This paper is an analysis of behavioral texts (speech directed obligatorily to a second person in communication situation) and a discussion of the persuasive devices employed by the speakers in an effort to effect a change in the listener's behavior. This study deals with two Eastern Bontoc behavioral texts. Several nonlinguistic persuasive devices are described: appeal to the cultural norm, human relationship, coaxing, and indirectness. Mitigatory efforts in persuasion are described, including factors that necessitate the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc, mitigation devices used on different grammatical levels, and mitigation force. Texts are appended. (JP)
Behavioral Discourse Strategy in Eastern Bontoc

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Abbreviations and symbols

0. Introduction

1. Nonlinguistic persuasive devices
   1.1 Appeal to the cultural norm
   1.2 Human relationship
   1.3 Coaxing
   1.4 Indirectness

2. Mitigatory efforts in persuasion
   2.1 The need to mitigate commands in behavioral discourse
   2.2 Mitigation in behavioral discourse
      2.2.1 Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels
   2.3 Mitigation force

References

Appendix

Abbreviations and symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td>emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td></td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT</td>
<td></td>
<td>existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td></td>
<td>genitive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td></td>
<td>inversion marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td></td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td></td>
<td>linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td></td>
<td>nominative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OM</td>
<td></td>
<td>oblique marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td></td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
<td>question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QM</td>
<td></td>
<td>quotation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ</td>
<td></td>
<td>rhetorical question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Eastern Bontoc is an Austronesian language classified as a member of the Central Cordilleran language family and is spoken in the municipalities of Bontoc and Barlig, Mt. Province, Philippines. There are about 8,000 speakers in five villages: Bayyu, Talubin, Barlig, Lias, and Kadaclan. Each village speaks its own subdialect of Eastern Bontoc. The data for this study is based on the Barlig dialect and was gathered during the summer of 1986, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Analysis of the data was done during a discourse workshop held by the same institute during September and October 1987 at Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, under the direction of Dr. Michael R. Walrod. Dr. Rodolfo Barlaan provided valuable consultant help.
O. Introduction

A behavioral discourse is one in which the communicator intends to exhort, give advice, persuade or give verbal discipline in an effort to change the behavior or beliefs of the advisee. A primary notional feature of behavioral discourse is that it is agent oriented (Longacre 1983:3-4); that is, speech directed obligatorily to a second person in a communication situation. If the communicator wants to gain maximum behavioral change, he needs to be aware of all the extra linguistic factors involved in the communication situation, as well as the linguistic devices available in the language. To accomplish this goal, he is required to make use of all available persuasive devices in the language. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the persuasive devices employed in the behavioral texts analyzed.

This study deals with two Eastern Bontoc behavioral texts (see Appendix). The first text is a conversation among several people advising a careless boy to save his money for wedding celebration expenses, and not to spend it on gambling and drinking. His aunt is the main one speaking to him, but his grandfather, older brother and younger sister are also at the scene and speak from time to time. The text was recorded and transcribed by Alex Cotaran, a native of Bar lig village of Eastern Bontoc language area and the older brother referred to in the text. The second text was written by Virginia Coyao, a native of Barlig also. In the text she advises her peer group about the importance of sending children to school.

In behavioral discourse the communicator employs a strategy to gain maximum results. The strategy involves persuasive devices, which can be either nonlinguistic or linguistic.

1. Nonlinguistic persuasive devices

There are many persuasive devices in a language which help the communicator to achieve his aim of effecting a change in the behavior of the listener. According to the communication theory of Walrod (1988), most information is communicated by nonverbal means. This is especially true in behavioral discourse, since the purpose is not only to transmit information, but to effect a change in behavior as well.

Several nonlinguistic persuasive devices are: appeal to the cultural norm, human relationship, coaxing and indirectness.

1.1 Appeal to the cultural norm

Appeal to the cultural norm is a nonlinguistic device commonly used to effect a change in the behavior of the one being advised. Since a cultural norm is by definition a value shared by the people in a given society, it serves as a model for expected behavior. The adviser, by either implying or stating the norm, attempts to effect a change in the behavior of the person to whom he is speaking. Cultural norms are layered and can be arranged from most important to least important. Barlaan2 considers the layering of cultural norms to belong to the linguistic domain, but I treat it as a nonlinguistic device since cultural norms are essentially nonlinguistic elements shared by a society. These elements are expressed in behavioral discourse, such as the two texts on which this paper is based.

