcher Old Monkey and cooked him already inside the cooking pot.

TM.67 bag-ʔu kaj   ʔihinajin sa   kan balugbaʔu .
       and   3SPoss   served   Loc   CM *Balugbau*
       conn   pro   v   adp   prt n

Then, he served it to Balugbau.

TM.68 magkun si   balugbaʔu
       saying PersInd   *Balugbau*
       v   adp   n

152

TM.68a ʔaj ʔinda mana bilaŋ   kan ʔamaŋ kamaŋ haŋgan maŋa lulud .
      oh this prt seems_like CM father hand until PL foot
      prt art   adv   prt n   n   conn   prt   n

Balugbau said, "Oh, this looks like father's hands and feet."

TM 1.69 dapat ʔunman ʔaj magpansin   si   paʔuʔu sa   kan balugbaʔu
      but   not; no oh giving_attention_to PersInd Turtle Loc CM *Balugbau*
      adj   prt   prt v   adp   n   adp prt n
pagsabihun   .
what_is_being_said
n

However, Turtle did not pay attention to what Balugbau said.

TM.70 kinaʔun ji   ŋani ni   balugbaʔu .
     ate   already EP   PersonInd *Balugbau*
     v   prt   prt adp   n

Balugbau did eat it.

TM.71 pagka   dugaj   ʔasan ginan magkun si   paʔuʔu
     when; as_soon_as long_time there from   saying PersInd Turtle
     prt   adv   adv   adv   v   adp   n

TM.71a ʔati   ʔati   ʔati   .
     there (not visible) there (not visible) there (not visible)
     adv   adv   adv

Later on from there, Turtle said, "My, my, my."

TM.72 magsabi
     saying
     v

TM.72a kinaʔun ŋani kaj   ʔama .
     ate   EP   3SPoss father
     v   prt   pro   n

[He] was saying, "He's eating his father."

TM.73 ʔaj ʔindaʔaj kan ʔamaŋ ʔaj ŋani maʔaw pag maŋa lulud haŋgan kamaŋ
     oh this   CM father oh EP   lig PL   foot until   hand
     prt art   prt n   prt prt prt   prt prt n   conn   n

"This, indeed, is my father's feet and hands."

TM.74 kawu ?uŋud balaji   magdaja? ?aj
       2S   IntP   in-law (close friend) cheating   oh
       pro   prt   n   v   prt

TM.74a magkun .
        saying
        v

You really are cheating, friend!" [he] said.

TM.75 nakan   linagas ji   ŋani ni   balugba?u si   pa?u?u .
       therefore chase   already EP   PersonInd *Balugbau* PersInd Turtle
       conn   v   prt   prt adp   n   adp   n

Therefore, Balugbao chased Turtle.

TM.76 hintaj waja natakdan   ŋani si   pa?u?u .
       what   yet   was_caught EP   PersInd Turtle
       adv   prt   v   prt   adp   n

What else but Turtle was indeed caught.

TM.77 magkun si   balugba?u
       saying   PersInd *Balugbau*
       v   adp   n

TM.77a kawu kaŋ   sugbahun ji   sa   ?apuj .
       2S   1SPoss will_roast already Loc fire
       pro   pro   v   prt   adp n

Balugbau said, "I'll roast you in the fire."

TM.78 ?aj magkun si   pa?u?u
       oh saying PersInd Turtle
       prt v   adp   n

TM.78a ?aku nu   kanmu ?isugba   sa   ?apuj
        1S   if   2SPoss will_roast Loc fire
        pro   conn pro   v   adp n

TM.78b ka?ilaŋan kawanan nimu kaj   ?aliputuŋ ti   ?apuj .
        must   clear_up 2S   3SPoss firewood the fire
        adv   v   pro pro   n   art n

"Oh," Turtle said, "If you will roast me in the fire, you must clear out the firewood in the fire."

TM.79 ʔaku balaw magkatamaʔ
      1S   not   to_be_cooked
      pro   prt   v

TM.79a nu   ʔunman pagkawanun   ti   ʔaliputuŋ .
      if   not; no to_be_cleared_up the firewood
      conn prt   v   art n

I won't get cooked if the firewood isn't cleared up."

TM.80 ʔaj pagkawanan ŋani ni   balugbaʔu kaj ʔaliputuŋ .
      oh cleared_up EP PersonInd *Balugbau* the firewood
      prt v   prt adp   n   art n

Balugbau did clear the firewood up.

TM.81 pagka   ʔati   si   paʔuʔu sa basad ʔapuj
      when; as_soon_as there (not visible) PersInd Turtle Loc inside fire
      prt   adv   adp   n   adp adv n

TM.81b ʔiniputan   ni   paʔuʔu ti   ʔapuj .
      pooped_on PersonInd Turtle the fire
      v   adp   n   art n

When Turtle was already in the fire, Turtle pooped in fire.

TM.82 ʔanuŋ baj si   paʔuʔu ʔinda linmakaw ji   maʔan
      prt   prt PersInd Turtle this walked already again
                 adp   n   art v   prt   prt

TM.82a ʔatag ji   maʔan sa ʔun-ʔan
      go   already again Loc ahead
      v   prt   prt   adp n

TM.82b nakalpas ji   .
      escaped already
      v   prt

Now, Turtle walked away again, [he] went away and escaped.

TM.83 magkun si   balugbaʔu
      saying PersInd *Balugbau*
      v   adp   n

TM.83a kaŋ   diʔawan ʔataj tamaʔ ji   .
        1SPoss visit   here cooked already
        pro   v   adv v   prt

Balugbau said, "I'll go check it. [It] should be cooked already."

TM.84 kaʔun ji   ŋani si   balugbaʔu
      eat   already EP   PersInd *Balugbau*
      v   prt   prt adp   n

TM.84a hundaʔ maʔaw ʔiput ni   paʔuʔu .
        that   poop PersonInd Turtle
        art   prt   n   adp   n

Balugbau did eat it, he didn't know that it was actually Turtle's poop.

TM.85 magkun maʔan si   paʔuʔu
      saying again PersInd Turtle
      v   prt   adp   n

TM.85a ʔati   ʔati   ʔati   naŋaun kaŋ   ʔiput
        there (not visible) there (not visible) there (not visible) eating 1SPoss poop
        adv   adv   adv   v   pro   n
.

Turtle said again, "My, my, my... he's eating my poop!"

TM.86 ʔaj kawu maʔaw magkun
      oh 2S   saying
      prt pro   prt   v

TM.86a balaji   ʔuŋud magdajaʔ ʔaj gid sa   kaŋkuʔ .
        in-law (close friend) IntP   cheating oh IntP Loc 1SPoss
        n   prt   v   prt prt adp pro

"Oh, it's you, [Balugbau was] saying, "You really are tricking me, friend!

TM.87 ʔanti ŋani kawu katna magluku gid .
    prt EP 2S   true cheating IntP
         prt pro adj   v   prt

It's really true that you're tricking me!"

TM.88 linagas ji   maʔan si   paʔuʔu
    chase   already again PersInd Turtle
    v   prt   prt   adp   n

TM.88a natakdan   maʔan gid .
     was_caught again IntP
     v   prt   prt

Turtle was chased again and was caught.

TM.89 magkun si   balugbaʔu
    saying PersInd *Balugbau*
    v   adp   n

TM.89a ʔisukad   niku kawu sa   kaldiru
     will_place 1S   2S   Loc cooking_pot
     v   pro pro adp n

TM.89b gatuŋun kawu niku .
     will_boil 2S   1S
     v   pro pro

Balugbau said, "I'll put you inside the cooking pot and boil you!"

TM.90 ʔaj nu   ʔaku kanmu gatuŋun
    oh if   1S   2SPoss will_boil
    prt conn pro pro   v

TM.90a kaʔilaŋan buslutan   nimu kaj taklub
     must   to_put_a_whole 2S   the cover
     adv   v   pro art n

TM.90b ʔaku balaw magkatamaʔ
      1S   not   to_be_cooked
      pro prt   v

TM.90c magsabi si   paʔuʔu .
     saying PersInd Turtle
     v   adp   n

"Oh, if you would boil me, you must put a hole on the cover because I won't be cooked,"
Turtle was saying.

TM.91 binuslutan   ji   maʔan ni   balugbaʔu kaj   taklub kaldiru
     put_a_whole already again PersonInd *Balugbau* 3SPoss cover cooking_pot
     v   prt   prt   adp   n   pro   n   n

Balugbau did put a hole on the cooking pot's cover.

TM.92 si   paʔuʔu di baj ʔati   sa   basad kaldiru
     PersInd Turtle   prt prt there (not visible) Loc inside cooking_pot
     adp   n   adv   adp adv   n

TM.92a magpaŋalaka .
     making_noise
     v

Now, Turtle was inside the cooking pot making noise as he moved around.

TM.93 pagka   dugaj   dinmajik diman sija
     when; as_soon_as long_time climbed also 3S
     prt   adv   v   prt   pro

TM.93a linmuwaŋ maʔan sa   kaj   buslut .
     came_out again Loc 3SPoss whole
     v   prt   adp pro   n

Later on, he climbed up and went out through the hole.

TM.94 nakalpas ji   maʔan si   paʔuʔu
     escaped already again PersInd Turtle
     v   prt   prt   adp   n

TM.94a ʔati   ji   maʔan sa   luwas   .
     there (not visible) already again Loc outside
     adv   prt   prt   adp n

Turtle was able to escape again, he was outside again.

TM.95 magkun maʔan si   balugbaʔu
     saying again PersInd *Balugbau*
     v   prt   adp   n

TM.95a ?ati   tama? ji   gid ?aj duj .

there (not visible) cooked already IntP oh PP

adv   v   prt   prt prt prt

Balugbau said again, "It surely is cooked now."

TM.96 dina?awan ma?an bag-?u kina?un nija .

visit   again   and   ate   3S

v   prt   conn v   pro

He checked [it] again and then ate it.

TM.97 pagsarap

so_yummy

interj

TM.97a magkun ?ati   baj .

saying   there (not visible) prt

v   adv

"So yummy!" he said.

TM.98 magkun ma?an si   pa?u?u

saying   again   PersInd Turtle

v   prt   adp   n

TM.98a ?ati   ?ati   ?ati   naŋa?un kaŋ

there (not visible) there (not visible) there (not visible) eating   1SPoss

adv   adv   adv   v   pro

?ihi? haŋan kaŋ   ?iput .

urine until   1SPoss poop

n   conn   pro   n

Turtle said again, "My, my, my...he's eating my waste and urine!"

TM.99 kawu ?uŋud magkun balaji   duj .

2S   IntP   saying   in-law (close friend) PP

pro   prt   v   n   prt

"It's indeed you, friend!

TM.100 kawu luku-luku ma?aw

2S   crazy

pro   adj   prt

TM.100a kawu magdaja? gid
      2S   cheating IntP
     pro   v   prt

TM.100b kalwaj gid kawu .
      interj IntP 2S
           prt pro

You're such a fool! You're really tricking [me]. Just you wait!"

TM.101 linagas ji   ma?an ni   balugba?u si   pa?u?u .
    chase   already again PersonInd *Balugbau* PersInd Turtle
    v   prt   prt   adp   n   adp   n

Balugbau chased Turtle again.

TM.102 ?aj ?uman duj naka?abut   si   balugba?u
    oh   not   PP able_to_catch_up PersInd *Balugbau*
    prt prt   prt v   adp   n

TM.102a nalagiw si   pa?u?u ?ati   tag sa danum .
     ran   PersInd Turtle there (not visible) go Loc water
     v   adp   n   adv   v   adp n

Balugbau wasn't able to catch Turtle anymore. Turtle ran into the water.

TM.103 pagka   ?ati   sa danum
    when; as_soon_as there (not visible) Loc water
    prt   adv   adp n

TM.103a dinaran-?an ni   balugba?u baka maŋa kabaju maŋa karabaw
     brought   PersonInd *Balugbau* cow PL   horse PL   water_buffalo
     v   adp   n   n   prt n   prt n
?atag
go
v

TM.103b hampaj tunda ti   linaw mak-?at   gid kaj danum
     so_that that the pond will_dry_up IntP   water
     conn   art   art n   v   prt art n

TM.103c pasulpan   .
     will_dry_up
     v

160

There in the water, Balugbau brought cows, horses and water buffaloes to dry the water up, exhausting the water.

TM.104 pagka   diit   wadi kaj danum
        when; as_soon_as little only   water
        prt   adj   prt   art n

TM.104a diit   diit   wadi gid
         little little only IntP
         adj   adj   prt   prt

TM.104b nan-nguni ti   sawi   magkumun
         chirped   the Sawi bird saying
         v   art n   v

TM.104c kabutbuti kabutbuti kabutbuti .

When the water was already too little, really very little, the Sawi bird chirped, "Kabutbuti, kabutbuti, kabutbuti!"

TM.105 ʔanuŋ nagkarabutbut ti   ʔihiʔ karabaw   maŋa baka maŋa kabaju .
        prt   gushed_out   the urine water_buffalo PL   cow PL   horse
                   v   art n   n   prt   n   prt   n

Indeed, the urine of the water buffaloes, cows and horses went gushing out.

TM.106 ʔaj ʔuman nakab-ul   duj sa   kan paʔuʔu si   balugbaʔu .
        oh   not   able_to_get PP Loc CM Turtle PersInd *Balugbau*
        prt prt   v   prt adp prt n   adp   n

Balugbau was not able to catch Turtle anymore.

TM.107 ʔuman diman nak-ʔat   ti   danum
        not   also   dried_up the water
        prt   prt   v   art n

TM.107a bag-ʔu nakatata   waja ti   karabaw   sa   kaj   giriw ni
         and   stepped_on yet   the water_buffalo Loc 3SPoss   PersonInd
         conn   v   prt   art n   adp pro   adp
paʔuʔu .
Turtle
n

The water did not dry up, and the water buffalo stepped on Turtle's shell.

TM.108 hintaj gid nabka   kaj   lulud ti karabaw   .
       what IntP cracked 3SPoss foot the water_buffalo
       adv   prt v   pro   n   art n

What else but the waterbuffalo's feel were cracked.

Appendix C

DUNGHAWAN (THE STORY OF DUNGHAWAN)

D.1 maj   ʔusa waja ka tultulanun tuŋkul ŋani sa   kan duŋhawan .
    there_is one yet lig story   about EP   Loc CM Dunghawan
    prt   adj prt prt n   adp   prt adp prt n

There is one more story about Dunghawan.

D.2 ʔinda kunu   si   duŋhawan pag binataʔ   marinu   gid
    this   as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan lig young_man   beautiful IntP
    art   prt   adp   n   prt n   adj   prt

D.2a ʔag   masuluŋ diman kaj   ʔugaliʔ   sa   kaj   ʔatubaŋan nija maŋa
     and   happy   also 3SPoss behaviour   Loc 3SPoss   in_front 3S   PL
     conn adj   prt   pro   n   adp pro   adv   pro prt
ʔama .
father
n

This young man, Dunghawan, (was said to be) very handsome and had a very favorable behavior in the eyes of his parents.

D.3 dapat ʔaj ʔusa ka siraŋ mag-ʔisip kunu   si   duŋhawan
    but   one lig day   thinking as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
    conn   adj prt n   v   prt   adp   n

D.3a majad diman ʔaj ʔaku nu   magpasyar
     good also oh 1S   if   will_journey
     adj   prt   prt pro   conn v

D.3b hampaj majamuʔ diman wajdi kaŋ   magkaʔalaman tuŋkul sa   buʔu
     so_that many   also also 1SPoss   will_learn   about Loc whole
     conn   adj   prt   adv   pro   v   adp   adp adj
kalibutan .
world
n

However, one day, Dunghawan (was said) to think, "It would also be great if I could go somewhere else so that I will have more knowledge about the world."

D.4 nakan   ŋani si   duŋhawan kunu   maj   gajak ŋani
    therefore EP   PersInd Dunghawan as_it_is_said there_is plan EP
    conn   prt adp   n   prt   prt   n   prt

D.4a hampaj mamasjar   tabug   sa ʔun-ʔan
     so_that will_journey towards Loc ahead
     conn   v   preverb adp n

D.4b maj   lakaw kunu   sija .
     there_is walk as_it_is_said 3S
     prt   n   prt   pro

Thus, Dunghawan (was said to have) a plan of going somewhere, he (was said to) have a journey.

