



The 11<sup>th</sup> Philippine Linguistics Congress  
December 7-9, 2011 - UP Nismed Auditorium

**PROCEEDINGS**

Proceedings of the  
**II<sup>TH</sup> PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS  
CONGRESS**  
2011

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# **Linguistic insights into the history of Philippine script: graphonomic structure, sociolinguistic variation, and contact phenomena**

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**2011-10-13**

(Preliminary pre-conference draft subject to extensive revision. Not for distribution without author's consent)

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## **Introduction: origin theories**

Together with scripts of Sulawesi and north and south Sumatra, the old “Baybayin” script of the Philippines has long resisted attempts to reconstruct a chain of transmission pointing to a definitive historical antecedent. Origins in various Indic scripts have been proposed, most without evidence clear enough to favour that hypothesis over others.

- (1) Origin theories by geographic region:
  - i. Indigenous: Paterno, Comandante
  - ii. Old Javanese *Kawi* script (Kern 1882, Holle 1882)
  - iii. Sumatran *Malayu* script (de Casparis)
  - iv. Later Sumatran scripts (Francisco)
  - v. Assamese (Taylor)
  - vi. Bengali (Oropilla)
  - vii. Ashokan Brahmi (Gardner)
  - viii. Tamil (Makarenko)
  - ix. Cham (Wade)
  - x. South Sulawesi (intermediate origin) (Fox)

Theories of an indigenous origin have relied either on hypothetical pictographic resemblances unsupported by any archeological evidence or resemblances to geometrical forms in various artifacts that are best interpreted as chance similarities. Such theories ignore the fact that the Philippine Baybayin script is indisputably Indic in form and orthographic conventions. Most theories proposed so far have attempted to relate the Philippine script to possible Indic antecedents in Southeast Asia or India itself. These have relied mainly on global resemblances between characters of the Philippine script and letters in candidate relatives, often using restricted and unrepresentative samples on both sides.

However, none of the comparisons proposed to date has relied on any independently motivated principles constraining possible analyses comparable to those that are standard in historical comparative linguistics. Without any constraining methodology for evaluating comparisons, there is no principled basis for preferring any one origin theory over another.

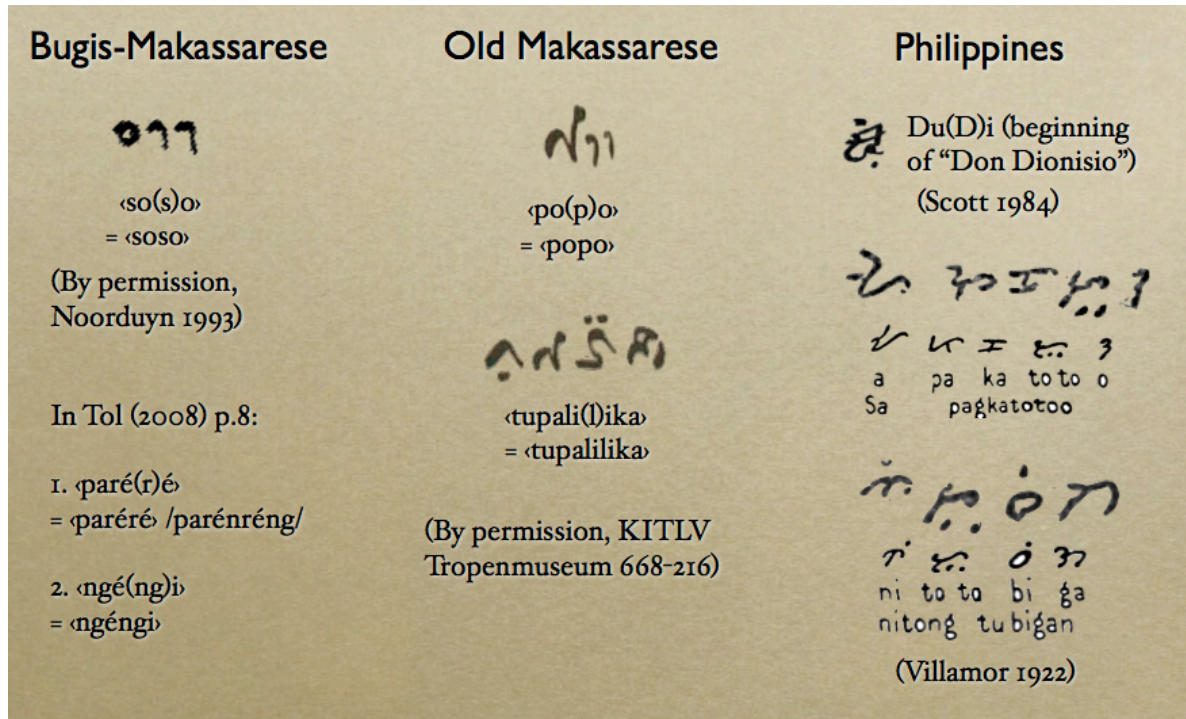
## **Evidence for a South Sulawesi origin**

The most strongly motivated theory (Fox 1979) is the only one based on linguistic evidence. The Philippine script varieties share the convention of not spelling coda consonants, a non-optimal property given the range of contrasting coda consonants that appear in almost all Philippine languages. However, this convention is also found in South Sulawesi scripts, where the contrastive information load of syllable codas is much lower (2); the burden of reconstructing possible readings is much lower for Bugis and Makassar. Such a convention is found nowhere else, which makes it highly probable that the script, with this feature, was transmitted to the Philippines from South Sulawesi.

- (2) word-internal: -N<sub>homorganic</sub>, -C<sub>homorganic</sub>, -ʔ  
word-final: -ŋ, -ʔ

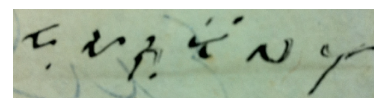
Several previously unnoticed strands of evidence related to vowel marking reinforce the case for a Sulawesi origin and a further connection to Sumatran scripts. This evidence is of three types. Firstly, an abbreviation that recurs in several 16<sup>th</sup> century archival Baybayin texts is identical to one that is widespread in Sulawesi, both in Bugis-Makassarese script and the Makassarese “bird script”. This convention abbreviates two successive syllables with the same onset by writing the onset letter only once and placing the vowel sign for each on the single host letter. This abbreviation, both in the Philippines and in Sulawesi, can apply across word boundaries, as seen in the examples of *nitong tubigan* and *Agustín Tiwalag* in (3).

- (3) a)



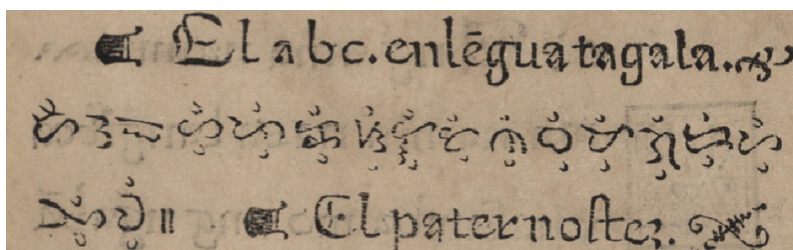
- b)

(UST Archives) <du a gu **ti(t)i** wa la> = “Don Agustín Tiwalag”



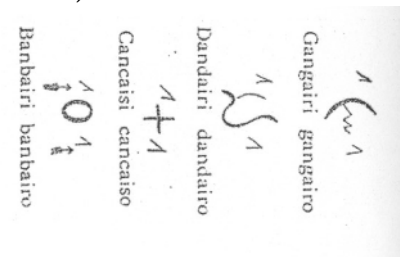
This “vowel doubling” abbreviation is plausibly derived from the practice of combining vowel signs on the base letters of the script for didactic purposes. We see this in the first record of a recital order for Baybayin (4a), where <-i> is placed above each consonant letter and <-u> below. A similar practice is recorded for the Tagbanuwa script variety (4b), with <-i> on the left on a bamboo segment angled away from the body and <-u> on the right (or above and below respectively, when the line is rotated to horizontal orientation).

- (4) a)



(Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection 1302)

- b)



(Marcilla y Martín 1895)






Closely related to this writing of both vowel signs on each consonant letter is a peculiar way of reciting the vowel values with each consonant attested in slightly differing versions by Marcilla y Martín (1895) and Conklin (1991). Both authors record a two-word jingle repeated for each letter in which the person reciting the consonant-vowel combinations points to the relevant vowel sign for each consonant while reciting the related word from the jingle. The version Conklin records from his fieldwork for the letters *lalâ*, *mamâ* is “*langláylu<sup>?</sup> langláyli<sup>?</sup> mangmáymu<sup>?</sup> mangmáymi<sup>?</sup>*”. Marcilla y Martín’s version (4b) places the -i vowel sign before -u and also unlike the version recorded by Conklin, substitutes /r/ or /s/ in the final syllable of each trisyllabic word (and places the letters in the “a ba ca da” order introduced by the Spaniards).

Several features of this recitation are puzzling without further explanation. First, it is unclear why a three-syllable word is used for each CV combination, with only its final syllable actually bearing the relevant vowel sound. Second, the consonant of the final syllable that actually contains the vowel is replaced by a different consonant in the Marcilla y Martín version, and only the first two syllables contain the relevant consonant. And third, it is unclear why the each syllable has a (different) added: /ŋ/ for the first, /j/ for the second and /ʔ/ for the third.

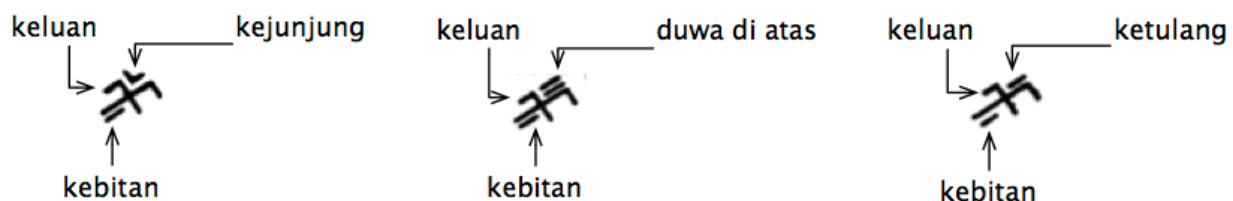
A likely explanation for these strange properties reveals itself in a comparison with similar practices attested for southern Sumatra and South Sulawesi. Van Hasselt (1881) describes how the complex combinations of vowel and coda consonant signs used in the South Sumatran script are recited together with each base consonant by learners (5).

(5) a)

Bij het leeren spellen zet de inlander verscheidene teekens te gelijk bij de letter, en leest de leerling  *ka kedjoedjoeng kar, keloean kir, kebitan koer;*  
 *ka doewa di atas kan, keloean kin, kebitan koen;*  
 *ka ketoelang kang, keloean king, kebitan koeng.*

“When teaching spelling the native puts different signs together on the letter, and the pupil reads *ka keju[n]jung kar, keluan kir, kebitan kir, ka duwa di atas kan, keluan kin, kebitan kun; ka ketulang kang, keluan king, kebitan kung.*”

b)



The motivation for this practice is clear: it is useful, in this complex orthography that allows coda consonant signs to be combined with vowel signs, for learners to accustom themselves to the various possible combinations. To do so, they recite the name of the base letter, the name of each coda consonant and vowel sign that may be combined, and the corresponding syllable that each combination spells out.

It is less clear why a special recitation, let alone a complex jingle, would be motivated for Tagbanwa script, which merely combines two vowel signs with a base letter, one for /i/ and one for /u/. Nonetheless we find apparently related practices associated with the two geographically distant scripts. An apparent explanation surfaces in Marsden’s (1834) description of Bugis-Makassarese script. He enumerates the way the five vowel signs and the coda nasal sign combine with a base letter and illustrates how they are all combined on a single letter by teachers (6a).

(6) a)

*The whole of the signs are, by the native teachers, thus combined: 𑀓𑀕𑀲.*

b)



In the modern back-angled style, these signs combined with the <t>-> base letter appear as in (6b). If the clustered signs are decomposed and the possible CV combinations recited in clockwise (left to right, top to bottom) order, beginning with the bare consonant supplied with the default -a vowel, the result is (for the Makassarese reading) “ta te ti tang to tu” or (for the Bugis reading) “ta te ti t̃a to tu” (7).

(7)



The sole significant difference between two readings is the value of the curved sign above the base letter, which has different values in Bugis and Makassarese orthography. In Bugis, it represents , one of the six phonemic vowels of the language, whereas in Makassarese, which lacks this vowel, it was used to represent a nasal coda and then only for didactic purposes and not in ordinary spelling. As shown in (vowel comparison table), this sign is almost certainly derived from the Kawi sign for /ə/, which makes the vowel value the original one. It remains then to explain how the Makassarese nasal coda value originated.

These two readings are both very close to the Tagbanuwa jingle. As shown in (2) the inventory of possible coda consonants in Bugis and Makassarese is restricted to an underspecified nasal or stop, which surface as velar and glottal, respectively, in the absence of a place feature spread from a following onset C. Notice that precisely these two coda consonants appear in the Tagbanuwa jingle: /ŋ/ in the first syllable and /ʔ/ in the third. Taken together with the close correspondence in order between the hypothetical South Sulawesi sequence, this correspondence with Bugis and Makassarese codas strongly suggests that the Tagbanuwa jingle was inherited (directly or possibly via Luzon) from a more clearly motivated South Sulawesi recitation sequence. Certainly, if the nasal coda on the first syllable and the glottal stop on the last of each three-syllable sequence were motivated as a way of structuring the six syllables into a rhythmic jingle, this might explain the otherwise unaccountable use of the Bugis <-ə> vowel sign as a marginal way to represent <-N> in Makassarese: it would have been natural to reinterpret the fourth sign of the hypothetical Bugis recitation “tang te ti? tang to tu?”, which would plausibly be pronounced as “ta[ng] te ti? tang to tu?” in Makassarese, as specifically marking a nasal coda.

The main point of difference between the Tagbanuwa jingle and its hypothetical South Sulawesi antecedent concerns the medial syllable of each three-syllable group. In Tagbanuwa, the rhyme is /aj/, whereas it is a distinct vowel, /e/ or /o/, in the South Sulawesi sequence. Given the /e/ in the first half of the hypothetical original, a vowel that is not contrastive in Tagalog, it is plausible to suppose that the jingle was initially adopted (with the script) by Tagalogs and the /e/ reinterpreted as /aj/, with the /o/ vowel simplified to /aj/ rather than /aw/.

We have already seen that the vowel doubling abbreviation and the non-spelling of coda consonants, both features shared between the Philippines and Sulawesi, are strong evidence that the Philippine script was likely adopted from speakers of Bugis or Makassarese. In this context, the correlations between the puzzling features of the Tagbanuwa vowel recitation jingle and the (partly hypothetical) reconstruction of a South Sulawesi vowel sign recitation order can be seen as highly plausible reinforcing evidence for a Sulawesi origin for Philippine script varieties.

As pointed out in (5), though, there is also evidence that the practice of reciting vowel signs together with base consonant letters was originally motivated by the complexity of the South Sumatran spelling system. This would seem to indicate that Bugis-Makassarese script can be traced to an earlier Sumatran origin. There

is in fact further evidence from the vowel-coda marking systems of Philippine-Indonesian scripts that this is probably the case. The table in (8) illustrates correspondences for the vowel and coda sign inventories of several Indonesian and Philippine scripts: Old Javanese *Kawi*, modern Javanese-Balinese and Sundanese (all from Java and Bali), Lampung and Batak (Sumatra), Bugis-Makassarese and the Philippine script. These are compared at the top with a corresponding subset of Devanagari-based signs as used in modern Gujarati script in northern India.

Despite several similarities, there are significant differences between the North Indian signs and the insular Southeast Asian set, which agree among themselves much more closely. It is clear that the Philippine signs are essentially a subset of the Bugis-Makassarese signs, which themselves are a graphically simplified subset of the Sumatran signs, themselves likely derived (like the modern Javanese signs) from the Kawi set.

(8)

	i (i)	u	ě	e	o	-m/-ng	-h	-r	-Ø
Guj									
Kawi									
Jav-Bal									
Sunda									
Lampung									
Batak									
Bugis									
Philippine									

A further piece of evidence for an ultimate Sumatran origin, isolated but convincing, comes from the Bikol term for vowel signs, *kahulo'án*. This word, whose root *-ulo?* appears to be a lexical isolate in Bikol (Mintz 2004), has no counterpart in other Philippine languages, where vowel signs are referred by terms originally meaning 'scratch' or 'incised line' (Tagalog *kudlít*, Mangyan *kulit*) or 'puncture' (Tagbanuwa *tulsok*). This term, which is otherwise an isolate both in the Bikol lexicon and compared to other Philippine counterparts, is traceable to a reconstructed Malay *\*kahuluan*, the plausible source of Sumatran names for the <-i> sign, cf. the purple terms in (9).

(9)

	Balinese	Javanese	Sundanese	Lampung	Rejang	Kerinci	Gujarati	Mandailing	Toba	Simalungun	Karo	Pakpak	Bikol	Tagalog, Kapampungan	Mak., <i>Bagis</i>
a	Tedung	Tarung			?										
o	Taling tedung	Tolong	Panolong	O Kamicha	?			Siala ulu	Siala, sihora	Sihorla	Kĕnolongĕn	Sikora			Ana' ri olo
au ou				Kamicha Keruhung, Tĕkanga (?) Karuhung	Kamuhung =					Harulungan					
i	Ulu	Wulu	Pengulu	Olan, Ulan Ulan	Kalaan Kalawan	Luan		Uluwa	Haluan, hauluan, hulan, stula, uluwa	Halaan	Kĕlawaan	Kalaan	Kahulo'an	Kudlit <i>Garlit</i>	'Titi', ana' irate
u	Suku	Suku	Panyuku	Bitan =, kamitan	Kamitan =	Tampun		Boruta, buruta	Haborotan, haburuan	Haboritan	Sikurun	Kabĕrĕtan	Kahulo'an	Kudlit <i>Garlit</i>	'Titi', ana' arawa
e	Taling	Taling	Pamepet	Ē, Ulan	?			Talinga	Haradangan	Haradangan	Kĕlĕngĕn	Kĕndangan			Ana' ri boko
ai	Taling repa	Dirga mare	–	Kĕlĕng, Tĕkanga Katiling	Katiling =										
ē	Pepet	Pepet	Pĕnĕlĕng	Bicak, Bisek	Kamika =			–	–	–	Kĕbĕrĕtan	Kabĕrĕtan podi			(Bg. <i>ēat</i> )
es					Kajina										
Ø	Adeg adeg	Pangkon, paten	Pamath	Tanda mati Mati/ jezma	Nĕngĕ Mati/ bumuhan	Tanda <i>inut</i>	Virama, halant, khodo	Pangolat	Pangolat	Panongonan	Pĕnĕngĕn	Pangolat?			
eu			Pancudung		?										
-ng	Cecek	Cecak	Panyecek	Ketelobang, Tĕkĕlung Baka- talubang	Katalang =	Tulang	Anasvara	Amisara	Haminsaran, hamisaran, paminggil	Haminsaran	Kĕbĕncarĕn	Kĕbĕncarĕn			(Mk. anca')
-n				Datas, <i>Dats</i> Duo de- atas	Duo datas (dua di atas)										

### Incomplete evidence for an ultimate Kawi origin

Comparing names for vowel and coda signs in southern Sumatra (yellow cells) and northern Sumatra (red cells) with the Javanese family (blue cells), it seems clear that many names in the former two groups probably derive from earlier, morphologically simpler Javanese names, probably used for the original Kawi signs. However, although the evidence seems clear that the vowel marking systems in Sumatra, Sulawesi and the Philippines derive from a Kawi antecedent, structural correspondences are far less clear when the base letter inventories of the scripts are compared. Table (10) illustrates representative samples from early standard Kawi (as found in the Laguna Copperplate Inscription and Javanese copperplates of the same era) and four southwest Indonesian scripts that unambiguously descend from Kawi (first four columns), two Sumatran scripts, a character set from the 1593 *Doctrina Christiana*, and modern Bugis-Makassarese.

(10)

	10C Kawi	14C Sumatran	17-20C Java-Bali	Sundanese Older 20C	Batak variants	South Sumatran	Old Philippine	Bugis- Makassarese
a	ᮊ	ᮊ	ᮊ	ᮊ ᮊ		ᮊ ᮊ	ᮊ	ᮊ
i	ᮋ	ᮋ	ᮋ	ᮋ ᮋ	ᮋ		ᮋ	ᮋ
u	ᮌ	ᮌ	ᮌ	ᮌ ᮌ	ᮌ		ᮌ	ᮌ
k	ᮍ	ᮍ	ᮍ	ᮍ ᮍ	ᮍ ᮍ	ᮍ	ᮍ	ᮍ
g	ᮎ	ᮎ	ᮎ	ᮎ ᮎ	ᮎ ᮎ	ᮎ	ᮎ	ᮎ
ng	ᮏ	ᮏ	ᮏ	ᮏ ᮏ	ᮏ ᮏ	ᮏ	ᮏ	ᮏ
c	ᮐ	ᮐ	ᮐ	ᮐ ᮐ	ᮐ ᮐ	ᮐ	ᮐ	ᮐ
j	ᮑ	ᮑ	ᮑ	ᮑ ᮑ	ᮑ ᮑ	ᮑ	ᮑ	ᮑ
ny	ᮒ	ᮒ	ᮒ	ᮒ ᮒ	ᮒ ᮒ	ᮒ	ᮒ	ᮒ
t	ᮓ	ᮓ	ᮓ	ᮓ ᮓ	ᮓ ᮓ	ᮓ	ᮓ	ᮓ
d	ᮔ	ᮔ	ᮔ	ᮔ ᮔ	ᮔ ᮔ	ᮔ	ᮔ	ᮔ
n	ᮕ	ᮕ	ᮕ	ᮕ ᮕ	ᮕ ᮕ	ᮕ	ᮕ	ᮕ
ṅ	ᮖ	ᮖ	ᮖ	ᮖ ᮖ	ᮖ ᮖ	ᮖ	ᮖ	ᮖ
p	ᮗ	ᮗ	ᮗ	ᮗ ᮗ	ᮗ ᮗ	ᮗ	ᮗ	ᮗ
b	ᮘ	ᮘ	ᮘ	ᮘ ᮘ	ᮘ ᮘ	ᮘ	ᮘ	ᮘ
m	ᮙ	ᮙ	ᮙ	ᮙ ᮙ	ᮙ ᮙ	ᮙ	ᮙ	ᮙ
y	ᮚ	ᮚ	ᮚ	ᮚ ᮚ	ᮚ ᮚ	ᮚ	ᮚ	ᮚ
r	ᮛ	ᮛ	ᮛ	ᮛ ᮛ	ᮛ ᮛ	ᮛ	ᮛ	ᮛ
l	ᮜ	ᮜ	ᮜ	ᮜ ᮜ	ᮜ ᮜ	ᮜ	ᮜ	ᮜ
w	ᮝ	ᮝ	ᮝ	ᮝ ᮝ	ᮝ ᮝ	ᮝ	ᮝ	ᮝ
s	ᮞ	ᮞ	ᮞ	ᮞ ᮞ	ᮞ ᮞ	ᮞ	ᮞ	ᮞ
h	ᮟ	ᮟ	ᮟ	ᮟ ᮟ	ᮟ ᮟ	ᮟ	ᮟ	ᮟ

Where systematic structural relationships between Kawi and the four succeeding scripts can be traced for the most part with ease, the same cannot be said for anything but scattered similarities with the scripts in the last four columns. Again, although scattered correspondences can be found between character pairs in these last four sets, it is difficult to see many systematic relationships among them. Although the scattered correspondences with Kawi letters are the core of the Kawi origin theory (Holle 1882, Kern 1882), the no less notable lack of resemblances elsewhere in the inventories of these scripts has given rise to the range of alternative theories referred to earlier.

### A possible Gujarati informal Devanagari origin; types of evidence needed

Although a couple of authors have proposed that the Philippine script originates in the Bengali-Assamese scripts of Northeast India, based on global similarities between an unrepresentative subset of letters in each script, no authors have yet considered the possibility of a northwest Indian origin. I will argue in what follows that the Philippine script originates in an informal 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century variety of Devanagari script introduced by Gujarati traders in Sumatra and spread from there by inter-island trade networks. Historical evidence points to a similar time period for the origins of Philippine script and writing in Sulawesi (the 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), and this also corresponds to the period when Gujarati traders are known to have been active in Sumatra.

However, a convincing Gujarati/Devanagari hypothesis must be justified by independent, principled evidence for relationships beyond the impressionistic comparisons of restricted data sets in most previous literature.



To this end, I will describe a model of character structure drawing on typographic concepts and an analysis of stroke structure derived from the phonology of movements in sign language (Miller 1997). This model, motivated independently, serves as a basis for describing correspondences in a systematic manner analogous to the use of phonological feature theory in comparative reconstructions of relatedness between spoken languages.

Although a clearly formulated model of character structure and change is necessary for a principled account of relationships between scripts, it is not sufficient. No less important is the question of representative data sets. Previous proposals have been hampered not only by the lack of a principled basis for comparing characters across scripts, but also by insufficiently representative data sets. Even in those comparisons that use full character sets for each script, it is unclear how well the set used itself represents geographic or social variation in the forms each letter can take. With the criterion of representativity and the effects of variation in mind, I base my comparisons on a range of sources of authentic handwriting for each script. For the Philippines these include the 1593 *Doctrina Christiana*, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century archival documents and Tagbanwa and Mindoro texts; for Gujarati/Devanagari, 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century Avestan texts and 19<sup>th</sup> century texts in related North Indian scripts; and for pre-19<sup>th</sup> century Bugis-Makassarese script, texts from Noorduy (1993) and other sources.

### Character structure in scripts

Before comparing data sets, a necessary first step is to formulate a set of principles for describing structural regularities in the characters of a given script and of at least a subset of different scripts. To the extent that such principles are able to describe regularities across a set of scripts, they will be a plausible basis — with necessary modifications to take into account other scripts — for elaborating a universal theory of script structure. My goal here is not to claim universal validity for the model I propose, but to demonstrate the degree to which this model succeeds as a means of describing structural regularities within and across several scripts.

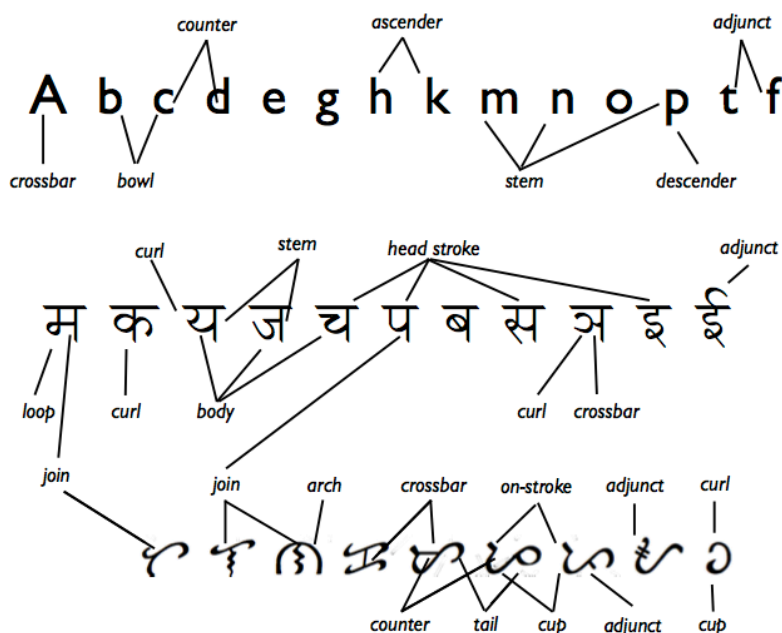
Examining the structure of various scripts leads to three kinds of generalisations about character structure. The first, most general kind of generalisation owes much to typography: character glyphs can be systematically analysed into smaller structural components. Some of these components recur in certain scripts but are absent in others; others may be candidates for perceptual universals in the analysis of character structure. A number of such elements are illustrated in (11), for subsets of Latin, Devanagari and Philippine Baybayin scripts. Important basic structural types include *counters*, which are areas of background space defined by *bowls*; *adjuncts*, distinct *graphemes* or graphic units formed after the main body of a character has been drawn, *joins* or *junctures*, which are the points where strokes or stroke segments intersect, as well as *curls* or *curves* and *loops*, which are curls that intersect themselves, forming a join that defines their beginning and end.

A second level of generalisation applies to the internal structure of individual scripts (12). To varying degrees, individual scripts tend to develop stereotypical structures based on reanalysis of earlier shapes. These stereotypical structures tend to propagate across the characters of a script such that the shapes of individual characters come to change in ways that incorporate the stereotypical shapes that eventually define the overall appearance of the script. It is a reasonable hypothesis that adoption of stereotypes may function as a means of minimising the range of motor routines needed to write different characters in a script, leading to ease of learning and reducing the effort required in fluent writing.

The minuscule letters of Latin script developed during and after the Middle Ages by the gradual development of a stereotypical small “x-height” *bowl* plus vertical *stem* structure not present in the corresponding capital letters. Devanagari developed its characteristic *headstroke* plus *body* plus vertical *stem* by elaborations of brush serifs at the top of letters in the historical Gupta script and reanalysis of final vertical stroke segments into a consistent full height vertical stem distinct from the letter body. The Philippine script itself shows a “rotated S” stereotype across a wide range of letters, which can be analysed into a *cup* shape followed by an *arch* tail.

(11)

## Elements of character structure



(12)

## Stereotypes

*Latin script: bowl + stem*

a b c d e f h j k l m n o p q r

*Devanagari: headstroke + body + stem*

म क य ज च प ब स ञ इ ई

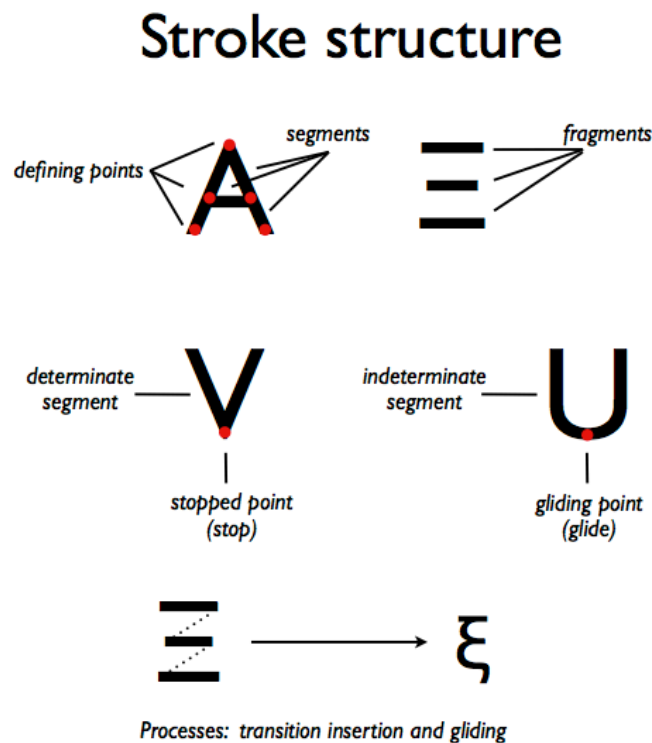
*Old Philippine script: cup/curl + tail*

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surface (only by transitional movements where the writing instrument lifts away from the surface) can be described as *fragments*, a particular segment type that results from particular processes of change in graphonomic structure and can undergo diachronic changes that reconnect them to other segments.

Segments themselves are merely continuous sets of points describing a path between two *defining points*: the *origin* and *target* or *terminus* of a segment. The transition to a segment with different directionality can take two forms. Either the writing instrument comes to a *stop*, giving the segment a clear terminus before moving in a different direction, or it moves through a range of points enclosing an indeterminate target, which is the defining point of a *glide*.

(13)



Written characters can vary synchronically within a script with respect to how various of their defining points take the form of stops or glides; this variation can be arbitrary or it can take the form of specific variant shapes for particular characters (cf. cursive 'j' versus standard angular 'z'). Variation between stops and glides also plays an important role in diachronic change, cf. the development of 'U' out of 'V' in which the original stop at the bottom changed into a glide, leading to an eventual functional split between the two forms.