In text 1 the most important cultural norm is the concept of shame. In text 1, turn 133 when the aunt tells the boy that he should not embarrass his relatives, she is making quite a strong statement. In turn 19 (sentence 19e) she does this again when she says, “How shameful this is, if they said no one was

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2 Personal communication with him in 1987.
3 Numbers refer to conversational turns, while 13a, etc. in the text refer to sentence enumeration within a turn.
advising you children." Note that she resorts to "they" (referring to the people in general for her support), since shame functions as a cultural norm with and among the people. In turn 26 (sentence 26b) she again says, "Isn't it shameful if (when you box someone) others say, 'We belong to the same clan'?" In turn 66 (sentence 66a) she says, "...then what will they say?" Lastly, in turn 68 (sentence 68a) she says, "'His mother does not advise him...'; they will say." She continues in sentence 68b, "Then you cause (us) embarrassment." The aunt is very conscious of what the people say because anyone who does anything against the cultural norm of the community brings shame to one's family. Thus, conformity to the cultural norm of the community is very important. In essence, what the aunt is saying to the boy is, "Don't be an embarrassment to us."

Another cultural norm expressed in text 1 is the importance of marrying and having children. To multiply is good, and the continuing existence of the community is very important. From the beginning of the conversation the aunt brings up this norm. In text 1, turn 3 (sentence 3b) she says, "'Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk'?" The theme of marriage is followed throughout the conversation as shown in the following excerpts: turn 7 (sentence 7b) 'when you get married'; turn 11 (sentence 11b) 'for your wedding celebration'; turn 15 (sentence 15a) 'church wedding' and (sentence 15b) 'one pig from your wife's side'; turn 17 (sentence 17) 'whenever they get married'; turn 19 (sentence 19c) 'is there anyone (among the ladies) and (sentence 19d) 'you get married...your wife'; turn 28 (sentence 28) 'we get married'; turn 34 (sentence 34a) 'you get married...after you marry'; turn 42 (sentence 42) 'when we (Bontocs) get married...a wife'; turn 44 (sentence 44) 'you get married'; turn 50 (sentence 50a) 'you do get married' and (sentence 50b) 'your wife'; turn 63 (sentence 63b) 'marry you'; and turn 66 (sentence 66a) 'you get married'.

The young man in text 1 is the appropriate age for marriage. It would be shameful to the aunt if he does not marry, since in the village only drunkards and gamblers remain single men. Because they have no children they are forgotten in the future, since no one remembers the names of dead relatives who never had any children.

A related cultural norm is that a married couple should have a wedding celebration. in the Eastern Bontoc area, marriage takes place when a boy and a girl agree to marry each other and begin living together. They do three other things after that; namely, obtain a marriage contract in the municipal hall, have a church wedding and have a native wedding celebration. These three can occur in one day, but in many cases there is a long time lapse between them. One can have a native wedding celebration after having as many as three children. With this event, the marriage is celebrated by the community and the married couple is remembered in the future, due to the impact the celebration has had on the whole community. Many couples feel ashamed if they do not have carabao, cows and/or pigs to butcher for this celebration. The main point of the native wedding celebration is to have people gathering and eating together. One of the main reasons that there is a period of time between when the couple agrees to marry and the native wedding celebration, is that they need to save money to buy animals for the celebration. Saving money can start even before the couple agrees to marry, but it definitely continues long after the agreement. Thus it is important for a man to work hard in order to save for his wedding celebration.

The least important cultural norm is to refrain from gambling and drinking. In many cases drinking and gambling go on all night, so the man indulging in these activities cannot work hard and save money.

In text 1 the more important cultural norms, such as conformity to the cultural norm of the community, marrying and having a native wedding celebration are presupposed. The exhortation points given by the aunt relate more to the outer norm, such as refraining from gambling and drinking, saving money and working hard.

In text 2 cultural norms are ranked: (1) being a good steward of one's money and (2) sending one's children to school (which requires money). The communicator states that it is more important to send children to school than to keep money. The advice is meant to appeal to the known and accepted cultural norm of the community in clarifying a perceived indecision.
1.2 Human relationship

Who is talking to whom is quite important in behavioral discourse, since the relationship between the speaker and the hearer decides whether the hearer should or should not listen to the advice of the advisor. He can ask himself:

(1) Which one is more powerful?
(2) Which one has a higher social rank?
(3) Which one is older?
(4) Which one has a debt to the other?
(5) Which one is higher in blood relationship?

These questions are constantly in the mind of the speaker and hearer, and his assessment of the relationship influences his speech act. In text 1 the young man is surrounded by his aunt, grandfather, older brother and sister. They all have a higher standing than he does in terms of kin relationship, so this means that he must listen to whatever they say to him. For example, in turn 21 (sentence 21a) the grandfather refers to himself as “I, your grandfather” and in turn 23 (sentence 23) to the young man as “my grandson”. In turn 26 (sentence 26c), the aunt refers to the young man as “children”. In turn 48 (sentence 48c) she calls herself, “your parents”. In turn 55 (sentence 55a) the older brother calls him “Fertig”. A younger sibling never addresses his older brother in this way. In turn 58 (sentence 58) the aunt refers to the older brother as “this sibling of yours”. Lastly, in turn 70 (sentence 70a) she again refers to the young man as “children”. Since they all agree in what they say, pressure is put on him. In text 2 (sentence 2) the speaker is addressing her peers. In this way she avoids straight exhortations like those in text 1, but uses a group of supposed advisees instead.