D.5 pagka   ʔati   ji   ŋani maglakaw sija sa   ʔun-ʔan
    when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already EP   walking 3S   Loc ahead
    prt   adv   prt   prt v   pro adp n

D.5a ʔusa-ʔusa ʔunman maj   ʔiba
     alone   not; no there_is   company
     adj   prt   prt   n

D.5b ʔaj maj   nasampakan   sija ʔusa ka lalaki .
     oh there_is was_able_to_meet 3S   one lig man
     prt prt   v   pro adj prt v

When he did start to go somewhere, just by himself, he was able to meet a guy.

D.6 magkun kunu   si   duŋhawan
    saying as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
    v   prt   adp   n

D.6a naʔan tabug   kawu .
     where towards 2S
     adv   preverb pro

Dunghawan (was said to) ask, "Where are you going?"

D.7 ʔa manaʔas   danum ʔaku .
    ah will_fetch_water water 1S
    prt v   n   pro

"Ah, I'll fetch water."

D.8 magkun kunu   si   duŋhawan
    saying as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
    v   prt   adp   n

D.8a si ʔunu kanmu ŋaran .
     who   2SPoss name
     adv   pro   n

Dunghawan (was said) to ask, "What's your name?"

D.9 ʔaku si   kapri   suruguʔun hariʔ .
    1S   PersInd black_man servant   king
    pro adp   n   n   n

"I'm Kapri, servant of the king."

D.10 magkun kunu   ti   kapri
     saying as_it_is_said the black_man
     v   prt   art n

D.10a kita   magtukub
      1PIncl wrestling
      pro   v

D.10b maglaban kita   .
      fighting   1PIncl
      v   pro

The kapri (was said to) respond, "Let's wrestle, let's fight.

D.11 nu   ʔaku ti   matalu
     if   1S   the will_be_defeated
     conn pro art v

D.11a ʔaku ʔaniti   .
      1S   skin (Cmd)
      pro   v

If I am the one who gets defeated, skin me.

D.12 nu   kawu ti   matalu
     if   2S   the will_be_defeated
     conn pro   art v

D.12a kawu kaŋ   ʔanitan   .
       2S   1SPoss will_skin
       pro   pro   v

If you're the one who will be defeated, I will skin you."

D.13 magkun kunu   si   duŋhawan
     saying   as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
     v   prt   adp   n

D.13a makuriʔ bilaŋ   pag kundisjun .
      hard   seems_like lig   condition
      adj   adv   prt   n

Dunghawan (was said to) answer, "That seems to be a hard condition."

D.14 magkun kunu   si   kapri
     saying   as_it_is_said PersInd black_man
     v   prt   adp   n

D.14a ʔuna kita   ʔinda nagsampak
       even 1PIncl this   met
       adv pro   art   v

D.14b kaʔinda laŋ   kita   nagsampak .
       now   only 1PIncl met
       adv   prt   pro   v

Kapri (was said to) say, "Even so, since we've already met and it's only now that we'll meet."

D.15 ʔaj ʔuna
    oh even
    prt adv

D.15a magkun si   duŋhawan
    saying   PersInd Dunghawan
    v   adp   n

D.15b mahimu diman lumaban diman ʔaku .
    can   also   will_fight also   1S
    v   prt   v   prt   pro

"Oh well," Dunghawan said, "[I] can, I could actually fight."

D.16 nakan   ŋani nag-ʔumpisa kunu   sida magturukuban .
    therefore EP   started   as_it_is_said 3P   wrestling
    conn   prt v   prt   pro v

Therefore, (it was said) they indeed started wrestling

D.17 magpaŋanaman ti ʔinit haŋgan di   magkaraw-ʔan siraŋ ʔunman maj
    around seven AM   until   prt about midday   not; no   there_is
    adv   conn   adv   prt   prt
kata-ʔu talu   tag sa kan duŋhawan tag sa kan kapri   .
a_person defeated go Loc CM Dunghawan   go Loc CM black_man
n   v   v adp prt n   v adp prt n

From around 7 AM until midday, no person was defeated, not Dungwahan nor Kapri (Lit: no person is defeated, towards Dunghawan, towards Kapri).

D.18 kan kapri   maʔaw kis-ʔab   dahil   sija ʔatag ŋani sa danum
    CM black_man   awhile_ago because 3S go   EP   Loc water
    prt n   prt   adv   conn   pro v   prt adp n

D.18a ʔaduk kaj   dara pasuk
    many 3SPoss load bamboo_water_container
    adj   pro   n   n

D.18b walu ka pasuk   kaj   dara
    eight lig bamboo_water_container 3SPoss load
    adj   prt n   pro   n

167

D.18c mana?as   sija danum sinugu   hari? .
    will_fetch_water 3S   water   was_commanded king
    v   pro n   v   n

About Kapri a while ago (by the way), because he went to the spring (water), he was carrying a lot of bamboo water container. He was bringing eight bamboo water container. He was fetching water, [as he was] commanded by the king.

D.19 ta   tajŋuna pagka   palis ji ti ?init mag-?isip kunu
    (moving on) now   when; as_soon_as two o'clock   thinking   as_it_is_said
    prt   adv   prt   n   v   prt
si   duŋhawan
PersInd Dunghawan
adp   n

D.19a bilaŋ   kalasi taluhun   di sija .
    seems_like kind   will_be_defeated prt 3S
    adv   adv   v   pro

Now, at around two o'clock, Dunghawan (was said to be) thinking that he seems to be defeated.

D.20 dapat ?aj ?una mag-?isip kunu   si   duŋhawan
    but   even thinking   as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
    conn   adv v   prt   adp   n

D.20a ?aku ?inda dajuhan pag tawu   ?ataj
    1S   this   stranger lig person here
    pro   art   n   prt n   adv

D.20b ?aku daju gid   patalu   .
    1S   not   IntP to_be_defeated
    pro   prt prt   v

However, even so, Dunghawan (was said to) think, "I am a stranger here, I should not let myself be defeated."

D.21 sa   kadugajan   hinapu   di ti kapri   .
    Loc in_the_long_run become_tired prt the black_man
    adp adv   v   art n

In the long run, the Kapri became tired already.

D.22 talu   ni   duŋhawan   ti   kapri   .
     defeated PersonInd Dunghawan the black_man
     v   adp   n   art n

Dunghawan defeated Kapri.

D.23 ʔunman maj   binuwat ʔiba   si   duŋhawan
     not; no there_is did; make company PersInd Dunghawan
     prt   prt   v   n   adp   n

D.23a nu   ʔunman ʔinanitan ti   kapri   .
      if   not; no skinned   the black_man
      conn prt   v   art n

Dunghawan did nothing else but skinned the Kapri.

D.24 kaj   ʔanit kapri   ʔimaw maʔan kaj   ʔisinuluŋ ni
     3SPoss skin   black_man prt   again 3SPoss wore   PersonInd
     pro   n   n   prt   pro   v   adp
duŋhawan   .
Dunghawan
n

The Kapri's skin is what Dunghawan wore.

D.25 nu   kabitaj kis-ʔab   ti   kapri   kaj   kalasi si   duŋhawan
     if   how   awhile_ago the black_man   3SPoss kind   PersInd Dunghawan
     conn adv   adv   art n   pro   adv   adp   n
katida diman pag lalaki .
like   also   lig   man
adj   prt   prt v

How the Kapri looked like awhile ago, Dunghawan also looked the same way.

D.26 ti   marinu pag lalaki si   duŋhawan bilaŋ   diman si
     the beautiful lig   man PersInd Dunghawan seems_like also   PersInd
     art adj   prt v   adp   n   adv   prt   adp
kapri   .
black_man
n

The very handsome man Dunghawan [has now become] like Kapri.

D.27 ti   kapri   kabaj ʔuriŋ − ʔuriŋun
     the black_man prt   somewhat_black
     art n   adj

D.27a suruguʔun hariʔ .
       servant   king
        n   n

The Kapri (as you might have known) has a dark complexion, a servant of the king.

D.28 nakan   ŋani ʔinda si   duŋhawan   nagdara maʔan kaj   maŋa
     therefore EP   this PersInd Dunghawan brought again 3SPoss PL
     conn   prt art   adp   n   v   prt   pro   prt
pasuk   walu ka bilug ni   kapri   .
bamboo_water_container eight lig piece PersonInd black_man
n   adj prt clf adp   n

Therefore, it is now (indeed) Dunghawan who brought Kapri's eight bamboo water container.

D.29 kaj   ŋaran kaʔinda balaw ji   si   duŋhawan si   kapri
     3SPoss name now   not   already PersInd Dunghawan PersInd black_man
     pro   n   adv   prt   prt   adp   n   adp   n
ji
already
prt

D.29a hampaj balaw makilala   hariʔ
      so_that not   to_be_recognized king
      conn   prt v   n

D.29b kuntaj tinalu   ni   duŋhawan si   kapri   .
      that   was_defeated PersonInd Dunghawan PersInd black_man
      conn   v   adp   n   adp   n

His name now is not Dunghawan anymore (but) is already Kapri, so that the king won't recognize that Dunghawan defeated Kapri.

D.30 pagka   ʔati   magras-ug sa balaj hariʔ
     when; as_soon_as there (not visible) arriving   Loc house king
     prt   adv   v   adp n   n

D.30a magkun si   duŋhawan
      saying   PersInd Dunghawan
      v   adp   n

D.30b si   kapri   ji   ŋani
      PersInd black_man already EP
      adp   n   prt   prt

D.30c naʔan dap maʔaw ti   burutaŋan   ʔaw ti   sad-ʔaŋan
     where prt   the place_to_put   the place_to_hang
     adv   prt   art n   prt art n
pasuk   ?
bamboo_water_container
n

There, arriving at the king's house, Dunghawan said, (it is indeed Kapri already), "Where can I put, er, hang the water containers, by the way?"

D.31 magkun kunu   ti   hariʔ
     saying   as_it_is_said the king
     v   prt   art n

D.31a paʔiŋanaŋana   laŋ
      asking (in_an_unknowing manner) only
      v   prt

D.31b kawu taga-sitaj   diman
     2S   from_here also
     pro   adj   prt

D.31c hajga kawu magpaʔiŋana .
     why   2S   asking
     adv   pro   v

The king (was said to) say, "You are asking (when) you're also from here. Why are you asking?"

D.32 hinampak kunu   .
    was_hit   as_it_is_said
    v   prt

[He] was hit (it was said).

D.33 sinad-ʔaŋ ni   kapri   ti   pasuk   sa   kaj
    hanged   PersonInd black_man the bamboo_water_container Loc 3SPoss
    v   adp   n   art n   adp pro
sarad-ʔaŋan   .
place_to_hang
n

Kapri hanged the bamboo water container on the place where it should be hanged.

D.34 pagka   kunu   dugaj   magkun kunu   ti   hariʔ
    when; as_soon_as as_it_is_said long_time saying as_it_is_said the king
    prt   prt   adv   v   prt   art n

D.34a kapri   panligaw   kaju   .
    black_man look_for (Cmd) firewood
    n   v   n

After sometime (it was said), the king (was said to) say, "Kapri, you look for firewood."

D.35 pagka   kunu   magligaw   maʔan kaju   si   kapri
    when; as_soon_as as_it_is_said looking_for   again firewood PersInd black_man
    prt   prt   v   prt   n   adp   n

D.35a dapat ʔaj tida si   duŋhawan   diman ŋani balaw si   kapri
    but   that PersInd Dunghawan also EP   not   PersInd   black_man
    conn   art adp   n   prt   prt prt   adp   n

D.35b kaj   laŋ suluŋ sa   kaj   bilug bilaŋ   diman si   kapri   .
    3SPoss only cloth Loc 3SPoss   body seems_like   also PersInd   black_man
    pro   prt n   adp pro   n   adv   prt   adp   n

When Kapri was (said to be) looking for firewood, however, that was actually Dunghawan and not Kapri. The cloth that he was wearing is just like Kapri's.

D.36 pagka ʔati ŋani magligaw kaju
when; as_soon_as there (not visible) EP looking_for firewood
prt adv prt v n

D.36a ʔaduk ji kaj linigaw kaju ni kapri .
many already 3SPoss what_is_looked_for firewood PersonInd black_man
adj prt pro adj n adp n

When he was indeed there looking for firewood, Kapri found many firewood already.

D.37 pagka nuli maʔan sa balaj
when; as_soon_as went_home again Loc house
prt v prt adp n

D.37a magkun maʔan
saying again
v prt

D.37b hariʔ naʔan dap maʔaw kanta ligpitan kaju .
king where prt 1PInc place_to_keep firewood
n adv prt pro n n

When he was back at the house again, [he] said again, "King, where is the place to put the firewood into?"

D.38 papaʔiŋanaŋana laŋ
asking (in_an_unknowing_manner) only
v prt

D.39a nu naʔan ti ligpitan kaju
if where the place_to_keep firewood
conn adv art n n

D.38b kawu kabaj taga-sitaj diman .
2S prt from_here also
pro adj prt

You are asking where the firewood should be placed, are you not also from here?!

D.39 hinampak ji maʔan .
was_hit already again
v prt prt

[He] was hit again.

D.40 ?ibintaŋ   ni   duŋhawan   ti   kaju   ?ati   sa   kaj
     was_put   PersonInd   Dunghawan   the   firewood   there (not visible)   Loc   3SPoss
     v   adp   n   art   n   adv   adp   pro

ligpitan   .
place_to_keep
n

Dunghawan put the firewood where it should be placed.

D.41 pagka   kunu   dugaj   masuluŋ   di   si   kapri
     when; as_soon_as   as_it_is_said   long_time   happy   prt   PersInd   black_man
     prt   prt   adv   adj   adp   n

?ati   sa   balaj   hari? .
there (not visible)   Loc   house   king
adv   adp   n   n

In the long run, (it was said) Kapri was already happy at the king's house.

D.42 ?inda   ma?aw   pag   hari?   maj   sijam   ka   ?anak   daraga   maŋa   marinu
     this   lig   king   there_is   nine   lig   child   young lady   PL   beautiful
     art   prt   prt   n   prt   adj   prt   n   n   prt   adj

gid   .
IntP
prt

This king (by the way) has nine daughters. (They) are very beautiful.

D.43 dapat ?aj   ?inda   kunu   si   duŋhawan   pagka   sa   ?usa
     but   this   as_it_is_said   PersInd   Dunghawan   when; as_soon_as   Loc   one
     conn   art   prt   adp   n   prt   adp   adj

ka   siraŋ   mag-?isip   kunu   si   duŋhawan
lig   day   thinking   as_it_is_said   PersInd   Dunghawan
prt   n   v   prt   adp   n

D.43a dugaj   ji   ?aku   ?inda   sa   balaj   hari?
      long_time   already   1S   this   Loc   house   king
      adv   prt   pro   art   adp   n   n

D.43b ?unman   ?aku   maj   para?an
      not; no   1S   there_is   way
      prt   pro   prt   n

174

D.43c para   ʔaku makalajas   .
    so_that 1S   able_to_escape
    conn   pro v

However, (it was said that) Dunghawan, one day, was (said to be) thinking, "I've been here in the king's house for a long time already. I don't have a way to escape.

D.44 mag-ʔisip kunu   si   duŋhawan
    thinking   as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
    v   prt   adp   n

D.44a ʔanti mamaʔalam   ʔaku sa   hariʔ .
    prt   will_ask_permission 1S   Loc king
         v   pro   adp n

Dunghawan was (said to be) thinking, "I will ask permission from the king."

D.45 ʔaku ʔatabug dap sa   sapaʔ marigus   .
    1S   go   prt Loc river will_take_a_bath
    pro v   adp n   v

I will go to the river (for awhile), [I] will take a bath.

D.46 pagka   ʔatag ŋani
    when; as_soon_as go   EP
    prt   v   prt

D.46a marigus   ji   kunu   si   duŋhawan
    will_take_a_bath already as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
    v   prt   prt   adp   n

D.46b kaj   rutaj kaj   pinagkasuluŋ lukub kapri   kaj   ʔinuba   .
    3SPoss cloth 3SPoss wearing   skin black_man 3SPoss undressed
    pro   n   pro   v   n   n   pro   v

When [he] went there, Dunghawan was (said to be) already taking a bath, the cloth that he was wearing, Kapri's skin, he removed.