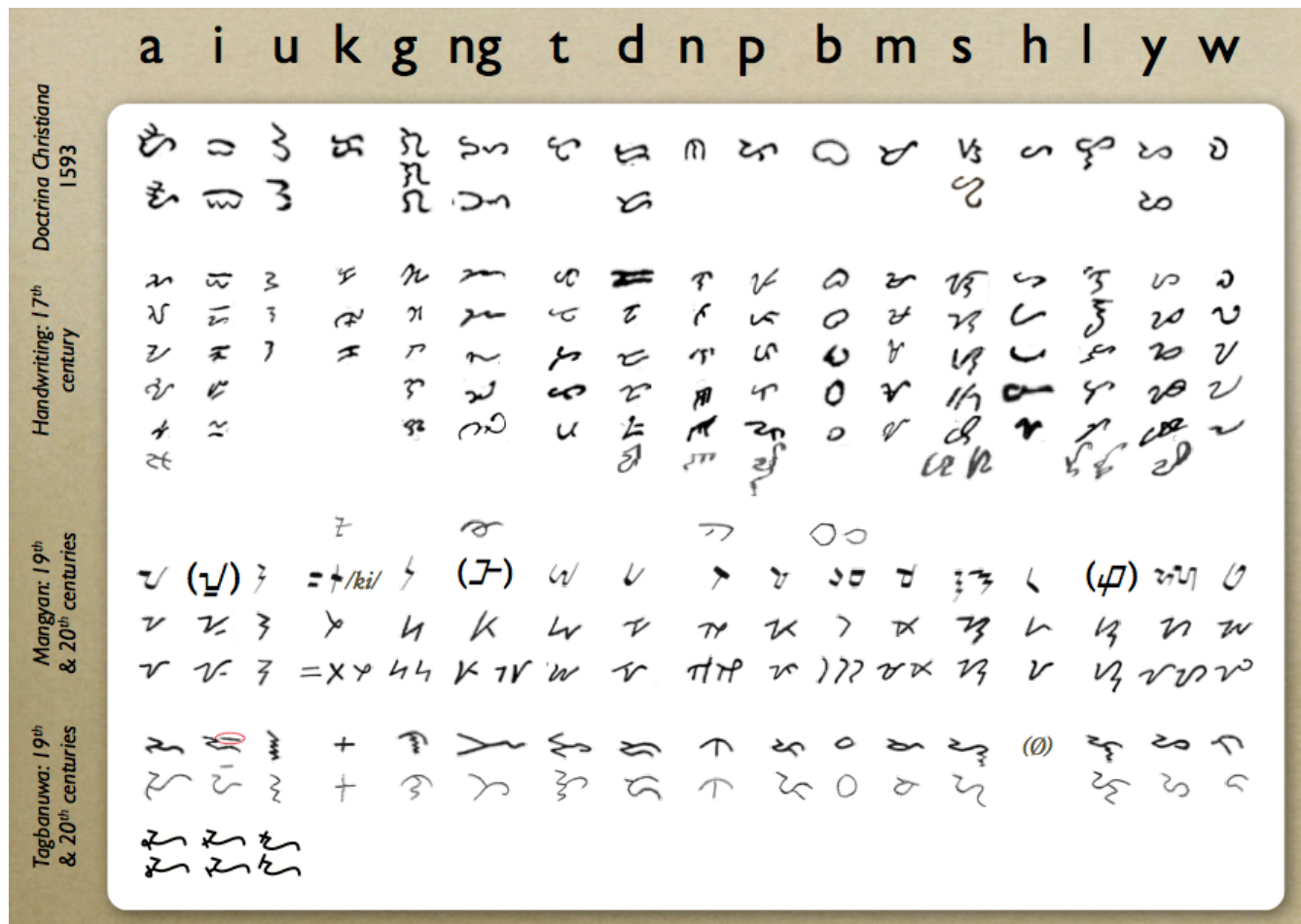
The concepts surveyed in examples (11-13) will prove useful as tools for understanding structural correspondences and principles of diachronic change involving Philippine script varieties and related scripts.

### Representative sampling of script-internal variation: Philippine script

An adequate comparison between scripts needs to take into account, as far as is possible, the range of variation within each script as a clue to patterns of change that provide evidence for older character shapes whose existence might not be observed with a single, isolated character set. This methodological approach is similar to the observation of synchronic variation as a reflection of diachronic change within spoken languages. In order to obtain as faithful a picture of variation in Philippine script as is possible, I have gathered and collated character data from four main sources: variants in the 1593 *Doctrina Christiana*, archival handwriting from the late 16<sup>th</sup> and the early through middle 17<sup>th</sup> century (the largest source of data; mainly

but not exclusively signatures), facsimiles and reproductions of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Mangyan handwriting, and facsimiles and fieldwork reproductions of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Tagbanuwa handwriting (14).

(14)



Arranging these in tabular form by graphic similarity allows us to draw conclusions about directions of change in different Philippine script varieties and to draw conclusions about which are the likely earliest shapes of each letter. It can be seen from the data in (14) that Philippine handwriting from the Manila area alone, as found in the UST archives, spans a range of variation that is obscured if we rely on the *Doctrina Christiana* sample alone. In fact, enough unusual forms (however few) show up in a close examination of the DC itself to indicate greater variation than would be suspected by relying on the “alphabet” illustrated in the opening pages, as has usually been done. We see for example that the <i> with three cups below the horizontal bar has another variant with only two adjoined cups; that as often as not, the flared curls on the left side of <ng> are absent, and there is a one-off variant of <s> not made with the usual “V plus 3” shape but, apparently to make the best of a scribal error anticipating a following <l> in *kasalanan*, extending the beginning cup+tail shape to end in an extension curving counterclockwise, down and to the right.

Comparing the DC variants with handwriting, it can be seen that in some cases handwriting confirms unusual variants and in others shows changes not found in the DC. One important set of changes simplifies the “backward F” adjunct on <a> to a simple curl; another reinterprets the double cup “cursive w” shape in <i> to conform with the stereotype cup and tail of other letters (and the body and horizontal bar fragment switch positions); yet another simplifies <b> by eliminating the “bump” at the bottom so that it takes on a simple circular shape. In <g>, <l> and <n>, a stereotyped squiggle stroke varies with simpler shapes that are different in each letter: a clockwise downward curve in <g>, a short vertical plus clockwise downward curve in <l>, and a straight vertical stroke in <n>. In <s>, the squiggle of the “3” adjunct varies with a simple “backward S” in some

variants that relate directly to the unique serpentine variant from the DC. The variation illustrated here is the result of preliminary data collection and analysis. Further data collected from sources elsewhere in Luzon and from earlier time periods has helped reveal clear patterns of change to be illustrated and discussed in the conference version of this paper.

It can be concluded with confidence by comparing Mangyan script varieties with Luzon handwriting that the Mangyan scripts most likely developed directly from the mainstream of variation in 17<sup>th</sup> century handwriting.

In contrast, the Tagbanuwa variety relates more directly to the apparently conservative shapes of the *Doctrina Christiana*, with some idiosyncratic features that are absent or rare in the Luzon data currently available. In particular, the cross shape of <k> is completely different from the “sideways H” variants in Luzon as is <w>, which is unattested in Luzon except for a single 1591 signature, and <g> shows restructuring of the top part of the letter, combining the initial segment on the left and the tail on the right into a single arch. More globally, Tagbanuwa has extended the “short onstroke + cup + tail” to several letters where it is not found in Luzon. These distinguishing characteristics are evidence that the Tagbanuwa and Luzon varieties probably began to diverge at a fairly early date. This is reflected in the position of the adjunct on <a> in Tagbanuwa: whereas in Luzon, it appears atop the left branch of the letter’s body and drifts rightward (a natural tendency for adjuncts, which require the hand to move backward from the end of the letter), it is adjoined in most variants to the lower left side of the letter, albeit in slightly simplified shapes. Based on the pressure for adjuncts to displace toward the end of a letter, it can be concluded that this was likely the adjunct’s original position.

### **Representative sampling and historical change: informal Devanagari**

To argue for the hypothesis of a relationship to informal mercantile Devanagari handwriting introduced to the region in a variety used by Gujarati merchants, the data set for this script should as far as possible show a depth of diachronic and synchronic variability comparable to the Philippine data in (14). Similar to the Philippine script, very few texts have survived from before the 17<sup>th</sup> century; in fact, the most important source of first hand data located so far is in Gujarati annotations to Avestan scriptures dating back at the most to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the earliest samples, the Gujarati commentaries are written in a conventional, slightly archaic western variety of Devanagari. It is only in later texts from the 18<sup>th</sup> century and on that we see letter shapes developing in an informal direction.

This raises the question of how accurately the available samples shown in (15) represent the kind of handwriting likely used by Gujarati merchants in Sumatra prior to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. An answer to this question comes from the nature of the texts where these samples occur. These are religious texts, which can be considered to occupy the high end of the formality scale, and as such it is likely that the form of the script used in these texts would be considered representative of careful, formal handwriting for the historical period where it appears in these texts. Where this handwriting reflects changes to earlier formal shapes, it is a safe conclusion that this is the end result of a long process whereby these changes began as non-prestigious variation appropriate only to the least formal kinds of texts and propagated “upward” through the continuum of formality and prestige only over several generations. Keeping this gradual process of sociolinguistic change in mind, it is a plausible conclusion that changes surfacing in the Gujarati Devanagari of the Avestan scriptures reflects processes that actually began in informal handwriting two or more centuries earlier. Thus the kinds of diachronic shift in the shapes of letters in these scriptures can be assumed with a fair degree of confidence to reflect very informal handwriting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century or earlier.

This conclusion is supported by the forms taken by letters in North Indian mercantile scripts that like Gujarati handwriting evolved (independently) out of Devanagari. Data from these scripts, to be compared in the conference version of this paper, indicate that they underwent changes similar to Gujarati handwriting but did not share certain changes that appear to be relatively early in Gujarati varieties. The conference paper will also illustrate how the Saurashtran minority script of southern India supports these conclusions: this script, which relates in similar ways to the Gujarati informal Devanagari variants but with divergences similar to those in the other North Indian scripts, likely diverged from the earliest Gujarati varieties when the Saurashtrians migrated southeast from the Gujarat-Maharashtra area in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.



### Structural correspondences between informal Devanagari and Philippine script

The table illustrated in (15) compares the historical development of early Gujarati variants out of Devanagari script with the addition of a number of informal 20<sup>th</sup> century Gujarati handwriting shapes (in blue or black ballpoint pen) for comparison. It can be seen that the process of change involved two major processes. For one, the Devanagari headstroke was reduced in most letters to a short, unstressed on-stroke at the top left of each letter, the resulting simplified letters being “hung” from a “head line” predrawn across the page in emulation of the formal appearance of the headstroke that was still part of the prestigious formal Devanagari. In letters whose bodies began below the headstroke, the initial position of the pen was raised to head level, as seen in <w>, <b> and <k>. The second process involved the raising of the join between the body of most letters and the stem on the right: from a position near the middle of the stem, the join moved to the top of the stem, after which the join itself changed from a sharp stop to a gliding transition. These changes affected letters with a stem on the right in a systematic fashion. Only in letters with bodies beginning at the bottom of the letter space (<t> and <n> and, in Saurashtran and North Indian commercial scripts <b>) do we see the complete disappearance of the headstroke.

Only <k> and <i> underwent completely idiosyncratic changes: <k>, with body strokes on either side of the stem, skewed to a looser, rightward angled shape with clockwise curls at top left and bottom right, and <i> changed the bottom stopped join to a glide, leading to an epsilon-like shape, and inserted a transitional stroke from the end of the body to the rightward adjunct curl at the top of the letter.

(15)

	a	p	y	m	s	w	b	k	d	h	ng	g	t	l	n	i	u
Devanagari: 17 <sup>th</sup> to 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries	अ	प	य	म	स	व	ब	क	द	ह	ज	ग	त	ल	न	ई	उ
Gujarati: 17 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> centuries	अ	प	य	म	स	व	ब	क	द	ह	ज	ग	त	ल	न	ई	उ
Intermediate shapes	अ	प	य	म	स	व	ब	क	द	ह	ज	ग	त	ल	न	ई	उ
Philippines: 17 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> centuries	अ	प	य	म	स	व	ब	क	द	ह	ज	ग	त	ल	न	ई	उ
North & South Sumatra	अ	प	य	म	स	व	ब	क	द	ह	ज	ग	त	ल	न	ई	उ

Grouping the letters by form classes, set off by round cornered red rectangles in (15), makes it possible to see how systematic changes were often sensitive to form. It also permits systematic evaluation of structural correspondences with the early Philippine script. In contrast with the difficulty of detecting any systematic relationships with Kawi and other Indonesian scripts in (10), (15) brings out systematic informal Devanagari-Philippine correspondences that relate regularly to form class. The most striking correspondence is between the short gliding downward tail in most Philippine letters and the gliding join between the body of the informal Devanagari letter and the top of the stem on the right. This correspondence applies quite regularly across the board except for <w> and <b>, where Philippine script prefers an upward tail that continues the counterclockwise movement of the letter's body (although Tagbanuwa <w> shows the otherwise expected downward tail). The downward extensions on <t>, <l> and <n> relate closely to the bodies of the corresponding Devanagari letters, and all (unlike the attested informal Devanagari letters) have horizontally prominent strokes at the top that correspond to the Devanagari headstroke: only these three letters, whose bodies are formed with clockwise strokes from the bottom of the letter space in Devanagari, seem to retain this archaic feature in the Philippine script.

Parallel to the Gujarati-internal evolution discussed above, Philippine <k> and <i> show the most idiosyncratic relationships to the informal Devanagari forms. The <k> preserves the rightward skew of the informal Devanagari letter while variably preserving the two clockwise curls and usually showing a vertical crossbar in place of the diagonally angled stem of its Indian counterpart. (In Tagbanuwa, these two curls correspond to the neighboring straight lines of the cross shape.) In <i>, the horizontal "cursive w" body of the letter corresponds to the "epsilon" of the Gujarati informal Devanagari letter and the upper horizontal fragment corresponds directly to the rightward curl of the informal Devanagari letter's adjunct. The only feature in a Philippine letter with no plausible counterpart in the informal Devanagari letter is the secondary tail adjoined to the lower right side of the body of <p>. Although correspondences are slightly idiosyncratic elsewhere, they relate systematically to features of the Devanagari letter: the closed counter of Philippine <m>, defined by a crossbar bridging the body (a stereotype shape shared with <a>, <p> and <y>) corresponds to the closed counter of the informal Devanagari letter defined by a loose loop, the adjunct on <a> corresponds to the triple line adjunct on the left of the Devanagari letter, the elaborated squiggle of the tail otherwise corresponds to a simple tail in the informal Devanagari letter.

Abstracting away from the idiosyncratic features of the Philippine letters, it is possible to apply the systematic featural correspondences to the informal Devanagari letters across the board to derive plausible reconstructed proto-shapes. It is interesting to note that in many cases, these proto-shapes, to which the further changes would have applied to derive the attested Philippine shapes, in many cases relate in systematic ways to corresponding Sumatran letters whose relationship to the Philippine letters is otherwise opaque. Most notably, <m> and (North Sumatran) Batak <m> both show a loop in their bodies that corresponds directly to the Devanagari letters' loops.

To my knowledge, this is the first time in which a relationship between distinct scripts has been argued for on the basis of systematic, structure-dependent correspondences in character-internal structure. The independently motivated nature of the structural elements and features provides an metric for evaluating relationships that has otherwise been absent from discussions of relatedness between scripts.

### **Bugis-Makassarese script: comparison with Philippine script**

Similar structure-based arguments can be used to elucidate the relationship between the Philippine script and the Bugis-Makassarese script.<sup>1</sup> As is true for the Philippine and informal Devanagari scripts, the quality of the comparisons depends in large part on the quality and representativity of the data. Until Noorduyt (1993) and Tol (1996, 2008), the nature of variation in Bugis-Makassarese script was poorly understood. These papers and the accompanying illustrations of old texts have brought to light little known variant shapes of Bugis-

<sup>1</sup> Although the evidence adduced earlier on the basis of the non-spelling of coda Cs and the properties of the vowel marking systems strongly suggests a Sulawesi origin for the Philippine script, only the demonstration of regular structural correspondences between the scripts can resolve the question in a satisfactory way.

Makassarese letters that were more or less widely used prior to the introduction of the modern standard printed variety of the script in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

These alternative variants are illustrated in the top line of the Bugis-Makassarese box in (16), above their more “modern” counterparts in the lower line. Among the most important archaic forms are an ⟨a⟩ dotted under the left arch instead of the right, ⟨y⟩ with a single dot under the right arch (homomorphic with modern standard ⟨a⟩) rather than two dots, one under each of its two arches, and an ⟨s⟩ similar in shape to IPA ‘ʃ’ rather than the circular shape of the modern script. Noorduyndemonstrates clearly that modern ⟨h⟩ is not original to the script but is derived from variants of the Arabic letter borrowed to represent /h/ in Arabic and Malay loans because /h/ is not part of the native inventory of South Sulawesi languages.

A remarkable feature of Bugis-Makassarese script is the minimal shape taken by its letterforms. The shapes from which the pre-19<sup>th</sup> century lettershapes derived were drastically simplified to conform to two stereotypes: single or double arches with occasional angled off-strokes following single arches, and dots placed underneath arches. A simple cup shape is found in only two letters: ⟨d⟩ and ⟨m⟩, the former also being the only one with a dot on the upper side of the letter. Only three letters, ⟨b⟩, ⟨ng⟩ and ⟨l⟩, have a more complex adjunct curl attached to or adjacent to the upper side of the arch instead of a dot. In addition to these differences, the vertical or leftward swash at the end of ⟨g⟩ and ⟨p⟩ (and the ⟨-ə⟩ vowel sign, cf. (6)) is a modern elaboration of a simple off-stroke angling slightly upward to the right in older variants of these letters.

The very minimality of the script has given rise to doubts that the structurally more complex Philippine script could possibly have derived from the simple Bugis-Makassarese letter shapes, cf. de Casparis (1975). This objection is based on a fallacy, however: it assumes that the modern attested form of the script is representative of the appearance of the script at the time it would have been adopted in the Philippines. This is not necessarily the case. Taking into account the close structural correspondences between Philippine and corresponding informal Devanagari letter shapes, it appears that the Philippine shapes (and the reconstructed proto-shape variants) are more representative of how early Bugis-Makassarese letter shapes would have appeared. Consequently, the most likely hypothesis is that the minimalist (pre-)modern Bugis Makassarese letter shapes are derived from similar more complex letter shapes by generalisation of the arch and dot stereotypes that are characteristic of the modern script.

The table in (16) illustrates a range of variants found in early Philippine script and the set of reconstructed pre-Philippine proto-shapes for Bugis-Makassarese letters with Philippine equivalents. Comparing Bugis-Makassarese letters with the range of pre- and early Philippine counterparts, we see that features of their shape correspond systematically with features of at least one (pre-)Philippine variant for each letter. Two broad generalisations can be drawn. First, the Philippine onstroke-cup(-tail) stereotype variably corresponds to a double arch (⟨a⟩, ⟨y⟩), an arch plus final upstroke (⟨p⟩) or a cup (⟨m⟩ and ⟨d⟩). Although the overall correspondences are not completely systematic, there is a close segment to segment match between Bugis-Makassarese letters and corresponding (pre-)Philippine shapes.<sup>2</sup> Second, and more strikingly, dots in (older) Bugis-Makassarese letters correspond systematically to adjunct strokes in corresponding positions in the (pre-)Philippine letters, and curled adjuncts on the upper side of BM letters correspond systematically to similar segment shapes in the corresponding (pre-)Philippine letters.

Thus the dot under the left arch of older BM ⟨a⟩ is plausibly a simplification of the short adjunct stroke on the left side of one Philippine ⟨a⟩ variant; the dot under the right arch of older BM ⟨y⟩ corresponds directly to the extra stroke through the right-end loop of “knotted” Philippine ⟨y⟩, which in some hands is drawn as a fragmented slash through the bowl of the loop; the dot underneath ⟨g⟩ corresponds to the curl or squiggle on the underside of the letter (and the arch and offstroke correspond to the initial top segment plus tail of the Philippine letter reanalysed as a single connected stroke sequence); the dot under ⟨n⟩ corresponds to the short vertical line or squiggle in the Philippine letter, and the dot in the upper side of the cup of ⟨d⟩ corresponds directly to the projecting adjunct line in the corresponding position in the Philippine letter. The hypothesis

<sup>2</sup> It is plausible that the variety of realisations in Bugis-Makassarese script might be motivated by the need for letter shapes to vary enough to ensure paradigmatic contrast between letters.

that the dot is the ultimate simplification of various adjunct strokes in the same position is supported by the existence of a rare old <ḷ> variant in palm leaf script style (Tol 2008): instead of the usual arch above the right hand side of the letter, this variant has a dot in the cup formed by the downstroke of the initial arch and the upstroke to its right.

There are two problematic cases where an adjunct stroke in the Philippine letter does not correspond to a dot in its Bugis-Makassarese counterpart. These are Philippine <ṭ> with the counterclockwise curl on its underside, which corresponds to a simple arch in Bugis-Makassarese, and Philippine <m> with the crossbar across its top side, which corresponds to a simple cup shape in Bugis-Makassarese. It is arguable that the expected dot on these two letters does not materialise because that would have lead to confusion with <n> and <d>, which themselves have a dot in the corresponding position.

The adjunct curls of <b>, <ng> and <ḷ> correspond directly to similar segments in their pre-Philippine counterparts. These adjuncts, in each case, are the first strokes drawn in the pre-Philippine letters, and the rest of the pre-Philippine letter corresponds systematically, segment for segment to the arch (plus off stroke) form of the lower portion of the Bugis-Makassarese letter. In the case of <b>, the Bugis-Makassarese letter corresponds to the regularly predicted reflex of the informal Nagari letter, with a downward tail instead of the structure-dependent upward tail found in the Philippine letter. Similarly, Bugis-Makassarese <w> has a double arch shape with a final downstroke corresponding to the regular reflex of the informal Devanagari letter, which in the Philippines is almost exclusively restricted to Tagbanuwa. The rising on-stroke, like the short on-stroke of the Luzon Philippine letter, is likely a reflex of a variably present onstroke on informal Devanagari letters whose body begins with a counterclockwise downward curl from the top of the letter space.

(16)

	a	p	y	m	w	b	ng	g	t	l	n	s	h	k	d
Post-Gujarati shapes	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
Extra variant shapes – Philippines	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
Intermediate shapes	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
Bugis-Makassarese	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ

Apart from these fairly regular and systematic structural correspondences with counterpart (pre-)Philippine letters, a couple of other Bugis-Makassarese letters are directly related to the Philippine counterparts. With its two parallel angled bars, <k> is a close match to the most widespread Philippine variant, with two parallel straight lines joined by a crossbar, and a direct match for an occasionally encountered Philippine variant where the two parallel lines are not joined by a crossbar. A rare 'X' shaped variant noted by Noorduyn corresponds directly to the Tagbanuwa variant. Finally, the 'j' shaped <s> closely corresponds to an older Philippine variant represented by the unique serpentine <s> found in the 1593 *Doctrina Christiana*.

Comparison with (pre-)Philippine letter variants reveals structural correspondences for like positions that are highly plausible to very strong, convincing evidence that early modern Bugis-Makassarese letter shapes derive systematically from variants found in early and pre-Philippine script. Combined with the orthographic and vowel system facts discussed earlier, this is strong evidence that the early and pre-Philippine shapes represent a very early stage of Bugis-Makassarese script that was borrowed in the Philippines from speakers of a South Sulawesi language.

Apart from the four prenasalised letters (likely borrowed at a later period) there remain three letters for phonemes with no counterpart in most Philippine languages prior to the influx of Spanish borrowings (17). Comparing these to their informal Devanagari counterparts reveals direct structural correspondences. Both <c> and <r> in Bugis-Makassarese are fragmented counterparts of the informal Devanagari counterparts: where the latter begin with a large clockwise curl from the top of the letter space that joins with a downward sloping stroke, the sharp stopped join between the two segments in the informal Nagari letters has been broken apart in Bugis-Makassarese, leaving separate, fragmented strokes. Both Bugis-Makassarese and informal Devanagari <j> are made up of an arch with an attached closed curl. The curl is on the left in the informal Nagari letter, but on the right in the Bugis-Makassarese letter. It is quite plausible that the B-M letter developed a closed curl on the right following processes similar to those that resulted in the modern Gujarati shape, which has a right-hand loop that developed from the sharp stopped join where the final upward stroke begins. These last three letters are strong independent evidence for an early Bugis-Makassarese script with letter shapes very little changed from the informal Devanagari shapes introduced by Gujarati merchants.

(17)

	c	j	r
Nagari, Gujarati shapes	च	ज	र
	व	झ	र
	य	ञ	र
Later Gujarati shapes		જ	ર
	ચ	જ	ર
Bugis-Makassarese	ᨆ	ᨉ	ᨇ
	ᨇ	ᨉ	ᨇ



Despite the strength of the evidence, there remain some perplexing facts that do not fit in neatly with the rest of the analysis at first glance. One has to do with the presence of an ⟨h⟩ letter in the Philippine script, another concerns phonological mismatches for the plausible reflexes of informal Devanagari nasal letters, and the last concerns the combination of Kawi-derived vowel signs with Devanagari-derived base letters in place of the expected Devanagari vowel signs.

### **Loose ends in the comparative analysis: the origin of Philippine ⟨h⟩**

Although the Philippine script adopted the coda-less spelling conventions of Bugis-Makassarese script along with several other features, it uses an ⟨h⟩ letter (directly related in shape to the letter in other Indonesian scripts) for which there is no evidence in Bugis-Makassarese script itself: in fact, there would have been no good reason to keep such a letter for these languages which lack /h/ in their indigenous vocabulary. This paradoxical situation resolves itself if we assume that early literate individuals in or from South Sulawesi likely to interact with people from the Philippine islands, whether in Sulawesi, Borneo, the Philippines or elsewhere, probably did so as part of a trading relationship and in consequence likely knew Malay, the trade language of the archipelago. With their literacy and knowledge of Malay, they would likely have had at least a passive acquaintance with the existence of the ⟨h⟩ letter, which they could easily have transmitted to represent the /h/ of Tagalog and other Philippine languages, without ever needing to use the letter to write Bugis or Makassarese.

### **Nasal letters and phonological mismatches**

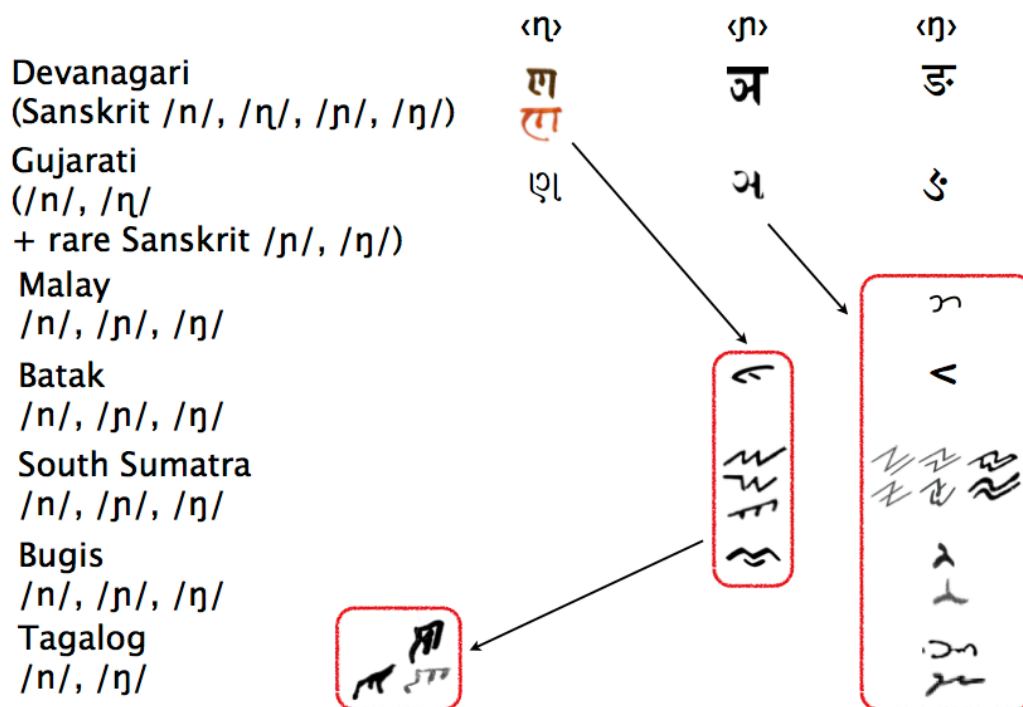
Another perplexing problem concerns the phonological mismatches between nasal letters in Devanagari and their regularly predicted counterparts in Philippine script and its Indonesian relatives. In particular, ⟨ng⟩ in Philippine, Bugis-Makassarese and the Sumatran scripts is the regularly derived counterpart not of Devanagari ⟨ng⟩ but of ⟨ñ⟩. Devanagari ⟨ng⟩ itself seems not to have any regular structural counterpart in the Philippine or Indonesian scripts. In addition to this, there is a secondary set of variant shapes for ⟨n⟩ in Philippine script that share some superficial similarities with the usual arched ⟨n⟩ shape but correspond nearly exactly to the Devanagari retroflex ⟨ṇ⟩ letter. The key to these anomalies seems to lie in the encounter between the mismatched phonologies of Gujarati speakers and Malay speakers in Sumatra, from where the early proto-script likely spread to Sulawesi and thence to the Philippines.

Although Gujarati and Malay both have simple dental nasals, the homomorphism between the nasal inventories of the two languages extends no farther. Gujarati has a non-anterior coronal nasal, the retroflex /ṇ/, whereas Malay has the palatal /ɲ/ as its non-anterior coronal nasal. Malay also has a phonemic velar nasal /ŋ/ for which Gujarati has no native counterpart. It seems likely that Gujaratis hearing the Malay ⟨ṇ⟩ b would have heard it as a slightly exotic sounding non-anterior nasal that could most closely be approximated with their “second nasal” letter ⟨ṇ⟩. This hypothesis is supported by the close structural correspondences between this letter and ⟨ny⟩ in the various Indonesian scripts likely derived from informal Devanagari (18). The shape of the Bugis-Makassarese ⟨ny⟩ is likely the result of simplification of the wide initial curl plus double open counter shape to conform to the arch stereotype of the modern script, with the initial curl changing to a cup adjunct fitting below the main body of the letter. On the assumption that an early form of Bugis-Makassarese ⟨ny⟩ was still nearly identical to Devanagari ⟨ṇ⟩, it is plausible that it was perceived and adopted by Tagalog speakers as a phonemically and graphemically non-distinctive variant of ⟨n⟩.

The question of Devanagari ⟨ñ⟩ corresponding to Philippine ⟨ng⟩ and its counterparts in Indonesian scripts remains. Once the Gujarati speakers had used their ⟨n⟩ and ⟨ṇ⟩ letters to represent Malay /n/ and /ɲ/, there were no nasal phonemes in their language remaining to be easily mapped onto Malay /ŋ/. Although the phonological inventory of Gujarati was not easily mapped onto the Malay inventory of nasal phonemes, Devanagari does contain two extra letters for nasal sounds: ⟨ṇ⟩ and ⟨ṅ⟩. These two letters would not have had any more usefulness for writing Devanagari than ‘ā’ or ‘ø’ for writing English. Moreover, these two letters are surpassingly rare for writing Sanskrit itself. Nonetheless, it is quite likely that literate Gujaratis would have had at least a passive awareness that these two letters existed and represented exotic, non-Gujarati nasal sounds without being familiar with the exact nasals they represented, much as the average English speaker is

unaware of the exact vowels that ‘ă’ and ‘ø’ represent. Since Devanagari ⟨ṅ⟩ is nearly identical to the common retroflex ⟨ṇ⟩ letter, and Devanagari ⟨ñ⟩ corresponds more closely to the headstroke-body-stem stereotype of the script, ⟨ñ⟩ (exact “exotic” phonological value unclear) would have been a likely first choice for a stop-gap to represent the exotic Malay /ŋ/. In keeping with the simplified structure of informal Devanagari, it would have been written without the headstroke and with the beginning of the clockwise curl of the body raised to the top of the letter space. From there, the expected correspondences obtain in Philippine and Bugis-Makassarese script, as well as in Batak script in northern Sumatra and to a lesser degree, in South Sumatran script.

(18)



### The vowel marking paradox: Kawi-based vowel signs on Devanagari-based letters

The final puzzle concerns the fact that the vowel signs in these scripts clearly come from Javanese script, not Devanagari. On the face of it, this is paradoxical and a potential piece of counterevidence that could call a Devanagari relationship into question despite the overwhelming and detailed structural evidence that favours an informal Devanagari origin. This paradox is problematic only on the surface. It is fairly well known that North Indian mercantile scripts are abjad scripts that did not represent vowels other than by independent vowel letters when they were syllable-initial (Grierson 1899). Vowels in consonant-initial syllables were simply not marked, which means that the complex inventory of vowel and coda signs used in formal Devanagari was left unused in these script varieties. Evidence that this was a very early feature of informal Devanagari comes from Saurashtra script, in which vowel signs derived from Telugu and Tamil are combined with consonant letters derived from informal Devanagari. It follows that these South Indian vowel signs were borrowed to enable the previously vowel sign-free script to represent vowels. Since Saurashtran script likely diverged from northern informal Devanagari between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is likely that it and its parent script were both vowel sign-free abjads during this time period, which is equivalent to the period when Gujaratis were active in Sumatran trade. In this context, it seems likely that the Malays who learned the vowelless informal Devanagari script and were also familiar with the late Kawi script in use in Sumatra during the same time period simply borrowed the Kawi vowel-coda system wholesale and superimposed these signs on the Devanagari-origin letters where necessary. From there, the system was modified and simplified in different ways in the various daughter scripts, resulting in the ultimate two-sign system appropriate for the three-vowel phonology of pre-Hispanic Tagalog and other Philippine languages.