1.3 Coaxing

In Eastern Bontoc the word fialiyan ‘coaxing’, which in this article means an effort to persuade using an argument, even if it may not be true. For example, in an effort to stop a crying child, a mother will promise to give candies (but she doesn't actually give them), or she may say that a policeman is coming (when he really isn't). This may not be for the Eastern Bontocs only. Mercado (1979:32) says about Filipino parents in general that parents promise a lot, but when promises are broken the child learns not to be disappointed. What is important is not whether it is a fact, but rather that it is a means of bringing persuasive force. In text 1, turn 30 (sentence 30) the aunt says, “When there is (a wake for) a dead person, then your boy companions and your girl companions indeed tell me about it”, which may not be true. That is why the boy answers back in turn 31 (sentence 31), “Who are they?” The aunt doesn't answer the question of the boy, but accuses him for talking back. He then accuses the aunt of being a liar. In turn 34 (sentence 34a) the aunt says, “You cannot deny (that you are doing these things)”, but she then goes on to talk about the marriage. Neither of them are trying to prove something; that is not their concern. She says in turn 5 (sentence 5b), “Whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, you always go and join in the gambling.” This again may not be true, but it serves as an exhortation, even if he isn't always there. Still, he is guilty of gambling, and this is what the aunt wants him to stop doing.

1.4 Indirectness

It is somewhat surprising that a young man like the one in text 1 actually does behave in due course of time, even though the exhortation seems weak. There are many young men who gamble and drink, but all of them do not remain that way for a long time. Sometimes the main purpose of a behavioral discourse is to remind or give hortation points/advice to the advisee. In the future, there may be a time when he will really think about the exhortation and decide to follow the advice given. In the last part of text 1 (especially after turn 61), the word kikiad ‘responsibility/up to you’ occurs frequently. In turn 61 (sentence 61d) the aunt says, “…you are the one who is responsible.” She continues in turn 63 (sentence 63a) with the same word, which is translated ‘you are responsible’. In turn 67 (sentence 67) the young man responds,
“It is up to us.” Finally, in turn 70 (sentence 70a) the aunt says, “Now it is up to you.” In turn 71 (sentence 71) the boy replies, “We are the ones who are responsible.” It is clear that the aunt isn’t trying to force the young man to agree, or to force him to promise that he won’t gamble anymore. The aunt is satisfied when the boy says, “We are the ones who are responsible.” It is shameful if the aunt really corners him, and proves that he really is a useless person. She avoids that situation, but rather is content to remind him what she really wants him to be like.

2. Mitigatory efforts in persuasion

2.1 The need to mitigate (make mild) commands in behavioral discourse

There are three factors which necessitate the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc.

The first factor is that Eastern Bontocs generally tend to avoid conflict/confrontation situations. Each village in the Eastern Bontoc area is surrounded by high mountains, and the distance between villages is very far. More than 90 percent of the people marry within their own village, so each village is a tightly knit society. Everyone knows who each person is related to, what each person owns, what events happened to each person, etc. If people have a problem in their relationship, they know that they will see each other from time to time, even after the settlement of the case. They also know that, if at all possible, it is wise to avoid any conflict or confrontation. The surface peace or harmony is quite important, even though there are hidden negative feelings. It is important for one not to show anger to others.

The second factor that necessitates mitigation is shame. Conformity to the expected cultural norm is the basic demand of shame. It is shameful if one is doing something different from the expected norm, because the people in the society are closely related to each other. Another reason is that it's a farming community, and in rice farming many activities need to be done together. So, it is a high value to maintain harmonious working relationships within this community. When a person feels ashamed, he doesn't want to see his fellow villagers or relatives. Since it is impossible to avoid others in such a tightly knit and crowded village, the best thing to do is to avoid bringing shame to oneself or to one's family/relatives.

The third factor that necessitates mitigation is shared knowledge. This is because of the previous two factors. Many things are unsaid, because the society already shares this common information. So, when you advise, it is better if your exhortation is implied, and is not a direct confrontation. The advisee will quickly get the point of the exhortation.

These three factors are the background for the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc. When exhortations are directly addressed to the advisee, it means that the adviser is angry and intends to break off their relationship. It also means that he doesn't intend to see the advisee again in his lifetime. So, in normal situations outside of one's own family, it is advisable to avoid unmitigated exhortation. When the nonlinguistic persuasive devices are fully utilized and the utterance is mitigated, the persuasive force is likely to be strong.