D.47 narigus   sija .
    took_a_bath 3S
    v   pro

He took a bath.

D.48 sijimpri   kaj   bilug ni   duŋhawan kaj   pagkamarinu
     of_course   3SPoss   body   PersonInd   Dunghawan 3SPoss   very_beautiful
     prt   pro   n   adp   n   pro   adj

mag-ʔakitan
is_being_seen
v

D.48a dahil   balaw mabalukasan sa   kanja ti   lukub kapri
      because   not   covering   Loc   3S   the skin   black_man
      conn   prt   v   adp   pro   art n   n

Of course, Dunghawan's body -- it's beauty, can now be seen because Kapri's skin wasn't wrapped around him anymore.

D.49 nu   hintaj pag naʔalaman   ʔinda pag daraga   hariʔ kaj   kap-ʔusan
     if   what   lig being_known   this   lig young lady   king   3SPoss   youngest
     conn   adv   prt v   art   prt n   n   pro   adj

kunu   mag-ʔisip
as_it_is_said   thinking
prt   v

D.49a naʔantag   ŋuna ʔati   si   kapri   .
      where_go   prt   there (not visible)   PersInd   black_man
      v   adv   adp   n

It turned out that the youngest daughter of the king was thinking, "Where would Kapri be going?"

D.50 ʔinusig   kunu   ʔati   sa   sapaʔ .
     was_followed   as_it_is_said   there (not visible)   Loc   river
     v   prt   adv   adp   n

[She] followed him to the river.

D1.51 pagka   ʔati
      when; as_soon_as   there (not visible)
      prt   adv

D.51a magbantaj   kunu   ʔinda kaj   ʔanak hariʔ
      watching   as_it_is_said   this   3SPoss   child king
      v   prt   art   pro   n   n

D.51b ʔinda maj   lambuŋ kapri   .
      this   there_is   cloth   black_man
      art   prt   n   n

When [she] got there, the king's daughter was watching, "There's a cloth of a kapri here.

D.52 kan kapri   lambuŋ ʔinda di .
     CM   black_man   cloth   this   prt
     prt n   n   art

This indeed is Kapri's cloth.

D.53 ʔaj tid-ʔaj sa   lawud maj   magparigus   .
     oh   there   Loc   below there_is   taking_a_bath
     prt adv   adp   n   prt   v

Oh, there below, somebody is taking a bath.

D.54 ʔagud ʔagud ʔagud
     interj interj interj

D.54a magbantaj kunu   ti   daraga
      watching   as_it_is_said the   young lady
      v   prt   art   n

D.54b pagrinu   maʔaw pag kan-ʔakan
      very_handsome   lig man
      adj   prt prt n

D.54c balaw ʔaj ʔuriŋ — ʔuriŋun
      not   oh   somewhat_black
      prt   prt adj

D.54d balaw ʔaj basta-basta
      not   oh   ordinary
      prt   prt adj

My, my, my... the king's daughter was (said to be) watching. "What an actually handsome young man, not dark skinned at all -- not ordinary.

D.55 piru ʔindaʔaj nu   kaj   mag-ʔuli sa   balaj baj
     but   this   if   3SPoss   staying   Loc   house prt
     conn art   conn pro   v   adp   n

D.55a ʔinda kaj   rutaj ʔuriŋ — ʔuriŋun .
      this   3SPoss   cloth somewhat_black
      art   pro   n   adj

But when [he's] at home, this black cloth is what he is wearing.

D.56 tunda maʔaw balaw ʔaj basta pag binataʔ pagkarinu .
     that   not   oh ordinary lig young_man very_handsome
     art   prt   prt prt adj   prt n   adj

But the truth is that this man's is not actually ordinary. [He is] very handsome!"

D.57 magkaʔibug ti daraga hariʔ .
     desiring   the young lady king
     v   art n   n

The king's daughter was falling in love.

D.58 nakan ŋani pagka dugaj balaw ʔaj nantandug ti
     therefore EP   when; as_soon_as long_time not   oh moved   the
     conn   prt prt   adv   prt   prt v   art
daraga hariʔ
young lady king
n   n

D.58a balaw nagpakiʔalam .
      not   interfered
      prt   v

Therefore, in the long run, the daughter of the king didn't move. [She] did not touch [Kapri's clothes].

D.59 nuli ji maʔan sa balaj .
     went_home already again Loc house
     v   prt   prt   adp n

[She] went home again.

D.60 pagka ʔati ji maʔan sa balaj
     when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already again Loc house
     prt   adv   prt   prt   adp n

D.60a ʔalam ji si duŋhawan
      know already PersInd Dunghawan
      v   prt   adp   n

D.60b nu   naʔan pag-ʔipaʔuliʔ ti   maŋa pasuk
      if   where to_be_placed the PL   bamboo_water_container
      conn adv   v   art prt   n

ʔati   sa   kaj   sad-ʔangan   .
there (not visible) Loc 3SPoss a_place_to_put
adv   adp pro

Back again in the house, Dunghawan already knew where to put the bamboo water containers, there on its hanging place.

D.61 kan duŋhawan kunu   kaj   ʔuliʔan   ʔati   di ʔaj
     CM Dunghawan as_it_is_said 3SPoss place_to_stay there (not visible) prt oh
     prt n   prt   pro   n   adv   prt

sa   lawud dapug
Loc below cooking_area
adp n   n

D.61a maj   balukas kapri   ŋani ʔuriŋ − ʔuriŋun .
      there_is wrap   black_man EP   somewhat_black
      prt   n   n   prt   adj

Dunghawan's space is (said to be) under the cooking area, [since he] has Kapri's cloth, [which is] indeed black.

D.62 sija balaw maʔamutan .
    3S   not   hang_out
    pro prt   v

He doesn't go near [the king's family].

D.63 dapat ʔaj ʔindaʔaj kunu   pag daraga   hariʔ magpakarani sa   kan
    but   this   as_it_is_said lig young lady king coming_close Loc CM
    conn   art   prt   prt n   n   v   adp prt

duŋhawan
Dunghawan
n

D.63a laŋmadi   maʔuring-maʔuring si   duŋhawan ʔati   sa
    even though dark_colored   PersInd Dunghawan there (not visible) Loc
    conn   adj   adp n   adv   adp

lawud dapug   .
below cooking_area
n   n

However, the king's daughter (it was said) was staying close with Dunghawan, even though Dunghawan was very black there under the cooking area.

D.64 magkun   kunu   kaj   maŋa patar-ʔari haŋgan kaj   ʔama ti hariʔ
     saying   as_it_is_said 3SPoss PL   siblings   until   3SPoss father the king
     v   prt   pro   prt n   conn pro   n   art n

D.64a hintaj tunda kawu .
      what   that   2S
      adv   art   pro

Her sisters and father, the king, told her, "Why are you there?

D.65 hajga kawu magpakarani sa   kan kapri
     why   2S   coming_close Loc CM black_man
     adv   pro   v   adp prt n

D.65a tunda kanta suruguʔun ʔuriŋ — ʔuriŋun .
      that   1PInc servant   somewhat_black
      art   pro   n   adj

Why are you coming close to Kapri, that's our servant and [he] is very dark?!

D.66 maliwan   laŋ kawu kaj   ʔuriŋ .
     will_be_infected only 2S   3SPoss dirt
     v   prt pro   pro   n

You will just be stained by his color!"

D.67 ʔunman maj   pag-ʔiŋajun   kunu   ti   daraga   .
     not; no   there_is said_something as_it_is_said the young lady
     prt   prt   v   prt   art n

The youngest daughter (was said to) have not said anything.

D.68 pagka   kunu   dugaj   magpaʔalam   maʔan si
     when; as_soon_as as_it_is_said long_time asking_permission again   PersInd
     prt   prt   adv   v   prt   adp
duŋhawan   .
Dunghawan
n

Later on, Dunghawan was (said to be) asking permission once again.

D.69 pat-aj kaj mag-ʔiŋaran hariʔ balaw si duŋhawan kaj ŋaran
but 3SPoss naming king not PersInd Dunghawan 3SPoss name
conn pro v n prt adp n pro n

si kapri di ŋani
PersInd black_man prt EP
adp n prt

D.69a dahil kaj balukas baj kapri .
because 3SPoss wrap prt black_man
conn pro n n

However, the king was not calling [him] Dunghawan but Kapri, because his cloth is Kapri's.

D.70 pagka magpaʔalam maʔan
when; as_soon_as asking_permission again
prt v prt

D.70a tag ji maʔan sa danum .
go already again Loc water
v prt prt adp n

After asking permission again, he went again to the river.

D.71 pagka ʔati maʔan
when; as_soon_as there (not visible) again
prt adv prt

D.71a narigus .
took_a_bath
v

When [he got] there again [he] took a bath

D.72 daju gid makaʔagwanta ʔati ti daraga hariʔ
cannot IntP able_to_bear there (not visible) the young lady king
prt prt v adv art n n

D.72a nu ʔunman ʔusigun gid ʔati sa danum .
if not; no will_follow IntP there (not visible) Loc water
conn prt v prt adv adp n

The youngest daughter of the king could really not resist of not following [Dunghawan] in the river.

181

D.73 pagka   ?ati   sa   danum
       when; as_soon_as   there (not visible)   Loc   water
       prt   adv   adp   n

D.73a nakitan ma?an ?uduj katna marinu   pag kan-?akan maghiliŋ ti   daraga
       seen   again   prt   true   beautiful lig   man   watching the   young lady
       v   prt   adj   adj   prt   n   v   art   n
.

When [she got] there in the river, she did see the truly handsome young man again. The young lady was watching [him].

D.74 magka?ibug ji   gid ti   daraga   sa   tida pag kan-?akan sa   kan
       desiring   already IntP the   young lady Loc   that   lig   man   Loc   CM
       v   prt   prt   art   n   adp   art   prt   n   adp   prt
duŋhawan   ŋani .
Dunghawan   EP
n   prt

The girl was really falling in love with the young man. Indeed, to Dunghawan.

D.75 nu   hintaj pag na?alaman   kaj   balukas kapri   matuŋbawan sa
       if   what   lig   being_known   3SPoss   wrap   black_man   laying_on   Loc
       conn   adv   prt   v   pro   n   n   v   adp
babaw batu
top   rock
n   n

D.75a ?araju? di   sa   kan duŋhawan
       far   prt Loc   CM Dunghawan
       adj   adp prt   n

D.75b ?ati   di baj sa   lawud pag magparigus   si   duŋhawan
       there (not visible) prt prt Loc   below lig   taking_a_bath   PersInd Dunghawan
       adv   adp   n   prt   v   adp   n

D.75c balaw sa   kaj   ?arani balukas kapri   .
       not   Loc 3SPoss near   wrap   black_man
       prt   adp pro   adj   n   n

It happened that Kapri's clothes was at the top of the rock far from Dunghawan, (since Dunghawan was taking a bath down at the river), Kapri's cloth was far from him.

D.76 kinuwit ŋani kunu daraga hari? .
reached_over_using_a_stick EP as_it_is_said young lady king
v prt prt n n

The girl (was said to) indeed reached out for it with a stick.

D.77 pagka kinuwit
when; as_soon_as reached_over_using_a_stick
prt v

D.77a ʔunman maj naʔalaman nu naʔan pag nidnaʔ .
not; no there_is being_known if where lig drop
prt prt v conn adv prt v

When she reached for [it], nobody knew anymore where [it] fell.

D.78 ti daraga nuli ji maʔan .
the young lady went_home already again
art n v prt prt

The girl went home again.

D.79 tajŋuna pagka ʔudji duj maj balukas kapri si
now when; as_soon_as not_already PP there_is wrap black_man PersInd
adv prt prt prt prt n n adp
duŋhawan
Dunghawan
n

D.79a mag-ʔisip si duŋhawan
thinking PersInd Dunghawan
v adp n

D.79b kabitaj ʔinda ʔaku ʔatag muliʔ sa balaj
how this 1S go will_go_home Loc house
adv art pro v v adp n

D.79c dahil ʔaku ʔudji maj balukas kapri .
because 1S not_already there_is wrap black_man
conn pro prt prt n n

*Now, when Dunghawan didn't have Kapri's cloth anymore, Dunghawan was thinking,
"How will I go home now since I don't have Kapri's cloth anymore.*

D.80 nu   lumajas   wajdi ?aku
     if   will_escape also   1S
     conn v   adv   pro

D.80a ?aku habulun   hari?
      1S   will_be_chased king
      pro   v   n

D.80b ?aku matjun   .
      1S   will_be_killed
      pro   v

If I'll ran away, the king will chase after me [and] I will be killed."

D.81 ?unman gid
     not; no   IntP
     prt   prt

D.81a ?ati   ji   laŋ gid sa balaj mag-?uli ji   ma?an
      there (not visible) already only IntP Loc house staying   already again
      adv   prt   prt prt adp n   v   prt   prt
si   duŋhawan
PersInd Dunghawan
adp   n

There was really no [other way], Dunghawan just went back home to the [king's] house again.

D.82 pagka   ?ati   ji
     when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already
     prt   adv   prt

D.82a magpataŋad di waja si   duŋhawan sa sugkadan
     approaching prt yet PersInd Dunghawan Loc front_yard
     v   prt adp n   adp n

D.82b magkun si   hari?
     saying PersInd king
     v   adp   n

D.82c si ?unu kawu pag lalaki .
     who   2S   lig man
     adv   pro   prt v

When [he got] there, Dunghawan was just approaching at the front yard [when] the king said, "Who are you?"

D.83 magkun   kunu   si   duŋhawan
     saying   as_it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
     v   prt   adp   n

D.83a ʔaku ji   ŋani kabaj si   kapri   .
      1S   already EP   prt   PersInd black_man
      pro   prt   prt   adp   n

Dunghawan (was said to) answer, "I'm (you must have known) actually Kapri."

D.84 kaŋ   balukas ʔudji   lagan
     1SPoss   wrap   not_already found
     pro   n   prt   v

D.84a nakan   ʔaku ʔinda ʔudji   maj   balukas
      therefore 1S   this not_already there_is wrap
      conn   pro art   prt   prt   n

D.84b nuli   ʔatajtabug sa   kanju balaj .
      went_home   here_go   Loc 2S   house
      v   v   adp pro   n

"I couldn't find my clothes anymore that's why I'm here back in your house without any clothes."

D.85 magkun   kunu   ti   hariʔ
     saying   as_it_is_said the king
     v   prt   art n

D.85a ʔaj ʔaku laŋmadi   hariʔ
      oh 1S   even though   king
      prt pro conn   n

D.85b ʔataj maʔaw maj   pirinsipi diman sa   kaŋ   balaj .
      here   there_is prince   also Loc 1SPoss   house
      adv   prt   prt   n   prt   adp pro   n

The king (was said to) say, "Oh, even though I'm a king, there's actually also a prince here in my house!

D.86

nakan	nu	mahimu	ʔinda	kaŋ	ʔanak	daraga	magiŋ	ʔasawa	nimu
therefore	if	can	this	1SPoss	child	young lady	become	wife	2S
conn	conn	v	art	pro	n	n	v	n	pro

Therefore, if possible, take this daughter of mine as your wife.

D.87

ʔimaw	ti	rajna	kawu	maʔan	ti	hariʔ	.
prt	the	queen	2S	again	the	king	
	art	n	pro	prt	art	n	

She will be the queen and you will be the king."

D.88

kinmagat	laŋ	kunu	ti	hariʔ	sa	kaj	ʔitaŋgigis
bit	only	as_it_is_said	the	king	Loc	3SPoss	pinky
v	prt	prt	art	n	adp	pro	v

D.88a

namataj	ti	hariʔ	.
died	the	king	
v	art	n	

The king (was said to) just bit his little finger, and the king died.

D.89

nakan	tajŋuna	ti	hariʔ	si	duŋhawan	ji	kaj	ŋaran	.
therefore	now	the	king	PersInd	Dunghawan	already	3SPoss	name	
conn	adv	art	n	adp	n		prt	pro	n

Therefore, now, the king's name is already Dunghawan.

D.90

ʔimaw	di	kaŋ	tultulanun	.
prt	prt	1SPoss	story	
		pro	n	

This is my story.