## Conclusion

In this paper I have presented several kinds of evidence in favour of the thesis that the Philippine script is directly derived from an early variety of Bugis-Makassarese script, itself descended from an informal mercantile variety of Devanagari combined with the Kawi vowel marking system in Sumatra. Unlike most discussions of relatedness between scripts, the arguments presented here have eschewed superficial and global comparisons of letter shapes. The evidence adduced has been of two types: evidence based on the interface between script and phonological structure (including metalinguistic didactic practices) and evidence based on comparisons of structural features across scripts.

In order to provide a principled metric for comparing structure across scripts, three types of structural regularities were motivated independently. These were used to decompose the structure of letters in script pairs, permitting a fine-grained analysis of structural correspondences and regularities comparable in type to the analyses of phonological correspondences based on distinctive feature structure. To ensure that the data sets used for comparison faithfully represented variation in each script rather than presenting a misleading, monochromatic picture, extensive data sets were gathered from original archival and other contemporary sources, analysed for patterns of variation and distilled into representative sets of variants for comparison.

Following this methodological path has made it possible to examine and compare individual features of letter structure across and within form classes in different scripts. These comparisons have established robust patterns of regular structural correspondences between Philippine script and informal Devanagari on the one hand, and between Philippine and Bugis-Makassarese script on the other, with secondary regular correspondences between Bugis-Makassarese script and informal Devanagari and Gujarati. In addition, they make it possible to reconstruct intermediate proto-forms for letters by applying specific structural changes in a regular manner to informal Devanagari letter shapes. These reconstructed shapes in turn serve as comparanda establishing indirect but close relationships between Philippine and Bugis-Makassarese scripts.

The robustness and regularity of the structural correspondences revealed by this approach provide powerful support for the theory that the Philippine and Bugis-Makassarese scripts (together with Sumatran scripts not dealt with here) are directly descended from an informal variety of Devanagari script with the addition of vowel and coda marking signs borrowed from Kawi. Supplementing the observations obtained under this approach with an awareness of inherent variation in scripts helps to explain how the Philippine and Bugis-Makassarese scripts can be closely related without each letter corresponding exactly: instead, the letter shapes in each script are often derived independently from closely related co-occurring letter variants in an early form of the parent Bugis-Makassarese script.

The success of this methodological approach in revealing robust connections between the scripts under examination has itself served to validate the structural postulates that underly it as a useful tool for constraining the kinds of analyses and comparisons that can be made between scripts on a principled, independently motivated basis.

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# Multiple Motivations for Preposing in Philippine Languages

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## ABSTRACT

When we speak of word order of a given language, we look at transitive clauses with two lexical noun arguments, A and O (Thompson, unk). Philippine languages<sup>1</sup> have been analyzed to have predicate-initial basic word order in which a clause is typically verb-initial, followed by nominal or pronominal arguments. However, while it is typical to see a predicate-initial construction in any Philippine-type language for that matter, there are instances where arguments are placed in a pre-predicate position. This movement is called preposing.

A preliminary study of Kana, a Cebuano dialect, has shown that it favors preposed construction under certain conditions which include but are not limited to: a) clitic position and movement; b) setting the scene in a discourse narrative; c) listing of information; d) exclusive contrast. Moreover, the data have shown preference for preposing of A-pronominals and predicate-medial word order tendencies. In this paper, we will examine this further, and demonstrate the implications of this preference in the word order of other Philippine languages namely; Chavacano, Ilokano, Tagalog, and Waray.

## I. Introduction

### 1.1. Background of the Study

A clause is the basic unit of discourse for accomplishing the ends in communication. It consists of at least a predicate (usually a verb but can be nominal or adjectival) and an entity as seen below in examples 1 and 2.

Kana

1. [May<sub>PRED</sub>      usa      ka=táu]<sub>EXIST CL</sub>

EXIST      NUM      LKR=N

‘May isang tao.’

‘There was a man.’

2. íya=ng<sub>A</sub>      gi-dala<sub>PRED</sub>      ang      usa      ka      bukag<sub>O</sub>

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Philippine-type or Philippine languages’ as used in this study refers to the languages in the Philippines that exhibits similar morphological and syntactical structures and share a vast number of lexical cognates. Nolasco (2003) identifies ergativity as one universal feature of Philippine languages that gives evidence to a Philippine-typology.

3OBL=LKR PST-carry-TR(-on) ABS NUM LKR basket

‘Kanyang dinala ang isang basket.’

“He took the basket.”

The basic word order in Philippine languages is assumed to be predicate-initial. A clause is typically verb-initial; arguments (which can be nominal, pronominal or anaphora) usually follow the verb, with pronouns occupying the second position as enclitics. Although predicate-initial construction is the most common order of constituents in Philippine-type languages, there are instances where this basic word order is altered due to pragmatic factors. There are special circumstances in which arguments are placed in a pre-predicate position. This movement is called preposing.

This paper will examine the preposing phenomenon in Philippine languages as observed in Kana, a Cebuano dialect. The data have shown that Kana dialect which is assumed to be predicate initial favors preposed construction under certain conditions. These conditions include but are not limited to: a) clitic position and movement; b) setting the scene in a discourse narrative; c) listing of information; d) exclusive contrast. We will further investigate the aforementioned pragmatic motivations for preposing in other Philippine languages and show the implications of this preference in the basic word order analysis of Philippine languages in general. We will also explore the different forms of preposed constructions. Lastly, we will look into the preposed arguments and examine how they affect the word order analysis of the language.

This paper is subdivided into five parts. Section I comprises this introduction which includes the scope of this study and methodology. Section II will discuss the related works on clause formation and word order analysis and its application in Philippine languages. Section III

will examine the functions and pragmatic motivations for preposing in the said Philippine languages. Section IV will deal with the implications of preposing in the word order analysis of Philippine languages. Section V will conclude the study.

### ***1.2. Languages Used***

The languages that will be used in this study are Cebuano-Kana, Tagalog, Ilokano, Chavacano, and Waray. Kana is spoken in parts of Southern Leyte, particularly in the City of Maasin. The dialect is said to be a combination of Cebuano and Boholano, characterized by the frequent use of the expression *kana* ‘that’, and by the presence of the [dʒ] sound. Ilokano is a member of the Cordilleran group of languages and is spoken as lingua franca in the northern region of the Philippines. Tagalog is the basis for the national language and is the most widely spoken language. Waray, like Cebuano and Kana belongs to the Bisayan subgroup and is spoken in the Samar-Leyte region. Chavacano-Caviteño is a dialect of Chavacano spoken in the Cavite area.

Nolasco (2010, lecture notes) identifies predicate-initial word order and ergative morphosyntax among others, as the prototypical characteristics of Philippine languages. All these languages are typically predicate-initial and follow the ergative pattern, with the exception of Chavacano-Caviteño. Chavacano is argued to be neither a Philippine-type language nor an entirely non-Philippine type. It inherited its accusative phenotype from its Iberian father and its pragmatic and semantic genotype from its Philippine mother language (Nolasco, 2003).

### ***1.3. Data and Methodology***

The data used in this study are recordings of a) pear stories; b) experience/personal stories; c) retelling of famous folk stories from the languages. In getting the pear story data, the informants were shown the pear film (Chafe, 1980) and then asked to narrate what they have

seen in their own language. The narrations were then auto-recorded. For the personal and folk stories, the participants were asked to narrate some of their life experiences and famous or known native stories that they are familiar with and these were also auto-recorded. The data were transcribed and classified into clauses (which consists of a predicate and arguments). These clauses were analyzed and counted for preposed and basic postposed transitive constructions.

#### ***1.4. Scopes and Delimitations***

This study will explore the phenomenon of preposing and its implications in Philippine basic word order. This research is instigated by and mostly an application of the analysis done in Kana. The author will attempt to show whether or not this analysis is applicable to other Philippine-type languages.

We will delimit our discussion into core clauses. Clause is to be understood here as construction that consists of a predicate and one or more arguments. The predicate can be verbal, nominal or adjectival; arguments can be core arguments or obliques. We will look at transitive clauses with overt lexical arguments. Those clauses with zero arguments will not be included in the frequency count.

It is not the intention of the researcher to present a complete analysis of the word order structure of Philippine-type languages, but only to provide another view on one of its aspect.

### *1.5. Terms and Abbreviations*

A	the source of action in a TR	PER	personal
ABS	absolute case	PL	plural
ACC	accusative case	POSS	possessive
AFF	affirmative	PREP	preposed/preposing
CLEFT	cleft construction	PROX	proximal
CONT	contemplative aspect	PRT	particle
CONJ	conjunction	PURP	purpose
DET	determiner	PST	past
DIST	distal pronoun	QW	question word
ERG	ergative case	REAS	reason
FOC	focus/focused	RED	reduplication
INT	intransitive construction	S	sole argument of an INT
LKR	linker	TR	transitive
MOD	modifier	V.STAT	stative verb
N	noun	1	1st person
NEG	negator/negation	2	2nd person
NEUT	neutral aspect	3	3rd person
NOM	nominative	=	cliticization/clitic boundary
NPST	non-past	-	morpheme boundary
NUM	numeral	.	a morpheme with several metalanguage elements
O	most affected entity in a TR	< >	infixation
OBL	oblique case		

## II. The Clause Structure and Basic Word Order of Philippine Languages

### 2.1. Clause formation and structure

Clauses express two kinds of ideas: ideas of states and activities and ideas of entities or referents that participate in those states and activities. Entities that we want to talk about are expressed by nouns. Those that name states and activities are expressed by verbs. These word classes make up the basic predication. Other word classes, like determiners, numerals and clitic particles, enhance the basic predication (Nolasco, 2010).

Clauses may be unmarked or pragmatically marked. Unmarked or simple clauses are simple declarative clauses. They do not perform any specialized function other than to state an idea or transmit information. Sentence 3 is an example of unmarked clause. Pragmatically marked clauses are used in specialized contexts. They may exhibit variant intonation (as in questions; example 4), word order (as in focus constructions in 5) or clause structure (as in relative clause; example 6).

Kana

3. Kinsa=y nag-kuha<sub>PRED</sub>                      [ø]<sub>s</sub>                      inadto  
Q=OBL INT.PST(n-)-kuha                      DIST.OBL  
ija=ng                      gi-kuha                      [ø]<sub>o</sub>  
3OBL=LKR                      PST-kuha-TR(-on)  
‘Sino ang kumuha ng kanyang kinuhang (peras)?’  
‘Who took the (pears) that he harvested?’

Chavacano

4. Ya                      come                      [ø]<sub>s</sub>                      el                      gato                      enantes.  
PST                      kain                      NOM PRT                      pusa                      kanina

‘Kumain ang pusa kanina.’

‘The cat ate a while ago.’

Waray

5. [An íya kunsúylu],<sub>S/FOC</sub> ná-kádtu<sub>PRED</sub> .

ABS 3OBL N PRES.INT (ná-)-pa-kadtu

han luyu nga báryu<sub>OBL</sub>

OBL N LKR N

‘Ang kanyang nililigawan, andoon sa malayong baryo.’

‘The one he is courting is in faraway barrio.’

Kana

6. Naka-hinagbu<sub>PRED</sub> sija=g bata [nga nag-bike [Ø]<sub>s</sub>]<sub>REL</sub>

INT.PST(n)-paka-hinagbu 3ABS=OBL child LKR INT.PST(n)pag-bike

‘Nakasalubong siya ng bata na nakabike.’

‘He met a girl riding a bicycle.’

## 2.2. Basic word order of Philippine languages

Before we discuss the basic word order of Philippine languages, we have to know first the important points in considering the basic order of a given language.

Mithun (1992) in Doris Payne’s *Pragmatics of Word Order Flexibility* discussed three standard strategies that for detecting basic order of languages, namely; statistical frequency, descriptive simplicity and pragmatic neutrality. The first, which is the simplest method, usually yields sufficient basis for the identification of basic order (Hawkins, in Mithun 1992).



In Philippine languages, simple declarative clauses are considered pragmatically neutral. They are expected to have higher frequency of occurrence. Other alternative orders are considered pragmatically marked.

Accordingly, it is also important to consider the arguments present in a clause. Thompson (lecture notes) suggested that the word order for a given language is easiest to figure out if we have lexical Noun Phrases for both 'A' and 'O'. That is, we have to look at the transitive clauses with two lexical noun arguments. Philippine languages have always been analyzed in this manner.

Philippine languages are assumed as predicate-initial as shown in the previous examples (1, 3, 6). Predicate-initial languages normally have a PAO/POA order for transitive clauses. Take a look at the following examples (7-11):

Chavacano<sup>2</sup>

7. Ta      busca<sub>PRED</sub>                      pa      rin      [Ø]<sub>A</sub>      *aquel*                      pandesal<sub>S</sub>.  
      NPST busca                              PRT    PRT                      DIST.ACC      bread

‘Hinahanap ko pa rin iyong pandesal.’

“I am still looking for your *pandesal*.”

Cebuano-Kana

8. Gi-pa-múnit<sub>PRED</sub>                      niya<sub>A</sub>      kini<sub>O</sub>  
      PST-pa-punit                      3ERG PROX.ABS

“Pinulot niya ito.”

“He picked it up.”

---

<sup>2</sup>We will follow the analysis that Chavacano exhibits a nominative-accusative morphosyntax. We will mark S and A arguments as NOM and O as ACC.

## Ilokano

9. In-kabil=na<sub>PRED=A</sub>                      [ø]<sub>O</sub>    diay                      bisikleta=na  
PST-kabil-TR(i-)=3ERG                      PROX.ABS    bisikleta=3POSS  
“Inilagay niya (ang basket) sa bisikleta niya.”  
”He placed (it) in his bike.”

## Tagalog

10. ...ini<la>lagay<sub>PRED</sub>                      niya<sub>A</sub>    ito<sub>O</sub>                      sa                      isa=ng                      basket<sub>OBL</sub>  
TR.NPST-<RED>-lagay                      3ERG    PROX.ABS    OBL    NUM=LKR    N  
“Inilalagay niya ito sa isang basket.”  
“He places it in a basket.”

## Waray

11. Gin-bulig-an<sub>PRED</sub>                      hiya<sub>O</sub>    [ø]<sub>A</sub>  
PERF-bulig-TR(-an)                      3ABS  
han                      pag-karga                      han                      iya                      mga    prutas  
OBL.DEF    V.STAT(pag)-karga    OBL.DEF    3POSS                      PL    N  
“Tinulungan siya (ng mga bata) sa pagkarga ng kanyang mga prutas.”  
“Someone helped carry his fruits.”

However, there are instances that arguments are placed in a pre-predicate position as seen in 2, 4, and 5. These sentences are examples of preposing, question, and focus constructions, respectively. These constructions belong to the pragmatically marked clause types. The basic word order in these construction types is usually altered due to pragmatic factors.

It has also been pointed out that analysis of the word order of pronominals in a given language may be different from the order of the lexical NPs. In considering the word order, we have to take into account whether the arguments are lexical NPs or pronouns. In Kana, as have been mentioned previously, pronominal arguments tend to follow the predicate-medial word order. We will discuss this in the following sections.

It is also worth mentioning that while we assume that all languages have some basic, syntactic defined constituent order, this may not be universally valid. Mithun (1992) argued against this fundamental assumption and demonstrated that the order of constituents does not really reflect their syntactic functions but rather their pragmatic functions: their relative newsworthiness within the discourse at hand. We will examine this claim in this study.

### **III. Multiple Motivations for Preposing in Philippine Languages**

#### ***3.1. Preposing and Word order Variation***

Verb-initial languages tend to allow more flexibility of constituent orders than do verb-final and verb-medial. Verb-initial languages are often less sensitive to grammatical relations (Payne, 1997). Philippine languages belong to this type. They have flexible word order, which is not grammatically fixed but varies according to pragmatic factors. For instance, new, indefinite, or otherwise “newsworthy” information are usually placed early in the clause.

One phenomenon that alters the basic order of constituent is preposing. Preposing occurs when arguments occupy the pre-predicate position. Cleft, focus, and contrastive constructions and topicalization are examples of this. As observed in Kana, preposing is motivated by the following conditions: a) clitic position and movement; b) setting the scene in a discourse narrative; c) listing of information; d) exclusive contrast.

The rest of this section will examine the abovementioned motivations employing the data from the languages used in this study. We will discuss whether the analysis of Kana word order holds true to other Philippine languages.

### 3.2.1. *Scene setting function*

Perhaps one of the most useful motivations for preposing in Kana is the scene setting function. Let's take a look at the following illustrations:

Kana

12. [Usa ka adlaw]<sub>OBL/REP,</sub> [upat ka mga baryohanon]<sub>s</sub>  
 NUM LKR adlaw, NUM LKR PL baryohanon  
 nagka-sinabot<sub>PRED</sub> [nga mag-luto ug lugaw]<sub>RELCL</sub>  
 PST(n)-pagka-sinabot LKR NPST(m)-pag-luto OBL lugaw

“Isang araw, apat na lalaki ang nagkasundo na magluto ng lugaw.”

“One day, four men decided to cook porridge.”

13. [Ug samtang siya na-munit niini]<sub>OBL/REP,</sub>  
 CONJ CONJ.SIMUL 3ABS PST(n)-pa-punit 3OBL.PROX  
 [gi-tabáng-an<sub>PRED</sub> siyas sa tulu nga mga báta<sub>O</sub> [nga  
 PST-tabang-TR(-an) 3ABS ERG NUM LKR PL bata LKR  
 mi-labay<sub>PRED</sub> diha sa íya=ng tungod<sub>OBL</sub>]<sub>RELCL</sub>]<sub>MAINCL</sub>  
 PST(mi)-labay OBL OBL 3POSS=LKR tungod

“At habang pinupulot niya ang mga ito, tinulungan siya ng tatlong bata na dumaan sa kanyang harapan.”

“And while he was picking these/them up, three children, who passed by in front of him, helped him.”

In Kana, one of the functions of preposing is setting the scene in a discourse narrative. This usually happens at the beginning of the discourse. In 12 and 13, the preposed arguments situate the time and the state of the speech act. They present the background of the action as it takes place in the discourse.

They also introduce a change of scene or new themes as seen in example 14. This example talks about the story of a carabao and animal friends he met while he was traveling. In 14, he met a new friend, the lizard. The preposed clause situates the location of the scene and introduces a new character in the story.

14. Pag-abot [S] sa unahan,  
 INT.NEUT-abot OBL unahan  
 íya=ng na-taghon ang ilaga  
 3ERG=LKR INT.PST-taghon ABS ilaga  
 “Pagdating sa harapan, kanyang nakasalubong ang butiki”  
 “When (he) got in front, he ran into the lizard.”

#### Chavacano

15. [Por la mañana]<sub>OBL/PREP</sub>, el hombre<sub>S</sub> ya despertá<sub>PRED</sub>  
 PRT DET N.TIME DET hombre PST wake.up  
 despues ya andá<sub>PRED</sub> él<sub>S</sub> na pono de peras  
 CONJ.AFTER PST go 3NOM LKR tree POSS pear  
 “Sa umaga, nagising ang lalaki, pagkatapos umakyat siya sa puno ng peras.”  
 “In the morning, the man woke up, and climbed the pear tree afterwards.”

#### Ilokano

16. [Maysa nga aldaw]<sub>OBL/PREP</sub> addá<sub>PRED</sub> maysa nga lalakí<sub>S</sub>  
 maysa LKR aldaw EXIST NUM LKR lalaki

[nga agburburas<sub>PRED</sub> ti peras<sub>OBL</sub>]<sub>REL CL</sub>

LKR INT.NPST(ag)-CV<sub>r</sub>-buras OBL peras

“Isang araw may isang lalaking namimitas ng peras”

“One day, there was a man harvesting pears.”

## Tagalog

17. [Sa simula nun=g pelikula]<sub>OBL/REP</sub>

OBL N OBL=LKR N

[may<sub>PRED</sub> isa=ng magsasaka<sub>s</sub> [na

EXIST NUM=LKR N LKR

k<um>ukuha<sub>PRED</sub> ng prutas<sub>OBL</sub>

INT.NPST<RED>-kuha OBL prutas

sa isan=g puno]<sub>OBL [Ø]<sub>s</sub></sub><sub>REL CL</sub>

OBL NUM=LKR puno

“Sa simula ng pelikula, may isang magsasaka na kumukuha ng prutas sa isang puno.”

“At the start of the film, there was a farmer who is harvesting fruits from a tree.”

## Waray

18. [Ha usa ka=adlaw]<sub>OBL/REP</sub> [may<sub>PRED</sub> tulo nga lalaki]<sub>EXIST CL</sub>

OBL NUM LKR=N EXIST NUM LKR N

[nga na-kadto ha bukid]<sub>REL CL</sub>

LKR INT.PST(n-)-pa-kadto OBL bukid

“Isang araw, may tatlong lalaki na pumunta sa bukid.”

“One day, there were three men who went to the field.”

In Tagalog, preposed constructions are usually *ay*-focus or contrastive focus constructions. The preposed arguments are set off from the rest of the clause by the linker *ay* or a pause (as seen in 17). This is the same in Ilokano, Chavacano and Waray as seen in examples 15-18.

### 3.2.2. Listing of information

Listing ideas or information in a discourse narrative also alters the word order in a clause. See the following examples in Kana:

Kana

19. [Ang usa]<sub>CLEFT/S</sub> political science<sub>OBL</sub>,  
 ABS NUM N  
 [Ang usa]<sub>CLEFT/S</sub> pud hing-proceed<sub>PRED</sub> sa Philosophy<sub>OBL</sub>  
 ABS NUM PRT INT.PST(hing)-proceed OBL N  
 Unja nag-teacher na pud  
 CONJ INT.PST(n)pag-teacher PRT PRT

“Ang isa political science, ang isa naman nagpatuloy sa Philosophy pagkatapos nagteacher na.”

“One (took up) political science, the other one continued on to Philosophy, and became a teacher afterwards.”

In listing information, the speaker prefer to use cleft constructions in which argument are preposed, occupying the first slot in the clause. Sentence 19 is a type of cleft construction. The arguments are preposed before the predicate of the clause and are marked by *ang*. These clefted arguments are being focused or given emphasis.



## Waray

20. [An usa ha ira]<sub>S/CLEFT</sub> , batan-on<sub>PRED</sub> pa  
 ABS NUM OBL 3OBL.PL bata-V.STAT PRT  
 [An usa nga lalaki]<sub>S/CLEFT</sub> an nag<ku>-kuha  
 ABS NUM LKR N ABS INT.NPST(n)-pag<RED>-kuha  
 hin mga prutas<sub>OBL</sub>  
 OBL.INDEF PL N  
 Ngan [an usa]<sub>S/CLEFT</sub> naman na-halin<sub>PRED</sub>  
 LKR ABS NUM PRT INT.NPST(n-)pa-halin  
 hin ira hayop nga kanding]<sub>OBL</sub> ]  
 OBL.INDEF 3POSS.PL N LKR N  
 [Ngan an usa]<sub>S/CLEFT</sub> liwat an bata an na-kuha<sub>PRED</sub>  
 LKR ABS NUM PRT ABS N ABS INT.PST(n)-ka-kuha  
 [hin prutas]<sub>OBL</sub> nga [para ib<ar>aligya  
 OBL.INDEF N LKR PURP TR.NPST-<Vr>-baligya

“Ang isa sa kanila, bata pa. Ang isang lalaki ang kumukuha ng mga prutas at ang isa naman ay humihila ng kanilang hayop na kambing. At ang isa pa, ang bata ang kumuha ng prutas para ibenta.”

“One of them was still young. The other man is picking the fruits while other is tending to their animal, a goat. And yet another, the child took away the fruits to sell them.”

## Tagalog

21. [Yun=g isa=ng friend ko]<sub>S/CLEFT</sub> , nag-boyfriend<sub>PRED</sub>.  
 DIST.ABS=LKR NUM=LKR kaibigan 1POSS PST(n-)pag-boyfriend

Nagka-anak<sub>PRED</sub> lang.

PST(n-)pagka-anak PRT

Tinakbuhan<sub>PRED</sub>.

PST-takbu-TR(-an)

[Yun=g isa pa]<sub>S/CLEFT</sub>, da-<da>-lawa=ng taon

DIST.ABS=LKR NUM PRT V.STAT-RED-dalawa=LKR N

pa lang na nakakasal, hiwalay na.

PRT PRT PRT PST(n)-ka-kasal MOD PRT

“Yung isang friend ko, nagboyfriend. Nagkaanak lang. Tinakbuhan. Yung isa pa, dadalawang taon pa lang na nakakasal, hiwalay na.”

“That friend of mine got a boyfriend. (She) just ended up pregnant. (She) got ran away.

The other one, after being married for just two years, already got separated.”

## Ilokano

22. Ada tallo a basket.

EXIST NUM LKR basket

Ti maysa, napunon.

ABS NUM INT.PST-puno-PRT

Ti maikadwa, kar<kar>ga-an na pay laeng,

ABS NUM NPST.RED-karga-TR(-an) 3ERG PRT PRT

ken ti makatlo, awan pay karga na.

CONJ ABS NUM NEG PRT karga PRT

“May tatlong basket. Ang isa, puno na. Ang ikalawa, nilalagyan pa lang niya. At ang ikatlo, wala pang laman.”

“There were three baskets. One (of them) was already full. The second is still being filled up. And the third was still empty.”

Based from the data, Waray, Tagalog and Ilokano follow the same pattern. Arguments being enumerated are placed before the predicate. These arguments are marked by the absolutive case marker in ergative languages; *ang* in Kana (19), *an* in Waray (20), *ang* or *yung* in Tagalog (21) and *ti* in Ilokano (22). Chavacano data, however, show otherwise. Its syntax does not allow this construction. There is no example to support this type of preposing.

### 3.2.3. Exclusive contrast

Preposing also signals exclusivity or expresses contrast. Focus and contrastive constructions are examples of these. In these types of clauses, the word order alteration occurs when the focused participants of a state of activity is placed in the pre-predicate position.

Kana

23. [An lalaki]<sub>S/FOC</sub> na-mupu ug piras

ABS N INT.PST(m-)pang-pupu OBL N

“Ang lalaki, namitas ng piras.”

“The man, picked pears.”

Chavacano

24. Si akel viejos na ponu ta mira

PRT DIST.ACC old.man OBL puno NPST look

“Kung ang matandang lalaki sa puno ay nakatingin..”

“If the old man on the tree was looking.”

Ilokano

25. [Dagitoy tallo nga ubing]<sub>A/FOC</sub>  
3OBL.PL tallo LKR ubing  
[t<in>-ulung-an na isuda]<sub>MAINCL</sub>  
<PST>-tulong-TR(-an) 3ERG 3ABS.PL  
“Ang tatlong batang ito, tinulungan siya nito”  
“These three children, they helped him.”

Tagalog

26. [[Siya]<sub>S/FOC</sub> ay na-distrak<sub>PRED</sub>]<sub>IND CL</sub>  
3ABS LKR PST(n-)-ka-distrak  
“Siya ay nadistrak.”  
“He was distracted.”

As we have discussed so far, the conditions that prompt preposing of arguments in these languages allow either full absolutive NPs (as seen in 3.2.2), full NP obliques or subordinate clauses (in 3.2.1) to be preposed. The languages tend to place these items first in the clause and considered newsworthy. They are newsworthy because they: a) represent significant new information; b) introduce new topic and c) point out a significant contrast.

### ***3.2.4. Clitic position and movement***

Clitic particles constitute a rather mixed group with respect to the meanings they can add to the predicate or parts of the sentence. They usually follow the first full word in the sentence. Clitics can either be adverbial or pronominal.

The position and movement of pronouns also define the word order in a clause. In a

predicate-initial language, pronouns normally occupy the second position in the clause and occur to the right of the verb or some other head in the clause. The following examples illustrate this:

#### Kana

27. ug i-gi-sakay **niya<sub>A</sub>** íya[=ng  
 CONJ TR(i-)-PST-sakay 3ERG 3POSS=LKR  
 i-gi-dala=ng bisiklita]  
 TR(i-)-PST-dala=LKR bisiklita  
 “at isinakay niya sa kanya[=ng dinalang bisikleta]”  
 “and he loaded (it) on to his bike that he brought.”

#### Cebuano-Kana

28. Gipamúnit **niya<sub>A</sub>** kini  
 PST-p<am>únit 3ERG PROX.ABS  
 ‘Pinulot niya ito’  
 “He picked it up.”

#### Chavacano

29. Ya rangkap<sub>PRED</sub> **ele<sub>A</sub>** akel bayabas<sub>O</sub>  
 PST harvest 3NOM DIST.ACC bayabas  
 “Inani niya ang bayabas.”  
 “He harvested the guavas.”

#### Ilokano

30. in-nala **na** ti maysa nga basket  
 <PST>-ala-TR(-en) 3ERG ABS maysa LKR basket  
 “Kinuha niya ang isang basket”

”He took a basket.”

#### Tagalog

31. [i-b<in>alik<sub>PRED</sub>                      **nila**<sub>A</sub>                      ang                      sumbrelo<sub>O</sub>]<sub>IND CL\</sub>

TR(i-)-<PST>-balik                      3ERG.PL                      ABS                      N

“Ibinalik nila ang sumbrelo.”

“They returned the hat.”

#### Waray

32. Gin-bulig-an<sub>PRED</sub>                      **hiya**<sub>O</sub>

INT.PERF-bulig-an                      3ABS

han                      pag-karga                      han                      iya                      mga                      prutas

OBL.DEF                      pag-karga                      OBL.DEF                      3OBL N                      LKR

“Tinulungan siya sa pagkarga ng kanyang mga prutas.”

“(They) helped him in loading his fruits.”

However, there are several pragmatic factors in which the position of clitic pronouns is altered. Take a look at the following examples:

#### Kana

33. kay                      wa<sub>PRED</sub>                      na                      **ja**                      ma-himo

PURP                      NEG                      PRT                      3ABS                      INT.NEUT(ma-)-himo

“Wala na siyang magawa.”

“There was nothing he could do.”

#### Ilokano

34. Gapota                      haan=**na**<sub>A</sub>                      na-kita                      diay                      bato<sub>O</sub>

REAS                      NEG=3ERG                      INT.PST(n-)-ka-kita                      DIST.ABS                      bato

“Dahil hindi niya nakita yung bato.”

“Because he did not see the rock.”

Tagalog

35. Hindi	<b>nila</b> <sub>A</sub>	p<in>ansin <sub>P</sub>	ang	isa't isa <sub>O</sub>
NEG	3ERG.PL	<PST>-pansin-TR(-in)	ABS	isa't isa

“Hindi nila pinansin ang isa't isa.”

“They ignored each other.”

Waray

36. kay	diri <sub>PRED</sub>	<b>hiya</b> <sub>A</sub>	na-kita
REAS	NEG	3ERG	INT.PST(n-)-ka-kita
han	iya <sub>OBL</sub>	gin-<da>-driv-an <sub>PRED</sub>	
ABS	3POSS	NPST-<RED>-drive-TR(-an)	

“Dahil hindi niya nakita ang kanyang pinagdadrivan.”

“because he did not see his way.”

Chavacano

37. Modo	no	<b>akel</b>	vieho <sub>S</sub>	no	ta	mira
REAS	NEG	DIST.ABS	old.man	NEG	NPST	look

“Just because that old man is not looking, (he) is looking at the back.”

In 33-37, negation can alter the ordering of pronouns in a clause. Clitics automatically follow the first full word element, which in the case of negation clauses is the negator.

Preposing also allows pronominals to move in a clause. So far, we have only seen full NPs being preposed. However, in the case of Kana, it is the pronominals that are frequently preposed.



In this section, we have presented the different functions and motivations for preposing in Chavacano, Ilokano, Tagalog, Kana and Waray, namely: a) setting the scene; b) information listing; c) exclusive contrast; and c) clitic position and movement. The next section will deal with preposing of pronominal arguments and its implications in the word order analysis as shown in Kana.

#### IV. Preposing in Kana and Its Implication in the Word Order Analysis

A preliminary analysis in Kana preposing shows that while lexical NPs follow the predicate-initial word order, pronominals prefer predicate-medial. While we could speculate that postposed<sup>3</sup> constructions (POA/PAO) would occur more frequently than preposed constructions (AOP/APO), the data have shown otherwise.

Table 1. Counts of Postposed, Preposed and Zero Anaphoric Constructions

	<b>Postposed</b>	<b>Preposed</b>	<b>Zero Anaphora</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Intransitive</b>	113	125	72	310
<b>Transitive</b>	18	33	18	69
	131 (35%)	<b>158 (42%)</b>	90 (24%)	379

In determining the basic order in Kana, we employed the simplest method, the statistical frequency. As shown in Table 1, preposed constructions are by no means the rare alternative order in Kana constructions. Preposed constructions outnumber than the basic postposed constructions. This is true for both transitive and intransitive clauses.