2.2 Mitigation in behavioral discourse

Mitigation is a linguistic device which enables an adviser to maintain a good relationship with his advisee, yet it accomplishes the desired persuasive result. This is done by replacing/changing parts of a constituent at different linguistic levels. The presence of cultural constraints demands the use of mitigation devices. In a given situation, if an unmitigated discourse will result in a broken relationship, one needs to resort to the mitigation.

2.2.1 Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels

Mitigation occurs on the discourse level, the episode/paragraph level, the sentence/clause level and the word level. In this section, I will discuss the strength of the mitigation force on each level.

2.2.1.1 Discourse level

Mitigation on the discourse level involves skewing of the intent and the discourse type by the speaker. The discourse type can be behavioral, narrative, expository or procedural. Manabe (1984:7-8) talks about
'authorial intent' and 'hierarchical structure of authorial intent'. His point is that even a narrative discourse can carry authorial intent in various ways. A story can be told that also includes a moral lesson. This is a common practice among the Eastern Bontocs. People tell stories to others in order to make the hearer do what they want to be done. In the first part of text 2, the story clearly carries an authorial intent. This is specifically used to stress the need for continuing education. The communicator regards the child as the point of reference by referring to the father in turn 3 as "his father", but the child is never referred to as "his child". Twice the communicator uses an indirect quote or indirect speech for the words of the child. In sentence 2 the communicator says, "Their child, he wanted to continue going to school." And in sentence 10 the communicator says, "...he said again that he would continue two more years." All the other speech acts are direct quotes. That a child needs to go to school is the advice of the communicator to his audience, and the message reflected in the indirect speech is that they should send their children to school.

2.2.1.2 Episode or paragraph level

Mitigation on the episode or paragraph level is what Barlaan (during personal communication with him) terms global mitigation. Reordering takes place by reversing the order of the global or main constituents of a behavioral discourse. The basic notional structure of a behavioral discourse is: (1) projected circumstance, (2) command element and (3) support by argument (Fukuda 1983:151). In a mitigated discourse (see text 2), support by argument comes first, and then the command element follows (see sentence 22). Support by argument (see sentences 1-19) is an embedded narrative discourse, which is followed by a metaphor (see sentences 20-21). This metaphor is realized as a grammatical paragraph, and it is also part of the global mitigation. Instead of speaking directly, the speaker can use metaphors which indirectly convey his real meaning.

2.2.1.3 Sentence or clause level

There are many mitigation devices on the sentence or clause level, such as, the rhetorical question. In text 1 there are many instances of rhetorical questions, which communicate the strong affirmative point of the communicator. A rhetorical question can be expressed in three ways:

1. Use of the rhetorical question marker in text 1, turn 3:

   3b. Ay w:ny monlayad kan chitas fiafiarasang mo kon
   Q EXT like OM us,OM ladies if only
   fofofotang chi kon?
   drunk NM only

   The intent of the communicator is to say, "there aren't any ladies who like us if we are always drunk".

2. The notionally rhetorical question uses a question marker, but no rhetorical question marker is used in text 1, turn 11:

   11c. Ay wachay chak monlagfowan?
   Q EXT.LK PROG,I place.of.work

   The intent of the communicator is to say, "Of course, you know that I don't have a job now", or, "I can't earn any money for you."

3. The notionally rhetorical question doesn't use the question word ay, but the rising intonation at the end of the sentence phonologically marks it as a question in text 1, turn 8:

   8. Kon lawa icht?
   only just give

   The intent of the communicator is to say, "Of course, I won't give it."
A second device for expressing mitigation on the sentence or clause level, is to express a notional exhortation with an exclamation sentence in text 1, turn 1:

1b. Anan norpowam os!
   EM come, you now

The communicator knows that the boy has been drinking, and probably gambling. This is equivalent to saying, “You shouldn’t come home drunk this late.”

The third device for expressing mitigation on the sentence or clause level is to express a notional exhortation by a statement sentence in text 1, turn 26:

26c. Hiyasa nan nomnonon ay ongong-a.
   that NM think LK children

26c. That is what you should think, children.

In text 1 there are very few command sentences compared to rhetorical questions. And those command sentences are not the communicators main hortation point, but like the command in text 1, turn 34 (sentence 34b), “Listen!”

One other use of the statement sentence is presumed realization (Doty 1986:51). In text 1, turn 70 (sentences 70a-70b) the aunt says, “Now it is up to you children, if you insist on what you say. You must control your own thoughts.” She talks as if the boy has already come to his senses, or that he has already agreed to do what she has been asking him.