Appendix D

SI PALYUS AG SI AMU (THE STORY OF PALYUS AND MONKEY)

PM.1

ʔinda	kaŋ	tultulanun	tuŋkul	ŋani	sa	kanda	ni	paljus	ni
this	1SPoss	story	about	EP	Loc	3PExc	PersonInd	Palyus	PersonInd
art	pro	n	adp	prt	adp	pro	adp	n	adp

ʔamuʔ .
Monkey
n

This is my story about Palyus and Monkey.

PM.2

sa	ʔati	katpuŋ	pag	ʔudas	si	paljus	sa	balaj
Loc	there (not visible)	prt	lig	time	PersInd	Palyus	Loc	house
adp	adv		prt	n	adp	n	adp	n

magpamataw
watching_over
v

PM.2a

ʔunman	sijun	kaj	ʔama	haŋgan	kaj	ʔinaʔ	.
not; no	there	3SPoss	father	until	3SPoss	mother	
prt	adv	pro	n	conn	pro	n	

Long ago, Palyus was watching over their house; his parents weren't there.

PM.3

kaj	tarabahu	ni	paljus	sija	magpadujan-dujan	sa
3SPoss	work	PersonInd	Palyus	3S	swinging_on_a_hammock	Loc
pro	n	adp	n	pro	v	adp

sugkadan .
front_yard
n

What he was doing was swinging on the hammock in their front yard.

PM.4 pagka   ?abwat ji   ti   ?init magduŋug si   paljus maj
      when; as_soon_as tall   already the sun   hearing   PersInd Palyus there_is
      prt   adj   prt   art n   v   adp   n   prt
magragatik   .
clicking_sound
v

When the sun was already up, Palyus was hearing a clicking sound.

PM.5 pagka   maj   magragatik
      when; as_soon_as there_is clicking_sound
      prt   prt   v

PM.5a binantajan ni   paljus
       looked_at   PersonInd Palyus
       v   adp   n

PM.5b ?aj si   ?amu?   ma?aw .
      oh PersInd Monkey
      prt adp   n   prt

When the clicking sound [was heard again], he looked at it and, oh, it was actually Monkey.

PM.6 pagka   sijun si   ?amu?
      when; as_soon_as there PersInd Monkey
      prt   adv   adp   n

PM.6a balaji   magkun si   ?amu?
       in-law (close friend) saying   PersInd Monkey
       n   v   adp   n

PM.6b marinu   gid kanmu pag tarabahu tunda?aj .
       beautiful IntP 2SPoss lig work   that
       adj   prt pro   prt n   art

When Monkey got there, "Friend", Monkey said, "That work (refering to the hammock) of yours is really very beautiful."

PM.7 majad ?aj
      good   oh
      adj   prt

PM.7a magkun si   paljus .
     saying   PersInd Palyus
     v   adp   n

"Good indeed," Palyus said.

PM.8 ʔinda ŋani kaŋ   ʔama   ʔag   ʔinaʔ   patajak sa   kangkuʔ .
     this   EP   1SPoss father and   mother left   Loc 1S
     art   prt   pro   n   conn n   v   adp pro

"This is indeed what my parents have left me."

PM.9 magkun si   ʔamuʔ
     saying   PersInd Monkey
     v   adp   n

PM.9a ʔaku ŋataj pujdi wajdi makapadujan
      1S   also   can   also   will_be_able_to_swing
      pro   adv   v   adv   v

PM.9b marinu   tunda kanmu   pag dujan   ʔaj .
      beautiful that   2SPoss lig hammock   oh
      adj   art   pro   prt n   prt

Monkey said, "Can I also swing on the hammock? That hammock of yours is really beautiful."

PM.10 magkun si   paljus
      saying   PersInd Palyus
      v   adp   n

PM.10a pujdi diman ʔaj kawu makapadujan   .
       can   also   oh   2S   will_be_able_to_swing
       v   prt   prt pro   v

Palyus said, "Of course you also can swing on the hammock."

PM.11 dapat ʔaj walu ka   buŋbuŋ parasan sa   buliʔ walu wajdi ka   buŋbuŋ
      but   eight lig node   rattan   Loc butt   eight also   lig node
      conn   adj   prt n   n   adp n   adj   adv   prt n
parasan sa   ʔiruŋ .
rattan   Loc nose
n   adp n

However, you should put 8 rattan nodes in your butt and 8 rattan nodes in your nose.

PM.12 magkun si   ʔamuʔ
     saying   PersInd Monkey
     v   adp   n

PM.12a huʔ ʔuna pajag ʔaku .
      yes   even agree 1S
      prt   adv   v   pro

Monkey replied, "Okay, even with that [condition], I accept!"

PM.13 hintaj gid   pagka   ʔati   pajag ŋani si   ʔamuʔ
     what   IntP when; as_soon_as there (not visible) agree EP   PersInd Monkey
     adv   prt   prt   adv   v   prt   adp   n

PM.13a walu ka   buŋbuŋ parasan sa   buliʔ walu wajdi ka   buŋbuŋ parasan sa
      eight lig node   rattan   Loc   butt   eight also   lig node   rattan   Loc
      adj   prt n   n   adp   n   adj   adv   prt n   n   adp
ʔiruŋ .
nose
n

Indeed, Monkey did accept the deal and put 8 rattan nodes in his butt and 8 rattan nodes in his nose.

PM.14 pagka   magpadujan ji   ŋani si   ʔamuʔ
     when; as_soon_as swinging   already EP   PersInd Monkey
     prt   v   prt   prt   adp   n

PM.14a sa   ʔumpisa di   waja pagpatablug ʔudwaja mag-ʔaput panuŋaʔan hintaj
      Loc   start   prt yet   swinging   not yet   reaching   middle   what
      adp   n   prt v   prt   v   adj   adv
waja kan ʔamuʔ kaj   maŋa puna   hugut   ji   sa   parasan kaj
yet   CM   Monkey 3SPoss PL   instestine tightened already Loc   rattan   3SPoss
prt   prt n   pro   prt   n   v   prt   adp   n   pro
maŋa ʔiruŋ durugu   ji   .
PL   nose   bleeding already
prt   n   v   prt

When Monkey did swing, just right at the beginning and not even getting to the middle anymore, his intestines were tightly [entangled] with the rattan nodes, his nose was already bleeding.

PM.15 ʔigu   sa   pagpabalik   tigbak si   ʔamuʔ .
     exactly Loc   when_returned dead   PersInd Monkey
     adv   adp   v   v   adp   n

190

Right when [he] swung back, Monkey died.

PM.16 pagka   namataj si   ʔamuʔ
       when; as_soon_as died   PersInd Monkey
       prt   v   adp   n

PM.16a mag-ʔisip si   paljus
      thinking   PersInd Palyus
      v   adp   n

PM.16b majad duj maj   ʔupiʔ ʔaku ʔinda .
      good   PP there_is viand 1S   this
      adj   prt prt   n   pro   art

When Monkey died, Palyus was thinking, "This is good because I now have a viand."

PM.17 ʔunman sitaj kaŋ   ʔama kaŋ   ʔinaʔ   .
      not; no   here 1SPoss father 1SPoss mother
      prt   adv pro   n   pro   n

"My parents aren't here."

PM.18 ʔinupiʔ   ni   paljus kaj ʔamuʔ   .
      had_as_viand PersonInd Palyus the Monkey
      v   adp   n   art n

Palyus had the monkey as a viand.

PM.19 pagka   ʔinupiʔ
      when; as_soon_as had_as_viand
      prt   v

PM.19a kaj punaʔ   ʔibinutaŋ ni   paljus sa barut   sa tuŋud .
      the intestine placed   PersonInd Palyus Loc coconut_shell Loc above
      art n   v   adp   n   adp n   adp n

After having [it] as a viand, Palyus put the intestines in a coconut shell above (the ceiling).

PM.20 pagka   nakajabas   ji   si   paljus
      when; as_soon_as was_able_to_eat_lunch already PersInd Palyus
      prt   v   prt   adp   n

PM.20a masarap gid   kaj   ʔupiʔ taguban ʔamuʔ   .
       yummy   IntP 3SPoss   viand meat   Monkey
       adj   prt   pro   n   n   n

When Palyus already had his lunch, his viand was so yummy, which was the meat of the monkey.

PM.21 majad gid laŋmadi   ʔunman maj   ʔiba   sija .
      good   IntP even though not; no there_is company 3S
      adj   prt conn   prt   prt   n   pro

It was really good, even though he doesn't have any company.

PM.22 pagka   nakajabas   ji
      when; as_soon_as   was_able_to_eat_lunch already
      prt   v   prt

PM.22a mag-ʔisip si   paljus
       thinking PersInd Palyus
       v   adp   n

PM.22b ʔatag ʔaku sa   sapaʔ
       go   1S   Loc river
       v   pro adp n

PM.22c kaŋ suksukun   ʔinda pag punaʔ   .
       1S   will_weave this lig intestine
       pro v   art   prt n

After he had his lunch Palyus was thinking, "I'll go to the river, I'll weave this intestine."

PM.23 ʔati   ji   ŋani
      there (not visible) already EP
      adv   prt   prt

PM.23a tag sa   sapaʔ si   paljus .
       go Loc river PersInd Palyus
       v   adp n   adp   n

Off did Palyus go to the river.

PM.24 pagka   ʔati   sa   sapaʔ
      when; as_soon_as   there (not visible) Loc river
      prt   adv   adp n

PM.24a mag-ʔisip si   paljus ,
     thinking   PersInd Palyus
     v   adp   n

PM.24b naʔan ŋuna katpuŋ .
     where prt   prt
     adv

When he got to the river Palyuswas thinking, "Where should I do it?"

PM.25 mag-ʔisip si   paljus ,
     thinking   PersInd Palyus
     v   adp   n

PM.25a siti   gid sa   maj   linaw sa   lawud .
     there IntP Loc there_is deep Loc below
     adv   prt   adp prt   n   adp n

Palyus was thinking, "Just right down here in the deep area."

PM.26 pagka   ʔati   ŋani sa   maj   linaw
     when; as_soon_as there (not visible) EP   Loc there_is deep
     prt   adv   prt adp prt   n
ʔati   sa   lawud sa   maj   magbulus danum
there (not visible) Loc below Loc there_is flowing   water
adv   adp n   adp prt   v   n

PM.26a hinunat ni   paljus ti   punaʔ   ʔamuʔ tabug   lawud
     stretched PersonInd Palyus the intestine Monkey towards below
     v   adp   n   art n   n   preverb n

PM.26b maʔanudan sa   danum
     floating   Loc water
     v   adp n

When [he] got in the deep area of the river, down where the water was flowing, Palyus stretched the intestine and let it float on the water down the river.

PM.27 pagka   maʔanudan ʔati   sa   danum
     when; as_soon_as floating   there (not visible) Loc water
     prt   v   adv   adp n

PM.27a paghiwatun   ni   paljus
        being_prepared PersonInd Palyus
        v   adp   n

PM.27b pagsuksukun ti   punaʔ   ʔamuʔ .
        being_weaved the intestine Monkey
        v   art n   n

When [it was] floating on the water, Palyus was preparing and weaving the intestine.

PM.28 ʔaj ʔudwaja dugaj   masjadu magduŋug si   paljus maj
       oh not yet long_time very   hearing PersInd Palyus there_is
       prt prt   adv   adv   v   adp   n   prt
magragatik   maʔan .
clicking_sound   again
v   prt

Not long after that, Palyus was hearing [that] there was a clicking sound again.

PM.29 ʔaj ʔamuʔ   maʔan ginan lawud sapaʔ .
       oh Monkey again   from below river
       prt n   prt   adv   n   n

Oh, it was another monkey [coming] from the lower part of the river.

PM.30 magsabi si   paljus
       saying   PersInd Palyus
       v   adp   n

PM.30a ʔaw kawu maʔaw balaji   .
             2S   in-law (close friend)
        prt pro   prt   n

Palyus was saying, "Oh, it's actually you, friend!"

PM.31 huʔ magsabi ti   ʔamuʔ   sa   kan paljus
       yes saying   the Monkey Loc CM Palyus
       prt v   art n   adp prt n

PM.31a ʔaku ŋani duj balaji   .
        1S   EP   PP in-law (close friend)
        pro   prt prt n

"Yes," the monkey was responding to Palyus, "It's indeed me, friend."

PM.32 hintaj tunda kanmu balaji   pag tarabahu ?
     what   that   2SPoss in-law (close friend) lig   work
     adv   art   pro   n   prt   n

"What is that, that you're working on, friend?"

PM.33 magkun si   paljus
     saying   PersInd Palyus
     v   adp   n

PM.33a ʔunman ʔaj maghiwat laŋ   ʔaku ʔinda .
      not; no   oh preparing only 1S   this
      prt   prt v   prt pro art

Palyus answered, "Oh, nothing, I'm just preparing this."

PM.34 hintaj tunda pag puna?
     what   that   lig intestine
     adv   art   prt n

PM.34a magkun si   ʔamuʔ   .
      saying   PersInd Monkey
      v   adp   n

"What intestine is that?" Monkey asked.

PM.35 punaʔ   ʔaw ʔamuʔ   .
     intestine   Monkey
     n   prt n

"Is that an intestine of a monkey?"

PM.36 bukun
     no
     prt

PM.36a magkun si   paljus .
      saying   PersInd Palyus
      v   adp   n

"Nope," Palyus answered.

PM.37 punaʔ   ʔaw babuj .
      intestine   pig
      n   prt n

"Pig's intestine?"

PM.38 bukun .
      no
      prt

"Nope."

PM.39 punaʔ   ʔaw kambiŋ .
      intestine   goat
      n   prt n

Goat's intestine?

PM.40 bukun .
      no
      prt

Nope

PM 1.41 punaʔ   ʔaw ʔiduʔ .
        intestine   dog
        n   prt n

Dog's intestine?

PM.42 bukun .
      no
      prt

Nope

PM.43 ʔaj ʔunman nakatandaʔ   si   ʔamuʔ nu   hintaj tunda pag
      oh not; no was_able_to_guess PersInd Monkey if   what   that lig
      prt prt   v   adp   n   conn adv   art   prt
punaʔ
intestine
n

196

PM.43a dahil   ʔunman magsabi si   paljus .
       because not; no saying   PersInd Palyus
       conn   prt   v   adp   n

Monkey was not able to guess what intestine it was because Palyus wouldn't tell.

PM.44 linmawuj ji   si   ʔamuʔ tag babaw sapaʔ .
      passed_by already PersInd Monkey go top   river
      v   prt   adp   n   v   n   n

Monkey proceeded up to the river.

PM.45 pagka   ʔati   ji
      when; as_soon_as   there (not visible) already
      prt   adv   prt

PM.45a tag babaw si   ʔamuʔ
       go top   PersInd Monkey
       v   n   adp   n

PM.45b mag-ʔitakip-takip ji   mana si   ʔamuʔ
       getting_farther   already prt PersInd Monkey
       v   prt   adp   n

PM.45c sinmabi ŋap si   paljus magkun
       said   prt PersInd Palyus saying
       v   adp   n   v

PM.45d punaʔ   ʔamuʔ   .
       intestine Monkey
       n   n

When Monkey was already a bit far, Palyus said, "Monkey's intestine."

PM.46 ʔaj binmalik ji   maʔan si   ʔamuʔ .
      oh came_back already again PersInd Monkey
      prt v   prt   prt   adp   n

Monkey came back [instantly].

PM.47 magkun ji   maʔan ti ʔamuʔ
      saying already again the Monkey
      v   prt   prt   art n

PM.47a hintaj dap maʔaw balaji   pag punaʔ kanmu sabi .

       what prt   in-law (close friend) lig intestine 2SPoss said

       adv   prt   n   prt n   pro   v

The monkey asked again, "What intestine did you say is that again, friend?"

PM.48 punaʔ   ʔaw ʔamuʔ   .

       intestine   Monkey

       n   prt n

"Monkey's intestine?"

PM.49 bukun .

       no

       prt

Nope.

PM.50 punaʔ   ʔaw manuk .

       intestine   chicken

       n   prt n

Chicken's intestine?

PM.51 bukun .

       no

       prt

Nope.

PM.52 punaʔ   ʔaw ʔiduʔ .

       intestine   dog

       n   prt n

Dog's intestine?