Table 2. Counts of Postposed and Preposed Constructions

	<b>Postposed</b>	<b>Preposed</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Intransitive</b>	113 (47%)	<b>125 (52%)</b>	238
<b>Transitive</b>	18 (35%)	<b>33 (65%)</b>	51
	131 (45%)	<b>158 (55%)</b>	289

<sup>3</sup> As opposed to preposed constructions, postposed constructions are the basic transitive constructions in which pronouns occur post-verbally.

We delimited our count to those clauses with overt arguments, thus the zero anaphoric constructions were eliminated. The results in Table 2 have shown likewise.

Table 3. Comparison of Counts of Preposed and Postposed Arguments in Intransitive Clauses

<b>Intransitive</b>	<b>Noun Phrases</b>	<b>Pronouns</b>	<b>Oblique Clauses</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Preposed</b>	46 (52%)	44 (39%)	36 (95%)	126
<b>Postposed</b>	43 (48%)	69 (61%)	2 (5%)	114
	89	113	38	240

Table 3 illustrates that in intransitive clauses, a variety of arguments can be preposed. Preposed noun phrases and oblique clauses outnumber their postposed counterparts. Oblique clauses are usually preposed because of its scene-setting function, as discussed in section 3.2.1. They function to introduce new participant or new information in the discourse. Pronouns are also preposed but have lower frequency than postposed. However, it can be observed that pronominal arguments are most often employed to track reference of topical arguments across clauses.

Table 4. Comparison of Counts of Preposed and Postposed Arguments in Transitive Clauses

<b>Transitive</b>	<b>Noun Phrases</b>		<b>Pronouns</b>		<b>Total</b>
	<b>A</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>O</b>	
<b>Preposed</b>	0	1	32	6	39
<b>Postposed</b>	9	20	8	3	40
	30		49		

Table 4 shows the counts of A and O arguments in transitive clauses in Kana. A-arguments are often referred to by pronouns. O-arguments, on the other hand, are referred to by noun phrases. Topical arguments are also pronominalized which is evident in the frequency of A-pronominals. Moreover, A-pronominals are the ones usually preposed.

It is also important to discuss the forms of preposed pronominal arguments in Kana. See the following examples:

38. Gipalingkod sa tigulang nga baje

TR.PST-pa-lingkod ERG V.STAT-gulang LKR N

ang estranghero ug gipakaon nija

ABS N CONJ TR.PST-pa-kaon 3ERG

“Pinaupo ng matandang babae ang estranghero at pinakain niya (ang estranghero).”

“The old woman made the stranger sit and gave him something to eat.”

39. Íyang<sub>A</sub> gibutang sa mga bukag

3OBL=LKR PST-butang-TR(-an) OBL PL N

ang íyang pinù-pù nga mga píras

ABS 3OBL=LKR PST-p<in>u?po?-TR(-on) LKR PL N

“Tapos inilagay niya sa mga basket ang kanyang kinuha na mga peras”

“Afterwards, he placed the pears he placed in the basket.”

Example 38 is the basic transitive construction in a predicate-initial language. Example 39 is the preposed equivalent. Notice that in a preposed construction, the ergative pronoun *nija* takes the form morphologically identical to oblique form *ija* when preposed. We maintain that Kana is an ergative language in which S and O are marked the same (absolutive) and A is marked differently (ergative). However, with the occurrence of the preposed construction, the A takes two forms, the ergative and genitive/oblique. S-pronominals, however, have only one form for preposed and postposed constructions.

Table 5. Pronominal forms in Preposed and Postposed Constructions

Person	Ergative (Postposed)	Ergative (Preposed)
Singular		
1 <sup>st</sup>	nako	ako
2 <sup>nd</sup>	nimo	imo

3 <sup>rd</sup>	niya	iya
Plural		
1 <sup>st</sup>	namo	amo
2 <sup>nd</sup> inclusive	nato	ato
2 <sup>nd</sup> exclusive	ninyo	inyo
3 <sup>rd</sup>	nila	ila

In this section, we looked at the counts of preposed and postposed constructions in Kana. Both construction types have the preference for preposing. We also looked at the forms of preposed arguments. In intransitive clauses, noun phrases, pronominals and oblique clauses are usually preposed. This illustrates the “newsworthiness principle”, the element that introduces a new topic, or that points out a significant contrast is often preposed and placed in the pre-predicate position. S-noun phrases and pronominals are often used to signal exclusive contrast and single out the topical arguments, while oblique clauses are utilized for the scene-setting function in discourse.

Looking at the transitive clauses, the data have shown that Kana favors the preposing of A-pronominals over postposing. This preference has certain implications. It appears that the analysis of Kana word order is no longer strictly predicate-initial. Preposed constructions show that Kana has predicate-medial tendency, with A-pronominal occupying the leftmost element of the clause followed by a verb. The APO word order has already been grammaticalized in Kana.

Pronouns correspond to old information in discourse. They take the place of the full noun phrases previously mentioned in discourse. New information, on the other hand, is referred to by noun phrases. The preposing of pronominals implies that old information is more significant and newsworthy.

Based from the discourse data, pronominalization is the most useful way to track reference. The counts have shown significantly that, compared to noun phrases, pronouns are

often used to monitor arguments across clauses. Traditionally, noun phrases are considered in basic word order analysis. This may tell us one thing: we may have to re-consider the word order analysis in Philippine languages since analyses that have been made only discussed word order in terms of full NPs. This paper presents a new point of view in the analysis of basic order, particularly in Philippine languages.

#### ***4.1. Pronominal Preposing in Other Philippine Languages***

We have discussed that preposing also occurs in Ilokano, Tagalog, Chavacano, and Waray under certain conditions. We have demonstrated that while these languages allow preposing, the preposed arguments are usually oblique NPs and clauses which are of no importance in considering the word order of a language. This time, we will further examine the phenomenon of preposing in terms of pronominal arguments and determine whether the analysis of preposing in Kana also applies to these languages.

##### ***4.1.1. Ilokano***

Ilokano is essentially predicate-initial. It also has an ergative morphosyntax, like Kana. Although it allows preposing, the frequency is very much lower than the basic postposed construction. Table 6 illustrates this:

Table 6. Ilokano Preposed and Postposed Constructions

	<b>Preposed</b>	<b>Postposed</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Intransitive</b>	33	71	104	32%
<b>Transitive</b>	4	26	30	13%

Table 7. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Ilokano

	<b>Preposed Arguments</b>		
	Pronouns	Noun Phrases	Oblique Clauses
<b>Intransitive</b>	0	11	22
<b>Transitive</b>	0	0	4

Table 8. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Ilokano

	Intransitive		Transitive		
	S	OBL	A	O	OBL
<b>Pronominals</b>	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lexical NPs</b>	6	5	1	0	0
<b>Clause</b>	0	22	0	0	4

Also, unlike Kana, Ilokano does not (or rarely) allow preposing of pronominals. Preposed arguments are usually oblique nominal phrases and subordinate clauses whose function is to set or signal a change of themes or scenes in a discourse. Table 7 and 8 demonstrate this.

#### 4.1.2. Tagalog

Tagalog is generally held to be a verb-first language, and for the most part it is true that nominal arguments must follow the verb, with pronouns occurring as second-position enclitics. However, there are some exceptions, as the language also allows a clause type where pronouns occur to the left of the verb.

Kanarek (2005) discussed the different pronominal forms that pre-verbal and post-verbal pronouns take as they occur in a clause. Like Kana, the Tagalog ergative pronoun takes a different form, which is morphologically identical to the oblique.

40. Tinawag                                      niya    ang    bata

PST-tawag-TR(-in)                      3ERG ABS    bata

“Tinawag niya ang bata.”

“He called the child.”

41. Kanya=ng      tinawag                                      ang    bata

3ERG=LKR    PST-tawag-TR(-in)    ABS    bata

“Kanyang tinawag ang bata.”

“He called the child.”

Although Tagalog allows preverbal pronouns to occur, the percentage of its occurrence is not that significant. Based from the data, pronominals are rarely preposed. Table 9 shows that in transitive clauses, preposed arguments are usually noun phrases or subordinate clauses. Unlike Kana, Tagalog constructions prefer the basic (postposed) constructions over preposed.

Table 9. Tagalog Preposed and Postposed Constructions

	Preposed	Postposed	Total	Percentage
<b>Intransitive</b>	36	118	156	23%
<b>Transitive</b>	16	46	62	26%

Table 10. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Tagalog

Preposed			
	P	NP	CLAUSE
<b>Intransitive</b>	3	8	23
<b>Transitive</b>	0	10	5

Table 11. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Tagalog

	Intransitive		Transitive		
	S	OBL	A	O	OBL
<b>Pronominals</b>	3	0	0	0	0
<b>Lexical NPs</b>	5	3	0	0	10
<b>Clause</b>	0	23	0	0	5

It can also be observed from the data that *ay*-inversion is employed when an argument is preposed.

42. Ang isa sa kanila ay naglalaro

ABS NUM OBL 3OBL.PL LKR NPST.RED(n-)-pag-laro

ng “paddle ball”.

OBL paddle ball

“Ang isa sa kanila ay naglalaro ng paddle ball.”

“One of them is playing the paddle ball.”

43.	Bilang	pasasalamat	ay	binigyan	ng	bata
	CONJ	V.STAT-RED-salamat	LKR	PST-bigay-TR(-an)	ERG	bata
	ang	tatlo	ng	tig-isang		prutas.
	ABS	NUM	OBL	tig-NUM=LKR		prutras

### 4.1.3. Chavacano

Table 12. Chavacano Preposed and Postposed Constructions

Table 13. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Chavacano

Table 14. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Chavacano



#### 4.1.4. Waray

Waray is closest to Kana, among the languages used in this study. They both belong to the same language subgroup, which is the Bisayan subgroup of languages. This would imply that they may share similar typological characteristics.

An analysis of Waray transitive clauses shows that preposed constructions outnumber over postposed. 55% percent of transitive clauses are preposed constructions.

Table 15. Waray Preposed and Postposed Constructions

	<b>Preposed</b>	<b>Postposed</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Intransitive</b>	48	77	124	39%
<b>Transitive</b>	18	15	33	55%

Table 16. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Waray

	<b>Preposed</b>		
	<b>Pronouns</b>	<b>Noun Phrases</b>	<b>Clauses</b>
<b>Intransitive</b>	0	34	14
<b>Transitive</b>	7	4	7

Table 17. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Waray

	<b>Intransitive</b>		<b>Transitive</b>		
	<b>S</b>	<b>OBL</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>OBL</b>
<b>Pronominals</b>	0	0	7	0	0
<b>Lexical NPs</b>	19	15	1	0	3
<b>Clause</b>	0	14	0	0	7

## V. Summary and Conclusion

Preposed constructions are influenced by the following conditions: a) setting the scene and introducing new themes in a discourse narrative; b) listing ideas or information; c) expressing exclusivity or contrast; and d) clitic movement and position.

Philippine languages have been analyzed to be predicate-initial. The simple and pragmatically neutral clauses are expected to follow POA/PAO pattern. The alternative order, AOP/APO is considered pragmatically marked.

However, using the simplest method in determining the basic order of languages, we have shown that pronominal preposing has higher frequency of occurrence in Kana. Statistically, AOP/APO pattern predominates in Kana. Topical and newsworthy elements are usually preposed in a clause. In intransitive clauses, noun phrases and pronominal arguments are preposed because they usually introduce new topic or signal contrast. Oblique phrases are preposed for their scene-setting function in discourse. In transitive clauses, ergative pronouns are usually preposed. These pronouns referred to topical arguments in discourse.

In other Philippine languages, the data have shown that while Ilokano, Tagalog and Chavacano allow preposing, the preposed arguments are usually oblique NPs and subordinate clauses. These languages prefer post-verbal pronoun constructions and tend to preposed NPs arguments. The data have shown that only Kana and Waray show preference to pronominal preposing. This is evident in the percentage of occurrence of preposed constructions, which is higher than the basic postposed construction.

Ilokano, Tagalog and Chavacano are basically predicate-initial. This holds true in terms of both nominal and pronominal arguments. Kana and Waray have predicate-medial tendencies, with the ergative pronominal occupying the leftmost of the clause in the pre-predicate position. They favor the APO constructions over the PAO/POA constructions.

Word order generalizations traditionally consider lexical noun phrases in determining basic order of constituents in a clause. However, recent studies (Nagaya, 2006; Nagaya and Santiago, 2006) have shown that pronominalization is most often used in tracking reference

across clauses in Philippine languages. It is also the most unmarked and most useful way to monitor reference in Kana discourse. This may tell us one thing: we may have to re-consider the word order analysis in Philippine languages since analyses that have been made only discussed word order in terms of full NPs. This paper offers a new point of view in the word order analysis.

We also agree with Mithun (1992) in her claim that the order of constituents is reflective of pragmatic functions rather than syntactic functions. The phenomenon of preposing illustrates the “newsworthiness principle”. “Newsworthy” information/item is preposed and placed before the predicate or early in the clause, or in the beginning of discourse. It usually: a) represents significant new information; b) introduces new topic and c) points out a significant contrast. Philippine-type languages allow topical arguments to move in a clause depending on their relative significance in the discourse.

This study is never meant to provide a conclusive analysis on the pronominal word order of Philippine languages. But I hope that it provided a good starting point for further studies on the basic order of Philippine languages, particularly on the basis of pronominal arguments.

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## **Language Maintenance or Shift: Determinants of Language Choice Among Batak Speakers in Puerto Princesa City**

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### **1. Background**

It was eighteen years ago when Krauss (1992, in Crawford, 1998) predicted that only 600 languages of the 6,809 languages in the world will survive in the next century. With only ten percent of these languages spoken by 90% of the world's population, it is highly likely that 90% of the languages which are minority languages will die by 2100 according to Romaine (1989). Like many languages in other parts of the world, Philippine languages are expected to experience the same fate in the near future, with only eight major languages spoken by 90 percent of the Philippine population, while the remaining 100 languages are spoken only by 10 percent. Hall (1991, cited in Kobari, 2009), maintained that linguistic minorities will either assimilate to the language and culture of the dominant group or exist with other languages in diglossic situation in stable bi/multilingualism. Mc Farland (1993, cited in Kobari, 2009) observed that "more and more linguistic groupings (dialects) are being formed not on the basis of 'social proximity'" but for social and economic reasons, resulting in "many small languages becoming extinct, as the children of their speakers abandon their 'mother tongues' in favor of one dominant language or another." Quakenbush (1987) raised a similar concern about the possible displacement of smaller Philippine languages by larger Philippine languages , based on Krauss's (1992, in Crawford, 1998) prediction about the fate of languages in the world.

The Batak is one of the Philippine languages identified in the SIL's Ethnologue of minority languages which are endangered. Puerto Princesa City, which is the largest city in the country, is the home of the Batak ethnic group while the other ethnic groups, the Tagbanua and Pala'wan, are widely distributed in the province of Palawan. Headland (2003) listed Batak as one of the 32 Negrito languages in the Philippines which are endangered, while Eder (1993), an American anthropologist who had worked with the Batak community for fifteen years, concluded that the Batak is a "disappearing tribe". Negrito is believed to be aborigines of the Philippines whose ancestors migrated into the island 2,000 years ago. The term "Batak" does not only refer to the language spoken by the people but to the people who speak it.

Aside from Austin's (1961) study on some particles and pronouns in Batak and Rodda's (1961) study on Batak phonemes, there are no other known linguistic studies made on the Batak. All the other existing literature (Miller, 1904 and Venturillo, 1907 in Warren, 1964; Cadelina, 1985; Eder, 1987; Novellino, 2008) were anthropological in nature.

### **1.1. Geography, Historical background and Summary of Population Figures**

Eder (1993) estimated the Batak population to be about 600-700 individuals in 1900, while his personal census identified 272 with two Batak parents and 374 with one Batak parent (1993, p. 110). According to him, the Batak had a total population of 424 distributed among the eight river valleys, namely: Babuyan, Maoyon, Tanabag, Tarabanan, Langogan, Tagnipa, Caramay, and Buayan. The eight local groups mentioned typically included a number of "pure batak", a number of Tagbanua or lowland Filipinos who are married to Batak and a number of ethnically mixed individuals, the offspring of such outgroup marriages. The largest concentration of Batak speakers inhabits the Tanabag and Langogan

river valleys (p. 105). Eder added that at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, approximately 20 to 50 Batak families were associated with each of the nine river valleys that made up their territory. On the other hand, Novellino's provisional census in 2005 found only 155 individuals with two Batak parents, indicating a 57% decline in the Batak core population within 33 years. As of 2000, the Batak population, according to City Planning Office (City of Puerto Princesa) was 293, with 149 males and 144 females.





According to Warren (1964), most Batak are bilingual, speaking both Batak and Tagbanua (the dialect of their neighbors), and some of the men, through their trade and labor contacts, have acquired a limited knowledge of conversational Tagalog or Cuyunon. The Batak language shows strong phonetic, morphologic, and lexical affinities to the central Bisayan group of Philippine languages but at the same time, it shares more lexical and morphological features with Tagbanua and Palawano than any other centrally located Philippine dialects yet studied. Like all other Philippine languages, Batak belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian) linguistic family.

Warren added that although the territory of the Batak is bounded on three sides by Tagbanua speaking peoples, and Tagalog and Cuyunon speakers, their contacts with them are minimal owing to lack of accessible roads that will connect the different communities. At the time of Warren's visit, the schools in the Batak area were not being attended by the Batak children and there were no mission schools. Besides, the Batak had no writing system, and there is no evidence that they have attempted to borrow the bamboo-inscribed syllabary which their neighbors, the Tagbanua, employed in the past.

Aside from Warren, Eder (1987, 1993) reported that one factor that undermined Batak identity is language loss, for "younger Batak have generally not learned how to speak the "deeper" Batak that is still known to some of their elders". These children when they converse, according to him, tend to substitute Cuyunon words for their traditional Batak counterparts.

These statements pertaining to language change must have been based on Eder's observations since he did not provide linguistic data from which he derived his conclusions. The statements were made in 1987. After more than two decades, no sociolinguistic studies on the Batak language are believed to have been conducted. It would be very interesting to know the

direction the language is taking now that most of the Batak communities have been inhabited by Tagbanua and Cuyunon migrants, and intermarriages between a Batak and another ethnic group have taken place.

The City of Puerto Princesa (source: 2007 City Government of Puerto Princesa Socio-Economic and Physical Profile) is located 306 nautical miles southwest of Manila, 205 nautical miles of Panay, and about 250 nautical miles from Zamboanga. It is bounded on the north by the municipality of San Vicente and Roxas and by the South by the municipality of Aborlan. Its western side faces the South China Sea while in its eastern coast lies the Sulu Sea. Puerto Princesa is comprised of 35 urban barangays and 31 rural barangays. Of the 31 rural barangays, six are inhabited by the Batak and are integral portion of what the local community defines as “Kabatakan”, the ancestral land of the Batak as it is narrated in the local foundation myths and narratives. “Kabatakan” is a term to the river valleys inhabited by the Batak ethnic group. The Kabatakan stretches from Babuyan River Valley of Northern Puerto Princesa to Buayan River Valley of the south.

According to traditional history (Warren, 1964), the Batak have always lived in the mountains and have carefully avoided contacts with outsiders. They lived in isolation until the beginning of the American administration when the Tagbanua began to migrate northward. The Batak used to be scattered throughout the mountains nearby Tanabag. A Christian Filipino established the barrio of Tanabag and invited the Batak to live and work with him. Tanabag then was the first Batak settlement to be organized with a population of about two hundred Batak. Familiar with some agricultural practices, these people planted upland rice, hunted and collected forest products like plant resins and beeswax far and wide.

When the Christian Filipinos occupied the Tanabag region, the Batak sought new lands to clear. They made a clearing on the spot now occupied by Sumurod without the permission of the American government. When Governor Manalo learned about this and learned the lack of information and guidance which led to the actions of the Batak, he made all the Batak move to the place where the trees had been cut down, making the area a reservation for the Batak and thereby establishing the barrio of Sumurod. The other important Batak barrios were established within the next 25 years, and the remainder was established later. There were many attempts to Christianize the Batak, one of which is the establishment of a school in Tanabag. When the Batak moved to Sumurod, a school was established for them but owing to poor attendance, the school was closed in 1936. At the time of Warren's study, no Batak was receiving any formal education. Meanwhile, the Batak still make a living out of collecting beeswax, resins, and rattan which they traded for products available in their Christian neighbors.

A physical description of the Batak was derived from Venturello, (1907, cited in Warren, 1964) whose manuscript in Spanish was the earliest ethnographic account of the Batak life. According to him, the Batak are usually smaller than the other Filipinos, but are well-formed and agile. The nose is generally of better shape; the hair is crisp and curly, less black and less ugly than the negroes of the African coast. The men wear painted 'bahag' from the bark of trees and are adept hunters and blow-gun users. The people feed on rice but in the time of scarcity they eat roots, the fruits of the forest, wild boar, squirrel, and vermin.

In an interview with the research personnel of the National Statistics Office (NSO) of Puerto Princesa City, the researcher was told that the NSO published censuses in the past only included household censuses and did not include the people's ethnicity. The censuses were not done yearly, and what was published were the population count by regions and provinces. The

Batak population trend therefore in the past 50 to 100 years cannot be presented here. Another inquiry was made of the Batak population from the Puerto Princesa City Planning Office. However, the personnel admitted that the office does not have a record of population figures of Batak speakers since censuses did not include the ethnicity of the household members. It was only in 2007 that the city included the information in its published material. There it was established that the Batak were 294 in number. A more recent figure based on the 2010 census is 416 Batak, but this figure includes the children of mixed marriages between a Batak and another ethnic group. The lack of record of population of different ethnic groups must have been the reason why Warren (1907), Eder (1987), and Novellino (2008), did not present the exact population figures of the Batak. Instead, they made an estimate of the ethnic group's population, based on their actual survey at the time their respective studies were conducted and based on the accounts given by their informants.

The fact that the Batak population is small in number and widely distributed in different river valleys, endanger their language, especially when most of the communities are inclined toward language shift. At present, aside from the three Batak communities which constitute the setting of the study, the rest of the Batak speakers are widely spread in the lowlands of Barangay Babuyan, Barangay Concepcion, Barangay Tagnipa, and Barangay San Rafael of Puerto Princesa City, and Barangay Caramay in the municipality of Roxas, Palawan. These Batak communities usually with least five families live together with speakers of other ethnic groups, most of whom are Tagbanua.

## **1.2. The present study**

An anthropologist by the name Novellino (2008) theorized that unlike the Pala'wan and Tagbanua groups, the Batak descended from the wave of Australoid populations which

crossed the Philippine archipelago with the mainland of Asia (probably around 45,000-50,000 years ago) and that are generally labeled as Negritoes.

The present study aimed to investigate the determinants of language maintenance or shift in the three Batak using Landweer's (2002) eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality and determine their impact the language choice of individuals and the community in general. The eight indicators are:

- 1) relative position on the urban-rural continuum,
- 2) domains in which the language is used
- 3) frequency and type of code switching
- 4) population and group dynamics
- 5) distribution of speakers with their own social networks
- 6) social outlook regarding and within the speech
- 7) language prestige and
- 8) access to stable and acceptable economic base

## **2. Methodology**

This study draws on the social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner (1986) and Landweer's indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality. Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory has strongly influenced ethnolinguistic vitality in general and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality theory in particular. According to Tajfel (1974), social identity is that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership (p. 69). Since individual's identities are derived from in-group's membership, dissatisfaction from such membership may cause individuals to look for another group to which they may attach high value. According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), when dissatisfaction with one's in-group happens, individuals tend to gravitate toward one of the two significant belief systems: (1) social mobility and (2) social change. The former starts with the belief that the society in which one lives is permeable, as

such, those who want to change do so through hard work, education, and perseverance. In contrast, the second belief system does not recognize an individual's hard work, qualifications, and perseverance; rather, individuals are assigned a position on the basis of their group's identifications.

Research in social identity theory led to the development of the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) concept. Giles et al. (1977) define ethnolinguistic vitality as "...that which makes a [linguistic] group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations... (p. 308). They assert that "[e]thnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality...eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups (1977, p. 308). On the contrary, when a group's distinctive identity flourishes, it will have higher ethnolinguistic vitality, and according to Giles et al. (1977), "its members will be more likely to maintain their competence in the use of their ethnic language". Giles et al. originally viewed their EV concept as a theoretical framework for analyzing the socio-structural factors influencing intergroup relations among different ethnolinguistic groups within a contact situation.

The overall objective of the present research is to determine the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Batak language of the Philippines using Landweer's eight indicators. Below is a brief description of each indicator.

### *1. Relative position on the urban-rural continuum*

According to Landweer, position on the urban rural continuum covers not only the physical location of a speech community relative to an urban area (or area where speakers of a different and more prestigious languages congregate), but also what access speakers of the vernacular have to urban communities and how many people take advantage of that access. The underlying questions of the remote-urban continuum are: Is the speech community located in or near a

population center where its members would have contact with speakers of other languages? Do they have access to such a population center? Based on such question, Landweer suggested a four-point scale for rating the community

- Remote, i.e., no easy access to or from the language community relative to the nearest urban center.
- Marginal access to and from the language community relative to the nearest urban center.
- Fairly easy access to and from the language community relative to the nearest urban center. Located within urban confines.
- Located within urban confines

## 2) *Domains in which the language is used*

Language (or dialect) choice can function as a mark of group identification and solidarity. Fishman (1972:442, cited in Landweer, 2002) defines a domain as "a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of a speech community". In a multilingual context, the most common domains are the home, social events, cultural events, and the church and additional domains like formal education, business and travel.

The underlying question relative to the number of language use domains asks: Is there sufficient use of the target language throughout community life? In essence the more domains in which the vernacular is used the better. According to Landweer, anecdotal evidence suggested that the last domain to be lost in any potential language allegiance battle is that of the home. Thus, the home forms the anchor domain for this hierarchy. A suggested scaled breakdown indicating the relative strength of the vernacular language by domains could be as follows:



- Home, cultural events, social events, and other domains
- Home, cultural events, social events
- Home, cultural events where vernacular is used, but is mixed with outside lingua franca or other local language(s).
- Home, where the vernacular is used but is mixed with an outside lingua franca or other local language(s).

### *3. Frequency and type of code switching*

Code switching within the multilingual context occurs when speakers use forms from one language (called the embedded language) in an utterance that is primarily composed of another language (called the matrix language) within the same conversation.

The underlying question of this indicator asks: Is there linguistic ambivalence? In other words, do people characteristically switch between the normative code (i.e., local vernacular) and one or more other languages without any notable consistency, as opposed to more stable forms of bilingualism represented by situational code switches or diglossia? As such, a scale for ranking the effects of the frequency and type of code switching for any individual in the community may be as follows, with monolingual allegiance to the vernacular being the least threatening to that vernacular, and frequent individual unbounded code switching being the most threatening.

- Monolingual allegiance to the vernacular among the majority
- Evidence of a diglossic or stable bilingualism
- Infrequent individual unbounded lexical code switching
- Frequent individual unbounded code switching

### *4. Population and group dynamics*

One of the most commonly cited factors in the determination of potential viability is the matter of a critical mass of speakers. But the number of speakers defined as "critical" varies.) Fishman (1991, in Landweer, 2002), speaking on the requirements for reversal of language shift, and Dorian (1986), speaking on the mechanisms of language death, both address the issue

of the need of a core of fluent speakers for the continuation of a language. One of the ways that core of fluent speakers is either supported or undermined is through the language use characteristics of those who immigrate to a speech community (whether through employment, trade alliances, or marriage patterns).

The underlying questions of the fourth indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality ask: Are there speakers of the language? How is that group of speakers impacted by the language characteristics of the immigrants who came to live among them? A scale relative to maintaining a critical mass of speakers follows, where the least undermining situation would be where the immigrants to the community become actively bilingual in the community's language. By contrast, the most detrimental to the local vernacular would be the situation where immigrants chose to maintain their own mother tongue and insisted others in the community learn to speak it.

- Immigrants are actively bilingual; they speak the vernacular of their adopted home.
- Immigrants are passively bilingual; they understand the vernacular of their adopted home, but use a lingua franca or speak their own mother tongue.
- Immigrants require communication entirely through a lingua franca or trade language.
- Immigrants maintain their own language and insist that others in their adopted home learn to speak it.

##### *5) Distribution of speakers with their own social networks*

A social network is said to be multiplex when ego relates to other individuals in a number of capacities simultaneously. Thus, ego might be the neighbor of a man, who is his brother, who also serves as the local catechist for community children including ego's children. In this example, ego and his brother share at least four relational links: parentage, neighborhood, religious instruction, and clan membership. The simultaneous nature of relationships across the community in a dense multiplex social network results in internal reinforcements of whatever cultural values are held dear across that society. Thus, the societal norms regarding language use

are reinforced along with every other societal norm. In the case of a single language, such networks can serve to insulate speakers, isolating and protecting them from language contact pressures toward change.

The fifth indicator asks: Is there a network of social relations supportive of the local language? A possible scaled continuum of relative social systems supportive of the vernacular is as follows, where the most supportive of the vernacular would be contexts of crosscultural independence and the least supportive of the vernacular would be context where individuals were isolated by expected independence.

- Crosscultural independence: intracommunity interdependence with dense, multiplex networks utilizing the local language to meet communication needs.
- Crosscultural interdependence: divided network systems, internally dense and with a degree of multiplexity modified by the necessity to communicate with outsiders who do not know the local language for some goods and services.
- Crosscultural dependence: divided network systems, internally dense, but with the necessity to communicate with outsiders who do not know the local language for all goods and services.
- Individual independence: low density, uniplex networks.

#### 6) *Social outlook regarding and within the speech*

A strong ethnic identity can influence language choice.

This indicator asks: Is there internal and /or external recognition of the language community as separate and unique in the broader society? Is there material or nonmaterial evidence of such a distinction? A suggested means of ranking language groups on this sixth indicator could be as follows. In it the greater the positive internal identity, external status, and cultural distinctions the better the support of the vernacular language.

- Strong internal identity, high status or notoriety conferred by outsiders, with cultural markers present

- Strong internal identity, neutral status conferred by outsiders, with cultural markers present
- Weak internal identity, neutral status conferred by outsiders, with some cultural markers present
- Weak internal identity, negative status conferred by outsiders, with few if any cultural markers present

#### 7) *Language prestige*

According to Landweer, population, cultural characteristics, physical accessibility versus inaccessibility, and opportunity all have impact on the relative prestige between language groups. Language prestige can be manifested in many ways and one of them is in the expectations non-native speakers have regarding their own language in relation to the prestigious language. The questions asked in this indicator are: Does the target language have prestige among other neighboring or regional languages? What is the relative prestige of the language within the linguistic repertoire of the speech community? A descending scale of the relative prestige could be as follows.

- The language in question is a prestigious, nationally recognized lingua franca or the language of church, education, or trade.
- The language in question is a regionally recognized lingua franca, church, education, or trade language.
- The language in question is a locally recognized variety with neutral status.
- The language in question is a locally disparaged variety.

#### 8) *Access to stable and acceptable economic base*

According to Holmes (1977, in Landweer, 2002), one of the most common factors that leads a community to shift from one language to another is that the acquired language is thought economically beneficial by its adoptive community of speakers. The final indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality asks: Is there an acceptable economic base supportive of the continuing use of the target language? A scale of descending support for the vernacular follows.

- Stable and acceptable economic base where the vernacular is the code of choice.
- Adequate dual economy where the language used is dictated by choice of economic base.
- Marginal subsistence economy requiring augmentation of the traditional means of subsistence with non-vernacular, cash-based economic schemes.
- Dependence on an economic system requiring use of a non-vernacular language.

The study employed three research tools: (1) observations of ingroup's language behavior and the presence of the eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality in the three speech communities and (2) guided interviews for personal profiles, reported language use, reported language ability and ethnic identity.

## **2.2. Participants**

The respondents from the three Batak communities consist of 121 Batak speakers. 25 came from Sitio Riandakan (total population = 53), 54 from Sitio Kalakuan (estimated population = 110), and 42 from Sitio Mangapin (estimated total population = 75). The figures include both children and adults across ages. Finding male respondents from 18-45 years old was somewhat difficult since oftentimes, men of these ages are away collecting almaciga resin and rattan and hunting wild boars. Sampling was not possible since the figures given in the three communities were just an estimate of the population. The chieftains do not have the exact number of Batak population in their locality. In addition, the office of the Barangay Chairman who has jurisdiction over each of the three communities bears no record of the total number of male and female across ages. The researcher decided to get at least 50% of the total population of adults and the same percentage of the young to ensure that the population will be represented. For better results, all the speakers present during the visits were interviewed and observed.