2.2.1.4 Word level pronouns and particles are the two major mitigation devices on word level.

(1) The basic mitigatory device on the word level, is for the pronouns to shift from second person orientation (either singular or plural) to first person orientation. It can also shift from second person singular to second person plural. In text 2, sentence 22 the communicator addresses the advisees by using the first person plural inclusive pronoun tako. Up until then the communicator did not identify herself, since she was just telling the story. She identifies herself as a parent by including herself with the first person plural inclusive pronoun. She says, ‘that is what I say to all of us, in parents’. After this she uses the same pronoun five times. This is to mitigate the command by including herself.

Also in text 1, the aunt uses the second person plural pronoun, although she is clearly referring only to the boy. This is to mitigate the command by including the friends of the boy, who aren’t there at the time of the conversation. In turn 7 (sentence 7c) she says, ‘you, PL work now... if you, PL do not keep it then give it to me’.

(2) The second mitigatory device on the word level, is the use of some special particles. The Eastern Bontoc word anaka, which has a lexically zero meaning, is used when one cannot think of the right word. This word can take all the verbal affixes. But in text 1, turns 11, 19, 30, and 70 the word functions as a mitigory device to soften the command by giving an extra phonological pause. Another particle is mampay ‘emphasis’ used in text 1, turn 7:

7c. ... mo achi you itopog mampay, ichat yon haon!
   if not you keep EM give you, CM me

7c. ... or if you do not keep it then give it to me!

2.3 Mitigation force

Mitigation devices used on different grammatical levels are described in section 2.2. I propose that the mitigation effect is strongest on the discourse level, and it becomes successively weaker as it moves down to the word level. Intuitively, I like to think that a narrative story makes the most impact on the advisee. The grandfather’s embedded expository discourse is well accepted by the boy (see text 1, turn 21), even though it has a hortation intent. The boy doesn’t question the necessity of the wedding celebration, which the grandfather is trying to explain. Rather, the boy is questioning the very minor point of boxing on such an occasion.
When we compare the statement and the rhetorical question as mitigation devices on the sentence or clause level, it seems that the statement has more force. For example, in text 1 the statement receives a positive response from the boy. As for the rhetorical questions, the boy doesn't negate the norm but responds in an indirect way.

In conclusion, mitigation isn't utilized on only one level. Text 1 has an embedded expository discourse, presumed realization, rhetorical questions and pronoun shifts. Text 2 has global reordering of the constituents structures, pronoun shifts and metaphor. Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels add to the strength of the mitigation force employed by the speaker to persuade the second person in a communication situation to change his behavior.

Appendix: Text 1

1a. Anan sorfiatam!
   EM foolish.you

1b. Anan norpowain os!
   EM come.you now

2. Ya kakon man assa fiabroy!
   and well EM there poblacion

3a. Kon fofotang chi kon mo.
   only drunk NM only you

3b. Ay way monlayad kan chitas fiafiarasang mo kon
   Q EXT like OM us, OM ladies if only
   fofotang chi kon?
   drunk NM only

4. Ya kon manowat at wacha challo!
   and only even.so IM EXT EM

5a. Oray wacha!
   even EXT

5b. Wacha os nan matey, kiay oyka os nakisokiar.
   EXT now NM dead then go. you again gamble

5c. Anan oyno omor-a-or-an hi cha isokiasokiar?
   EM you get OM PROG money.to.gamble

6. Ya kakon tinob-okian.
   and well earn

7a. Angkiay kon nan tinob-okian ya kon sokiar chi
    then only NM earn and only gamble NM
    mangeayam ya inonom?
    spend you and drink you

1a. How foolish you are!

1b. Now, where have you been!

2. Well, there at the poblacion!

3a. You always get drunk.

3b. Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk?

4. Sure there will be one!

5a. There is even (someone who would want you)!

5b. Whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, you always go and join in the gambling.

5c. How do you get the money you use for gambling?

6. Well, it is the money I earned.

7a. It is the money you earned, and are you spending it only for gambling and drinking?
7b. Kiay konpay mo omasawa ka ya tay ammok
then when if marry you and because know.I
met ay wachay champ oy annon, yangkiay anan mo
EM LK EXT LK PROG you go court then EM if
omasawa ka, kiay nan etarakon mo?
marry you then NM take care of you

7c. Ya tay adwani pay nan ... adwani ay onlagfo
and because now EM NM now LK work
kayo. hiyachin cha mangiophopokián hi aket hi
you that NM PROG keep OM little OM
elagfowan onno mo achi yo iotop mampay ichat you
earn or if not you keep EM give you, OM
haon!
me

8. Kon"lhva ichat?
only just give
9. Ya tay iotop ko.
and because keep I

10. Iyen-enom-at ta awni ta anaka mangasawa, haok-at
drink so later so well marry then I
cha iotopog.
PROG keep

11a. Ay awni?
Q later

11b. Angkiay anan anaka, elakom hi ichoyas
then EM well buy OM things for wedding
mo?
your

11c. Ay wachay chak monlagfowan?
Q EXT LK PROG I place of work

11d. Ay wachay cha monlagfowan ama yo?
Q EXT LK PROG place of work father your

12a. Kias-an wachay ichoychocas?
necessary EXT LK things for wedding

12b. Kakon ommat-at chi osay manok ay ichoyas
well enough NM one LK chicken LK for wedding
at osto chi.