PM.53 bukun .

       no

       prt

Nope.

PM.54 punaʔ ʔaw baka .
 intestine   cow
 n   prt   n

Cow's intestine?

PM.55 bukun .
 no
 prt

Nope.

PM.56 ʔaj ʔunman nag-ʔariŋ si   ʔamuʔ .
 oh not; no forced   PersInd Monkey
 prt prt   v   adp   n

Monkey didn't push for more questions anymore.

PM.57 ʔati   ji   maʔan tabug   sa   kaj   ʔurjan sa babaw
 there (not visible) already again   towards Loc 3SPoss ahead Loc top
 adv   prt   prt   preverb adp pro   n   adp n

sapaʔ .
river
n

He walked again up to the river.

PM.58 mag-ʔuli ji   maʔan si   ʔamuʔ .
 staying   already again   PersInd Monkey
 v   prt   prt   adp   n

Monkey was going home again.

PM.59 pagka   mag-ʔitakip-takip maʔan ti   ʔamuʔ
 when; as_soon_as getting_farther   again   the Monkey
 prt   v   prt   art n

PM.59a magkun maʔan si   paljus
  saying   again PersInd Palyus
  v   prt   adp   n

PM.59b punaʔ   ʔamuʔ .
  intestine Monkey
  n   n

When the monkey was a bit far again, Palyus said once more, "Monkey's intestine."

PM.60 ʔaj nagbalik ji maʔan gid ti ʔamuʔ .
        oh   came_back   already   again   IntP the Monkey
        prt v   prt   prt   prt   art n

Monkey did [immediately] come back again.

PM.61 hintaj dap , bilaŋ puna? ʔamuʔ balaji kanmu sabi .
        what   prt   seems_like   intestine Monkey in-law (close friend)   2SPoss said
        adv   adv   n   n   n   pro   v

"Wait a bit, it's like you said Monkey's intestine, friend."

PM.62 bukun gid .
        no   IntP
        prt   prt

"No, really."

PM 1.63 puna? ʔaw kambiŋ .
         intestine   goat
          n   prt   n

Goat's intestine?

PM.64 bukun .
        no
        prt

Nope.

PM.65 puna? ʔaw karasjaw .
        intestine   deer
        n   prt n

Deer's intestine?
PM.66 bukun .
        no
        prt

Nope.

PM 1.67 puna?   ?aw babuj .
        intestine   pig
          n   prt   n

Pig's intestine?

PM.68 bukun .
        no
        prt

Nope.

PM.69 puna?   ?aw ?idu? .
        intestine   dog
          n   prt   n

Dog's intestine?

PM.70 bukun magkun si   paljus .
        no   saying   PersInd Palyus
        prt   v   adp   n

"Nope," Palyus said.

PM.71 nasari?   duj si   paljus .
        come_to_laugh PP PersInd Palyus
        v   prt adp   n

Palyus came to laugh.

PM.72 pagka   nasari?   si   paljus
        when; as_soon_as come_to_laugh PersInd Palyus
        prt   v   adp   n

PM.72a ?aj balaji   magkun si   ?amu?
        oh   in-law (close friend) saying PersInd Monkey
        prt n   v   adp   n

PM.72b kanmu duj pag ŋipun mabiru .
        2SPoss PP lig teeth black
        pro   prt prt n   adj

When Palyus laughed, "Oh, friend," Monkey said, "Your teeth are black."

PM.73 pagkarinu   duj balaji   kanmu pag ŋipun
   very_handsome PP in-law (close friend) 2SPoss lig teeth
   adj   prt n   pro   prt n

PM.73a magkun si   ʔamuʔ .
   saying PersInd Monkey
   v   adp   n

"Your teeth are very beautiful, friend," Monkey said.

PM.74 ʔaj magkun si   paljus
   oh saying PersInd Palyus
   prt v   adp   n

PM.74a balaji   nakan   laŋ mabiru kaŋkuʔ pag ŋipun
   in-law (close friend) therefore only black 1SPoss lig teeth
   n   conn   prt adj pro   prt n

PM.74b ʔaku tinapa niku ʔama ʔag ʔinaʔ
   1S smoked 1S father and mother
   pro v   pro n   conn n

PM.74c ʔinagiwan
   v

PM.74d nakan   ŋani mabiru kaŋ   maŋa ŋipun .
   therefore EP black 1SPoss PL   teeth
   conn   prt adj   pro prt n

"Oh," Palyus said, "The reason why my teeth are black is because my parents smoked me, friend. I was smoked, therefore my teeth are black."

PM.75 ʔaj magkun si   ʔamuʔ
   oh saying PersInd Monkey
   prt v   adp   n

PM.75a balaji   kaŋkuʔ naŋus katida wajdi .
   in-law (close friend) 1SPoss want like also
   n   pro   v   adj   adv

"Oh," Monkey said, "Can I have my teeth like that too, friend?"

PM.76 mahimu diman ʔaj
   can   also oh
   v   prt prt

PM.76a magkun si   paljus .
       saying   PersInd Palyus
       v   adp   n

"Indeed, [you] can," Palyus answered.

PM.77 katida diman wajdi mabiru kanmu   pag ŋipun
      like   also   also   black   2SPoss lig teeth
      adj   prt   adv   adj   pro   prt n

PM.77a nu   sa   makawalu pag siraŋ kiluwaŋ   kamu
       if   Loc   eighth   lig day   come_out (Cmd) 3PExc
       conn adp   adj   prt n   v   pro

PM.77b nu   kamu   magka?ibug mabiru kanju ŋipun .
       if   3PExc desiring   black   2S   teeth
       conn pro   v   adj   pro   n

"You can have your teeth as black as mine if on the 8th day all [monkeys] of you will come out if you want your teeth to be black.

PM.78 pagluwaŋ   kamu   tanan-tanan maŋa ?amu?   dari?it   ?amu?
      come_out (Cmd) 3PExc all   PL   Monkey   small (PL)   Monkey
      v   pro   adj   prt   n   adj   n
daraka? ?amu?
big (PL) Monkey
adj   n

PM.78a lumuwaŋ   kamu   sitaj sa   kaŋ   balaj
       will_come_out 3PExc here   Loc   1SPoss house
       v   pro   adv   adp   pro   n

PM.78b magkun si   paljus .
       saying   PersInd Palyus
       v   adp   n

All of you monkeys should come out, small ones, big ones, you all come out and come here at my house," Palyus said.

PM.79 pagka   ?ati   ŋani sa   ?ikawalu ,
      when; as_soon_as   there (not visible)   EP   Loc eighth
      prt   adv   prt   adp adj

PM.79a magjabas   si   paljus .
       having_lunch PersInd Palyus
       v   adp   n

When the 8th day arrived, Palyus was having his lunch.

PM.80 ʔiguʔ   magjabas   si   paljus sa   kaj   balaj
      exactly having_lunch PersInd   Palyus Loc 3SPoss house
      adv   v   adp   n   adp pro   n

PM.80 ʔinda   ji   ti   maŋa kaban ʔamuʔ   .
      this   already   the   PL   pack   Monkey
      art   prt   art   prt   n   n

Exactly when Palyus was having lunch in his house, the big group of monkeys came.

PM.81 pagka   tunda ji   ti   maŋa kaban ʔamuʔ
      when; as_soon_as   that   already   the   PL   pack   Monkey
      prt   art   prt   art   prt   n   n

PM.81a ʔunman   mag-ʔitabu   sa   kaj   balaj
       not; no getting_consumed   Loc 3SPoss house
       prt   v   adp pro   n

PM.81b ʔuna sa   sugkadan   haŋgan punuʔ ʔamuʔ   .
       even Loc   front_yard until   full   Monkey
       adv   adp   n   conn   adj   n

When the group of monkeys got there, there wasn't any more space left in his house and even in his yard.

PM.82 majamuʔ duj sida
      many   PP   3P
      adj   prt pro

PM.82a tuhaj   ti   ʔanakan   ʔamuʔ
       different   the   children Monkey
       adj   art   n   n

PM.82b tuhaj   ti   darakaʔ   ʔamuʔ
       different   the   big (PL) Monkey
       adj   art   adj   n

PM.82c tuhaj   ti   dariʔit   ʔamuʔ .
      different the small (PL) Monkey
      adj   art adj   n

There were really so many of them, the young ones, apart from the big ones and apart from the small ones.

PM.83 majamuʔ gid   sida sa   kan paljus balaj
     many   IntP 3P   Loc CM Palyus house
     adj   prt pro adp prt n   n

PM.83a hampaj ŋani kunu   bumiru   kanda ŋipun .
      so_that EP   as_it_is_said will_become_black 3PExc teeth
      conn   prt prt   v   pro   n

There were really so many of then in Palyus' house so that they could (it was said) have their teeth blackened.

PM.84 magkun si   paljus
     saying   PersInd Palyus
     v   adp   n

PM.84a lagat-lagat waja kita   bag-ʔu di maŋumpisa para   bumiru
      later   yet   1PIncl and   prt will_start   so_that will_become_black
      adv   prt pro   conn   v   conn   v
kanju ŋipun .
2S   teeth
pro   n

Palyus said, "Let's wait a bit before we start so that your teeth will be blackened."

PM.85 pagka   maŋa palis ji ti ʔinit magkun si   paljus
     when; as_soon_as PL   two o'clock   saying PersInd Palyus
     prt   prt   n   v   adp   n

PM.85a ta   ʔatag ji   kita   sa   kaŋ   ʔama buklid .
     (moving on) go   already 1PIncl Loc 1SPoss father farm
     prt   v   prt   pro   adp pro   n   n

When it was already noon, Palyus said, "Let's go to my father's farm."

PM.86 sa   daka pagka buklid niku ʔama ʔati   kita
     Loc big   lig   farm   1S   father there (not visible) 1PIncl
     adp adj   prt   n   pro n   adv   pro

PM.86a hampaj bumiru   kanju maŋa ŋipun .
       so_that will_become_black 2S   PL   teeth
       conn   v   pro   prt   n

We will go to my father's big farm so that your teeth will become black."

PM.87 pagka   ʔati   ji
       when; as_soon_as there (not visible) already
       prt   adv   prt

PM.87a tag ŋani ti   kaban ʔamuʔ
        go   EP   the pack   Monkey
        v   prt   art n   n

PM.87b ʔadukan gid   pagka   ʔamuʔ .
        many   IntP when; as_soon_as Monkey
        adj   prt   prt   n

Off did the group of monkeys go, there were so many Monkey.

PM.88 ʔati   ŋani sa   kaj   gamasun nija ʔama , ni   paljus .
       there (not visible) EP   Loc 3SPoss swidden 3S   father   PersonInd Palyus
       adv   prt   adp pro   n   pro n   adp   n

They did go to the swidden of Palyus' father.

PM.89 magkun si   paljus
       saying   PersInd Palyus
       v   adp   n

PM.89a kamu   pag maŋa mabitinan sijun sa   huluŋan .
        3PExc lig   PL   hanging   there Loc pole
        pro   prt   prt   v   adv   adp n

Palyus said, "All of you hang yourselves on the posts there."

PM.90 pag maŋa masakbitan   kamu
       lig   PL   hanging_on_hands_and_feet 3PExc
       prt   prt   v   pro

PM.90a hampaj nu   sab   kaŋ tutdan   ti   gamasun
        so_that if   later 1S   light_up the swidden
        conn   conn adv   pro v   art n

PM.90b bumiru   kanju maŋa ŋipun tanan-tanan
    will_become_black 2S   PL   teeth all
    v   pro   prt   n   adj

PM.90d magkun si   paljus .
    saying   PersInd Palyus
    v   adp   n

You hang yourselves so that when I'll start the fire in the swidden your teeth will become black, all [of you]," Palyus said.

PM.91 ta   pagka   dugaj   ʔati   ŋani
    (moving on) when; as_soon_as long_time there (not visible) EP
    prt   prt   adv   adv   prt

PM.91a ʔagud laŋmadi   maʔinit maŋa mabitinan ti maŋa ʔamuʔ
    prt   even though hot   PL   hanging   the PL   Monkey
          conn   adj   prt v   art prt n

PM.91b maŋa madajikan sa buŋul nija ʔama sa karaw-ʔan gamasun
    PL   climbing Loc post 3S   father Loc middle   swidden
    prt v   adp n   pro n   adp adj   n

PM.91c ʔaduk pagka ʔamuʔ
    many lig   Monkey
    adj   prt   n

PM.91d halus nagbiru   ji   sa karaw-ʔan buklid sa gamasun .
    almost became_black already Loc middle   farm   Loc swidden
    adv   v   prt   adp adj   n   adp n

Eventually, there indeed, even though it was so hot, the monkeys did hang themselves on the posts. [They] climbed up on his father's posts there in the middle of the swidden. There were so many monkeys. The middle of the farm was almost becoming black there in the swidden.

PM.92 sa   maŋa huluŋan mabitinan ti maŋa ʔamuʔ .
    Loc PL   pole   hanging   the PL   Monkey
    adp prt n   v   art prt n

The monkeys hanged themselves on the posts.

PM.93 hintaj gid si   paljus balaw nagpabaja   .
    what   IntP PersInd Palyus not   being_careless
    adv   prt adp   n   prt   v

What else, but Palyus didn't wait for long anymore.

PM.94 tinutdan ni   paljus ginan sa   ?ulwan   kaj tutud
      lit_up   PersonInd Palyus from Loc   starting_point the burning_spot
      v   adp   n   adv   adp   n   art n

ni   paljus
PersonInd Palyus
adp   n

PM.94a sinaŋput haŋgan sa   buli?an   ti   gamasun .
       circled   until Loc   end_part the swidden
       v   conn   adp   n   art n

Palyus started the fire from the top and then surrounded the swidden up to its end.

PM.95 pagka   saŋput ji   ti   gamasun
      when; as_soon_as circled already the swidden
      prt   v   prt   art n

PM.95a hintaj waja ?unman maj   nakakalpas   ?amu?
       what   yet   not; no there_is was_able_to_escape Monkey
       adv   prt prt   prt   v   n

PM.95b nakaparagpag ti   ?amu?
       were_falling   the Monkey
       v   art n

PM.95c nasunug sa   gamasun .
       burned   Loc   swidden
       v   adp   n

When the swidden was surrounded [with fire], no monkey was able to escape, they were falling down [from the posts] and were burned in the swidden.

PM.96 si   paljus di baj ?inda magpalibut-libut sa   saŋput gamasun
      PersInd   Palyus prt prt this circling_around Loc   circled swidden
      adp   n   art v   adp   v   n

PM.96a magbantaj kaj maŋa naragdag ?amu?
       watching   the PL   fell   Monkey
       v   art prt v   n

PM.96b na?ijaw ?adukan .
       roasted many
       v   adj

Now Palyus was roving around the swidden, [he] was looking at the many monkeys that were falling and were roasted.

PM.97 pagka   dugaj   ʔaj maj   ʔusa waja ka ʔinaʔan
       when; as_soon_as long_time   oh there_is one   yet   lig mother_monkey
       prt   adv   prt prt   adj prt prt n
ʔamuʔ
Monkey
n

PM.97a magsabibi kaj   ʔanak sa   saruj gamasun .
        carrying   3SPoss child Loc edge swidden
        v   pro   n   adp   n   n

Later on, there was a mother monkey carrying her baby at the edge of the swidden.

PM.98 hintaj laŋ   magkun si   paljus
       what   only saying PersInd Palyus
       adv   prt   v   adp   n

PM.98a kanju pag ŋipun ʔunman bumiru
        2S   lig teeth not; no   will_become_black
        pro   prt n   prt   v

PM.98b kamu   hajga ʔunman nag-ʔati sa   karaw-ʔan gamasun
        3PExc why   not; no   went   Loc   middle   swidden
        pro   adv   prt   v   adp adj   n

PM.98c hampaj kanju pag ŋipun haŋgan bumiru   wajdi .
        so_that 2S   lig teeth until   will_become_black also
        conn   pro   prt n   conn   v   adv

"Why are you there?" Palyus said, "Your teeth won't turn black. Why didn't you go in the middle of the swidden so that your teeth will also become black?"