The participants were classified into four age groups, namely: (1) below 18 years old, (2) 18-33 years old, (3) 34-49 years old, (4) 50 years old and above to represent the four generations of speakers. Aside from the researcher, two research assistants who were personally trained by

the researcher assisted in the gathering of data. Participant-observation and interviews were deemed significant in determining the language vitality of Batak language. Sequences of visits were made to the communities, so those who were not around during the first visit were interviewed in the succeeding visits.

## **2.3. Data Collection Procedure**

### *2.3.1. Preliminary investigation of the research locales*

The researcher conducted a preliminary investigation of at least three Batak communities which have the largest concentration of speakers at present, namely, Sitio Riandakan in Barangay Maoyon, Sitio Kalakuasan in Barangay Tanabag, and Sitio Mangaping in Barangay Langogan, all in Northern Puerto Princesa. Three to five days were spent in each of the three Batak communities mentioned. Field trips to the areas were conducted sometime in August, September, and October of 2010. Aside from observations, informal interviews with adult Batak speakers and a few younger ones were conducted.

During the months of February to May 2011, a series of three visits in each area were made by the researcher and her two assistants. Considering the problem of illiteracy of most respondents, all questionnaires were administered orally. Beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality and ethnicity was administered on the first visit in January 2011. Questionnaires on language attitude, language use, and language test was administered during subsequent visits until sufficient respondents 50 to 60% of the total number of speakers in each of the three communities will have been interviewed. Questionnaires were administered personally at the home of the speaker unless the home is difficult to reach, which then required the respondent to meet with the researcher or her assistant at a more accessible area. Almost all participants, except some children, speak well in Tagalog, hence, Tagalog was the language of communication

between the researcher or her research assistant and the respondents. For children who cannot speak in Tagalog, an adult Batak who speaks fluent Batak and Tagalog served as interpreter. One advantage of administering questionnaire orally is that it allowed the team to create a more relaxed and conversational environment. It also allowed the interviewer to gauge whether the respondent understands the question and if not, she may offer clarifications. Data from the questionnaires and from observations were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively and corresponding statistical tools were employed for determining relationships. . To determine the language behavior, the language use of the residents was observed. Researchers' observations and interviews with outgroup members regarding observed language use of the Batak speakers substantiated findings.

### *2.3.2 Personal profile, Reported Language Use and Reported Language Ability Questionnaire*

Questions on the background of each respondent included age, sex, date of birth, place of birth, level of education, occupation, civil status, number of children (if married), and parents' ethnicity and first language. The Questionnaire on reported language use (adapted from Quakenbush, 1989) explored the use of Batak, Tagbanua, Tagalog and Cuyuno on four language domains: family, friends, school, religion, and work. The reported language ability explored the speakers' use of Batak, Tagalog, Tagbanua and Cuyuno on listening and speaking.

## **3. Results and discussion**

The findings are discussed in this section taking into consideration Landweer's eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality.

### *3.1. Relative position on the urban-rural continuum*

The Batak communities in Sitio Riyandakan in Barangay Maoyon, Sitio Kalakwasan in Barangay Tanabag, and Sitio Mangapin in Barangay Langogan are relatively distant from the City of Puerto Princesa although the said barangays are still part of the city. Barangay Maoyon is approximately one hour away from the city, Barangay Tanabag is two hours and Barangay Langogan is a little more than two hours either by jeep or by bus.

Sitio Riyandakan is approximately 6.5 kilometers from Barangay Maoyon proper, and one has to cross 24 small rivers to reach Riyandakan. Ordinarily, the Batak hike from their habitation to the barangay proper but when the trucks that haul gravel and sand reached the interior, these trucks which offer them free rides to and from their habitation have become their means of transportation.

Sitio Kalakwasan in Barangay Tanabag is five to six kilometers away from the national highway and is at least an hour and a half walk from the highway to Kalakwasan. One has to cross ten rivers to reach the Batak settlement although during summer, the place is accessible through shuttle buses. Kalakwasan River with its deep and clean waters is a favorite tourist destination for foreigners.

Sitio Mangapin in Barangay Langogan can be reached by taking a motorcycle from the Langogan proper to Sitio Macandring. Sitio Macandring is nine kilometers away from Langogan proper. From Macandring, one has to take a five-kilometer walk and cross four rivers to reach Mangaping. Based on the experience of the research team, Sitio Mangapin is not only the most distant of the three areas but is the most difficult to reach. From the Langogan proper, Although there are just four rivers to cross from Sitio Macandring, those rivers are remarkably deeper and rapid compare to the rivers going to Sitio Kalakwasan and Sitio Riyandakan even during dry season. There was even a time when the researcher was doing a preliminary investigation of



Mangapin that one of the four rivers rose up to the neck a day after the heavy rain. In addition, there is a portion of the road to Mangapin which is very narrow and steep that no two persons can walk together.

Batak speakers have contact with speakers from other language groups, primarily Tagbanua, Cuyunon and Tagalog. From January to September, the Batak males gather almaciga resins, and honey from the mountain. Male children as old as fifteen years join their fathers in the mountain. According to them, from their habitation to the spots where they gather resins requires one full day hike. Hence, when they go up the mountain, they bring with them rice enough to supply them for a week or two. They do not need viand for the mountain abounds with rootcrops. A small nipa hut is built in the forest and serves as shelter of the almaciga gatherers. In the interviews made with the males in all the three areas, they reported using Batak at work since most almaciga gatherers if not all are Batak. If the males are lucky to catch a wild boar, the catcher will go home with the catch and after leaving his family and some neighbors a portion of the pig, he will go to the barangay proper to sell his catch to store owners. Likewise, when the males have gathered a sack of almaciga weighing at least 25 kilos, they go to the barangay and sell this to the almaciga buyer.

The usual trading of almaciga, honey and the occasional wild boars give the males the chance to use Cuyunon and Tagalog. According to those interviewed, Cuyunon is often the language used when trading products or purchasing goods from stores since most inhabitants in the barrio speak Cuyunon. Tagalog is used only when interlocutors do not speak Cuyunon. This reality applies both to the inhabitants of Kalakwasan, Mangapin and Reandakan. The Batak also speak Tagalog with visitors who cannot speak Cuyunon. From time to time, Batak speakers visit their relatives in other Batak communities. They still use Batak when speaking with them but

when Tagbanua and Cuyunon speakers interact with them, some of them either speak the interlocutor's language or use Batak when the interlocutor knows Batak.

The males only go to the barrio when they sell their products and when they get supplies like rice, coffee and sugar. Although the river valleys are considerably far from the 'barangay' proper, most of the speakers maintained that they go to the lowland once or twice a week. During rainy season, the males stay at home with their family since they could not gather resins and honey. According to the people, they can only go to Puerto Princesa through the invitation of the city mayor when they are requested to showcase the Batak cultural dances but that happens only once a year and not all of them get invited. Oftentimes, it is the Batak from Kalakwasan who get the invitation because there are still many of them who know the Batak traditional dances and practically have easier access to the highway and to the local community. Besides, this community is better known than the other two communities.

Based on the foregoing discussion, it can be said therefore, that that Batak in Kalakwasan, Mangapin and that of Riyandakan have 'marginal access' to the urban.

### 3.2. *Domains in which the language is used*

To determine the domains in which the Batak language is used, the following questions were asked both to Batak adults and children in the three communities.

<b>Question: What language/s do you use whenever you speak with or do the following?</b>
1. sister/brother at home?
2. teacher in the community?
3. Cuyunon salesman?
4. Pastor, after the mass?
5. Tagbanua friend?
6. Cuyuno friend?
7. Batak friend/neighbor?
8. Giving complaints to Batak chieftain/

barangay captain?	
9. speaking before the Batak crowd?	
10. speaking with Batak co-workers?	
11. speaking with jeepney drivers?	
12. speaking with community visitor?	
13. speaking with Cuyunon barangay official?	
14. speaking with Tagalog barangay official?	1
15. praying?	

### 3.2.1. *Children's reported language use*

Based on their responses to questions, it can be derived that children in Riyandakan and Kalakwasan communities learn the vernacular since childhood and speak it at home. At the same time, they speak Tagalog whenever there are non-Batak visitors in the community or whenever they interact with non-Batak outside the community. Children in Mangapin however, reported that some other children in the community know very little Batak since Tagalog has become their first language. The parents of these children according to them, believe that speaking Tagalog at home with their children will prepare them for schooling.

### 3.2.2 Children's observed language use

Throughout the duration of the survey, children in Kalakwasan were observed to be using Batak during conversations with other Batak children, with adults both at home and at play. They only speak in Tagalog when responding to questions of the survey team. It was observed too that children around nine years old and below in Kalakwasan can only speak in Batak although their parents said that they understand a little Tagalog, hence, these children did not become part of the survey. On the positive side, this suggests that most families in Kalakwasan use Batak only in communicating with their children.

On the contrary, children as early as seven years old both in Riyandakan and Mangapin speak well in Tagalog although it was also observed three times on different occasions that children and teenagers at play in Riyandakan and Mangapin were using Batak throughout. According to the elders in the community who were watching the games, children and teenagers speak in Batak even at play. In addition, one of the members of the research team has heard the Batak teenagers and children whether they are at play or in conversation to be uttering a single Tagalog sentence.

In Riyandakan, there were just six children who were interviewed whose age range from ten to sixteen years old. Aside from the children's use of Tagalog during interviews with the researcher and her assistants, there was no occasion where the children were observed to be using language other than Batak. These children are products of mixed marriages between Batak and a Tagbanua or Cuyunon parent. There was a time when the researcher hiked from Riyandakan to the barrio for the purpose of meeting the barangay chairwoman. No truck was going out so she decided to request two boys who were about nine years old to join her. While walking, the two boys at first were talking to her in Tagalog but eventually switched to Batak when they were talking to each other. The conversation on the road between the two children might have lasted for more than an hour but the researcher did not hear them exchanging in tagalong. It was only when she asked them questions once in a while that they would reply to her in Filipino.

### *3.2.3. Adults' reported language use*

People in all the three communities reported that adults of all ages speak primarily Batak everyday of their lives.

In Kalakwasan, 41(97.62%) of the 42 adults whose age ranged from 18 to 60 reported that they speak Batak very well, 14 or 33.33% reported that they are proficient in Tagbanua, while six have passive knowledge of the language. On the other hand, 90.48% of the adults interviewed reported high proficiency in Tagalog while the remaining 9.52 % have limited Tagalog proficiency. 52.38% reported proficiency in Cuyuno language while 14.28% reported passive knowledge of the language.

Pertaining to language use, 97.62% of the adults interviewed reported using Batak at home and in conversations with Batak friends and neighbors while 95 percent reported use Batak with a Batak pastor. 97.62% admitted using Batak when praying to God and 33.33% use Tagalog. 35.71% of the adults reported using Batak with Tagbanua friend, 28.57% use Tagbanua while 7.14% use both. 45.23% of the adults speak Cuyuno with Cuyunon friends, and very few speak in either Batak or Tagalog.

Of the 19 adults interviewed in Reandakan, 100% reported high proficiency in Batak. 11 or 57.89% are proficient in Tagbanua while the rest are either semi-speaker or have passive knowledge of the language. On the other hand, 100% reported fluency in Tagalog, 52.63% reported proficiency in Cuyuno. Regarding language use, 15 of the 19 adult respondents reported using Batak with brother or sister or any other member of the family at home. Fifteen also will speak in Tagbanua with a Tagbanua friend, 11 will speak in Cuyunon with a Cuyuno friend, 13 only use Batak when praying while 6 use Batak and Tagalog. Of the adult respondents, nine are males and all answered that they speak Batak with co-workers which mean the other almaciga and honey gatherers.

Of the 26 adult respondents in Mangapin, only one admitted passive knowledge of the Batak language while the rest were proud to report that they speak Batak very well. Only one

also admitted that his Tagalog is not good while the rest reported that they were fluent in Tagalog. About 50 percent reported high proficiency in Tagbanua while the 19.23 % a passive knowledge of the language. On the other hand, 65.38 percent reported high proficiency in Cuyunon while 23.07 percent a passive knowledge of the language. Majority use Batak at home and when conversing with Batak friend, neighbor and co-worker. Tagalog is the preferred language with pastor, teachers and non-Batak visitors in the community.

#### *3.2.4. Adults Observed language use*

Whenever any of the research team members speaks with any of the Batak and during conversations with them, Tagalog is the medium of communication. It was noted though, that among themselves, even in the presence of the team, Batak is used primarily by members of the community. For instance, whenever the research team arrives in Tanabag, a group of Batak men consisting of at least eight would meet the team in the highway and help them with their baggage. On their way to Kalakwasan, the men would speak to the team in Tagalog but whenever they address each other, they speak in Batak. The researcher over time has acquired passive knowledge of the Batak language but knowledge has been useful only for short exchanges. In Kalakwasan, the team stays in a guest house which is very near to the homes of the Batak. They heard many times conversations by adults at night and noted that the Batak adults can talk for hours without uttering a single Tagalog sentence. The team also discovered during interviews that one woman resident of Kalakwasan in her fifties is almost monolingual, speaking only Batak. The researcher attempted to interview her but she had difficulty understanding questions in Tagalog and could hardly utter a single sentence in Tagalog in response to questions.

#### *3.3. Frequency and type of codeswitching*

To determine whether codeswitching was taking place in children and adults' conversations, children at play and adults in conversations were recorded three times in each area. The recorded conversations of Tagbanua women whose spouse are Batak in Riyandakan were played before some adult speakers in Kalakwasan who are considered pure Batak. After listening to the conversations, the adults commented that the women tend to substitute some lexicons in Tagbanua although the matrix language remains Batak.

For the recorded conversations in Mangapin, a former Tagbanua chieftain from a Tagbanua community in Sitio Iratag in Barangay Irawan was requested to listen to some sentences from Tagalog which were translated into Batak language by the respondents. This woman speaks Tagbanua, Cuyunon and Tagalog but does not know the Batak language at all. The woman noted that there is similarity between the Batak and Tagbanua language owing to the similarities in their lexicons. She was also made to listen to short responses made by young and adult respondents to interviews and she noted that she could understand some of their sentences since some expressions are in Tagbanua. When she was made to listen to the conversations of Batak in Kalakwasan and she admitted that she no longer understands what the interactants were saying to each other.

Based on the foregoing discussion, there seems to be monolingual allegiance to the Batak language among the majority of speakers in Kalakwasan. This can be justified by the fact that majority of the population and the couples in the area are pure Batak. On the contrary, there seems to be infrequent individual unbounded lexical codeswitching taking place in the language of children and adults in Riyandakan and Mangapin. This is not surprising since most marriages are between a Batak and either a Tagbanua or a Cuyuno and the situation will inevitably have an impact on the children's language choice. When asked whether they

believe they still speak the pure Batak language, most children interviewed in all the three areas believe that their speech is as not proficient as the Batak elders in their community.

### *3.4. Population and group dynamics*

Generally speaking, the language use characteristics of immigrants to community through trade alliances, employment and marriage patterns may determine whether the core of fluent speakers are supported or not. In the case of the three Batak communities, immigrants are present not because of trade alliances nor employment but because of marriage. In Riyandakan, most immigrants are women while the number of immigrant men and women in Mangapin are almost equal. It is only in Kalakwasan where there are few immigrants and these few are mostly men.

Sitio Riyandakan and Sitio Mangapin have been very accommodating to immigrants and the greater number of mixed marriages in these communities has proven its truth. The positive thing about the relationship between the host speakers and the immigrants is that the latter identify themselves as Batak after they have married their spouse. As a matter of fact, aside from the two individuals in Mangapin who admitted that Tagbanua and Tagalog are the language at home, all the other Tagbanua and Cuyunon women whose spouse are Batak maintained that they have forgotten how to speak their first language (Tagbanua or Cuyuno) when they have settled in the Batak community with their partners. Compared to Mangapin, parents in Kalakwasan and Riyandakan are not very much motivated about sending their children to school owing to its distance from the community and the lack of institutional support. The attitude toward education must have been influenced by the fact that there is an elementary school in Mangapin which offers education to the Batak up to grade 6, while both Kalakwasan and



Riyandakan have no school. While most of the children in Mangapin are sent by parents to school, only two children in Kalakwasan and another two in Riyandakan are sent to the elementary school in the barrio. Based on the scenario in Mangapin, the parents' desire to send their children to school motivates them to use Tagalog at home which endangers the use of Batak. When more children know Tagalog better than Batak, this eventually affects the population and group dynamics of the community of speakers. Conversely, the parents' consistent use of Batak at home and the lack of motivation to use Tagalog instead, has positive impact on the Batak population and group dynamics in Kalakwasan and Riyandakan as a whole.

It can be said in general that the determining factor in using or not using the Tagalog as the language at home is whether the parents decide to send their children to school or not. The chieftain in Mangapin and other Batak speakers admitted that once they have accepted an immigrant to the community, they have no control anymore on the immigrant and his or her spouse's language choice at home. Another immigrant in Mangapin is the Baptist Church pastor who has lived in the community for ten years now. Although he speaks Batak in conversations with the people, he uses Tagalog during mass. This could be because he has not yet acquired sufficient mastery of the Batak language to celebrate mass using it. Another consideration is that the attendees who are a mixture of Batak and immigrants.

In Riyandakan, although immigrants are welcome, the total population is fewer and the people's homes are closer to each other. Whenever the women get together which happens almost everyday, the language of communication is Batak. All of the women

interviewed reported using Batak at home with their spouse and children and they do not see any reason why they should use Tagalog or any other language instead.

Immigration does not seem to be a threat to language vitality within the Kalakwasan language area for according to the chieftain and the other inhabitants, there are only four couples in the area whose spouse is either a Tagbanua or a Visayan and for a long time now, the community has not accepted non- Batak immigrants anymore. People very rarely emigrate from the area. Males generally find gathering almaciga as the main source of livelihood while female generally stay at home and take care of the kids or plant palay in the interior. Young women may marry someone from another Batak community who is either a Batak, Tagbanua or a Cuyuno, but the man usually moves to the woman's community. The man who is a non-Batak speaker eventually learns and speak the Batak language. Likewise, a Batak male who marries a non-Batak speaker may choose to stay in the community or reside in the female's community. But if the female chooses to stay in the Batak community, she eventually learns and speak the Batak language as well as native speakers do. This happened in Kalakwasan in which a Batak female married a Tagbanua. The couple stayed in Kalakwasan and the Tagbanua husband rarely speaks Tagbanua anymore but treats Batak as his own language. The six children they have all speak the Batak language. In Riyandakan, all the thirteen families are composed of Batak and non-Batak partners who are mostly either a Tagbanua, or a Cuyunon. All the non-Batak partners however, learned the Batak language and speak it. When asked whether they attempted teaching others or their spouse their language, they said that they know that when they decided to settle in the community, it is their responsibility to learn their spouse's language and use it in communicating with the

Batak. To prove that, the couples of which the spouse is immigrant conversed in front of the researcher on different occasions.

### *3.5. Distribution of speakers with their own social networks*

When it comes to cultural traits, the Batak in Riyandakan and Mangapin admitted that they no longer practice their rituals and there is hardly anyone in the community that knows the authentic Batak dance. Yet they were proud to say that they maintain the reputation of being peace-loving and giving. The social network is dense to some extent in which a person who is a brother/sister is also a neighbor, an uncle/aunt to his/her nieces and nephews and a clan member.

There was a time when the Batak had been known for their ability to cope through the hard times, the lean season because of their food sharing activity according to Cadelina (1985). During rainy season, the Batak cannot gather almaciga nor honey which is the family's main source of income. It is also the time when rivers are flooded and people cannot go to the barrio to sell goods and purchase supplies for the family. This situation could go on for months and the Batak community suffers in hunger. It is during this time that the density and the multiplexity of the social network is tested. The network may be composed of five to seven families and these families would share food during the whole rainy season. Whoever family has food it will be shared with those who have none. It does not matter whether the family will eat twice or even once a day, what matters is that if they survive, the others survive with them.

The Batak do not demand a return for their kind deeds to neighbors and relatives. If four gantas of rice for example, was lent to a neighbor who ran out of rice, that neighbor is not considered indebted to him. Rather, in time of plenty and that kind neighbor needs his help, he could share with them food and the latter will graciously receive them. The food sharing activity had been active in the past decades but in the recent years this does not seem to be the trend.

Relatives still help one another but this does not involve as many families as before. This may be because most elders who used to practice this are no longer alive. In addition, life for the Batak especially in Riyandakan and Mangapin has become harder that even good intentions is difficult to sustain for a long time. The division in the Batak network is not brought about by the lack of concern for the community but the desire to survive as a family.

Because of individual traits, the Batak community members are not as closely knit as before according to the elders. The division is more pronounced among those who are from thirty to fifty years old which represent the second generation of speakers. The three communities therefore may be better described as having crosscultural interdependence with divided network system, internally dense and with a degree of multiplexity modified by the necessity to communicate with outsiders who do not know the local language for some goods or services.

### *3.6. Social outlook regarding and within the speech community*

The local group's perception of themselves as people as well as how other language groups perceive them and the support of institutions have an impact on the value associated with the group's language.

#### *3.6.1. Ethnic identity*

To gauge the Batak speakers' ethnic identity, the following questions were asked the Batak respondents during interviews. Interviews were done individually.

Questions	Common Responses (translated into English)	Other Responses
<b>Kalakwasan</b>  1. May pagkakaiba ba ang mga Batak sa Tagbanua at Cuyuno? Ano-ano ang pagkakaibang ito? <i>(What are the differences among the Batak, Tagbanua and Cuyunon? What are those differences?)</i>  2. Nakakaramdam ka ba ng di pantay na pagtrato mula sa ibang mga grupo? Sa anong mga pagkakataon? <i>(Have you ever felt that you were unfairly treated by others?)</i>  3. Ano ang gusto mo sa pagiging Batak? <i>(What do you like about being a Batak?)</i>  4. Ano naman ang ayaw mo sa pagiging Batak? <i>(What do you dislike about being a Batak?)</i>  5. Anong mga bagay ang basehan sa pagiging Batak? <i>(What is it that make a Batak?)</i>	Tagbanua and Cuyunon are a lot better educated than us (7) Tagbanua and Cuyunon are more successful than the Batak (4) We are the same (3) We are kind of shy (2)  No, we don't (6) We are belittled/despised because of our way of life, the way we look (6) We are just ignored by other groups (5) We are always the last to receive assistance from the government (5) We are looked down by others (3)  Giver (5) We have no enemies (4) We help each other (4) We live peacefully (4) We live simply (3)  None (13) Our lack of education (3) Our poverty (2)  Batak language (18) Parents (15) Physical appearance (8) Place of birth (6)	We want a simple life (1) We want to live in the mountain          We are sometimes deceived by other people (2) Other people treated us harshly (2)      We accept who we are (2) We can live anywhere (1) We don't deceive other people (1) We are respectful (1) We don't belittle others (1)  Our dark complexion (1) Our shyness (1)    Culture (3) Way of life (2) Manner of dressing (2)
<b>Mangapin</b>  1. May pagkakaiba ba ang mga Batak sa Tagbanua at Cuyuno? Ano-ano ang pagkakaibang ito? <i>(What are the differences among the Batak, Tagbanua and Cuyunon?)</i>	We're differ in language, thoughts and culture (3)  Tagbanua are better educated than the Batak (2) They have better life than us (1) The Batak are contented about what they have while the other groups want more (1)	

<p>2. Nakakaramdam ka ba ng di pantay na pagtrato mula sa ibang mga grupo? Sa anong mga pagkakataon? <i>(Have you ever felt that you were unfairly treated by others?)</i></p> <p>3. Ano ang gusto mo sa pagiging Batak? <i>(What do you like about being a Batak?)</i></p> <p>4. Ano naman ang ayaw mo sa pagiging Batak? <i>(What do you dislike about being a Batak?)</i></p> <p>5. Anong mga bagay ang basehan sa pagiging Batak? <i>(What is it that make a Batak?)</i></p>	<p>The other groups look down on us (9) We're taken advantage of whenever we sell almaciga (4) Whenever we purchase products people tend to deceive us about the quality or price (2)</p> <p>generous- (12) respectful of others (4) We live simply (3) We live peacefully (3)</p> <p>None (13)</p> <p>Parents (16) Use of Batak language (15) Place of birth (12)</p>	<p>Hardworking (1) Good-natured (1) Happy (1)</p> <p>We're poor (1) We keep on moving (1)</p> <p>Physical appearance (2) Food (1) Way of life (1)</p>
<p><b>Riyandakan</b></p> <p>1. May pagkakaiba ba ang mga Batak sa Tagbanua at Cuyuno? Ano-ano ang pagkakaibang ito? <i>(What are the differences among the Batak, Tagbanua and Cuyunon?)</i></p> <p>2. Nakakaramdam ka ba ng di pantay na pagtrato mula sa ibang mga grupo? Sa anong mga pagkakataon? <i>(Have you ever felt that you were unfairly treated by others?)</i></p>	<p>We're all the same (4) The Batak are happy with what they have (3) We differ in thoughts and in deeds (3)</p> <p>The Tagbanua look down on us (5) The Tagbanua always receive help from the government but we don't (4)</p>	<p>No Batak steals from people (1) The Tagbanua are more resourceful than Batak (1) More Tagbanua are educated and have good jobs (1)</p>

3. Ano ang gusto mo sa pagiging Batak? ( <i>What do you like about being a Batak?</i> )	We're peace-loving (7) We're helpful (6) We're humble (4)	We're friendly (1) We're not educated but we know how to respect others (1)
4. Ano naman ang ayaw mo sa pagiging Batak? ( <i>What do you dislike about being a Batak?</i> )	None (10)	Being poor (1)
5. Anong mga bagay ang basehan sa pagiging Batak? ( <i>What is it that make a Batak?</i> )	Use of Batak language (10) Having Batak parents (7) Place of birth (7)	Length of stay in the Batak community (1)

From the responses given by Batak in the three communities, it can be derived that they generally perceive the Tagbanua and Cuyunon to be better educated and more successful than they are. As regards the second question, most of the responses in the three communities expressed awareness that they are being 'belittled or despised by other language groups because of their way of life and the way they look'. If not despised, the group 'feels being ignored by outsiders' and often the 'last to receive assistance from the government'. Despite the awareness of being perceived in the negative light by other language communities, the Batak perceive themselves positively as evidenced in their responses to the third question. Generally, all the speakers in the three areas describe themselves as generous/giving, helpful, peace-loving, respectful and humble, traits by which the Batak elders are very proud of. These traits according to them make up for their lack of education and lack of influence.

When asked what do they dislike about being Batak, the most common responses are ‘None’ although a few associate being Batak to poverty and lack of education. Likewise, the Batak in the three areas believe that to be considered a Batak, one should know the Batak language, have authentic Batak parents and be born in a Batak community.

### 3.6.2. Perceptions of outsiders

To gauge how other language groups perceive the batak, at least fifteen persons from each barangay was asked to describe the Batak in their locality. Below are the most common descriptions given.

<b>Kalakwasan</b>  1. Hardworking (5) 2. Tamad (5) 3. Dependable (2) 4. Dark-complexioned (2) 5. Has curly hair (2) 6. Liar (2) 7. Helpful (2)	<b>Other responses</b>  Generous (1) Civilized already (1) Deceptive (1) United(1) Good-natured-(1) Respectful (1)
1. Helpful (6) 2. Lazy (5) 3. Deceitful (4) 1. Lack interest in education (2)	
<b>Riyandakan</b>  2. Hardworking (5) 3. Civilized already (5) 4. Uneducated (3) 5. Poor (3) 6. Obedient / good-natured (5) 7. Lack interest in education (2) 8. Deceitful (2)	Curly hair (1) Ravenous eater (1) Dresses differently (1) Knows how to speak Tagalog (1)




### 3.6.3. Institutional support

How well the Batak are perceived by the outsiders are felt more by the Batak through the way the local government officials treat them, the presence of programs for them or the lack of it.

One form of institutional support for the Batak in Riyandakan is the establishment of the Baptist church. Every second Sunday of the month, a pastor visits them to hold mass and once or twice year, a group of missionaries come to teach children catechism. As a matter of fact, an American Baptist pastor lived in Riyandakan for many years and he was the first to catechize the Batak. He now resides in the barangay proper but visits the area once in a while. Another form of institutional support is the local government support which the Batak in Riyandakan do not seem to enjoy much. When the research team visited the area the second time, the inhabitants expressed unhappiness about their relationship with the local government, more specifically with some barangay officials. Aside from the lack of programs for them for many years, the indifference of some officials who were allegedly not supported by this language group is felt by the group. The quarrying activities prove to bring great problems to the Batak inhabitants of Riyandakan. At present, the quarrying operation has reached the portion of the river where the Batak take a bath, wash clothes and get their drinking water. The people were disappointed because the barangay officials according to them, allowed the operation without first consulting the inhabitants who will be affected. The situation has brought serious problems to the

inhabitants. With the quarrying operations, the Batak need to wake up so early to take a bath, wash their clothes and fetch water at the same time because when the trucks arrive, the water will become muddy the whole day until evening. What is worse, according to the wives, some of their children were suffering from stomach ache after drinking water from the river. The research team went to the area four times and saw how the crystal clear water in Riyandakan river was transformed into chocolate brown. The team asked if the government offered them a new faucet where they could draw water but they said aside from the Ten peso share for every trip of truck that carries sand, no other remuneration was offered to them. At the time of writing this paper, the Batak reported that the road going to Riyandakan is no longer passable and not even a motorcycle can enter because the road has become deep, soft and muddy. With the indifference experienced by the people in Riyandakan from barangay officials and the rampant quarrying activities taking place in the river, it can be said that the institution does not think highly of them.

One evidence of institutional support is the school in the community, which Mangapin has been lucky to have. Another form of support is the presence of a two missionary churches. One is the Baptist church which has a resident pastor and the Adventist Church whose pastor visits only during Sundays. For many reasons however, the people in Riyandakan do not feel the support of the local government. According to the men, they are being prohibited by the DENR from gathering almaciga because they lack the necessary permits. Yet the DENR according to them has allowed a businesswoman in the city whose method in getting the resins is destructive. Because of the restriction, the Batak cannot openly deliver their products to the usual buyers. Such situation is being taken advantage of by some businessmen who buys almaciga for only half the price. The Batak main source of livelihood has been gathering almaciga resins and honey since the time of their ancestors. When asked about the possible destruction they may cause the

trees in the method they use, the men assured the team that their method does not kill the trees because as the trees live, they also do.

Aside from the restrictions on their work, the Batak also has problems about their river. Like the Batak in Riyandakan, this is where the people wash their clothes, take a bath and draw their water. The first time the researcher went to the area, she saw that the water is already greenish. The people said that there is a small scale mining operation in the mountain which has been going on for many years. On the team's third visit, the river has turned into muddy chocolate. There is a spring where the people can draw water for drinking but it flows so slowly and is not sufficient to supply their other needs. So even if the river is muddy, the people still take a bath there and wash their clothes. When asked whether the government is aware of the mining operations, the Batak said that some miners were caught already and were imprisoned but were released after some time. They are also aware that the miners pass through the barangay officials for local permits which the latter willingly give. The scenarios mentioned are the reasons why the Batak in Mangapin believe that the government do not perceive them favorably as people.

Compared to their counterparts in Riyandakan and in Mangapin, the Batak in Kalakwasan do not have problems about gathering almaciga or pollution in their river. Although the community has no school, some missionaries visit the area once every two months to teach the children reading. There is also a Baptist church with a Batak pastor and another pastor that visits on irregular interval. The Batak celebrated their foundation day a few months ago. The barangay officials showed support to the area not only by providing funds for electricity, food and prizes and but also building concrete benches around the basketball court. Besides, there are also numerous charity and religious organizations that donate clothes and food especially during

Christmas to the people in this area. These supports are not usually enjoyed by the other two areas. Aside from very little funding for their foundation day, not many organizations visit them. It must be because Kalakwasan is the better known Batak community to the outsiders being the area with more concentration of pure Batak speakers who are also more knowledgeable of the Batak culture.

### *3.7. Language prestige*

In the Philippines, Filipino which is based on Tagalog is the national language. Filipino and English are the language of communication both in spoken and print media and in school, Filipino and English are the media of instruction. This reality is the same in Puerto Princesa and in Palawan. Even Filipinos who came from other provinces in the country speak Tagalog and English to communicate with Ilocanos, Bicolanos, Cebuanos, Ilongos and other language groups. Among the minority groups in Palawan, it is the Cuyuno language that enjoys prestige. Some immigrants who have settled in the province for a long time have learned Cuyuno and they use it when speaking whenever they interact with Cuyuno speakers.

Batak language however, does not share the same prestige with the Cuyuno language. As a matter of fact, more prestige is enjoyed by Tagbanua which is also a minority language. At present, a good number of Tagbanua have finished not only college but a few have even earned a doctoral degree and have become academicians. A few others have become lawyers, politicians and businessmen. In contrast, no Batak up to this date has finished high school or has become successful in life financially or materially. The researcher was told once that there is a couple who resides in one barangay in the north whose wife is a Batak but their children do not openly admit that. The wife has not visited any relative in the Batak community since the time she married.