12c. Do I have a job now?

12d. Does your father have a job now?

7b. Then when you get married, because I know that there is a lady you are courting, so when you get married then how do you take care of her?

7c. Yes, because...you are working now, you should save a little, or if you do not keep it, then give it to me!

8. Do I just give it?

9. Yes, so that I can keep it.

10. I just spend it for drinking, but when I get married in the future, that is the time I will keep it.

11a. In the future (you will save your money)?

11b. Then how do you buy what is needed for your wedding celebration?

11c. Do I have a job now?

11d. Does your father have a job now?

12a. Is it necessary to have something for the wedding celebration?

12b. It is acceptable to have only one chicken for the wedding celebration.
13a. O, tay maid fia-in mos ib-am.
yes because none shame your,OM relatives

13b. Totoknom hinkaongam.
foolish.you since.child

14a. Ah-a.
well

14b. Kakon challo kon sorsorion nan menaliyam tal
well EM only learn NM traditional.way EM

14c. Oyan kiasto ... kakon ....
we spend well

15a. Kaskasin nan kiastos henan adwani tay wacha
more NM expense OM now because EXT
nan kaskasar ay oycha kankanan.
NM church.wedding LK their words

15b. Ongor chi at ya tay mo ahnan pinos-oy kon
much NM IM and because if OM old.way only
way osay fiafay mo ay laraki ya wachay osay fiafay
EXT one, LK pig if LK man and EXT, LK one, LK pig
chi asawam, hiyachi.
NM wife.your that

15c. Senmorpon cha nan ib-am ya as
bringing, rice.bundles they NM relatives.your and OM
katorong as kaman ib-am, at achi cha met
help OM like relatives.you IM not they EM
epaafo chi!
demand.return that

15d. Afosomto chi as kasin.
give that OM future

16. Iso ompay!
right EM

17. As omasaw-an cha os.
OM marry they now

18a. Mangisiw nan wachay ab-afoc.on.
evil NM EXT, LK give.back

13a. Yes, because you do not want to embarrass your relatives.

13b. You have been foolish from your childhood.

14a. Well.

14b. It is better to follow the traditional way!

14c. We will spend... hope-fully....

15a. The expense now (for the wedding celebration) is much more because that is what they say the cost is for a church wedding.

15b. It is very expensive because in the traditional way there is one pig from the man's side and one pig from the wife's side, that is the way.

15c. Your relatives bring rice bundles as their contribution, and they will not demand that you give (pig meat) in return!

15d. That is what you will give them later.

16. That is right!

17. Whenever they get married (they will give it).

18a. It is bad to have a custom of giving something in return (at the wedding celebration).
18b. Ta kon wacha kay chi monkasar, kiay iyoy chi
so only EXT EM NM marry then bring NM sorpon?
ricebundles
18c. Anan oyaka!
EM too.much
18d. Pipiya pay chi osay manok ta kon ang-angkiay
better EM NM one, LK chicken so only only
kayo. you
19a. Totoknom.
foolish.you
19b. Anan nangor-am hi nomnom mos assesa?
EM get.you OM think your, OM like.that
19c. Ay way monlayad kan hea mo hiyasa?
Q EXT like OM you if that
19d. Ay awni.ta omasawa ka ya anaka katokiangam
Q later so marry you and well parents.in.law
chi manochon hea ya asawam?
NM advise you and wife.you
19e. Anoy kafiaflain na, kiay kenali cha on, maid cha
how shameful this then said they QM none PROG
iiocho kan chakayo ay ongong-a.
advise OM you LK children
20. Ya wacha met!
and EXT EM
21a. Wacha nan ifiaikay ap-oro yo.
EXT NM tell.I LK grandfather your
21b. Kanak on, libbing ay mo omasawa ta, wacha challoy
say. I QM right LK if marry we EXT truly
choyas. celebrate
18b. Because whenever there is a wedding, then rice bundles are brought (by the relatives)?
18c. That is too much!
18d. It is better to have one chicken since you are the only ones (providing it).
19a. You are foolish.
19b. Where did you get that idea?
19c. Is there anyone (among the ladies) who would like you if you are like that?
19d. Is it only after you get married that your parents-in-law are the ones to advise you and your wife?
19e. How shameful this is, if they said no one was advising you children.
20. Yes, there are those (who advise)!
21a. I, your grandfather, have something to say.
21b. I say that if we (Bontocs) get married, it is right to have a celebration.
People in the past called it a *choyas* (wedding celebration) when close relatives, who are grandparents and parents, got together. Then they said, "We are all here."