PM.99 magkun ti   ʔinaʔ   ʔamuʔ
       saying   the mother Monkey
       v   art n   n

PM.99a balaji   kami mamantaj dapu nu   kabitaj
        in-law (close friend) 1PExc will_look prt   if   how
        n   pro   v   conn adv

PM.99b sab   kanmi kaʔibahan
      later 1P   company
      adv   pro   n

PM.99c kami   ʔatag diman wajdi .
      1PExc   go   also   also
      pro   v   prt   adv

The mother monkey said, "We'll watch first how things will work, friend, and then we'll follow later."

PM.100 pagka   nakakit ti   ʔinaʔ   ʔamuʔ
      when; as_soon_as saw   the   mother Monkey
      prt   v   art   n   n

PM.100a nakaparagpag ji   kaj maŋa kaʔibahan ʔati   sa
      were_falling already   the PL   company   there (not visible) Loc
      v   prt   art prt   n   adv   adp
karaw-ʔan gamasun
middle   swidden
adj   n

PM.100b nagkaramataj ji
      were_dying   already
      v   prt

PM.100c magkun ti   ʔinaʔ   ʔamuʔ
      saying the   mother Monkey
      v   art   n   n

PM.100d dajaʔ maʔaw kanmu balaji   .
      cheat   2SPoss in-law (close friend)
      adj   prt   pro   n

When the mother monkey saw that her friends were already falling into the middle of the swidden and were dying, the mother monkey said, "You are actually a deceiver, friend!

PM.101 ʔinda di   ginan kami   daji   maniwala sa   kanmu
      this   prt from   1PExc not_anymore believe   Loc 2SPoss
      art   adv pro   prt   v   adp pro

PM.101a kami daji mablaj nu ʔunman sa balatik nu
       1PExc not_anymore will_be_captured if not; no Loc spring_spear if
       pro prt v conn prt adp n conn

ʔunman sa ʔamatuŋ haŋan sa tanan pag maŋa padajaʔ .
not; no Loc box-like_monkey_trap until Loc all lig PL trap
prt adp n conn adp adj prt prt n

From now on, we would never believe in you anymore, we won't be caught anymore not unless we are trapped using balatik and amatung."

PM.102 nakan tunda ginan ʔimaw ti dahilan nakan ŋani ti ʔamuʔ balaw
      therefore that from prt the reason therefore EP the Monkey not
      conn art adv art n conn prt art n prt

marignuk sa tawu .
tame Loc person
adj adp n

Therefore, since then, that was the reason why the monkeys are not tame towards the people anymore.

PM.103 maʔila sa basad puruʔ
      wild Loc inside forest
      adj adp adv n

PM.103a nu ʔunman pag-ʔiduʔun
      if not; no to_be_hunted
      conn prt v

PM.103b nu ʔunman pag-ʔinamahun
      if not; no v
      conn prt

PM.103c nu ʔunman maj ʔamatuŋ
      if not; no there_is box-like_monkey_trap
      conn prt prt n

PM.103d nu ʔunman maj balatik
      if not; no there_is spring_spear
      conn prt prt n

PM.103e ti ʔamuʔ daju mablaj .
      the Monkey not will_be_captured
      art n prt v

They [live] wild in the forest if the hunters won't look for them or use a trap on them.

PM.104 tida kaj dahilan nakan   nagmaʔila   ti   ʔamuʔ sa   tawu   .
       that the reason therefore became_wild the Monkey Loc person
       art art n   conn   v   art n   adp n

That was the reason why the monkeys are untamed with people.

PM.105 ʔimaw laŋ kaŋ   tultulanun .
       prt   only 1SPoss story
              prt   pro   n

This only is my story.

Appendix E

TABLE OF THE STORYLINE OF THE STORY OF TURTLE AND OLD MONKEY

Storyline	Background Information	Translation
TM.2 nagsampak sida ni kamajan		*Turtle and Old Monkey met.*
TM.7 ʔinayawan si kamajan ni paʔuʔu [saging]		*Turtle gave Old Monkey [the other half of the banana tree].*
TM.12 nagbululagan ji sida magbalaji		*The two friends parted.*
TM. 12b ʔitinanum [ni *Pauu*] kaj sagiŋ ʔati ŋani sa kaj sugkadan		*[Turtle] planted his banana in his front yard.*
TM.13 ta pagka sa ʔikawalu pag siraŋ nagsampak maʔan sida		*On the 8th day, the met again.*
TM.18 nagbululagan ji maʔan sida magbalaji sida ni kamajan ni paʔuʔu.		*Turtle and Old Monkey parted again.*
	TM.31a magdajik ji ŋani si kamajan sa kan paʔuʔu sagiŋ	*Old Monkey did climb Turtle's banana.*
	TM.32 haŋgan di magbantaj si paʔuʔu	*Turtle was only up to watching.*
TM.35 pagka dugaj ʔaj nasampakan nija ti tigasaw.		*In the long run he met Ant.*
TM.42a kinagat [ni tigasaw] kaj buliʔ ni kamajan.		*[Ant] bit Old Monkey's butt.*
TM.43 naŋarugwasik si kamajan.		*Old Monkey jolted.*
TM.44 nilasik ti ʔusa ka bilug lutuʔ burak sagiŋ		*One banana fruit was accidentally thrown.*
TM.44a nalagpak [ti saging]		*[It] fell on the ground.*
TM.45 nakabaja gid si paʔuʔu		*Turtle rejoiced.*
TM.46a kaj kinaʔun		*He ate it.*
TM.53 dinmugsun wajdi si kamajan.		*Old Monkey climbed down.*
TM.54 nakadnug ʔati maʔaw marinu ʔaj kaj ʔambahan kan paʔuʔu.		*He heard Turtle's beautiful ambahan.*

TM.60a hinudut sa kaj buliʔ ti parasan.		*Old Monkey pierced the thorny nodes in his butt.*
TM.61 napalasik si kamajan		*Old Monkey jolted.*
TM.62b tigbak si kamajan		*Old Monkey died.*
TM.62c natuhug laŋ parasan kaj buliʔ.		*His butt was pierced.*
TM.63 hintaj waja nakabalus ji si paʔuʔu sa kan kamajan.		*Turtle finally revenge against Old Monkey.*
TM.64 ʔinijaw ji ni paʔuʔu si kamajan		*Turtle butchered Old Monkey.*
TM.64a ʔisinukad sa kaldiru		*He put him inside the pot.*
TM.66a ʔati ji sa basad kaldiru kaj tinamaʔ.		*He cooked it inside the pot.*
TM.67 bag-ʔu kaj ʔihinajin sa kan balugbaʔu.		*Then, he served it to Balugbau.*
TM.70 kinaʔun ji ŋani ni balugbaʔu.		*Balugbau ate it.*
TM.75 nakan linagas ji ŋani ni balugbaʔu si paʔuʔu.		*Therefore, Balugbau chased Turtle.*
TM.76 hintaj waja natakdan ŋani si paʔuʔu.		*What else could happen but Turtle got caught.*
	TM.77 magkun si balugbaʔu	*Balugbau said,*
	TM.77a "kawu kaŋ sugbahun ji sa ʔapuj"	*"I'll roast you in the fire."*
TM.81a ʔiniputan ni paʔuʔu ti ʔapuj.		*Turtle pooped on the fire.*
TM.82 ʔanuŋ baj si paʔuʔu ʔinda linmakaw ji maʔan		*Turtle walked away again.*
TM.82a ʔatag ji maʔan sa ʔun-ʔan		*[He] went forward again.*
TM.82b nakalpas ji		*He escaped already.*
TM.84a kaʔun ji ŋani si balugbaʔu		*Balugbau ate.*
	TM.86a magkun	*[Balugbau] said,*
	TM.87 "kawu katna magluku gid"	*"You're really tricking me."*
TM.88 linagas ji maʔan si paʔuʔu		*Balugbau chased Turtle again.*
TM.88a natakdan maʔan gid.		*Turtle got caught again.*
	TM.89 magkun si balugbaʔu	*Balugbau said,*
	TM.89a ʔisukad niku kawu sa kaldiru	*"I'll put you inside the cooking pot"*
	TM.89b gatuŋun kawu niku	*"I will boil you"*
TM.91 binuslutan ji maʔan ni balugbaʔu kaj taklub kaldiru.		*Again, Balugbau put a hole on the pot's cover.*
TM.93 pagka dugaj dinmajik diman sija		*In the long run, Turtle*

		climbed up again.
TM.93a linmuwaŋ maʔan sa kaj buslut		*He went out again through the hole.*
TM.94 nakalpas ji maʔan si paʔuʔu		*Turtle escaped again.*
TM.96 dinaʔawan maʔan		*Balugbau checked the pot again.*
TM.96a bag-ʔu kinaʔun nija		*And he ate [what was inside the pot.]*
	TM.99a magkun	*[Balugbau] said,*
	TM.100a kawu magdajaʔ gid	*"You're really tricking [me]"*
TM.101 linagas ji maʔan ni balugbaʔu si paʔuʔu.		*Balugbau chased Turtle again.*
TM.102a nalagiw si paʔuʔu		*Turtle ran away.*
TM.103b ʔati tag sa danum		*He went into the water.*
TM.103a dinaran-ʔan ni balugbaʔu baka maŋa kabaju maŋa karabaw		*Balugbau brought cow, horses and water buffaloes.*
	TM.103b hampaj tunda ti linaw mak-ʔat gid kaj danum	*So that the water in the pond will be dried up.*
TM.104a nan-nguni ti sawi		*The Sawi bird chirped.*
	TM.105 nagkarabutbut ti ʔihiʔ karabaw maŋa baka maŋa kabaju	*The urine of the water buffaloes, cows and horses went gushing out.*
TM.107a bag-ʔu nakatata waja ti karabaw sa kaj giriw ni paʔuʔu.		*And the water buffalo stepped on Turtle's shell.*
TM.108 hintaj gid nabka kaj lulud ti karabaw		*The water buffalo's foot cracked.*

Appendix F

TABLE OF THE STORYLINE OF THE STORY OF

DUNGHAWAN

Storyline	Background Information	Translation
D.5 maj nasampakan sija [Dunghawan] ʔusa ka lalaki		*Dunghawan met a guy.*
D.16 nag-ʔumpisa kunu sida magturukuban		*They started to wrestle.*
D.21 hinapu di ti kapri.		*The Kapri got tired.*
D.22 talu ni duŋhawan ti kapri.		*Dunghawan defeated Kapri.*
D.23a ʔinanitan ti kapri.		*He skinned kapri.*
D.24 kaj ʔanit kapri ʔimaw maʔan kaj ʔisinuluŋ ni duŋhawan.		*The skin of the Kapri is what Dunghawan wore.*
	D.30 pagka ʔati magras-ug sa balaj hariʔ [si duŋhawan]	*When Dunghawan reached the king's house…*
D.32 hinampak kunu [siya hari]		*He was hit by the king.*
D.33 sinad-ʔaŋ ni kapri ti pasuk sa kaj sarad-ʔaŋan.		*He put the bamboo water container in its place.*
D.39 hinampak ji maʔan [siya hari]		*The king hit him again.*
D.40 ʔibintaŋ ni duŋhawan ti kaju ʔati sa kaj ligpitan		*Dunghawan put the firewood in its place.*
	D.46 pagka ʔatag ŋani [sija] [sa sapa]	*When [he] went there [in the river]*
D.46b kaj rutaj kaj pinagkasuluŋ lukub kapri kaj ʔinuba.		*He removed Kapri's clothes that he is wearing.*
D.47 narigus sija.		*He took a bath.*
D.50 ʔinusig kunu [siya daraga]ʔati sa sapaʔ.		*The girl looked for him in the river.*
D.59 nuli ji maʔan sa balaj [ti daraga].		*The girl went home again.*
D.70a tag ji maʔan sa danum [si Dunghawan]		*Dunghawan went back to the river again.*
D.71a narigus.		*[He] took a bath.*
D.73a nakitan maʔan [daraga] ʔuduj katna marinu pag kan-ʔakan		*The girl saw the very handsome man again.*
D.76 kinuwit ŋani kunu daraga hariʔ kaj lukub kapri.		*She reached for Kapri's clothes using a stick.*

D.78 ti daraga nuli ji maʔan.		*The girl went home again.*
D.88 kinmagat laŋ kunu ti hariʔ sa kaj ʔitaŋgigis		*The king just but his pinky.*
D.88a namataj ti hariʔ.		*The king died.*
	D.89 nakan tajŋuna ti hariʔ si duŋhawan ji kaj ŋaran	*Therefore, now, the king's name is already Dunghawan.*

Appendix G

TABLE OF THE STORYLINE OF THE STORY OF PALYUS AND MONKEY

Storyline	Background Information	Translation
PM.5a binantajan ni paljus		*Palyus looked at [it].*
PM.13 pajag ŋani si ʔamuʔ		*Monkey indeed agreed.*
	PM13.a walu ka buŋbuŋ parasan sa buliʔ walu wajdi ka buŋbuŋ parasan sa ʔiruŋ	*Eight thorny rattan nodes in his butt and nose.*
PM.14a kan ʔamuʔ kaj maŋa puna hugut ji sa parasan		*Monkey's intestines tightened around the thorny rattan nodes.*
PM.15 ʔigu sa pagpabalik tigbak si ʔamuʔ		*Right when he swung back, Monkey died.*
PM.18 ʔinupiʔ ni paljus kaj ʔamuʔ		*Palyus ate the monkey.*
PM.19a kaj punaʔ[ni Amu] ʔibinutaŋ ni paljus sa barut sa tuŋud		*He put Monkey's intestine in a coconut shell.*
PM.23a tag sa sapaʔ si paljus		*Palyus went to the river.*
PM.26a hinunat ni paljus ti punaʔ ʔamuʔ tabug lawud		*Palyus stretched Monkey's intestine downriver.*
PM.44 linmawuj ji si ʔamuʔ		*[Another] monkey passed by.*
PM.44a tag babaw sapaʔ.		*[He] went upriver.*
PM.45c sinmabi ŋap si paljus magkun		*Palyus did say*
	PM.45d punaʔ ʔamuʔ	*Monkey's instestine.*
PM.46 binmalik ji maʔan si ʔamuʔ [sa kan Palyus]		*Monkey came back instantly.*
PM.57 ʔati ji maʔan tabug sa kaj ʔurjan sa babaw sapaʔ		*He went upriver again.*
	PM.59a magkun maʔan si paljus	*Palyus said again,*
	PM.59b punaʔ ʔamuʔ	*"Monkey's intestine."*
PM.60 nagbalik ji maʔan gid ti ʔamuʔ.		*Monkey came back again.*
PM.71 nasariʔ duj si paljus.		*Palyus laughed.*
	PM.72b magkun si ʔamuʔ	*Monkey said,*

	PM.72c kanmu duj pag ŋipun mabiru	*"Your teeth are black."*
	PM.79 pagka ʔati ŋani sa ʔikawalu	*On the eight [day]*
	PM.80a ʔinda ji ti maŋa kaban ʔamuʔ	*Here comes the group of monkeys*
	PM.83 hampaj ŋani kunu bumiru kanda ŋipun	*so that they could have their teeth blackened.*
PM.87a tag ŋani ti kaban ʔamuʔ [sa gamasun]		*The group of monkeys did go [to the swidden].*
PM.94 tinutdan ni paljus		*Palyus started the fire.*
PM.94a sinaŋput haŋan sa buliʔan ti gamasun.		*He circled up the the end of the swidden.*
PM.95c nasunug sa gamasun [ti manga amu].		*[The monkeys] were burnt in the swidden.*
PM.96b naʔijaw ʔadukan.		*Many were roasted.*

Appendix H

LIST OF OCCURRENCES OF THE PARTICLE *PAGKA* IN THE DATA

- **Pagka + dugaj**

1. D.34 pagka   kunu   dugaj   magkun kunu   ti   hariʔ
   when   it_is_said long_time said   it_is_said the   king
   coordconn prt   adv   v   prt   dem n
   D.34a kapri   panligaw kaju   .
         Kapri (black_man-like_creature) look_for   wood
         n   v   n
   Later on, the king was said to say, "You go look for firewood, Kapri."

2. D.41 pagka   kunu   dugaj   masuluŋ di   si
   when   it_is_said long_time happy   PersInd
   coordconn prt   adv   adj   prt det
   kapri   ʔati sa   balaj hariʔ .
   Kapri (black_man-like_creature) there to   house king
   n   adv prep n   n
   It was said that in the long run, Kapri was already happy at the king's house.