To gauge the language attitude of the Batak toward their language, a set of ten questions were asked both to children and adults in the three areas.

Statements
1. Are you a Batak?
2. What language is closest to your heart?
3. What is your best known language?
4. What language do you use most of the time?
5. What language do you want your children to learn?
6. Is it necessary to know the Batak language to be a Batak?
7. Do you like to use the Batak language?
8. Will the Batak language continue to exist for a long time?
9. Did you always feel good for speaking Batak language?
10. What are the contributory factors to make a Batak?

Analysis of the total responses reveals that the Batak in the Riyandakan and Kalakwasan exhibit a very positive attitude toward the Batak language while those in Mangapin exhibited a moderately positive attitude toward the Batak language. It is remarkable that 100% of the respondents in Kalakwasan established that they are Batak although a few of them were either Tagbanua or Cuyunon or children of mixed marriages. On the contrary 85.71 percent of the people in Mangapin identified themselves as Batak while 88 percent in Riyandakan maintained that they are Batak. Majority of the responses in numbers two to four in all the three Batak areas consider Batak as the closest language to their heart, the people's best known language, the language people want their children to learn and the language they want their children to learn.

When asked whether it was still necessary for their children to learn the Batak language, about 84 percent of the Batak parents in Riyandakan responded that it is important that Batak is still the language they want their children to learn. In contrast, 71% of the parents in Mangapin

want their children to learn Batak . On the other hand, 74% of children and adult in Kalakwasan reported that Batak is still the language they want their children to learn. As regards the question whether they believe that Batak language will continue to exist for a long time, 88 percent of the speakers in Riyandakan expressed their belief, 85 percent in Kalakwasan while only 66.6% in Mangapin responded positively.

Despite the positive attitude of the Batak in the three communities toward the Batak language, the truth remains that their native language is a low prestige language, being spoken by a language group which is not only minority in number but also in power.

### *3.8. Access to stable and acceptable economic base*

The Batak for a long time has been considered the most economically underprivileged among the minority groups in Palawan. While a good number of Tagbanua and Pala'wan have been highly educated and found employment in private and government institutions, no Batak up to this date has finished high school nor find a better source of income. As mentioned earlier, the Batak males continue to gather almaciga resin and honey while women stay at home or plant palay. At present, almaciga is bought for only P16.00 per kilo by buyers in the barrio. Even worse in Mangapin, because the buyers purchase almaciga for only P8 to p10 pesos per kilo. There are no stores in both communities. The people therefore have to go to the barrio stores to purchase their basic needs, rice, coffee, sugar and matches. There are two small stores in Mangapin owned by Tagbanuas but only limited commodities are sold.

The Batak in the three areas generally do not buy clothes for they dress simply and have very little desire for new clothes. Clothes come as donations from charitable organizations which visit the community during Christmas. The Kalakwasan inhabitants are a lot better off because tourists sometimes give food and other gifts and more gifts come from people during Christmas.

The people from Riyandakan do not have the same benefits. There are no regular tourists that visit them and not many people give them gifts during Christmas.

The Batak in the three areas generally build homes using traditional materials like cogon, nipa and kawayan? The people are not generally concerned about building presentable and durable houses. It was noticeable though that a few Batak in Mangapin who married Tagbanua farmers built concrete homes. There are also a few who married Cuyunos built nipa huts which look more presentable and durable than those ordinarily built by Batak.

A few radios in Mangapin are owned by Cuyunon and Tagbanua. Only one house in Kalakwasan has radio while no one in Riyandakan owns one. According to them, if they do not eat and live the way they do, then they are no longer Batak. This simplicity of the Batak seems to have positive impact on their language vitality.

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# **The Acquisition of English Grammatical Morphemes of Multilingual University Freshmen**

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## **Abstract**

There is a seeming agreement among SLA researchers that language learners irrespective of native language background acquire certain English grammatical morphemes in similar sequence. That is, there is “invariance” in the acquisition order of English grammatical morphemes. This paper seeks to investigate the acquisition of 8 English grammatical morphemes in the written Interlanguage of 10 Filipino adult multilingual university freshmen. Previous research along this line focused on children and adult bilingual subjects and the results have been generalized across learners. While there is a large body of literature in morpheme studies, to date there is only one that exclusively deals with grammatical morphemes in the written English of Filipino adult learners, and none on multilingual learners. The results show that contrary to current consensus in SLA research for children and bilingual subjects, multilingual learners exhibit a different acquisition order.

**Key words:** Multilingual, Interlanguage, English as an Additional Language

## ***Background of the Study***

Morpheme order studies began in the 1970s to look into the independent grammar assumption advanced by UG (Universal Grammar) (Kwon, 2005). This line of research was conducted to find evidence of the natural view of acquiring a language. The first two researchers who dealt into this were Brown (1973) and de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) however, from the perspective of first language acquisition among children. This was the starting point of the acquisition order research (Johnson & Johnson, 1998). Undoubtedly to encompass SLA, Dulay and Burt (1974) extended this kind of research to learners acquiring English as an L2. The results of these groundbreaking investigations demonstrated that SLA is not just a matter of rote imitation and habit but that individuals develop second language competence according to a series of benchmarks. As a result, morpheme order studies became part of the basis of the Natural Order Hypothesis advanced by Krashen (1982) in the field of SLA.

Articulating the importance of morpheme studies in SLA, Kwon (2005) opines that “grammatical morphemes provide what many researchers consider to be not only a standard benchmark but a meaningful and quantifiable measure of acquisition. Moreover, investigating grammatical morphemes is “particularly fruitful for understanding second language acquisition by adults” (Krashen, 1981). Tingstad (1999), concludes that morpheme order studies describe and explain non-native language behaviour and of language acquisition. As Cook (1993) concludes, these studies lend support to the independent grammar assumption. This assumption accounts for the hypothesis that a human infant is born with an innate predisposition to acquire



language; that s/he must be exposed to language for the acquisition process to start; that s/he possesses an internal mechanism of unknown nature which enables him/her from the limited data available to him/her to construct a grammar of a particular language (Corder, 1981).

Grammatical morphemes are the basic building blocks for English words. Therefore, morpheme acquisition is an integral component of the English language (Minn & Hui, 2000). Grammatical morphemes in English include both bound and free morphemes. For example, verbal and nominal suffixes like past tense *-ed* in “*Brendan jump ed*” and the plural *-s* in “*dog s are running*”, are grammatical morphemes, as well as the verb BE in constructions like “*Brendan is running*”, “*DO* in “*do you want a cookie?*” and the articles in “*the dog*” and “*a dog*”. In traditional linguistic classification, grammatical morphemes are closed class items that stand in opposition to open-class, content morphemes like the nouns “*dog*” and “*cookie*” and the verbs “*jump*”, “*run*” and “*want*” (Paradis, 2003).

### Grammatical Morphemes of Children in L1 Acquisition Studies

Brown, (1973) instigated morpheme studies when he examined fourteen grammatical morphemes in the speech of three children acquiring English as a first language (L1). His findings revealed that certain grammatical morphemes are acquired in a predictable order, however, not necessarily of the same age. This is interesting because age does not determine the order of acquisition. Thus, it can be said that there might be other crucial determinants that motivate acquisition order.

The morphemes in their order of acquisition are: prepositions (*in, on*), articles (*a, the*), possessive (*'s*), plural marker (*-s*), verb progressive (*-ing*), third person of present tense regular verbs (*he dances*), irregular verbs (*she had*), and the main uses of the verb to be—as auxiliary, both when it can be contracted (e.g., *I am walking or I'm walking*) and when it cannot be contracted (e.g., *I was walking*), and as a main verb or copula in its contractible form (e.g., *I am happy of I'm happy*) and its uncontractible form (e.g., *This is it*).

### Grammatical Morphemes of Children in L2 Acquisition Studies

Including three more morphemes to those investigated by Brown, Hakuta, (1974), studied the development of grammatical morphemes in a Japanese girl learning English as a second language in a naturalistic context. Whereas Brown's was mainly on accuracy level and order of English grammatical morphemes, Hakuta's accounted for the factors that might have motivated the order of the same morphemes such as: (1) semantic differences between L1 and L2; (2) the simplicity principle, and lastly; (3) phonological differences. Conversely, he acknowledged that limitation of basing his observation on only one participant. However, Hakuta's study provides much information in SLA research for it showed a deviation from the order as claimed by Brown to be generalizable across learners.

Investigating the acquisition of eleven grammatical morphemes by Chinese and Spanish-speaking children, Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974) observed that with different first languages a similar pattern existed. As a result, they posited that if similar patterns existed among learners with different L1s, clearly that developmental factors, not the native language, are at play and

that a universal operation for second language acquisition exists. This finding became the basis for the “creative construction model”—the subconscious process by which language learners gradually organize the language they hear, according to the rules that they construct to generate sentences.

Consequently, Chimombo (1979) reported that the sequence of acquisition in her study did not follow the patterns identified by Brown (1973) and Hakuta (1974) due to some combined effect of age and cognitive level as well as the interaction of the two languages, confirming the hypothesis that a bilingual child’s acquisition of the two languages does not follow the pattern of acquisition of either a monolingual child or a child second language learner of a language. Comparing the results of Brown’s (1973) monolingual acquisition order and Hakuta’s (1974) order of a second language learner, the investigation was guided by three predictors: (1) that it will be similar to that obtained for monolingual children, since the child is learning the two languages at a similar age and cognitive level to that of the monolingual child learning one; (2) that it would be similar to child second language acquisition due to the nature of the interaction between the two languages being acquired; and (3) that it will follow neither pattern, since not only age and cognitive level of the child, but also the interaction between the two languages will play a part.

Using the Mean Length of Utterance (MLU) to determine the acquisition of the morphemes under investigation, Minn & Hui (2000) examined the order and rate of morpheme acquisition by four female Singaporean Chinese children employing various elicitation techniques. Conclusively, the researchers pointed out that largely, the order of acquisition determined by Brown (1973) remained valid for Singaporean children; however, Singaporean children differ not only in the order of acquisition but also in the rates of morpheme acquisition both in terms of age and MLU stages.

### Grammatical Morphemes of Adults in L2 Acquisition Studies

Deviating from the previous studies on data elicitation, Larsen-Freeman (1975) investigated twenty four adult second language learners of different native-language backgrounds to determine the sequence of acquisition of English grammatical morphemes through a battery of tasks: reading, writing, listening, imitating and speaking. The Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM) was employed for comparison. Brown’s (1973) SOC and criterion for accuracy level and the Group Score Method (Dulay and Burt, 1974) for ranking were used.

Interestingly, Larsen-Freeman investigated learners with four different native-language backgrounds, as previous studies involved only as many as two as in the case of Dulay and Burt (1974). Inconsistent with Brown’s (1973), Larsen-Freeman countered the notion of “invariance” when her study showed a different acquisition order. She attributed this different order to methodology in data collection for previous morpheme studies lack consistency in measuring the order of acquisition. Nevertheless, she admitted that a native-language background does not seem to radically influence the order of acquisition of adult learners.

Pictures and fill-in-the-blank tests were used in a cross-sectional study by Wagner (2004) when he examined the acquisition order of several English inflectional morphemes by 14 French-speaking secondary students formally learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL),

including learning environments as possible determinants. Further, IL interference and the extent to which it affected the order were also investigated. Drawing from Dulay and Burt's (1974) morpheme study Wagner used only four namely: plural (-s), progressive (-ing), 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present tense (-s), and possessive (-'s).

In this investigation, Wagner found that for both oral and written modes the plural morpheme was in the "first acquired group" while the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present tense morpheme was in the 'late acquired" group. There is also a slight variance as regards the possessive morpheme moving from the "late acquired" group to the "first acquired" group. Notwithstanding the deviation that was found, results are consistent with those of Dulay and Burt's (1974). Therefore, there is a similar acquisition order of grammatical morphemes by EFL and ESL learners.

In an attempt to determine the acquisition order of grammatical morphemes by adult Japanese learners in an EFL setting, Izumi and Isahara (2004) extracted data from (Japanese Learner English) JLE Corpus obtained from an oral proficiency Standard Speaking Test. Particularly interesting in the corpus is that some parts are annotated with learners' grammatical and lexical errors based on an originally designed error-tag set--a method never used previously in morpheme studies in measuring SOC. Moreover, Izumi and Isahara utilized the SOC and Group Score Method, which the present study will also use.

The significant differences from the ranking of Dulay and Burt's (1973) are: (1) articles ranked fifth, but in Izumi and Isahara they ranked eight, (2) in Dulay and Burt (1973) possessive -'s was at the bottom, but the exact opposite in Izumi and Isahara, (3) plural -s ranked at the top in Dulay and Burt (1973), but only fifth in the former. Overuse error of the possessive -'s was found in the corpus, resulting in the decrease in the number of omission type errors counted as "zero" while an increase in the overall accuracy rate. Additionally, the reason why plural -s ranked fifth in their result might also be L1 interference, since the Japanese language makes no distinction between singular and plural for most nouns.

The possible explanation for some dissimilarity in ranking might be that the English system is quite complex and, more importantly, the absence of article in the Japanese language. Another possible explanation posited is that overuse errors were not counted even though such errors occurred frequently. Therefore, had they been counted, the actual error rate could have been higher. Also, the researchers concluded that differences in learners' background can cause differences in the acquisition order. Also, the elicitation technique can affect the order. For most of the findings, the researchers believed that the differences were caused mainly by L1 transfer.

Citing setting as a possible determinant of the acquisition order, Sepassi and Aryadoust (2007) confirmed the findings of Izumi and Isahara when the former investigated the two morphemes--the third person singular '-s' and the plural '-s' among 60 EFL learners setting within the framework of the Competition Model to test Krashen's Natural Order Hypothesis, and to also show that the Competition Model is a practical tool that provides further insight on how the age of EFL learners affects the order.

Furthermore, Sepassi and Aryadoust (2007) asserted that learners in an EFL setting do not follow the order of acquisition established by Krashen (1988). As a consequence of these findings, they explained that the previous studies that corroborated Krashen's (1988) findings

were in settings where English was spoken as an L1. However, the EFL learners do not have this opportunity and their exposure to English is far less—hence it is not possible to overgeneralize the results of the studies carried out in ESL contexts to EFL contexts.

It seems that what transpired in Sepassi and Aryadoust's cannot be said in the study of Behjat and Sadighi (2011) using 70 Iranian EFL subjects when the latter argued that considering different levels, language backgrounds and learning conditions, the Iranians are no exceptions: they follow the same order of development in their acquisition of the English grammatical morphemes established by previous morpheme studies.

Based on the grammaticality judgment test the following difficulty level was drawn, starting from the easiest to the most difficult: copula, auxiliary, past *-ed*, progressive, plural *-s* and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular being the most difficult.

Claims forwarded by Behjat and Sadighi are evident in Onaha's (1992) investigation of the IL produced by a 29-year-old male employee in a U.S. military base in Okinawa who enrolled in the English Department of the Junior College of the University of Ryukyus. To pursue the investigation, four grammatical morphemes namely: progressive *-ing*, plural *-s*, copula and progressive auxiliary were included. Onaha noted that the subject showed lower acquisition of the four grammatical morphemes in the IL of the subject. Using SOC, Onaha found that the results were consistent with Krashen's (1981) 'natural order' suggesting that learners of English in a naturalistic setting follow the order proposed by Krashen (1981).

Most recently, Barrot (2010) investigated the accuracy order and level of grammatical morphemes in the monitored language use in narrative and expository essays of twenty-five Nursing students at De La Salle Health Sciences Institute. He employed text reconstruction where the participants were asked to watch a movie, of particular observation is that the participants wrote as well as edited their essays at home, procedure that might have affected the accuracy of under investigation. The SOC as well as Brown's (1973) criterion level was used.

The following morphemes were found to have been acquired accurately by the participants: Copula *be* with 96.61 percent accuracy followed by Auxiliary Verbs with 95.57 percent accuracy, Articles *An/A* with 88.69 percent accuracy, Article *The*, with 97.90 percent accuracy, Subjective Pronoun with 98.04 percent accuracy, Objective Pronoun with 96.23 percent accuracy, Possessive Pronoun with 98.63 percent accuracy, and Past Participles with 93.26 percent accuracy. On the other hand, the participants were found to have difficulties in Third Person '*-s*', Simple Regular Past and Simple Irregular Past, morphemes that did not reach the accuracy level criterion. These, the researcher asserts were results of L1 interference. For the errors committed in the use of Third Person '*-s*', he argues that the proximity—that is, the farther the subject from the verb, the higher the possibility to commit errors. In addition, compound subjects were also identified to be potential causes of errors. Consistent with the findings of established "natural order" studies, Barrot reports that the Third Person '*-s*', Simple Regular Past, and Simple irregular Past are in the lower rank of the accuracy order whether monitored or unmonitored.

Concluding, he articulates: (1) that the Level 3 nursing students attained accuracy level on pronoun usage, articles, past participle, and subject-verb agreement excluding the third person *-s* and simple past tense whether regular or irregular; (2) the accuracy order obtained in his

investigation displayed minimal variations compared to the established accuracy order on unmonitored language use; and, (3) the results have great implications for the teaching and learning of grammar.

In analyzing 9 English grammatical morphemes of adult Vietnamese EFL learner, Widiatmoko (2008) utilized obligatory occasion measure. The researcher found that the subject has not yet acquired all the morphemes under investigation. Among the morphemes, Copula 'be,' is the subject's most acquired morpheme indicative that this morpheme has been acquired well though not accurately. Next is the Auxiliary 'be' though the researcher admits that it is too soon to establish that the subject has already acquired this morpheme well. Prepositions of time, articles and irregular past in this order were next in ranks. Accounting the potential causes of errors, the researcher mentions of L1 interference however further investigation should be conducted to really determine the veracity of the result.

### ***Research Questions***

This investigated the acquisition of English grammatical morphemes in the written compositions of multilingual university freshmen. The following were answered:

1. What is the accuracy level of grammatical morphemes in the student's composition?
2. What is the accuracy order of grammatical morphemes in the student's composition?

### **Method**

This paper is a descriptive analysis of grammatical morphemes. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) this type only involves a description of a state of affairs as fully and as carefully as possible. In describing existing conditions the relationships among variables are not analyzed. Hence, this can be contrasted with quantitative research, which relies heavily on hypothesis testing, cause and effect, and statistical analysis (Lichtman, 2010).

Ten multilingual university freshmen of the CCBA, University of Sto. Tomas whose ages range between 16 to 17 years old from different regions in the Philippines were drawn as participants of this investigation. The participants' mother tongues are as follows: Ilokano, Bisaya (Cebuano), Kapampangan, Bicolano, Pangasinense, Ibanag, Pangalatok, and Waray. The languages the participants speak other than their mother tongues either second, third or fourth languages are: Filipino, English, Japanese, Mandarin, and Fukien. All the participants neither lived nor stayed for more than six months in any English speaking country.

During the data collection the participants were still taking English 2 [Reading and Thinking Skills for Academic Study] for three hours a week. Also, they have already taken English 1 [Communication Skills] for also three hours a week as a prerequisite course of English 2. All the participants have the same amount of exposure to ESL formal instruction for almost 11 years from basic education to tertiary by the time of the data collection.

Aside from classroom setting the participants also receive language input from their parents, teachers, and peers or someone who might come their way speaking English. Yet, at

home most of the time they use their mother tongue, thus it is safe to say that the participants might use English only in classroom setting and occasionally with peers. They have been attending mainstreamed ESL classes for two semesters as part of their general education curricula in the university.

Evidenced by their choice of private higher educational institution, the participants are relatively well-off. Also, they have frequent exposure to mass media, entertainment, and other electronic and print formats using English as the main medium of communication. The participants variables are illustrated in Table 5.

**Table 5**  
*Participants Variables*

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<b>Ages</b>	16 and 17
<b>Mother Tongues</b>	Ilokano, Bisaya(Cebuano), Kapampangan, Bicolano, Pangasinan, Ibanag, Waray
<b>Other Languages</b>	Filipino, English, Japanese, Mandarin, Fookien
<b>Education</b>	11 years of formal ESL instruction 11 years of studying the target language

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### ***Sampling Technique***

Purposive sampling will be employed in this investigation. To determine the sample the following criteria were set: (1) ages ranging from 16 and 19 years old, (2) university freshmen and took their elementary and high school education in the Philippines, (3) fluency (conversational level) of at least 3 Philippine languages (4) have neither lived nor stayed in any country for the past six months where English is the L1 before the data gathering. An informal interview was conducted to ensure that the participants satisfy the criteria above-mentioned.

### ***Theoretical Framework***

This study is anchored on Natural Order Hypothesis (NOH) (Krashen, 1982) which suggests that the structures of a language can be arranged in a hierarchy of difficulty. For instance, certain structures tend to be acquired earlier than the others. Although the agreement between of the acquirers in the studies is not 100%, the statistically significant similarities support the natural order of morpheme acquisition. However, it must be made clear that this NOH does not maintain that learners acquire the morphemes in exactly similar order. More generally, these morphemes are acquired in a certain order that is predictable (Lighbown and Spada, 1999). Figure 1 shows the natural order of English grammatical morphemes suggested by Krashen (1982).

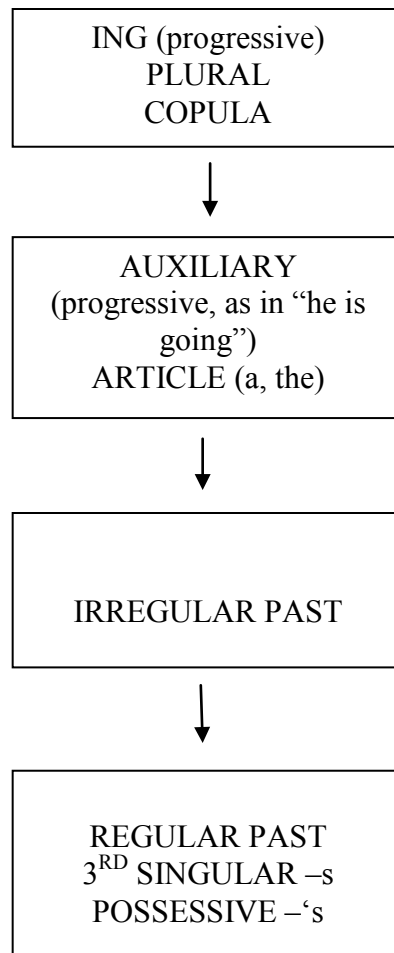


FIGURE 1. NATURAL ORDER OF GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES  
(Krashen, 1982)

The first stage is the acquisition of *-ing* morpheme, plural and copula. Then, the auxiliary and article are acquired in the next stage. Irregular past is acquired in the third stage while the last stage contains regular past, 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and the possessive. Krashen (1982) does not go on further regarding the ordering within each stage.

### ***Data Collection***

The language samples were compositions collected during the second semester in mid March, academic year 2010-2011. At the onset the students were instructed to indicate on the paper their mother tongue/s and other foreign language/s they fluently speak. Two expository and one narrative prompts were posed. The topics were: (1) explain how not getting enough sleep affects your day, (2) some of our richest experiences take place when we travel; tell about a memorable experience you had when you were travelling, (3) describe a person who is especially

interesting. These topics were chosen for the following reasons: (1) the researcher assumes that they all have actual knowledge and experience of these situations, thus easier for them to relate personally (2) since the topics are familiar, drawing and reflecting on them would not be difficult thereby making them write with haste, and lastly (3) these topics are expected to reveal the grammatical morphemes under investigation. There was no particular limit as to the number of words, sentences and paragraphs. The compositions were part of the writing activities as course requirements.

This study zeroed in on the eight English grammatical morphemes identified by Dulay and Burt (1973). The grammatical morphemes were analyzed following Ellis and Barkhuizen's (2005) suppliance in obligatory occasions (SOC).

Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005) assert that the following basic procedure for calculating accuracy level for individual morpheme scores based on suppliance in obligatory occasions serves to identify the accuracy in individual learners' use of a range of grammatical morphemes:

1. Determine which morpheme is to be investigated.
2. Go through the data and identify obligatory occasions for the use of the morpheme. Count the total number of occasions.
3. Establish whether the correct morpheme is supplied in each obligatory context. Count the number of times it is supplied.
4. Calculate the percentage of accurate use with this formula:

$$\frac{n \text{ correct suppliance in contexts}}{\text{total obligatory contexts}} \times 100 \text{ per cent accuracy}$$

5. Repeat the procedure for the other morphemes to be investigated.

Furthermore, recognizing that the above procedure cannot account of overuse of a morpheme, Ellis and Barkhuizen pay attention to 'Target-like use analysis' proposed by Pica (1983) using the following formula:

$$\frac{n \text{ correct suppliance in contexts}}{n \text{ obligatory contexts} + n \text{ suppliance in non-obligatory contexts}} \times 100 = \text{per cent accuracy}$$

Table 1 shows the morphemes in this investigation.



**Table 1**

*English grammatical morphemes under investigation and their order of acquisition (Dulay and Burt, 1973, 1974)*

Morphemes	Example
1. Plural ‘-s’	‘Books’
2. Progressive ‘-ing’	‘John going’
3. Copula ‘be’	‘John is here’
4. Auxiliary ‘be’	‘John is going’
5. Articles	‘The books’
6. Irregular past tense	‘John went’
7. Third person ‘-s’	‘John likes books’
8. Possessive ‘’s’	‘John’s book’

## Results and Discussion

Table 2 shows SOC and Target-like analysis percentages of the eight grammatical morphemes in the students’ written compositions.

**Table 2**

*Accuracy level of the 8 English grammatical morphemes by adult multilingual learners*

Grammatical Morphemes	Correct Usage	Incorrect Usage
Auxilliary 'be' <i>is</i>	100	0
The	98	2
Progressive <i>-ing</i>	93.54	6.45
Plural <i>-s</i>	88.61	11.39
Copula 'be' <i>is</i>	86.66	13.34
Irregular Past	82.14	17.86
Possessive	69.69	30.31
Third Person Singular Present <i>-s</i>	69.47	30.53

Brown’s (1973) 90 % criterion for accuracy level reveals that the participants acquired accuracy on the following grammatical morphemes: Auxiliary ‘be’ with 100 percent accuracy, Article ‘the’ with 98 percent accuracy, and Progressive *-ing* with 93.54 percent accuracy. Consequently, the following grammatical morphemes were not acquired namely: Plural ‘-s’, Copula ‘be’, Irregular Past, Possessive and Third Person Singular Present. This means that the multilingual university freshmen committed errors most often in Possessive ‘-s’, and Third Person Singular Present.

In part, the natural order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes suggested by Krashen (1981) remained valid for adult multilingual learners, at least for the first three morphemes. It can be gleaned from Table 3 that the first three morphemes acquired corroborate with the NOH were Auxilliary 'be', Article 'the' and Progressive '-ing'.

However, it is obvious that the adult multilingual learners show a different order. For instance, Barrot (2010) reported that the Copula 'be' -s has been acquired first by his adult bilingual subjects while in the present investigation it ranked fifth. In fact, the morpheme has not been acquired. As for Possessive '-s', it ranked at the top of Barrot's but in this investigation it ranked at the bottom.

**Table 3**

*Accuracy order of the 8 English grammatical morphemes by adult multilingual learners*

Rank	Grammatical Morphemes	Accuracy Level
1	Auxilliary 'be' <i>is</i>	100
2	The	98
3	Progressive <i>-ing</i>	93.54
4	Plural <i>-s</i>	88.61
5	Copula 'be' <i>is</i>	86.66
6	Irregular Past	82.14
7	Possessive	69.69
8	Third Person Singular Present <i>-s</i>	69.47

Table 4 shows the comparison of the acquisition order of the morphemes under investigation.

**Table 4**

*Comparison of the acquisition order of the morphemes under investigation*

Order of the present study		Barrot's Order	
Auxilliary 'be' <i>is</i>	100	Possessive	98
The	98	The	97.90
Progressive <i>-ing</i>	93.54	Copula 'be'	96.1
Plural <i>-s</i>	88.61	Auxiliary	95.57
Copula 'be' <i>is</i>	86.66	Third Person Sing	76.66
Irregular Past	82.14	Irregular Past	71.17
Possessive	69.69		
Third Person Singular Present <i>-s</i>	69.47		

By looking at the data, the last acquired group show relatively lower SOC and Target-like analysis percentages which means that these morphemes have not been acquired yet by the

participants. Also, the significant differences found were on the last five morphemes when Barrot's subjects demonstrated higher percentages. Perhaps this could be attributed to the calculation method used for the present investigation utilized the Target-like analysis while Barrot only used Suppliance in Obligatory Context. Nevertheless, it seems that adult multilinguals showed variation in their acquisition of the grammatical morphemes from the order established by early morpheme studies.

Given the findings of this investigation, the following implications were drawn:

1. This study can provide information about a possible re-designing of current syllabus used in mainstream English classes to better accommodate the multilingual learners' needs.
2. Teachers may give emphasis to structures that contain grammatical morphemes that have not been acquired as reported in the present study.
3. Given the results, it is about time to consider the multilingual nature of each class by designing materials suited for multilingual students learning English as a third or fourth or even fifth language as in the case of many Filipino students, thus replacing materials originally designed for learners acquiring English as an L1 or L2.

### **Conclusions**

1. The adult multilingual university freshmen acquired accuracy only on the three morphemes out of eight such as: Auxilliary 'be' 'is', Article 'the' and Progressive '-ing'.
2. The accuracy order in this study showed significant differences from the previous findings. Therefore, the researchers based on the results do not support the natural order hypothesis forwarded by Krashen (1981).

### **Recommendations**

1. Much research must be conducted on grammatical morphemes to show the accuracy order of Filipino multilingual learners. Also, longitudinal design using large scale data sets collected through varied data collection techniques must be considered to be able to come up with a solid generalization regarding Filipinos as learners of English as an additional language.

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**Title:** THE EMERGENT TARLAC VARIETY OF KAPAMPANGAN  
IN TARLAC CITY: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY  
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**Abstract:**

Tarlac is situated in the heart of the Central Plains of Luzon, surrounded by the provinces of Pangasinan, Zambales, Nueva Ecija and Pampanga. Its history as well as geography explains the uniqueness of the province's linguistic and cultural identity. Both aspects are characterized by diversity. For sometime, it was difficult for the province to establish its own identity, having been constantly identified in the past as part Kapampangan, part Ilocano and part Tagalog. However, as the province progresses, it is also making an effort to build its own identity, linguistically and culturally.

The concern of the present study is to document and describe the lexical and semantic variations in the use of Kapampangan among the residents of Tarlac City. Identifying the variety of Kapampangan used in Tarlac City is essential in building the provincial identity. By recognizing the province's diversity and identifying the point of convergence of the languages and cultures that comprise the province, its identity is formed. This study recognizes Tarlac's diversity in many aspects and aims to bring together the once distinct languages and culture within it.

At present there are limited empirical data as well as studies regarding emergent varieties of Philippine languages. Although Kapampangan speakers from Pampanga and Tarlac are well aware of the notable differences among the speakers from different areas, there are no recognized studies regarding Kapampangan varieties. Hence, the outcomes of this study will help the people of the province, the Tarlaqueños, to recognize, understand and appreciate their heritage. It will help the Tarlaqueños to identify themselves apart from their predominantly Kapampangan and Ilocano roots. The study can also serve as a model for conducting studies on other language varieties within the area, such as Ilocano and Tagalog.

**Full paper:**

Tarlac is situated in the heart of the Central Plains of Luzon, surrounded by the provinces of Pangasinan, Zambales, Nueva Ecija and Pampanga. Its history as well as geography explains the uniqueness of the province's linguistic and cultural identity. Both aspects are characterized by diversity. For sometime, it was difficult for the province to establish its own identity, having been constantly identified in the past as part Kapampangan, part Ilocano and part Tagalog. In the province as a whole, two out of five of the household population classified themselves as Kapampangan. Ilocano (40.9%) and Tagalog (12.7%) followed. Other ethnic groups included Pangasinan/Panggalatok and Kankanaï/Kankanaey, with 0.7% and 0.3%, respectively (Census 2000). However, as the province progresses, it is also making an effort to build its own identity, linguistically and culturally.

Ilocano and Kapampangan are the most widely spoken language during early childhood, accounting for 44.0% and 43.6%, respectively, of the total household population. The remaining 12.4% speak Tagalog (10.6%), Pangasinan (0.7%), and other languages (1.1%) (Census 2000). Kapampangan is one of the several languages used in the province, especially within the capital, Tarlac City and in the southern towns, due to its proximity to and its historical affiliation with Pampanga. However, the natural evolution of a language, in this case, the Kapampangan language, together with its exposure to the Ilocano and Tagalog language and culture has certainly altered its original form, has contributed to the emergence of a new variety of Kapampangan. This variety of the Kapampangan language used in Tarlac City is thus no longer that which belongs to Pampanga but one that belongs to Tarlac and its people.