If there is trouble, they will say, "Don't (do that), because that (person) is our relative and we protect him/her," or, "Don't box him/her, because that (person) and we are one family."

That is the good side of wedding celebrations initiated by ancestors in the past.

Even so, if I get drunk, I box those who are aggressive.

Because if you go and box (someone), that is bad, my grandson.

How about if they are very aggressive?

No, it is good that we are patient, because this is how we can be good people!

Well, is it good that if you box someone, then you reconcile the next day or the third day, because we are one family?
26b. 

"Isn't it shameful if (when you box someone) others say, "We belong to the same clan?"

26c. That is what you should think, children.

26d. Here are your younger siblings, so if you want them to go to school, they are the ones you should help.

27. And they are also responsible (to attend school)!

28. That truly shows that you do not listen to advice. That is why you did not finish school, because this drinking and gambling is what you have been doing. Because if we get married now (while you are doing all these things) it is bad.

29a. Where did you see me gambling?

29b. Nowhere!

30. When there is (a wake for) a dead person, then your boy companions and your girl companions indeed tell me about it.

31. Who are they?

32. You wrongly clarify so that you will say, "... why do you answer back?"
33. And that is why I also say, "You are telling a lie."

34a. No,...well...you cannot deny (that you are doing these things), because it is bad if you get married, and then you still behave the same way after you marry.

34b. Listen.

35. You keep on saying that whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, that I will be there!

36. Yes, that is right!

37. No, I am not always there!

38a. How can you deny it?

38b. You always come home late!

39. No (I am not always late) because we have a sleeping house (and sometimes I go there overnight).

40. You better listen and stop arguing!

41. Where (am I arguing)?

42. So that when we (Bontocs) get married, we need to know how to take care of children and how to take care of a wife.

43. Of course, I already know how.
44. Is it only when you get married that you think (about this)?

45. Yes, that is right!

46. It is better if you begin (thinking) now!

47. It is the children that cause us to think about taking care of them.

48a. I don't think so.

48b. If you keep on thinking (or doing things) like that, I doubt if you will ever come to your senses.

48c. Even to us your parents, you do not listen and what's more....

49. Is that all...?

50a. It is useless (to talk to you), even if you do get married.

50b. Do not let your wife go to the field alone; if she goes, you have to go along and get sticks.

51. Well, it is up to her, because she is the one who plants!

52. Then how about your viand?

53. Well, we will eat the ones she plants.

54. O..., that is bad!
55a. Kayman Fertig!
   EM Fertig

55b. Chongron sa.
   listen.you that

56. Ahh ....
   well

57. Magsomikap ka.
   industrious you

58. Ay chongron nan ifia yo ay anna, "Ta kon kayo
   Q listen NM sibling your LK this so only you
   am-in ...."
   all

59. Kayman chakayoy fattang!
   EM you,LK drunkard

60. Achiyak met fattang!
   not.I EM drunkard

61a. Ay oy achi?
   Q go not

61b. Kon ka komatam on hiyasa?
   only you come.home EM that

61c. Anan sorsorscitam!
   well foolish

61d. Angkiay ka kikiad mo achi ka monnomnomnom,
   then you depend you not you think
angkiay anan oyakay cha kanakanan kan hea.
   then well too.much PROG tell OM you"}

61e. Maid paat aforotom hi kanan!
   none EM obey.you OM word

62. Aforotok met am-in nan chayo kanakanan!
   obey.I EM all NM PROG,you say

63a. Ay achim; kiy kon ka kikiad as cham
   Q not.you then only you depend OM PROG,you
   at-aton.
   do

63b. Ay way cha mangetangaw kan heay mangasawa?
   Q EXT PROG like OM you,LK marry

64a. Aw wacha mo epapatek ngay challoy omarom!
   no EXT if try.I EM truly,LK court

55a. That's right, Fertig!

55b. Listen to that.