3. D.58 nakan   ŋani pagka   dugaj   balaw ʔaj nantandug ti
   therefore Int   when   long_time not   moved   the
   conn   prt coordconn adv   neg   prt v   dem
   daraga   hariʔ
   young_lady king
   n   n
   D.58a balaw nagpakiʔalam .
        not   to_care
        neg   v
   Therefore, the young lady didn't move or touch [Kapri's clothes].

4. D.68 pagka   kunu   dugaj   magpaʔalam   maʔan si
   when   it_is_said long_time asking_permission again   PersInd
   coordconn prt   adv   v   adv   det
   duŋhawan   .
   Dunghawan
   n

Later on, Dunghawan asked permission once again.

5. TM.19

pagka	dugaj	ji	kan	paʔuʔu	kaj	sagiŋ	ʔabwat
when	long_time	already	PersInd	Turtle	3SPoss	banana	tall
coordconn	adv	mod	det	n	pro	n	adj

ji	gid
already	Int
mod	mod

TM.19a

bag-ʔu	maj	burak	ji	.
then	there_is	fruit	already	
adv	existmrkr	n	mod	

Eventually, Turtle's banana was already tall and was bearing fruits .

6. TM.35

pagka	dugaj	ʔaj	nasampakan	nija	ti	tigasaw .
when	long_time		was_able_to_meet	3SPoss	the	ant
coordconn	adv	prt	v		pro	dem v

Later on, he saw the Ant.

7. TM.71

pagka	dugaj	ʔasan	ginan	magkun	si	paʔuʔu
when	long_time	there	from	said	PersInd	Turtle
coordconn	adv	adv	adp	v	det	n

TM.71a

ʔati	ʔati	ʔati	.
there	there	there	
adv	adv	adv	

Later on from there, Turtle said, "My, my, my."

8. TM.93

pagka	dugaj	dinmajik	diman	sija
when	long_time	climbed	also	3S
coordconn	adv	v	adv	pro

TM.93a

linmuwaŋ	maʔan	sa	kaj	buslut .
came_out	again	to	3SPoss	whole
v	adv	prep	pro	n

Later on, he climbed up and went out from the whole.

9. PM.97 | pagka | | dugaj | ?aj | maj | ?usa | waja | ka | ?ina?an |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | | long_time | there_is | one | still; yet | lig | mother |
| coordconn | | adv | prt | existmrkr | quant | mod | expl | n |

?amu?
monkey
n

PM.97a | magsabibi | kaj | ?anak | sa | saruj | gamasun |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| carrying | 3SPoss | child | to | edge | farm |
| v | pro | n | prep | n | n |

Later on, there was a mother monkey carrying her baby at the edge of the swidden.

10. PM.91 ta | pagka | dugaj | ?ati | ŋani |
|---|---|---|---|
| lig | long_time | there | Int |
| prt | conn | adv | adv | prt |

PM.91a | ?agud | laŋmadi | ma?init | maŋa | mabitinan | ti | maŋa | ?amu? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | even_though | hot | PL | hanging | the | PL | monkey |
| interj | adv | adj | prt | adj | dem | prt | n |

PM.91b | maŋa | madajikan | sa | buŋul | nija | ?ama | sa | karaw-?an |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PL | climbing_up | at | | 3SPoss | father | in | middle |
| prt | adj | prep | n | pro | n | prep | adj |

gamasun
farm
n

PM.91c | ?aduk | pagka | ?amu? |
|---|---|---|
| many | when | monkey |
| adj | coordconn | n |

PM.91d | halus | nagbiru | ji | sa | karaw-?an | buklid | sa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| almost | have_become_black | already | in | middle | farm | in |
| adv | v | mod | prep | adj | n | prep |

gamasun
farm
n

Eventually, even though it was so hot, the monkeys did hang themselves on the posts and others climbed up on his father's posts there in the middle of the swidden. There were so many monkeys. The middle of the farm was almost black, there in the swidden.

- **Pagka + ʔati**

11. D.5 | pagka | ʔati | ji | ŋani | maglakaw | sija | sa | ʔun-ʔan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | | there | already | Int | walking | 3S | to | ahead |
| coordconn | adv | mod | prt | v | | pro | prep | adv |

D.5a ʔusa-ʔusa ʔunman maj ʔiba

    alone   not;none there_is   company

    adj   neg   existmrkr n

D.5b ʔaj maj   nasampakan   sija ʔusa ka   lalaki .

      there_is   was_able_to_meet 3S   one   lig man

    prt existmrkr v   pro quant expl n

When he did start to go somewhere just by himself, he met a guy.

12. D.30 | pagka | ʔati | magras-ug | sa | balaj | hariʔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | | there | arrived | at | house | king |
| coordconn | adv | v | | prep | n | n |

D.30a magkun si   duŋhawan

     said   PersInd Dunghawan

     v   det   n

D.30b si   kapri   ji   ŋani

    PersInd Kapri (black man-like creature)   already Int

    det   n   mod   prt

D.30c naʔan dap maʔaw ti   burutaŋan   ʔaw ti   sad-ʔaŋan

    where   actually the place_to_put_on QP the place_to_hang

    adv   adv adv   dem n   prt dem n

pasuk   ?

bamboo_water_container

n

When he reached the king's house, Dunghawan (now Kapri already) said, "By the way, where should I put, er... hang the bamboo water containers?"

13. D.36 | pagka | ʔati | ŋani | magligaw | kaju |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | | there | Int | looking_for | wood |
| coordconn | adv | prt | v | | n |

D.36a ʔaduk ji   kaj   linigaw   kaju ni

     many already 3SPoss looked_for wood PersInd

     adj   mod   pro   v   n   det

kapri

Kapri (black_man-like_creature)

n

When he was looking for firewood, Kapri already found a lot of firewood.

14. D.51 pagka   ʔati
        when   there
        coordconn adv
    D.51a magbantaj kunu   ʔinda kaj ʔanak hariʔ
          looking   it_is_said this   the child king
          v   prt   det   det n   n
    D.51b ʔinda maj   lambuŋ kapri   .
          this   there_is clothes Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
          det   existmrkr n   n

When [she] got there, the king's daughter was watching [and said], "Here's Kapri's clothes.

15. D.60 pagka   ʔati ji   maʔan sa   balaj
        when   there already again at   house
        coordconn adv   mod   adv   prep n
    D.60a ʔalam ji   si   duŋhawan
          know already   PersInd Dunghawan
          v   mod   det   n
    D.60b nu   naʔan pag-ʔipaʔuliʔ ti   maŋa pasuk
           if   where to_put   the   PL   bamboo_water_container
           coordconn adv   v   dem   prt   n
    ʔati sa   kaj   sad-ʔangan   .
    there at   3SPoss   place_to_hang
    adv   prep pro   n

Back in the house, Dunghawan already knew where to put the bamboo water containers, there on its hanging place.

16. D.71 pagka   ʔati   maʔan
        when   there again
        coordconn adv   adv
    D.71a narigus   .
          took_a_bath
          v

When he got there again [he] took a bath.

17. D.73 pagka   ʔati   sa   danum
        when   there to   water
        coordconn adv   prep n
    D.73a nakitan maʔan ʔuduj katna marinu   pag kan-ʔakan
          saw   again   true handsome lig young_man
          v   adv   adj   adj   expl n
    D.73b maghiliŋ ti   daraga   .
          behold   the   young_lady
          v   dem   n

224

When she got there, she did see the truly handsome young man again. The young lady was watching [him].

18. D.82 | pagka | ʔati | ji

	pagka	ʔati	ji
	when	there	already
	coordconn	adv	mod

D.82a | magpataŋad | di | waja | si | duŋhawan | sa | sugkadan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| approaching | | still; yet | PersInd | Dunghawan | at | frontyard |
| v | | prt | mod | det | n | | prep | n |

D.82b | magkun | si | hariʔ |
|---|---|---|
| said | PersInd | king |
| v | det | n |

D.82c | si | ʔunu | kawu | pag | lalaki | . |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | who | 2S | lig | man |
| | adv | pro | expl | n |

When [he] got there, Dunghawan was just approaching at the front yard when the king said, "Who are you?"

19. TM.31 | pagka | ʔati | ji

	pagka	ʔati	ji
	when	there	already
	coordconn	adv	mod

TM.31a | magdajik | ji | ŋani | si | kamajan | sa | kan | paʔuʔu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| climbing | already | Int | PersInd | Old_Monkey | on | PersInd | Turtle |
| v | mod | prt | det | n | prep | det | n |

sagiŋ	.
banana
n

When they arrived there, Old Monkey climbed Turtle's banana.

20. TM.42 | pagka | ʔati | ji | sa | kan | kamajan | ʔarani

	pagka	ʔati	ji	sa	kan	kamajan	ʔarani
	when	there	already	in	PersInd	Old_Monkey	near
	coordconn	adv	mod	prep	det	n	adv

TM.42a | kinagat | kaj | buliʔ | ni | kamajan | . |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bit | 3SPoss | butt | PersInd | Old_Monkey |
| v | pro | n | det | n |

When he was already near Old Monkey, he bit his butt.

21. TM.81 | pagka | ʔati | si | paʔuʔu | sa | basad | ʔapuj

	pagka	ʔati	si	paʔuʔu	sa	basad	ʔapuj
	when	there	PersInd	Turtle	in	inside	fire
	coordconn	adv	det	n	prep	n	n

TM.81a Ɂiniputan ni   paɁuɁu ti   Ɂapuj .
        pooped   PersInd Turtle the fire
        v   det   n   dem n

When Turtle was already in the fire, he pooped in it.

22. TM.103 pagka   Ɂati sa   danum
            when   there in   water
            coordconn adv   prep n

TM.103a dinaran-Ɂan ni   balugbaɁu baka maŋa kabaju maŋa
         has_brought PersInd *Balugbau* cow   PL   horse PL
         v   det   n   n   prt   v   prt
karabaw   Ɂatag
water_buffalo   go
n   v

TM.103b hampaj   tunda ti   linaw   mak-Ɂat   gid kaj   danum
         so_that   that the deep_water   will_dry_up Int 3SPoss water
         coordconn pro   dem n   v   mod pro   n

TM.103c pasulpan   .
         to_sip_out
         v

There in the water, Balugbau brought cows, horses and water buffaloes to dry the water up, exhausting the water.

23. PM.13 hintaj gid pagka   Ɂati pajag ŋani si   Ɂamu?
           what   Int when   there agree Int PersInd Monkey
           adv   mod coordconn adv   v   prt det   n

PM.13a walu   ka   buŋbuŋ parasan   sa   buli? walu   wajdi ka
        eight lig   thorny node   at   butt eight   lig
        quant expl   n   prep n   quant adv   expl
buŋbuŋ parasan   sa   Ɂiruŋ .
thorny_rattan_node   to   nose
n   prep n

Indeed, Monkey accepted the deal and put 8 thorny rattan nodes in his butt and in his nose.

24. PM.24 pagka   Ɂati sa   sapa?
           when   there in   river
           coordconn adv   prep n

PM.24a mag-ʔisip si paljus ,
　　　 thinking PersInd Palyus
　　　 v det n

PM.24b naʔan ŋuna katpuŋ
　　　 where IntP on_the_opposite_side
　　　 adv prt adv

When he got to the river Palyus thought, "Where should I do it?"

25. PM.26 pagka ʔati ŋani sa maj linaw
　　　　 when there (emphatic particle) to there_is deep_water
　　　　 coordconn adv prt prep existmrkr n
ʔati sa lawud sa maj magbulus danum
there to below to there_is flowing water
adv prep n prep existmrkr v n

PM.26a hinunat ni paljus ti punaʔ ʔamuʔ tabug lawud
　　　　 stretched PersInd Palyus the intestine monkey go below
　　　　 v det n dem n n v n

PM.26b maʔanudan sa danum .
　　　　 floating on water
　　　　 v prep n

When [he] got in the deep area of the river, down where the water was flowing, Palyus stretched the intestine down to the river and let it float on the water.

26. PM.45 pagka ʔati ji
　　　　 when there already
　　　　 coordconn adv mod

PM.45a tag babaw si ʔamuʔ
　　　　 go top PersInd Monkey
　　　　 v adj det n

PM.45b mag-ʔitakip-takip ji mana si ʔamuʔ
　　　　 a_bit_far already PersInd monkey
　　　　 adj mod adv det n

PM.45c sinmabi ŋap si paljus magkun
　　　　 said really PersInd Palyus said
　　　　 v adv det n v

227

PM.45d punaʔ ʔamuʔ .
    intestine Monkey
    n   n

When Monkey was already a bit far, Palyus said, "Monkey's intestine."

27. PM.79 pagka   ʔati ŋani   sa   ʔikawalu ,
       when   there (emphatic particle) on   8th
       coordconn adv   prt   prep adj

PM.79a magjabas   si   paljus
       having_lunch PersInd Palyus
       v   det   n

When the 8th day arrived, Palyus was having his lunch.

28. MC.20 pabaliw-baliw
       transferring back and forth
       v

MC.20a pagka   ʔati ji   sa   maj   puʔun kaju si   ʔamuʔ
       when   there already on   there_is   tree   PersInd monkey
       coordconn adv   mod   prep existmrkr n   det   n

MC.20b ʔati   wajdi maʔaw ti   pinakadaka pag buʔaja
       there   the   biggest   lig   crocodile
       adv   adv   adv   dem adj   expl n

[He did it] to and fro, [but] when he got near where there was a tree, there actually was the biggest crocodile.

29. MC.24 pagka   ʔati sa   kaj   balaj si   ʔamuʔ
       when   there for   3SPoss house PersInd monkey
       coordconn adv   prep pro   n   det   n

MC.24a magkun si   ʔamuʔ
       said   PersInd monkey
       v   det   n

MC.24b sab   nu   maj   manhalu   sa   kaŋ   balaj
       later if   there_is   will_shake to   1SPoss house
       adv   coordconn existmrkr v   prep pro   n

MC.24c ʔataj maj   tawu
       here   there_is   person
       adv   existmrkr n

When Monkey was already in his house, he said, "Later if there's a movement in my house it means there's someone."

30. MC.27

pagka	ʔati
when	there
coordconn	adv

MC.27a

ʔaj	ʔinda	ji	ŋani	kan	balaji	lakawan
	this	already	Int	PersInd	in-law	path
prt	det	mod	prt	det	n	n

When he got there, "Oh, here, indeed, is friend's path."

31. MC.28

pagka	ʔati	ŋani
when	there	Int
coordconn	adv	prt

MC.28a

nidnaʔ	sa	kaj	balaj	ni	ʔamuʔ	si	buʔaja
dropped	at	3SPoss	house	PersInd	monkey	PersInd	crocodile
v	prep	pro	n	det	n	det	n

MC.28b

sinmulud	sija	sa	balaj	ni	ʔamuʔ
entered	3S	at	house	PersInd	monkey
v	pro	prep	n	det	n

When he got to Monkey's house, Crocodile went in.

32. MC.31

pagka	ʔati	ji
when	there	already
coordconn	adv	mod

MC.31a

si	ʔamuʔ	sa	suruʔ kaju	maglawaʔ	maʔan
PersInd	monkey	to	treetop	hunting _spider	again
det	n	prep	v	v	adv

MC.31b

maglawaʔ	kaj	buwat
hunting _spider	3SPoss	work
v	pro	n

When Monkey was on the top of the tree he hunted for spiders, that is what he did.

33. MC.35

pagka	ʔati	ji	sa	ʔikawalu	pag	tagudtud
when	there	already	at	8th	lig	hill
coordconn	adv	mod	prep	adj	expl	n

MC.35a nangaliwliw si ʔamuʔ sa kan buʔaja
      looked_back PersInd monkey at PersInd crocodile
      v det n prep det n

MC.35b ʔaj ʔanuŋ si balaji
                   PersInd in-law
      prt interj det n

matikaŋkaŋan   ji
lying_on_the_ground_with_arms_and_feet_wide_open already
v   mod

There at the 8th hill, Monkey looked back to check on Crocodile, "Oh my... friend is now lying on the ground already, with arms and feet wide open."