The concern of the present study is to document and describe the lexical and semantic variations in the use of Kapampangan among the residents of Tarlac City, leading to the recognition of an emergent variety of Kapampangan. Wang (2009) provides a simplified definition of the term *emergent language variety*, of which he says is a language whose users are also learners of the language. It is believed that an emergent variety is most likely to come from relatively younger users of the language,

as opposed to older users of the language who tend to use a variety closer to the standard or native variety.

Studies about language variation, especially those of Labov (2008), highlight the fact that even among members of a speech community, speakers of the same language do not use the language in the same way. He denies the idea of the existence of some “real” or genuine uniform language variety to characterize or represent a community or its members. Hence, there is no “pure” Kapampangan language to represent an original or genuine Kapampangan community of speakers. Rather, Labov explains that a speech community “is a locus in which speakers agree on the social meanings and evaluations of the variants used and of course it incorporates variability in language use.” (Labov in Milroy and Milroy 2004, 51) This emphasizes that the identity of community members are more defined by their choice of language and the manner in which it is used rather than mere geographic location.

At present there are limited empirical data as well as studies regarding emergent varieties of Philippine languages. Although Kapampangan speakers from Pampanga and Tarlac are well aware of the notable differences among the speakers from different areas, there are no recognized studies regarding Kapampangan varieties. Hence, the outcomes of this study will help the people of the province, the Tarlaqueños, to recognize, understand and appreciate their heritage. It will help the Tarlaqueños to identify themselves apart from their predominantly Kapampangan and Ilocano roots. The study can also serve as a model for conducting studies on other language varieties within the area, such as Ilocano and Tagalog.

The study employs William Labov’s Language Variation Theory, which focuses on the emergence of language varieties through language contact and though a language’s contact with non-linguistic variables. The study also employs the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) as the method

of comparing and contrasting the emergent Tarlac Variety of Kapampangan and the standard variety of Kapampangan.

The participants chosen for this study are between the ages 16 to 35, with the assumption that younger language users are most likely to have innovations in their use of Kapampangan which produces a distinct variety, TVK. In addition, the selected age group are statistically the more dominant age group in terms of total population. According to the 2000 Census, the age group 0 to 14 years makes up 35.47% of the total population, while the age group 15 to 64 makes up 60.13% of the total population, and the oldest group (65 years and over) accounted for 4.40% of the total population. In addition, Tarlac had a median age of 22 years. This means that in 2000, half of the population was below 22 years old. The present study also concentrates of the provincial capital, Tarlac City, which is known to be a cultural and linguistic melting pot. According to the 2000 Census, Tarlac City is the biggest in terms of population, registering a population of 262,481 persons or 27.75% of the total provincial population. It was followed by the Kapampangan-speaking towns of Concepcion (12.18%) and Capas (10.07%), while the other municipalities had less than 10% share each.

The primary sources of data of this study is a questionnaire regarding the profile of the respondents as well as a semi-structured informal interview in Kapampangan regarding the linguistic background or the language acquisition history of the participants and another regarding the topic *Ing Bie Pamilya Da Reng Kapampangan* (Kapampangan Family Life).

Off-hand observations by various scholars noting the distinct features of the variety of Kapampangan in Tarlac City as compared to the Kapampangan used in the province of Pampanga are supported by the initial data for this on-going study. Initial data strongly suggest that the Tarlac Variety of Kapampangan use loan words from Filipino through the following morphological processes: affixation, analogy and borrowing.



**Figure 1**  
**List of TVK vocabulary taken from initial data**

<b>Tarlac Variety Kapampangan</b>	<b>Pampanga Kapampangan</b>	<b>Filipino</b>
‘tsaka	ampong	at saka
imosyon	panamdaman	emosyon/damdamin
bibitbitan	dadalan/bubuat/pupusan	dinadala/binibitbit
Diyos	Apung Ginu	Diyos
dose	labing adwa	labing dalawa
edukasyon	pamag-aral	edukasyon/pag-aaral
gagayanan	pakiyapusan	ginagaya
kapag	patse/patche	kapag
kegisnan	keragulan	kinagisnan/kinalakihan
kung	nung	kung
likod	gulut	likod
magaling	biyasa	magling
meriyenda	mirindal	merienda
mamaliitan	paglati	minamaliit
magmano	sisiklod	nagmamano
nanay	ima	nanay
mipanganak	mibait	napanganak
pagitan	pilatan	pagitan
pagkaka-aliwa	mialiwa/pamiyaliwa	pagkaka-iba
pagkakabuklod	pisasangmetung	pagkaka-isa
pagkamate	pangamate	pagkamatay
lagi	pane	palagi
pinaka	peka	pinaka
pahalagahan	paulagan	pinapahalagahan
pwede	malyari	puede
sabe-sabe (the term <i>sabe-sabe</i> in Kapampangan means <i>tapun-tapon</i> )	agnan-agnan	sabay-sabay
sobra/masyado	tiktak	sobra/masyado
tapos	kaibat	tapos
atlung beses	makatatlu	tatlong beses
trenta	atlumpulu	tatlumpu
ulam (the term <i>ulam</i> is used in place of <i>asan</i> because <i>asan</i> also means <i>isda</i> )	asan	ulam
lenggwahe	amanu/salita	wika

**Figure 1** is a partial listing of TVK vocabulary words taken from the initial data gathered for this study. The TVK vocabulary is shown side by side with Filipino and Kapampangan equivalents.

In morphology or the study of word structures, several processes may be employed in the formation of new word in a certain language. Affixation, one of the many processes of word formation, is the addition of an affix, whether a prefix, an infix or a suffix. For example, the Filipino word *nagmamano* becomes *magmano* in TVK. In Filipino the prefixes *nag-* and the repeated first syllable *ma* is added to the root word *mano* to indicate the present tense, whereas in TVK the prefix *mag-* which indicates the present tense in Kapampangan is added. However, the standard Kapampangan term is *sisiklod*. The similar process is used for the word *maliit* to which the Kapampangan suffix *-an* is added together with the repetition of the first syllable *ma*, however, the TVK term is different from the standard Kapampangan term *paglati*. In the same manner, the Filipino prefix *pagkaka-* is added to the Kapampangan word *aliwa* to create the word *pagkaka-aliwa* to mean difference, while the standard Kapampangan term is *pamiyaliwa* or *mialiwa*.

Analogy in linguistics refers to the creation of a new lexicon as a result of the application of morphological rules to another set of word or word forms. For example, in standard Kapampangan morphology, the Filipino sound /ay/ becomes /e/ like *sabaw* becoming *sabo*. Hence, through analogy, the Tagalog word *sabay-sabay* becomes *sabe-sabe*, however, the standard Kapampangan term is *agnan-agnan*. It is interesting to note that the word *sabe-sabe* exists in standard Kapampangan, however it means *tapun-tapon*.

Borrowing is the adoption of individual words or even larger sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect. This linguistic feature occurs when a speaker of a language adopts lexicons from another language or dialect to supply what may be lacking in his or her language. In this case, however, borrowing is a result, not of the lack of vocabulary of the language, but of the influence of different languages, particularly Filipino, on the language users. Instances of borrowing taken from the initial data include the use of the term *likod* in TVK while the standard Kapampangan word is *gulut*; *Diyos* for *Aoung Ginu*; *pwede* for *malyari* etc.

The distinct features of TVK are not limited to lexical features. This on-going study will also explore semantic features of TVK. However, other linguistic features may also be studied in the future. For instance, off-hand observations note that there are significant variations in intonation among speakers of TVK and Kapampangan in Pampanga.

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***Language and Resistance: Testimonios for Critical Language Pedagogy and Literacy***

**Abstract**

The exploratory/theoretical essay discusses the potential of *testimonios* or testimonial narratives in critical language pedagogy and literacy, especially as or when practiced in Third World/Post-colonial countries such as the Philippines. The discussion foregrounds the possibility of using testimonial narratives to underscore the dialectical connection between, and conflation of, the individual and collective spheres, and relate the same to an authentic teaching-learning process schematized according to/around the languages of critique/opposition and possibility/hope that a critical, praxis-oriented pedagogy would advocate. It is assumed that the use of such non-canonical texts can be constitutive of more egalitarian teaching practices in language pedagogy, aimed not only at widening the range of representations but also at developing critical, resistant, and emancipatory attitudes among teachers and learners. As 'grassroots literature' (i.e., as a mode by which marginal sectors of society can give voice to their *otherity*), *testimonios* may well exemplify the 'authentic' texts propounded by Freire and other theoreticians of similar persuasion, which would enable teachers and students (as cultural workers and as transformative intellectuals) to 'read the word and the world' and render social change possible.

## **Introduction: Problematizing Language in/and Education**

Educational research, even in the field of language pedagogy, has of late concentrated on the re/introduction of strategies and approaches for improving “skill” and facilitating the teaching-learning process, while on the other hand, little research has been undertaken which calls critical attention to the kind of discourse that is cultivated by and within the *dispositif* that is the educational system. These codes are of course present in the dominant discourse of the academe, a system of linguistic exchanges which, to use the words of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, deploys a sort of “symbolic violence.” Bourdieu observes

Linguistic exchange—a relation of communication between a sender and a receiver based on enciphering and deciphering, and therefore on the implementation of a code or a generative competence—is also an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit. In other words, utterances are...signs of wealth...and signs of authority. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 502)

Along this line, Aranowitz and Giroux (1985) note that “class control is constituted through the subtle exercise of symbolic power waged by ruling classes in order to ‘impose a definition of the social world that is consistent with its interests’” (p. 80). The discussion of any educational content, methodology, theory, etc. should therefore acknowledge its links to the existing social order. In the Philippines, debates still center on what language (English, Filipino, or mother tongue) would be most effective in teaching Filipino students, and set aside are issues pertaining to the social hierarchies and power relations embedded in what is

taught to both teachers and students. This is not to say that we should not argue over the “most effective” medium of instruction, but the content of materials and the (mostly western) educational theories government leaders, policy makers, and down the line, teachers and students seek or are forced to adapt should likewise be probed.

The urgent task at hand pertains to surfacing or retrieving alternative cultural (including educational) practices to transgress the dominant systems of linguistic exchange, which as Bourdieu and other critical scholars have noted, cannot be dissociated from issues of power and domination. This paper is a preliminary articulation of the possible use of testimonial narratives or testimonios in critical language pedagogy and literacy. The essay is predicated on some of the notions proffered by liberation educator Paulo Freire, such as those concerning the use of authentic approaches that underscore and are critical of the power relations involving educators, students, and the society in which they live. The use of testimonial narratives in the language classroom, I submit, is one such approach aimed at developing a sense of criticality, as well as empowerment, among educators and learners, and eventually paves the path for social transformation. For one, reading according to Freire is and should not be treated as a mere academic skill to be mastered in school, but rather as a liberating, democratic/democratizing activity. He explains

I have always insisted that words used in organizing a literacy program come from what I call a “word universe” of people who are learning, expressing their actual language, their anxieties, their fears, demands and dreams. Words should be laden with the meaning of people’s experience and not of the teacher’s experience.

Surveying the word universe thus gives us the people’s reading of the word. We then



give words back to people inserted in what I call “codifications,” pictures representing real situations. (Freire and Macedo, 1987, pp. 35-36)

I will not touch on the “effectiveness” of testimonial narratives as authentic materials for teaching/learning language, if by effectiveness we mean the development of standardized educational competencies and the fulfillment of (often externally imposed) educational objectives. I do not intend to join the bandwagon of educators who invoke the use of “alternative” (sometimes called “authentic”) instructional/learning materials to ensure easier ways of acquiring proficiency, but fail to acknowledge the roles that ideology plays in what and how they teach. The “virtue” of impartiality still prevalent among educators and students, as stated by Jaramillo (2010), has been used to gloss over hegemonic relations and “bureaucratic authority” in the interest of the powers-that-be. What I would like to emphasize is the use of language and texts as a praxis-oriented strategy for a radical, resistant, and liberating pedagogy to counter hegemonic and homogeneous assumptions about society and history. Testimonial writings, given their demotic character (they are written by members of marginalized groups) fit this role, and in this regard, hew closely to the postmodern preoccupation with widening the range of texts that constitutes the politics of representation. Suffice it to say that such writings offer opportunities for writing tasks which are not only authentic, but egalitarian as well.

In books such as *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1974) and *The Politics of Education* (1985), liberation educator Paulo Freire relates how he successfully carried out the adult literacy campaign among the peasants of Brazil and other parts of Latin America. Repudiating what he labeled as the old-school, “banking method” of teaching-learning and

rejecting literacy materials that used “a purely mechanical repetition of syllables” (Freire, 1985, p. 21), Freire used reading texts relevant to the milieu and the concerns of the peasants themselves; in most cases, the texts were generated by them. Freire (1985) underscored not only the need to develop the skills of the learners, but also the importance of helping them develop critical awareness: “A word, an affirmation followed up the text that’s being analyzed, can spark a viable discussion around the core issues of the *asentamiento*: adjusting to new conditions, health problems, and the need to develop effective methods of responding to new challenges” (p. 23). As public intellectuals (to use Giroux’ term), teachers should take cognizance of the reality confronted by them and by their learners every day, making sure that the materials used are effective enough to stimulate critical consciousness. Given that testimonial writings are anchored in the environment and experiences of the very learners, they hew closely, I submit, to the Freirean framework. The use of testimonial writings constitutes a pedagogical project aimed not only at reducing anxiety between teacher and learners, and among learners themselves; more importantly, they are aimed at empowering and humanizing mentors and learners.

Again, it is instructive to point out that the generation of texts by the learners themselves—the peasants in the case of Freire’s literacy project—is essential to critical pedagogy. Freire uses the term “codification” to refer to that pedagogical aspect which enables peasants to represent their “concrete reality” through the texts they produce (Freire, 1985, p. 24). Freire shares the following insights:

For all of us who have participated in projects like this, experience has shown the significance and the richness of illiterates’ language in analyzing their reality as depicted in the codification. From whatever angle we address it—be it form or

content—this significance and richness involve a linguistic analysis that in turn includes ideology and politics.

This material offers educators a number of possibilities that shouldn't be overlooked. Suggestions we'll make about such possibilities will doubtlessly challenge educators to offer others. (Freire, 1985, p. 25)

Through the process of codification-decodification that involves the egalitarian praxis of giving students opportunities to relate their learning to concrete situations, an educator get to be more conscious of the reality faced by the learners, their lived experiences including their everyday struggles as a result of social marginality. Freire cites the following example:

The word *struggle*...aroused lively among various groups at different *asantamientos*. Peasants talked about what acquiring a deeper knowledge meant for them, specifically, the struggle to obtain the right to the land. In these discussions they related a little of their history not found in conventional textbooks. To dramatize these facts not only stimulates peasants' self-expression but also develops their critical consciousness. (Freire, 1985, p. 26)

### **Postmodernity and Alternative Texts**

Postmodern conditions have engendered the widening of the range of texts that constitutes the politics of representation. Critical scholars see this as a welcome, if problematizable, development to challenge the hegemonic book culture in the academic mainstream. Facets of what is called popular culture (e.g., music and film) may be read

either as reproductions, reconfigurations, or transgressions of existing power structures and relations. According to Giroux (2004), culture now has an important part in creating and appropriating stories, images and tropes in how people treat themselves and their connection to others.

Even non-textual strategies can be used in critical pedagogy. Employing some of the devices of poststructural theory, Morgan (2004) suggests for example that teacher identity (very often ignored in teacher-training programs and actual school situations) be employed as a possible strategy in language pedagogy and recommends that “we investigate local forms of language learning ‘subjugated’ by the rules governing theory formation” (p. 4). Teacher identity becomes a site for micro-interactions that make possible either the reproduction of or the resistance to dominant power relations and institutions. This further accentuates the idea that there is no room for neutrality in schooling:

...no ways to insulate oneself from the social consequences of one’s activities ....To apply...(educational) technologies or instruments uncritically or without regard to the prior learning experiences of a particular group of students is to hasten the likelihood of academic underachievement and social marginalization for minority students.  
(Morgan, 2004, p. 5)

Given importance is the proper positioning of language not as an end in itself but as an all-important individual and social practice to develop human capacity and creativity (Morgan, 2004). The traditional “banking method” of education, which transmits knowledge and elides its problematic, political implications, is blasted further as discussions about language are supposed to be sifted through by means of ongoing dialogue between students

and their teacher, between/among students, and between/among educators themselves.

Fossilized theories are supplanted by more flexible ideas based on stories and “concrete professional experience” (Morgan, 2004, p. 6). Conventional language education approaches that privilege structure give way to alternative tactics and strategies that pay more attention to the constitution or mediation of meanings through discourse. Through the latter, learners become more comfortable, and individual voices and differences are accorded their proper place in schooling.

### **What are Testimonios/Testimonial Writings?**

Stories are integral to human existence. All people have the intrinsic need and ability to share narratives because through this, new connections that link people together are re/created. Stories have social and evaluative functions, and even children use narratives to shape or reshape their lives. According to Whitehead (1996), recording one’s existence and making “some mark” lies at the “heart of our personal memories and daydreams” (p. 33).

Whitehead (1996) explains

Narrative is not just random “telling,” it is concerned with time; it sequences events in time order to tell about them. In this respect it appears to be closely linked with the organization and functioning of memory...(p. 29)

But the narrative is no simple listing of events transpiring one after the other:

(We) require something meaty in our narratives. The meat we look for is some hint of the narrator’s attitudes, judgments and values, even if we strongly with them.

Narrative is concerned with values and choices and most typically speculates on the human condition. (p. 29)

Others have focused attention on the transgressive potential of the narrative—that is, its being a mechanism to cope with the inherent constraints of modernity. Narration deploys linguistic devices to enable its re/producers to weave their way out of the “jungle of functionalist reality” (De Certeau, 1988 as cited in Barrett, 1996, p. 3 ). Narration concerns itself with self-representation and the use of tactics undermining institutionalized discourses and practices: “Alternatively, (narrations) constitute a secondary order of discourse that perpetually destabilizes established programs of action” (p. 3). In the hands of the marginalized, story-telling opens interstitial zones of resistance and alternative possibilities. In the narrative, memory insinuates itself into discourse that contains fragmentary, if “illegitimate” knowledges: “In both reading and writing the intervention of memory permits words to operate as outlets and productions of silent histories” (p. 4).

Testimonial narratives prefigure such silent histories and foreground otherwise ignored stories and collective memories. They likewise conflate the personal/private and political/public spheres. But what are testimonios or testimonial narratives?

Testimonios are narratives in the form of oral stories, diaries, letters, memoirs, and eyewitness accounts (De Guzman, 2008). They first gained recognition in Latin America about 40 -50 years ago as a pedagogical tool of resistance in the midst of significant social upheavals on the continent (e.g., the Cuban Revolution, the establishment and dismantling of military dictatorships, the election of left-wing national leaders, let alone the constant destabilization of progressive governments by western corporate and imperialist interests).

Among the paradigmatic examples of testimonial literature are those of Domitila Barrios de Chungara (published in 1977), Rigoberta Menchu (published in 1983), and Elvia Alvarado (1987). Some scholars like Hutchinson (2010) and Beverly (2004), however, argue that testimonios should not be seen in the context of traditional literature given their protean character. A testimonio, for instance, may be as long as a book (such as Rigoberta Menchu's account which has served as a sort of paradigm for the genre) or as short as a letter with just a few sentences or lines (such as the letters of migrant women workers analyzed by De Guzman). While they share some characteristics, the testimonio is different from the autobiography in terms of authorship and content. The autobiography is written by an individual who usually relates personal accomplishments, including having written his/her own story; it recalls the emphasis of the liberal humanist discourse on the enlightened, successful individual. In contrast, the testimonio is written by a person or a group of persons from a marginalized sector of society such as women, workers, peasants, the homeless. In other words, what inheres in the testimonio is a sense of collectivity, of connectivity, as explained by Sangari (-- as cited in Hall, 2004):

Collectivity is infused at the level of the subject itself, in the "I" just as it is infused in the single sentence. Individuality is a truly connective definition—that which connects the subject to a collectivity—so that it is the richness of contextualization that sets off the notation of personal particularity and differentiates the individual rather than the social collectivity itself as being itself, as being subject to the unique perception of the bourgeois individual.<sup>i</sup>

It is this communal characteristic of testimonial writings—its being a product of “collective history” (Ngugi as cited in Mills, 1993)—that has often been criticized by scholars on the basis of truth value. American David Stoll, for instance, has questioned the truthfulness of Rigoberta Menchu’s first-person account of her people’s coercion and exploitation in the hands of the Guatemalan military. While there may be no question about the excesses perpetrated by the military against the indigenous groups of Guatemala, Stoll argues that some of the details in Rigoberta’s story are embellished versions of what actually transpired. It is suspected that the “embellishments” may have some connection to Rigoberta’s having as co-author Elisabeth Debray, wife of Marxist writer Regis Debray. (Regis was with Che Guevara in the Andean Mountains during the latter’s Bolivian campaign.) Rigoberta points out, however, that testimonial writings are not supposed to be treated according to how faithful they are to actual situations and events; such writings should be seen as constitutive of a transformative project to free the marginalized from conditions of injustice and exploitation. In testimonial accounts, collective experiences are grafted onto personal stories, illustrating that basic tenet in critical studies about the private being public and political. Beverly (2004) also defends Menchu and other testimonialistas (writers of testimonios), stating that attacks against testimonial narratives according to the strictures of “historical writing” reflect a certain class anxiety—that is, an anxiety out of a desire to confine the subaltern or the marginalized to a western/bourgeois discourse.

### **Testimonial Narratives as Critical Literature or Mode of Consciousness**

The testimonio rubs against the grain of traditional literature and provides an opportunity for the subaltern/the marginalized to narrate their experiences of subjugation and



oppression, for which reason the testimonio has been described as an egalitarian version of the epic (Beverly, 2003). According to de Guzman, testimonios form part of emergent literature—that is, the kind of literature that is “non-traditional” and “uses the language of the common people, interrogates the feudal and patriarchal system of society, and takes as its form various modes such as radio, TV, and community theater” (de Guzman, 2008, p. 605). In Foucaultian terms, they also exemplify “subjugated knowledges” which may be retrieved in order to challenge and critique the axiomatics of mainstream culture.

Testimonial writings likewise deconstruct the sanctified position of traditional history/historiography in modernist discourse, since they foreground not the big events but “little stories” that challenge hegemonic stories which are embedded in most historical accounts. The *voice* in a testimonio is not personal or individual, but always invokes a sense of collectivity or community in which that voice is enmeshed. For these reasons, Hutchinson (2010) suggests that the testimonio be treated not as a literary “creation,” nor as a historical record, but as a “mode of consciousness” or a cultural form within the context of oppositional responses to experiences of marginality or *otherity*, in which case the categories of traditional literature and historiography do not apply. I hasten to add that the testimonio, as intimated earlier, should be considered as a praxis-oriented mode of consciousness from generally ignored and peripheralized groups. The addition of praxis in the treatment of testimonial writings underscores the use of such writings in helping bring about radical social change.

In this regard, testimonial writings may be called “counternarratives.” Counternarratives, according to Giroux (et al., 1994) are stories that constitute a mode of challenging and interrogating “official” and “hegemonic” stories aimed at controlling public

consciousness by promoting and manipulating “a set of common cultural ideas,” and strip culture (including of course our pedagogical practices and institutions) of their political character. These counternarratives are “little stories” produced or reproduced by individuals or groups whose situations and knowledges are marginalized or subjugated since they supposedly do not conform to mainstream standards. The introduction of testimonial writings in critical pedagogy and literacy projects is a way to read, listen to, and problematize these little stories.

### **Testimonios in the Philippines**

In the Philippines, there is a growing interest in testimonial writings as a response to from within the academe itself for the “retrieval of alternative cultural practices” to challenge dominant discourses (Legasto, 1993, p. 7) especially with recent developments in critical/cultural studies, brought about by Marxist, poststructural, and postcolonial theories. It would be instructive, I submit, to discuss at this juncture some local examples of research on testimonial writings.

One of the earliest studies was that of Arinto (1995) who used as primary materials the testimonial writings (published and unpublished) of women in the Philippine National Democratic Movement, a broad alliance of left-wing, progressive organizations in the country. Arinto states, “Central to this counterhegemonic project (revolutionary literature) is the foregrounding of a revolutionary subject who recognizes the historical specificity of her struggle for liberation.... The struggle is not private and individual but collective” (p. --). She likewise notes that notwithstanding a radical agenda indissociable from the programmatic, if doctrinal, line of the organized left, the testimonial writings of women have

complex levels of discourse. It can be gleaned from their writings, for example, that the women warriors of the NPA, are fissured by contradicting desires to carry on the struggle on the one hand, and to re-join their families on the other. Arinto's analysis was groundbreaking in that it re-signified and appropriated the Latin American practice of writing testimonios; for one, her testimonial narratives are not as lengthy as those in Latin America, but as short as letters and vignettes.

Odine de Guzman (2008) also analyzed the testimonial writings of women. However, not like the politically charged women of Arinto's study, the testimonialistas in de Guzman are women domestic helpers. De Guzman's discussion problematizes the epithet "bagong bayani," which has been created by the state to console Filipino migrant workers while continually promoting migration to prop up the national economy. The essay argues that "through letter writing women domestic helpers present a counterrepresentation of themselves in relation to dominant perceptions and representations of overseas domestic workers, and in the process, present an alternative view—a history from below—of overseas labor migration and the OFW phenomenon" (p. 600). The writings, for example, contradict the stereotype of domestic helpers of "being weak and ignorant" (p. 601). The letters show not only patience in the face of abuse and exploitation (courtesy of the employers), but also courage forged in the discourse of solidarity. Testimonial writings proffer an opportunity for these marginalized women "to speak for themselves, to represent themselves, and to address the public in what is usually a state and economy dominated discourse" (p. 616).

Elsewhere, I have also studied the testimonial writings of workers, and of the families and friends of the disappeared (*desaparecidos*) (Moratilla, 2010; Moratilla, 2011). In the two papers, I appropriated from critical pedagogy some key notions about radicalization and

resistance, particularly Henry Giroux' idea of resistance as one that fuses the languages of critique and possibility. It is a kind of critical discourse that does not only recognize how dominant power structures and relations occlude and ignore *other* voices; it also acknowledges the exigency of a kind of programmatic, if utopic, language to build and forge alternative visions for a better society.

### **Testimonios for Language Pedagogy**

I do not think that I can sketch out in great detail how testimonial narratives may be used in the language classroom, and proffer any clear-cut, step-by-step strategy in using such texts, as we would often see in positivist research. Through collaboration and creativity, educators and learners are, of course, capable enough of conceiving, formulating, and executing plans for the use of such materials. From the outset, my concern has been the theoretical underpinnings for the possible use of testimonial writings in critical pedagogy and literacy, given their grass-roots and critical orientation, in empowering both teachers and learners especially those that belong to otherwise unrepresented/unrepresentable/disenfranchised groups. While issues of power, exploitation, and subjugation still strike a collective nerve as it were, and undermine claims of progress and happiness, it would be too hasty to characterize the school, among other institutions, as a mere reflex of the labor market. Much of the educational system, including of course the kind of discourse that it promotes, needs a radical reappraisal. Such a reappraisal, however, should be complemented by the introduction of praxis-oriented strategies that open up interstitial spaces for negotiating, interrogating, and countering prevailing beliefs and

assumptions. In this regard, what follow are related essays that have used, and called for the use of testimonial writings in contextualizing and enriching pedagogical practices.

In “Testimonios de Inmigrantes: Students Educating Future Teachers,” M. Saray Gonzalez, et al. (2003) explain how testimonial writings were utilized by the undocumented/illegal immigrant children in the United States to call public attention to their plight. What could be gleaned in the narratives is a sort of double othering—first, because they are undocumented (that is, they do not have the proper documents to live in the US), and second, because they are children. Most of the time it is the children—and not the parents—who confront discrimination head-on, not only because of their race, but also because of their gender and class. It was observed that when given the opportunity in school, immigrant children would muster enough courage and confidence to write about their experiences, especially the travails that entail being in a new country. One writer, for instance, revealed how she was not able to attend college for quite a time as a result of being undocumented. Another related how she and an older brother were had to be hidden inside a coffin so that their parents could cross the border without any trouble. Another student narrated how she had a tough time learning English and getting placed in a regular class. The article concludes, “(Testimonios), especially by students, may be quite effective in teaching future teachers of the realities of immigrant children....Their words bear witness to that struggle survival and to educational success, not necessarily because of the system, but despite the system....We can no longer ignore or erase these experiences, and of countless others like them” (p. 8).

Testimonios as a pedagogical tool do not only suit the students, as even the teachers themselves can use such writings to radicalize not only their own social awareness but also

that of their learners. In “Toward a Pedagogical Praxis that Radicalizes Social Awareness,” Jack Hill (2009) argues that the educators’ own experiences of subalternity and marginalization may be utilized to construct alternative pedagogies that address oppression. In other words, teachers’ identities could serve as bases for pedagogical narratives to counter dominant discourse formations and reinforce possibilities for authentic social change. The narrative as a pedagogical move, whether oral or written, “(represents) opportunities revolutionary breakthroughs regarding understandings of oppression in everyday life, its historical manifestations, and its institutional, systemic nature today” (p. 19).

## **Conclusion**

In *Politics of Education* (1985), Paulo Freire cites an interesting anecdote about a bourgeois intellectual who tried to participate in the activities of a group of peasants. He went there every day, wanting to assume the role of a kind of adviser. After a couple of days, a peasant pointed out to him, “Look comrade, we don’t need you to teach us how to cut down a tree because we already know that. What we need to know is whether you will be with us when the tree falls.” This simple story amplifies the idea of what education should be—one that is not confined to materials that are discussed in class, but seldom problematized.

By way of conclusion, we need to be reminded that pedagogy is not simply about schools, or about developing academic skills to enable today’s learners become “productive citizens of society in the future,” as educators of liberal-humanist persuasion would have it. As a political practice, pedagogy should be seen in light of its inextricable connection to the perpetuation and (re)production of power and subjugation, and, in this regard, it should be fashioned or refashioned into a tool for empowerment rather than for domination, while

taking stock of different subject positionalities. Utilizing testimonios or testimonial narratives may be one way to help both educators and learners to achieve such goals. As instructional/learning materials in critical pedagogy and literacy projects, testimonios would further politicize the language classroom, highlighting further the power-knowledge nexus, the social and discursive formations that suffuse any academic institution. Testimonios serve as a strategy of resistance especially in the hands of marginalized groups and individuals, or as counternarratives exposing and critiquing the inherent complications and contradictions of the existing social order, while providing a sense of hope in the midst of suffering. It is my hope to undertake in the days ahead the utilization of such narratives in an actual literacy project.

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**TRANSPORMATIBONG EDUKASYON SA PAGTUTURO NG  
MAKA-FILIPINONG PANANALIKSIK:  
TUNGO SA PAGPAPALAKAS NG INSTRUKSYON AT PROGRAMANG EKSTENSYON SA  
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**Abstrak:**

*Nakatuon ang pananaliksik na ito sa mga pamamaraan ng integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon (TE) sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik na maka-Filipino. Ang konsepto ng transpormatibong edukasyon ay iniugat mula sa kritikal na pedagohiya ni Paulo Freire, isang Marxistang edukador, hanggang sa pagpapaunlad ng transpormasyunal na pagkatuto ng indibidwal ni Jack Mezirow. Naglalayon ang mga kaisipang ito na hubugin ang indibidwal na pagkatao ng mga mag-aaral at kalaunan ay mag-ambag sa pagbabagong panlipunan. Ilalarawan nito ang karanasan ng mga guro sa Filipino ng Saint Louis University, Lungsod Baguio na nagdiwang ng ika-isandaang taong pagkakatatag bilang isang transpormatibong institusyon. Sa pamamagitan ng talatanungan at pakikipanayam ay siniyasat ang antas ng integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa pamamaraan at nilalaman ng pagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino. Bahagi rin nito ang pagsusuri sa mga praktika ng integrasyon, mga suliraning kinaharap ng mga guro at pagbuo ng modelong instruksyon na magpapalakas sa programang ekstensyon ng mga unibersidad.*

**Mga Susing Termino:** *transpormatibong edukasyon, maka-Filipinong pananaliksik, instruksyon, programang ekstensyon*

**KALIGIRAN NG PAKSA AT PAGLALAHAD NG LAYUNIN**

Ang dalawang dakilang mithiin ng edukasyon ay ang patuloy na pagpapabuti sa indibidwal na pagkatao at ang pagbabago ng tao sa kanyang lipunan matapos paunlarin ang kanyang sarili. Diyalektikal o nagtatalaban ang dalawang ito at hindi maaaring mapaghiwalay. Nagiging mabuti ang kalagayan ng tao dahil sa kabutihan at kaunlarang tinatamasa niya mula sa lipunan habang nakikinabang naman ang lipunan mula sa mga produktibong taong nag-aambag sa kanyang pag-unlad. Transpormasyon ng indibidwal at lipunan ang batayang salalayan ng transpormatibong edukasyon.