56. Well....

57. Be industrious.

58. Did you hear what this sibling of yours said, "You
   are all ...."
64b. At wacha challo.
IM EXT truly

65. Oray nakodkod!
even skin.disease

66a. Oray wacha mampay mo angkiay ya omasawa ta
even EXT EM if then and marry so
ya cham challo ipoo-pooy nan cham at-at-aton,
and PROG you truly continue NM PROG you do
ya anan kanan cha?
and well say they

66b. Ya anan ...
and well

67. Kikiad kami ay anaka ....
depend we LK well

68a. “Maid tochon ena na, maid tochon ama na,
one advise mother his none advise father his
maid tochon apo na,” kanan cha.
one advise grandparents his say they

68b. Kiay omepafiain kayowat.
then cause.embarrass you

68c. Enha kon cha todotototan chakayo.
see only PROG continue.to advise,OM you

68d. Mangan ta, cha todototan chakayo.
eat we PROG advise,OM you

68e. Komatan kayo, cha todotototan chakayo.
come.home you PROG advise,OM you

68f. Ya kon kayo challo achi omaforot?
and only you truly not obey

69a. Huh!
yes

69b. Omaforot kami.
obey we

70a. Kon kayo kikiad ay ongong-a mo enha wachay
only you depend LK children if well EXT LK
kanan en-aanaka yo nan kanan yo.
say do you NM say you

70b. Wachas nonnom yo nan anaka etioray yo.
EXT think you NM well control you
71. We are the ones who are responsible.

Appendix: Text 2

1. There was a couple and their child.

2. Their child, he wanted to continue going to school.

3. But his father and his mother said, "No way, because how can we get that much money, since school is very expensive now?"

4. The child begged and begged, because he knew that his father could afford it.

5. But his father got angry and said, "Didn't I tell you that I don't have any money, so why do you persist in asking? I already said there is none, then there is none. Do you hear that?"

6. Then the child lost hope and did not continue going to school that year, since that is what his father said.
7. Konpay tenmawwon ya kasin kanan nan anak on, after one year and again say NM child QM
“Fiachanganak man paat ta itoroy koy Oswilak.”
help.me EM EM so continue LK school.my

8. Ya iyafod kayman nan ama, ya kanana on, “O a, and agree EM NM father and say,he QM yes EM
ngem kon od-ay nan choway tawwon nan Oswela-om ta but only agree NM two, LK year NM school.your so
henkenad.”
short.while

then agree NM child

10. Kona pay lenpas nan choway tawwon, kanana kasin when EM finish NM two, LK year say,he again
on, kasina itoroy as chowa kasin ay tawwon.
QM again.he continue OM two again LK year

11. Yangkiay achi laychon cha ama na, tay inila
then not like PL father his because see
cha nan siping ay kinastos na at chamona, tay nan they NM money LK spend he IM much because NM
laychon cha at mon-anap as chono na.
like they IM seek OM work his

12. Yangkiay kanan kayman nan anak na, “Mo hiyasa nan then say EM NM child he if that NM
kanan yo, at ettanak as kiastowok ay ow mon-anap word your IM give,me OM money,my LK go seek
as chonok.”
OM work my

13. Ya ettan ama na ya kona eneeknang.
and give father his and only he give enough

14. Ya kanan nan anak on, “Kakom man paat taptapayan and say NM child QM hope EM EM add
tay uton ngay mo achiyak maka-anap ay dagos. Achi because do EM if not I can find LK soon not
a ommat na.”
EM enough this

7. After one year, the child again said, “Please help me, so I can continue going to school.”

8. And the father agreed and said, “Yes, but your schooling should only be for two years so it will be for a short while.”

9. Then the child agreed.

10. When he finished two years, he said again that he would continue two more years.

11. Then his father (and mother) did not like it, because they saw that he spent a lot of money, because what they wanted him to do was look for a job.

12. Then the child said again, “If that is what you say, give me money to spend so I can go and look for my job.”

13. And his father gave (him some money), but he gave just enough.

14. And the child said, “Please add some more, because if I will not be able to find a job right away, this is not enough.”
15. And his father said, "That is all I can give you. That is enough, if you know how to use it. Do not just buy anything, only buy what is necessary. Because that way we will always have enough."

16. And that was truly all that he gave and he did not add to it.

17. Then the child thought and said, "Let me see."

18. Then before long the child left to look for his job, but he stole all their money.

19. And some days later his father had something to buy, but when they went to see (the money), their money was gone. They were very sorry and very angry, but they couldn't do anything about it, because if they had not been so stingy, he wouldn't have stolen all of it.
20. Kaman asnan takian mo konkonom ay kiaron kon like OM sand if hold.tight LK hold only chi at oy mayakayak.
they IM go fall.down
21. Kon pay mo kon mo tatapayaon at akeet nan only when if only if hold.soft IM little NM mag-as.
fall.down
22. At hiyasa nan kanak kan chitako ay chachakchakor 1m that NM say.I OM us LK parents on, "Achi tako inotan as makasolot nan an-ak tako. OM not we selfish OM much NM children our Mo ammo tako ay pagkiawesan cha. Tay enha mo oy if know we LK betterment their because see if go tako inotan, at kaman takowat oy ichorchor chicha ay we selfish IM like we go force them LK monnomnom hi mangisiw." Hatakowat cha oy think OM evil then.we PROG go kankanun on, "Ayodchi sas cha oy at-aon chi say QM why that PROG go do NM ongong-a?" children

References