34. MC.44 pagka ʔati ji sa maj ʔusa waja gid ka
          when there already to there_is one still; yet Int lig
          coordconn adv mod prep existmrkr quant mod mod expl
tagudtud sa maj ʔusa waja gid ka luʔung
hill to there_is one still; yet Int lig valley
n prep existmrkr quant mod mod expl n

MC.44a ʔinaliwliw maʔan ni ʔamuʔ si buʔaja
       looked_back_on again PersInd monkey PersInd crocodile
       v adv det n det n

There at the other hill, on the other valley, Monkey looked back towards Crocodile again.

- **Pagka + Adverb**

35. PM.6 pagka sijun si ʔamuʔ
       when there PersInd Monkey
       coordconn adv det n

PM.6a balaji
     in-law
     n

PM6b magkun si ʔamuʔ
     said PersInd Monkey
     v det n

? PM.6a marinu gid kanmu pag tarabahu tundaʔaj .
       wonderful Int 2SPoss lig work that (with_emphasis)
       adj mod pro expl n pro

230

When Monkey was already there, "Friend", Monkey said, "That work [refering to the hammock] of yours is really very beautiful."

36. PM.81 | pagka | tunda | ji | ti | maŋa | kaban | ʔamuʔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | | that | already | the | PL | group | monkey |
| coordconn | pro | mod | dem | prt | n | n |

PM.81a | ʔunman | mag-ʔitabuʔ | sa | kaj | balaj |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| not;none | | in | 3SPoss | house |
| neg | v | prep | pro | n |

PM.81b | ʔuna | sa | sugkadan | haŋgan | punuʔ | ʔamuʔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| even_though | to | frontyard | also | full | monkey |
| adv | prep | n | adv | adj | n |

When the group of monkeys got there, there wasn't any more space left in his house and even in his yard.

- **Pagka + Time Phrase**

37. D.19 ta tajŋuna pagka palis ji ti ʔinit mag-ʔisip kunu
ta	tajŋuna	pagka	palis	ji	ti	ʔinit	mag-ʔisip	kunu
		when		already	the	sun	thinking	it_is_said
prt	adv	coordconn	adj	mod	dem	n	v	prt

si duŋhawan
PersInd Dunghawan
det n

D.19a bilaŋ kalasi taluhun di sija .
as_if kind to_defeat 3S
adv adj v prt pro

Now when the sun was almost out, Dunghawan was thinking that he might be defeated.

38. D.43 dapat ʔaj ʔinda kunu si duŋhawan pagka sa ʔusa
dapat	ʔaj	ʔinda	kunu	si	duŋhawan	pagka	sa	ʔusa
however	this		it_is_said	PersInd	Dunghawan	when	to	one
coordconn	det	prt		det	n	coordconn	prep	quant

ka siraŋ mag-ʔisip kunu si duŋhawan
lig day thinking it_is_said PersInd Dunghawan
expl n v prt det n

D.43a dugaj ji ʔaku ʔinda sa balaj hariʔ
long_time already 1S this to house king
adv mod pro det prep n n

D.43b ʔunman ʔaku maj paraʔan
not;none 1S there_is way
neg pro existmrkr n

D.43c para ʔaku makalajas   .
    for   1S   to_be_able_to_escape
    prep pro v

However, one day, Dunghawan was said to think, "I've been here at the king's house for a long time already, there's no way for me to be able to (escape) get-away."

39. TM.13 ta *pagka*   sa   ʔikawalu pag siraŋ nagsampak maʔan sida .
           when   on   8th   lig day met   again 3P
          prt *coordconn* prep adj   expl n   v   adv   pro

On the eight day they met again.

40. PM.85 pagka   maŋa palis ji   ti   ʔinit magkun si   paljus
         when   PL   already the   sun said   PersInd Palyus
         coordconn prt adj mod   dem n   v   det   n

    PM.85a ta ʔatag ji   kita sa   kaŋ   ʔama buklid
             go   already 1PInc at   1SPoss father farm
           prt v   mod   pro   prep pro   n   n

When it was already noon, Palyus said, "Let's go to my father's farm.

41. MC.15 pagka   sa   ʔikawalu ŋani pag siraŋ ʔati   maʔan ŋani si
         when   on   8th   Int lig day   there again Int   PersInd
         coordconn prep adj   prt expl n   adv   adv   prt det
    ʔamuʔ
    Monkey
    n

Indeed, on the 8th day, Monkey was there again.

42. PM.4 pagka   ʔabwat ji   ti   ʔinit magduŋug si   paljus
       when   high   already the   sun is hearing PersInd Palyus
       coordconn adj   mod   dem n   v   det   n
    maj   magragatik   .
    there_is clicking_sound
    existmrkr v

When the sun was already up, Palyus was hearing a clicking sound.

- **Pagka + Verb**

43. D.35

pagka	kunu	magligaw	maʔan	kaju	si
when	it_is_said	looking_for	again	wood	PersInd
coordconn	prt	v	adv	n	det

kapri
Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
n

D.35a

dapat	ʔaj	tida	si	duŋhawan	diman	ŋani	balaw	si
however		that	PersInd	Dunghawan	also	Int	not	PersInd
coordconn	dem	det	n		adv	prt	neg	det

kapri
Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
n

D.35b

kaj	laŋ	suluŋ	sa	kaj	bilug	bilaŋ	diman	si
3SPoss	only	suit	to	3SPoss	body	as_if	also	PersInd
pro	adv	n	prep	pro	n	adv	adv	det

kapri   .
Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
n

When Kapri did go look for firewood, but that one was actually Dunghawan and not Kapri, the clothes he was wearing was just like Kapri's.

44. D.37

pagka	nuli	maʔan	sa	balaj
when	went_home	again	at	house
coordconn	v	adv	prep	n

D.37a

magkun	maʔan
said	again
v	adv

D.37b

hariʔ	naʔan	dap	maʔaw	kanta	ligpitan	kaju	.
king	where		actually	3PIncl	place_to_keep	wood	
n	adv	adv	adv	pro	n	n	

When he was back in the house, he said again, "Where do we put our firewood, my King?"

45. D.46

pagka	ʔatag	ŋani
when	go	Int
coordconn	v	prt

D.46a

marigus	ji	kunu	si	duŋhawan
will take a bath	already	it_is_said	PersInd	Dunghawan
v	mod	prt	det	n

233

D.46b kaj　　rutaj　　kaj pinagkasuluŋ lukub kapri
　　　 3SPoss clothes the wearing　　　 skin　 Kapri (black man-like creature)
　　　 pro　　 n　　 det v　　　　　　 n　　 n

kaj　　 ʔinuba　　 .
3SPoss undressed
pro　　 v

When he went there, Dunghawan did take a bath and he took off the cloth he was wearing which was Kapri's skin.

46. D.70 pagka　　　 magpaʔalam　　　 maʔan
　　　　 when　　　　 asking_permission　 again
　　　　 coordconn　 v　　　　　　　　 adv

D.70a tag ji　　　 maʔan sa　　 danum .
　　　 go already again　 to　　 water
　　　 v　 mod　　 adv　　 prep　 n

After asking permission he went again to the river.

47. D.77 pagka　　　 kinuwit
　　　　 when　　　　 reached_out_to_using_a_stick
　　　　 coordconn　 v

D.77a ʔunman　 maj　　　 naʔalaman nu　　　　 naʔan pag nidnaʔ　 .
　　　 not;none there_is　 known　　 if　　　　 where lig　 dropped
　　　 neg　　　 existmrkr v　　　　 coordconn adv　 expl　 v

When she got it, nobody knew anymore where it fell.

48. PM.14 pagka　　　 magpadujan　　　　　　 ji　　 ŋani si　　　 ʔamuʔ
　　　　　 when　　　　 swinging_on_the_hammock already Int　 PersInd monkey
　　　　　 coordconn　 v　　　　　　　　　　　 mod　 prt　 det　　　 n

PM.14a sa　　 ʔumpisa di　 waja　　 pagpatablug ʔudwaja mag-ʔaput
　　　　 to　　 beginning　　 still; yet swing　　　 not yet　 reached
　　　　 prep　 n　　　　 prt mod　 v　　　　　 adv　　　 v

panuŋaʔan hintaj waja　　 kan　　 ʔamuʔ kaj　　 maŋa puna　　 hugut
middle　　 what　 still; yet PersInd monkey 3SPoss PL　　 intestine tight
n　　　　　 adv　 mod　　 det　　 n　　　 pro　　 prt　 n　　　　 adj

ji　　　　 sa　　 parasan
already　 to　　 thorny node
mod　　　 prep n

PM.14b kaj　　　 maŋa ʔiruŋ durugu　 ji　　　　 .
　　　　 3SPoss PL　 nose bleeding already
　　　　 pro　　 prt　 n　　 v　　　 mod

234

When Monkey did swing, just right there in the beginning and not even getting to the middle anymore, his intestines were tightly [entangled] with the thorny rattan nodes, his nose was already bleeding.

49. PM.16

pagka	namataj	si	ʔamuʔ
when	died	PersInd	Monkey
coordconn	v	det	n

PM.16.a

mag-ʔisip	si	paljus
thinking	PersInd	Palyus
v	det	n

PM.16b

majad	duj	maj	ʔupiʔ	ʔaku	ʔinda	.
good		there_is	viand	1S	this	
adj	prt	existmrkr	n	pro	det	

When Monkey died, Palyus was thinking, "This is good because I now have a viand."

50. PM.19

pagka	ʔinupiʔ	kaj	punaʔ
when	to_make_as_a_viand	3SPoss	intestine
coordconn	v	pro	n

PM.19a

ʔibinutaŋ	ni	paljus	sa	barut	sa	tuŋud	.
put	PersInd	Palyus	on	coconut_shell	on	top	
v	det	n	prep	n	prep	n	

After having [it] as a viand, Palyus put the intestines in a coconut shell above [the house].

51. PM.20

pagka	nakajabas	ji	si	paljus
when	was_able_to_have_lunch	already	PersInd	Palyus
coordconn	v	mod	det	n

PM.20a

masarap	gid	kaj	ʔupiʔ	taguban	ʔamuʔ	.
tasty	Int	3SPoss	viand	meat	Monkey	
adj	mod	pro	n	n	n	

Palyus already had his lunch, his viand was so yummy, which was the meat of the monkey.

52. PM.22

pagka	nakajabas	ji
when	was_able_to_have_lunch	already
coordconn	v	mod

PM.22a mag-ʔisip si paljus
      thinking   PersInd Palyus
      v   det   n

PM.22b ʔatag ʔaku sa sapaʔ
      go   1S   to   river
      v   pro prep n

PM.22c kaŋ suksukun ʔinda pag punaʔ .
      1SPoss will_weave this lig   intestine
      pro   v   det   expl n

After he had his lunch Palyus thought, "I'll go to the river, I'll weave this intestine."

53. PM.27 pagka maʔanudan ʔati sa danum
          when   floating   there to   water
          coordconn v   adv prep n

PM.27a paghiwatun ni paljus
      preparing   PersInd Palyus
      v   det   n

PM.27b pagsuksukun ti punaʔ ʔamuʔ .
      weaving   the   intestine Monkey
      v   dem n   n

When he had it floating on the water, Palyus prepared the intestine of the monkey for weaving.

54. PM.72 pagka nasariʔ si paljus
          when   came_to_laugh PersInd Palyus
          coordconn v   det   n

PM.72a ʔaj balaji
           in-law
      prt n

PM.72b magkun si ʔamuʔ
      said   PersInd monkey
      v   det   n

PM.72a kanmu duj pag ŋipun mabiru
      2SPoss   lig   teeth black
      pro   prt expl n   adj

When Palyus laughed, Monkey said, "Your teeth are black."

55. PM.100 pagka   nakakit   ti   ʔinaʔ ʔamuʔ
         when   able_to_see the   mother monkey
         coordconn v   dem n   n

    PM.100a nakaparagpag ji   kaj   maŋa kaʔibahan ʔati sa
          fell_down (PL) already 3SPoss PL   company   there to
          v   mod   pro   prt n   adv   prep
    karaw-ʔan gamasun
    middle   farm
    adj   n

    PM.100b nagkaramataj ji
          dying (PL)   already
          v   mod

    PM.100c magkun ti   ʔinaʔ ʔamuʔ
          said   the   mother monkey
          v   dem n   n

    PM.100d dajaʔ maʔaw kanmu balaji
          crafty actually 2SPoss in-law
          adj   adv   pro   n

When the mother monkey saw that her friends were already falling into the middle of the swidden and were dying, the mother monkey said, "You're such a deceiver, friend!

56. PM.95 pagka   saŋput   ji   ti   gamasun
        when   surround already the   farm
        coordconn   mod   dem n

    PM.95a hintaj waja   ʔunman maj   nakakalpas   ʔamuʔ
         what   still; yet not;none there_is   able_to_escape monkey
         adv   mod   neg   existmrkr v   n

    PM.95b nakaparagpag ti   ʔamuʔ
         fell_down (PL) the   monkey
         v   dem n

    PM.95c nasunug sa   gamasun
         burnt   to   farm
         v   prep n

When the swidden was surrounded [with fire], no monkey was able to escape, they were falling down [from the posts] and were burnt in the swidden.

- **Pagka + Existential Clause**

57. D.79 tajŋuna pagka ʔudji duj maj balukas
                when none_already there_is clothes
    adv coordconn neg prt existmrkr n
   kapri si duŋhawan
   Kapri (black_man-like_creature) PersInd Dunghawan
   n det n
   D.79a mag-ʔisip si duŋhawan
      thinking PersInd Dunghawan
      v det n
   D.79b kabitaj ʔinda ʔaku ʔatag muli? sa balaj
      how this 1S go go_home to house
      adv det pro v v prep n
   D.79c dahil ʔaku ʔudji maj balukas
      because 1S none_already there_is clothes
      coordconn pro neg existmrkr n
   kapri
   Kapri (black_man-like_creature)
   n
Now, when Dunghawan didn't have Kapri's clothes anymore, he was thinking, "How could I go home now? Because I don't have Kapri's cloth anymore.

58. PM.5 pagka maj magragatik
      when there_is clicking_sound
      coordconn existmrkr v

   PM.5a binantajan ni paljus
      looked_at PersInd Palyus
      v det n

   PM.5b ʔaj si ʔamuʔ maʔaw .
      PersInd Monkey actually
      prt det n adv

He looked at it and, oh, it was Monkey.

- **Pagka + Adjectival Clause**

59. TM.104

pagka	diit	wadi	kaj	danum	diit diit	wadi	gid
when	small	only	3SPoss	water	very_small	only	Int
coordconn	adj	adv	pro	n	adj	adv	mod

TM.104a

nan-nguni	ti	sawi
chirping	the	Sawi_bird
v	dem	n

TM.104b

magkumun
saying
v

TM.104c

kabutbuti	kabutbuti	kabutbuti	.

When the water was already too little, really very little, the Sawi bird chirped, "Kabutbuti, kabutbuti, kabutbuti!"

60. PM.59

pagka	mag-ʔitakip-takip	maʔan	ti	ʔamuʔ
when	a_bit_far	again	the	Monkey
coordconn	adj	adv	dem	n

PM.59a

magkun	maʔan	si	paljus
said	again	PersInd	Palyus
v	adv	det	n

PM.59b

punaʔ	ʔamuʔ	.
intestine	monkey	
n	n	

When the monkey was a bit far again, Palyus said once more, "Monkey's intestine."

- **Pagka as ligature**

61. PM.86

sa	dakaʔ	pagka	buklid	niku	ʔama	ʔati	kita
on	big	when	farm	1SPoss	father	there	1PInc
prep	adj	coordconn	n	pro	n	adv	pro

PM.86a

hampaj	bumiru	kanju	maŋa	ŋipun
so that	will_turn_black	2PExcl	PL	teeth
coordconn	v	pro	prt	n

We'll go to my father's big farm so that your teeth will become black."

RESUME

Name: Yrrah Jane S. Epo

Date of Birth: 25 April 1986

Place of Birth: Philippines

Institutions Attended:

    2006, Bachelor of Secondary and Industrial Education, Mindanao State University – Iligan Institue of Technology (MSU-IIT), Iligan City, Philippines

    2014, Master of Arts in Linguistics, Payap University, Chiang Mai Thailand