Ang ugnayang ito ay matalas na ipinaliwanag ng mga kaisipang nakahanay sa teoryang Marxismo. Ang pagsasagawa ng pilosopiya ayon kay Marx ay nangangahulugang pagbabago ng daigdig. Krusyal sa proseso ng radikal na pagpapalaya sa lipunang mapagsamantala ang pagpapalaya sa kamalayan ng tao sa pamamagitan ng edukasyon. Sa kaisipang ito, na siya ring sinusugan ng mga sumunod pang kaisipan hinggil sa ugnayan ng lipunan at edukasyon, mahalaga ang demokratiko at bukas na pagpapalitan ng ideya mula sa guro at mag-aaral. Mahalaga ang terminong *critical consciousness* o mapanuring kamalayan sa mga Marxista at binibigyang-diin na ang kamalayang ito ay kailangang tumungo sa mapanuri at konkretong pagkilos. Ito ang esensya ng *praxis* (teorya at praktika) kung saan hindi maaaring ihiwalay ang anumang konsepto at kaalaman sa praktikal na aplikasyon o materyal na batayan nito. Upang masubukan ang kawastuan ng isang teorya at sa gayon ay mapaunlad ito, kailangang isapraktika ito at kung anuman ang isinapraktika ay kailangang muling palalimin at paunlarin sa pamamagitan ng muling pagteteorya. Diyalektikal o nagtatalaban ang teorya at praktika (Marx, 1845, sa pagbanggit ni Centeno, 2010).

Mula sa kaisipang nabanggit ay inilulugar ang positibong dulot ng edukasyon sa pagbabago ng obhetibong realidad. Anumang teorya o kaisipang natututuhan sa loob ng isang akademikong institusyon ay kailangang ilapat sa konkretong kalagayan sa pamamagitan ng pagdalumat o pag-aaral sa realidad. Gayunman, anumang realidad na nakikita sa lipunan ay kailangang malalimang pag-aralan at suriin sa loob ng akademya. Ang pagtatalaban ng lipunan at edukasyon ay mahalagang usapin sa teoryang Marxismo at mahusay na teoretikal na gabay sa kabuuang pag-aaral ng integrasyon ng panlipunang kamalayan sa pagtuturo.

Tumutukoy ang kritikal na pedagohiya ni Freire (1970) sa mahigpit na relasyon ng pagtuturo at pagkatuto. Mahahalaga ang mga kategoryang *unlearning*, *learning* at *relearning* gayundin ang *reflection* at *evaluation* upang ipakita ang malalim na pagtatasa ng mga guro at mag-aaral sa kalagayan ng edukasyon, talikdan ang mga kaisipang sumupil sa kalayaang mag-isip at muling aralin o palitan ang mga kaalamang ito. Ang kritikal na pedagohiya ay isang pagdulog o pamamaraang pagtuturo na nagtatangkang itaas ang kamalayan ng mga mag-aaral upang patuloy na magtanong, maging mapanuri at hamunin ang gahum o dominanteng ideolohiya tungo sa pagbabagong panlipunan. Sa madaling sabi, layunin ng kritikal na pamamaraan sa pagtuturo na maabot ng mga mag-aaral ang kritikal na kamalayan.

Nakalinya sa ganitong kaisipan ang iba't ibang transformatibong modelo ng edukasyon. Ilang mga global na kampanya ang naglalayong isakonteksto ang indibidwal na pagkatuto ng mga mag-aaral sa mas malaking istruktural na mga isyu. Isang halimbawa nito ang Declaration and Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy na nagmula sa pangunguna ng United Nations sa pamamagitan ng United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sa isinagawang internasyonal na kumperensya sa edukasyon noong 1995. Ang naturang deklarasyon at balangkas ng pagkilos ay nilikha sapagkat nakita ang malaking pangangailangang solusyunan ang mga usaping sagabal sa kapayapaan at pag-unlad tulad ng pang-aaglahi (racism), karahasan, agresibong nasyonalismo, kawalan ng paggalang sa iba't ibang relihiyon at laganap na paglabag sa karapatang pantao. Laganap ang mga suliraning nabanggit sa mga lipunan sa buong mundo kung kaya nakita ng UNESCO ang pangangailangang ilunsad ang isang kampanya na magsisilbing salalayan ng edukasyon ng mga bansang bahagi ng United Nations. Itinatakda ng deklarasyong ito ang panlipunang oryentasyon sa edukasyon at bilang pangunahing layunin, ang pinakadakilang misyon ng mataas na edukasyon o antas tersyarya ay upang ipalaganap ang isang edukasyong komprehensibong magpapaunlad sa kultural, politikal at ekonomikong aspekto ng lipunan. Tinitingnan ang edukasyon bilang tagapagpalaganap ng karapatang pantao, matatag na pag-unlad, demokrasya, kapayapaan at hustisya sa lipunan (Ardizzone, 2002).

Ang Pamantasang San Luis, bilang isang misyonerong paaralan at transformatibong institusyon ay tumatalima sa mga deklarasyon ng UNESCO sa pamamagitan ng Commission on Higher Education (CHED). Ang kabuuang balangkas ng estratehikal na plano ng unibersidad ay nakasuhay sa mga programa ng Education For All (EFA) na itinatadhana ng UNESCO. Itinatakda sa EFA ang teoretikal na batayan ng ugnayan ng tatlong mahahalagang gampanin (trifocal function) ng mga unibersidad, ang instruksyon, pananaliksik at ekstensyon. Nangangahulugan itong kailangan ay unti-unting mahubog ang mga gurong mahusay sa pagtuturo, pananaliksik at gawain sa komunidad upang matupad ang mga layuning itinatakda ng EFA (Sanyal, 2005). Ang kabuuang balangkas na ito ang salalayan ng programa ng Commission on Higher Education (CHED) tulad ng National Higher Education Research Agenda II na magtatasa sa inabot na pag-unlad ng pananaliksik kaugnay ng ekstensyon at instruksyon mula sa taong 2009 hanggang 2018.

Masasalamain sa apat na pagpapahalagang binibigyang-diin sa misyon at bisyon ng pamantasang San Luis ang mga simulating nabanggit. Ang apat na pagpapahalagang ito ay ang mga sumusunod: kahusayan (competency), pagiging malikhain (creativity), pagkakaroon ng diwang Kristiyano (Christian Spirit) at panlipunang pakikisangkot (social involvement). Kung bibigyang-pokus ang pinakahuli, nilalayan ng pamantasan na makapagluwal ng mga guro at mag-aaral na nakakikilala at nagmamalaki sa kanilang pinagmulan habang tumutugon sa mga edukasyonal at iba pang pangangailangan ng kanilang lokal, rehiyonal at pambansang komunidad.

Mula sa ganitong bisyon ng pamantasan ay inilangkap sa estratehikal na plano nito na palakasin ang tatlong mahahalagang aspekto at ito ay ang instruksyon, pananaliksik at mga programang ekstensyon.

Ang ikatlo ay nakatutok sa serbisyong maaaring maibigay ng pamantasan sa kalapit na mga komunidad na nangangailangan ng tulong. Maliwanag na may kinalaman ito sa kung paano ipauunawa sa mga mag-aaral na magsasagawa ng programang ekstensyon ang pangangailangang umugnay at tumulong sa lipunang kanilang ginagalawan. Ang mga programang ekstensyon ang nararapat na direktang aplikasyon ng natututuhan ng mga mag-aaral sa loob ng akademya.

Susukatin ang antas ng integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon partikular sa isa sa mga batayang asignatura sa Filipino, ang pananaliksik. Naniniwala ang mananaliksik na ang Filipino bilang asignatura ay mahusay na lunsaran ng ganitong pagpapahalaga sapagkat nagbibigay-diin ito sa panlipunang identidad, kultura at pagmamahal sa bayan. Layunin ng asignaturang Filipino 2 na mahasa ang mga mag-aaral sa gawaing pananaliksik na isa sa pinakamabisang instrumento upang maipakita sa mga mag-aaral na posible ang anumang makabuluhang pagbabago.

Makabubuting sipiin ang binanggit ni Alonzo (2003) hinggil sa pangangailangang baguhin na ang lumang pamamaraan sa pagtuturo ng Filipino. Ayon sa kanya, “Noong nakaraan, ang pagtuturo ng wika ay kinapapalooban ng pagmememorya ng bokabularyo, pag-aaral ng gramatika, paggawa ng mga pagsasanay upang matutunan ng estudyante ang mga tuntunin ng wika at magsanay hanggang sa maging awtomatiko ito. Sa ngayon, maaaring banggitin ang sinabi ni Otto Jepperson: Hindi ang paglimot sa makalumang metodo ang higit na mahalaga kundi ang positibong pahiwatig ng mga bagong pamamaraan na ating magagamit. Sa ganito magiging kapana-panabik ang pagtuturo ng Filipino at magiging aktibong kabahagi ng ating kababayan at bansa.” Malaki na ang pangangailangang iagapay sa mabilis na pagbabago ng panahon ang paraan ng pagtuturo sa Filipino at gayundin, kailangang bilang mga bahagi ng sistema ng edukasyon ay iangkla ang tunguhin ng edukasyon sa pangangailangan ng kapwa at pagiging bahagi ng isang mas malawak na lipunan.

Krusyal ang pangangailangang makapaghubog ng mga mag-aaral na may pakialam sa pagbabago ng kanilang lipunang ginagalawan at maisasagawa ito kung wasto ang oryentasyon at iba’t ibang pamamaraan sa pagtuturo ng mga guro. Gayundin, ang modelong mabubuo mula sa pag-aaral ay makatutulong sa mga administrador ng paaralan upang palakasin ang instruksyon kasabay ng pagpapatatag sa programang ekstensyon ng Kagawaran ng Filipino na mag-aambag sa buong unibersidad.

Ang mga nabanggit na magkakaugnay na adhikaing pilosopikal at institusyonal ang batayan sa layunin ng pag-aaral na alamin ang antas ng integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik. Sa panimula ay pagtatasa ito sa praktika ng mga guro sa integrasyon at pag-alam sa mga suliraning kinahaharap nila. Pagkatapos ng pagtatasa ay magsisilbing eksplorasyon ang pag-aaral sa mga posibilidad ng pagbuo ng modelo ng mga pamamaraan sa pagtuturo kung saan mabisang ilalangkap ang mga simulain ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa instruksyon tungo sa makabuluhang paglahok at pagbuo ng mga mag-aaral sa programang ekstensyon ng pamantasan.

## **METODOLOHIYA**

Ang pag-aaral ay nasa disenyong deskriptib-kwantitatib. Kwantitatib sapagkat sinukat nito ang antas ng integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa pagtuturo ng asignaturang Filipino at deskriptibo sapagkat inilarawan ang mga antas na ito. Gayundin, inilarawan kung anu-ano ang mga suliraning kinakaharap ng mga guro sa integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa kanilang pagtuturo.

Ang mga tagatugon ng pananaliksik ay nagmula sa Kagawaran ng Filipino sa ilalim ng Paaralan ng Edukasyong Pangguro, Pamantasang San Luis na nagtuturo ng asignaturang Filipino 2 (Pagbasa at Pagsulat Tungo sa Pananaliksik) sa ikalawang semestre ng taong pampaaralan 2010-2011. Kinabibilangan ito ng 21 na guro, dalawang lalaki at labinsiyam na babae na bumubuo sa kabuuang bilang ng kaguruan ng Kagawaran ng Filipino. Nagpamahagi rin ng hiwalay na talatanungan para sa mga mag-aaral na kumuha ng Filipino 2 sa ikalawang semestre ng taong pampaaralan 2010-2011 upang alamin kung ano sa pananaw nila ang antas ng integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa proseso ng pagkatuto at pagtuturo ng Filipino 2.

Ang pananaw ng mga mag-aaral ay sinukat upang mapasubalian o mapatotohanan ang pananaw ng mga guro hinggil sa antas ng integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa Filipino 2. Ginamit din ang

datos na nakalap upang mapalalim ang pagsusuri sa karanasan ng mga guro at mag-aaral sa proseso ng pagtuturo sa loob ng klasrum kung isasaalang-alang ang transpormatibong edukasyon.

Ang talatanungan ay ginawa at idinisenyo ng mananaliksik batay sa kapakinabangan at pangangailangan ng pananaliksik na ito. Ipinadron ang mga tanong batay sa silabus ng kurso na nagmula sa kagawaran at pinaglimian ang mga nilalaman nito na may kinalaman sa panlipunang pagpapahalaga at pakikisangkot. Sinukat ang kawastuan at katumpakan ng talatanungan sa pamamagitan ng *reliability test* at *validity test*. Pagkatapos masagutan ang talatanungan ay nagsagawa ng mga hindi pormal na pakikipanayam ang mananaliksik sa ilang mga tagasagot na guro kaugnay ng kinalabasan ng pagsagot sa mga talatanungan. Ito ay upang matasa ng mananaliksik ang katumpakan ng kinalabasan ng pagsagot.

## **RESULTA AT DISKUSYON**

Nahahati sa tatlong bahagi ang pagtalakay sa bahaging ito. Una ay ang pagtatasa sa antas ng integrasyon ng TE sa pamamaraan at nilalaman sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino. Ikalawa ay ang mga suliraning kinakaharap ng mga guro sa paglalapat ng TE at sa pinakahuling bahagi ay ang nabuong modelo ng instruksyon mula sa pagsisiyasat ng dalawang naunang bahagi.

### ***Antas ng integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino***

Ang bahaging ito ng diskusyon ay nagpalalim sa mga pamamaraan ng pagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino. Nahahati ang pagtalakay sa tatlong grupo ng mga pamamaraan upang lubusang maisagawa ang integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa pagtuturo at pagsasagawa ng pananaliksik. Ang una ay mga pamamaraang nagpapalalim sa pag-unawa sa sarili kaugnay ng lipunan, ikalawa ang mga pamamaraan sa pananaliksik na nakabatay sa karanasan o eksperyensyal na pagdulog (*experiential approach*) at panlipunang oryentasyon at ikatlo ang mga pamamaraan sa pananaliksik na community-based. Nabuo ang mga kategoryang ito batay sa mga elementong nahalaw mula sa serye ng mga artikulong lumabas sa Transformative Education ni Tujan (2004), isang dyornal na inilabas ng IBON Foundation na nagtangkang sumahin at tasahin ang naging karanasan ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa kalagayan ng edukasyon sa Pilipinas. Sinuri lamang ang ilang elementong aangkop sa pangangailangan ng asignatura sa pananaliksik batay sa isinagawang rebyu ng silabus ng kurso.

Natuklasan sa tugon ng mga guro na bahagya lamang ang integrasyon sa gawaing pagtuturo ng mga pamamaraang nabanggit. Ang mga estratehiyang nagpapalalim sa pag-unawa sa sarili kaugnay ng lipunan ay kinapapalooban ng iba't ibang metodo ng personal na repleksyon tungo sa kolaboratibong pananaliksik. Ilan sa mga ito ang palagiang pagsasagawa ng palitang-kuro sa bawat bahagi ng pananaliksik, peer kritiking o pagsasalang ng pananaliksik sa mga lecture forum. Kasabay nito ay tuluy-tuloy ang indibidwal na repleksyon ng mga mag-aaral sa buong proseso ng pananaliksik. Nakatutulong din ang pagpapabasa ng mga halimbawang pananaliksik na pumapaksa sa iba't ibang isyung panlipunan. Bahagi rin nito ang paggabay ng guro sa sistematisadong pagtatanong (inquiry) ng mga mag-aaral upang makabuo ng makabuluhang konklusyon.

Eksperyensyal ang kalikasan ng pagsasagawa ng pananaliksik sa Filipino kung ipinadanas sa mga mag-aaral ang mismong pagbuo ng isang pananaliksik na siyang pangunahing layunin ng buong asignatura. Kalakasan ito ng namamayaning praktika sa pagtuturo ng mga guro sa Kagawaran ng Filipino sa Pamantasang San Luis. Itinatakda at idinedisenyo ng guro ang mga gawain para mga mag-aaral kung saan sa katapusan ng isang tiyak na yunit ay makapagpoprodyus sila ng isang output o pangkalahatang proyekto mula sa kanilang kolaborasyon. Manipestasyon nito ang pinakamatataas na integrasyon sa pamamaraan ng pagtuturo batay sa mga guro at mag-aaral. Litaw na litaw ang pagsasagawa ng isang pananaliksik na kolaboratibo, aktibong pakikiisa ng guro at regular na konsultasyon tungo sa pagtatagumpay ng pananaliksik ng mga mag-aaral.

Sinasabing 90% o mayorya ng pagkatuto ng mga mag-aaral ay nagmumula sa mga bagay na konkreto at tuwiran nilang isinasagawa o dinadanas ayon sa tatsulok na karanasan ni Dale (2003). Ilang

mga halimbawa ng ganitong gawain ang paggaya sa isang tiyak na karanasan o modelo o kaya ay pagdidisenyo ng proyekto o pagtatanghal na nakabatay sa itinuturo ng guro.

Mataas man ang antas ng integrasyon sa eksperyensyal na bahagi ng pagtuturo ng pananaliksik ay mababa ang nakuhang antas ng integrasyon sa pagsasagawa ng pananaliksik na may oryentasyong community-based. Bahagi ng talatanungan ang ilang tiyak na pamamaraan tulad ng paglulunsad ng anumang porma ng pagsisiyasat tulad ng pakikipanayam o sarbey sa konkretong dinadanas ng mga komunidad sa labas ng pamantasan. Kabilang din dito ang pamimili ng mga paksang may kinalaman sa kanilang karanasan at ang direktang pagtanggap nila sa magiging awtput ng pananaliksik.

Sa pagtatakda ng mga elemento ng transpormatibong edukasyon ni Tujan (2004) batay sa karanasan sa Pilipinas, tinukoy niya ang pag-abot o pakikisalamuha sa mga komunidad bilang napakahalagang bahagi ng transpormasyon sa paraan ng pagtuturo. Ayon sa kanya, mahalaga ang simbayotikong ugnayan sa pagitan ng mga paaralan at komunidad at ang patuloy na ugnayan ng dalawa ay magdudulot ng patuloy na pag-unlad at pagiging napapanahon at makabuluhan ng mga itinuturo sa loob ng paaralan habang nagkakaroon sila ng subok at mabilisang 'laboratoryo' sa pagkatuto ng mga mag-aaral. Sa kabilang banda, ang mga komunidad naman ay direktang makikinabang mula sa mga serbisyong ekstensyon ng paaralan at mapatataas ang kamalayan ng dalawang panig tungo sa inaasam na pangkalahatang transpormasyon.

Ang pananaliksik ay napakagandang lunsaran ng ganitong adhikain sa pagitan ng mga paaralan at komunidad. Magkakaroon ng proseso ng sistematisasyon ng karunungan mula mga hilaw na datos na nakukuha ng mga mag-aaral sa komunidad kung dadaan ito sa masusing pananaliksik. Ang tunay na kaganapan ay naisasaayos at nalalangkap ng mga naaangkop na pagsusuri at mula sa mga pagsusuring ito ay nakapagbibigay ng mahusay na paghuhusga at paglutas sa suliranin ang mga mag-aaral. Nagmumula sa masa o mga mamamayan sa komunidad ang hilaw na karanasan na siyang kinakalap ng mga mag-aaral at idinadaan sa masusing pagsusuri gamit ang mga siyentipikong metodo ng pananaliksik. Kapag tapos na organisado na ang kaalamang nakalap na nalapatan na ng pagsusuri, ito ang ibabalik sa masa ng mga mag-aaral kasamang bitbit ang mga aral at rekomendasyon ng pananaliksik kung paanong sosolusyonan ang iba't ibang suliranin at kalagayan. Tunay ngang magiging makapangyarihan at makabuluhan ang pananaliksik kung dadaan sa ganitong proseso.

### ***Mga suliraning kinakaharap ng mga guro sa integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino***

Mula sa pagbabahagi ng mga guro sa kanilang pagtuturo, natuklasang nahahati sa apat na kategorya ang mga suliraning dinadanas nila sa integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino. Ang apat na ito ay hinggil sa kakulangan ng mga pagsasanay, pasilidad at materyales ng pamantasan, iba't ibang institusyonal na polisiya at suliranin sa mismong kamalayan at pananaw ng mga guro sa transpormatibong edukasyon.

Mula sa pagtalakay ay nakitang pinakaseryoso ang dulot na sagabal ng mga polisiya ng institusyon sa integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik na sinusundan ng mga suliraning may kaugnayan sa pasilidad at materyales. Pinakahuli sa kalubhaan ang kamalayan at pananaw ng mga guro na na sinusundan naman ng mga pagsasanay.

Administratibo ang katangian ng mga suliranin at kung pakalilimiin ay wala sa kontrol ng mga guro ngunit ng mas mataas na institusyong nakasasakop sa kanila. Itinuturing na seryoso o malubha ang mga suliraning ito relatibo sa iba pa, dahil sa laki ng sagabal na idinudulot nito at ang kahirapang solusyonan ang mga sagabal na ito. Matagal nang namamayaning polisiya sa pamantasan ang mahigpit at burukratikong proseso hinggil sa paglabas, paglipat ng lugar ng klase at atendans ng mga guro kahit pa sa mga klaseng ang deskripsyon ay pananaliksik.

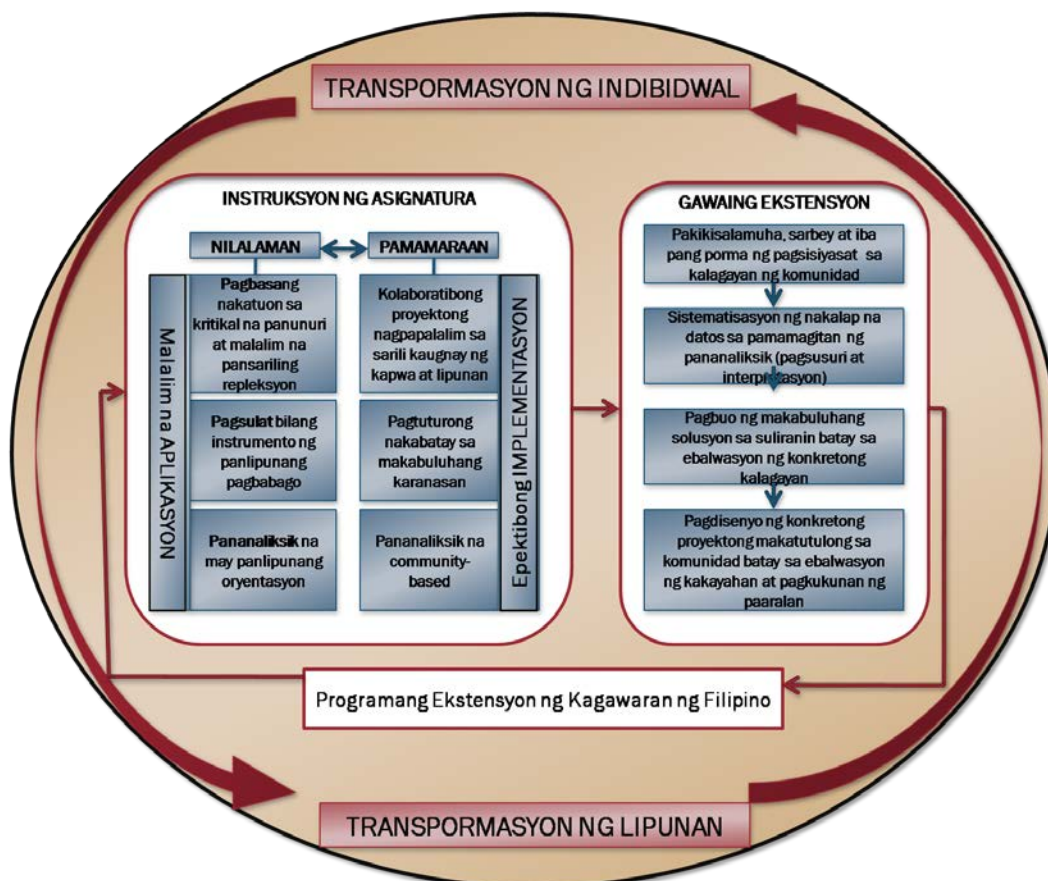
Litaw na litaw ang suliraning ito lalo sa mga klase sa pananaliksik na mas nangangailangan ng pagsasaliksik sa labas at hindi sa loob ng klasrum. Ang ganitong pananaw ay sinusuhayan din maging ng ilang gurong nasa administrasyon. Sa isang talakayan sa klaseng gradwado ni Dr. Jeffrey Centeno, Technical Assistant to the President ng SLU, tinukoy niya na isa ito sa kasalukuyang nirerepaso ng

administrasyon kung kaya nagkakaroon ng pagrerebyu sa lahat ng asignaturang may kalikasan ng pananaliksik upang mula sa ebalwasyong ito ay magkaroon ng mga nauukol na reporma sa paglulunsad ng mga klase sa pananaliksik.

Malaki ang implikasyon ng mga datos na ipinakita sa kabuuang adhikain ng Pamantasang San Luis na palaganapin ang transformatibong edukasyon. Sa kabuuan ay kakikitaan ng malinaw na kapasyahan ang mga gurong gamitin ang prinsipyo ng transformatibong edukasyon sa kanilang gawaing pampagtuturo ngunit ang balakid ay nagmumula sa mismong administrasyon ng pamantasan. Sa abot ng makakaya ng mga guro ay inilalangkap ang mga paniniwala ng transformatibong edukasyon ngunit nakikita sa mga datos na mismong administrasyon ang hindi konkretong nagsasagawa ng mga kinakailangang kondisyon upang maging transformatibo.

***Transformatibong modelong pampagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino: Tungo sa pagpapalakas ng programang ekstensyon sa pamantasan***

Mula sa kabuuang kinalabasan ng pagtalakay ng antas ng integrasyon ng transformatibong edukasyon sa nilalaman at mga suliraning kinakaharap ng mga guro sa integrasyon ng transformatibong edukasyon ay nakabuo ang mananaliksik ng isang modelong pampagtuturo na dudulo sa pagbubuo ng programang ekstensyon ng unibersidad.



Figyur 1. Transformatibong Modelong Pampagtuturo sa Filipino 2

Ipinaloob sa isang hugis na bilog ang kabuuang proseso ng pagkatuto at pagtuturo gamit ang transformatibong modelo sapagkat pinakadaynamiko ang hugis na bilog. Nangangahulugang kailangang maging bukas at aktibo ang kabuuang proseso upang tanggapin ang patuloy at mabilis na pagbabago ng lipunan at katangian ng edukasyon. Mapapansing balikan din ang relasyon ng transformasyon ng



indibidwal at lipunan sapagkat dayalektikal o nagtatalaban ang dalawang ito kagaya ng naunang pagpapaliwanag sa introduksyon ng pananaliksik.

Sa kabuuan ay nahahati sa instruksyon sa asignatura at ekstensyon ang kabuuang modelong pampagtuturo. Ito ay dahil sa naunang presuposisyon na kinakailangang maging mahigpit na magkaugnay ang dalawa upang palakasin ang isa't isa. Ang ideya ng ekstensyon ay kailangang nakapaloob sa instruksyon habang maaaring maging lunsaran ng instruksyon ang gawaing ekstensyon. Mapapansin ito sa magkakalapit na mga elementong makikita sa bawat bahagi nila. Ilang konsepto ang kailangan pang linawin kaugnay nito.

***Instruksyon ng asignatura.*** Nahahati sa dalawang malaking bahagi ang instruksyon, ang nilalaman at pamamaraan na batay rin sa dalawang malaking categoryang nabuo sa bahagi ng diskusyon. Sa kabuuan ay nakita ang mga tematikong pagdidiin sa bawat nilalaman tulad ng pagbasa, pagsulat at pananaliksik. Ito ang kabuuang tuon ng mga katanungan at gayundin ay lumabas sa pananaliksik na mataas ang integrasyon ng mga nilalamang ito. Sa kaliwang bahagi ay makikitang may pagbibigay-diin sa malalim na aplikasyon. Ito ay dahil sa ang kinalabasan sa bawat nilalaman, bagamat mataas pa rin ay relatibong mahina sa gawaing aplikasyon ng mga konsepto at mahahalagang araling itinuturo sa klasrum. Halimbawa, sa pagbasa, ipinakitang mataas ang integrasyon ng nilalaman kung saan napaaabot sa asimilasyon ang proseso na nangangahulugang naiuugnay ng isang mag-aaral ang binabasa sa kanyang mga karanasan at nagaganap sa lipunan. Gayunman, relatibong mababa naman ang antas sa mga nilalaman na kung saan ay nagpapabasa ng tiyak na babasahin na may kaugnayan sa realismong panlipunan ang mga guro. Mabuti sanang mapalalim sa pamamagitan nang mahusay na aplikasyon ang mga konseptong itinuturo sa pagtalakay kung kaya ito ang dapat na palakasin.

Ang pamamaraan naman ay binubuo ng iba't ibang estratehiyang nahahati rin sa mga categorya. Gayundin, tematiko ang naging pagdulog sa bawat estratehiya at dumudulo sa panlipunang oryentasyon ng bawat pamamaraan. Ang kolaboratibong proyekto na tinutukoy sa pinakauna ay kinapalolooban ng iba't ibang ispesipikong gawain katulad ng pagpapagawa ng ginabayang proyekto, pangkatan at repleksyong gawain na magpapalalim sa kritikal na pag-iisip ng mga mag-aaral at peer kritiking.

Ang sumunod ay ang pagtuturong nakabatay sa karanasan (experiential approach) na kinapapalooban ng iba't ibang gawaing may kinalaman sa konkretonag pagdanas ng mga mag-aaral sa kanilang pinag-aaralan. Nailatag na sa naunang bahagi na eksperyensyal ang kabuuang tunguhin ng asignaturang pananaliksik sa Filipino sapagkat konkretonag naipadadanas sa mga mag-aaral ang paggawa ng pananaliksik ngunit limitado pa rin ito sa maraming pagkakataon. Halimbawa naisasakatuparan lamang ang eksperyensyal na pagkatuto sa loob ng klasrum ngunit hindi na sa mga gawaing kinakailangang lumabas kagaya ng pananaliksik sa silid-aralan o kaya ay pakikisalamuha sa komunidad. Naipagagawa ang mga ito sa mga mag-aaral ngunit sa porma lamang ng takdang aralin kung kaya hindi nakikita ang kabisaan ng implementasyon. Ang pinakahuli ay ang pamamaraan ng pagsasagawa ng pananaliksik na community-based. Pinakamababa ang integrasyon ng pamamaraang ito relatibo sa naunang dalawa.

Ang kabuuang kinalabasan ng integrasyon sa pamamaraan ay makikita sa dayagram kasama ang pagbibigay-diin sa epektibong implementasyon sapagkat ito ang nakikitang kahinaan ng mananaliksik sa pagsasagawa ng mga pamamaraan. Magkaugnay ang nilalaman at pamamaraan batay sa lumabas na malakas at makabuluhang ugnayan ng dalawang ito.

***Gawaing Ekstensyon.*** Katapat ng instruksyon ang gawaing ekstensyon sapagkat nailatag na sa pagtalakay na maaaring mapag-ugnay at magpalakas ang isa't isa. Kapansin-pansing ang mga hakbang at elemento sa pagbuo ng gawaing ekstensyon ay nakasuhay sa mga nilalaman at pamamaraan ng asignaturang pananaliksik sa Filipino. Dahil sa mahigpit na magkaugnay, hindi nangangahulugang isasagawa ang ekstensyon pagkatapos ng instruksyon sapagkat maaaring maging bahagi ng mga karanasan sa pagkatuto ang gawaing ekstensyon. Gayundin, ang proyektong maaaring gawin ng mga mag-aaral sa asignatura ay nakabatay sa gawaing ekstensyon.

Kailangan lamang maging mapagmatyag ang mga guro at iba pang miyembro ng akademikong institusyon sa iba't ibang suliraning maaaring kaharapin sa integrasyon tulad ng mga nabanggit na

suliranin. Maaari itong makahadlang sa implementasyon ng modelo lalo na kung hindi masosolusyonan ang malulubhang suliraning nagdudulot ng malaking sagabal. Kabilang dito ang mga suliraning nabanggit sa diskusyon na polisiya ng paaralan, pasilidad at materyales, pagsasanay at kamalayan at pananaw ng mga guro na nakaayos batay sa kalubhaan.

Sa kabuuan ay balangkas ng modelo lamang ang ipinakita. Depende sa mga guro kung paanong lalangkapan ng mga tiyak na gawain at teknik sa pagtuturo ang mga tematikong nilalaman ng aralin. Gayundin, ang mabubuong gawaing ekstensyon batay sa mga pananaliksik ay magmumula sa konkretong kalagayan ng komunidad at ebalwasyon sa kakayahan ng paaralang tumugon dito. Nangangahulugang malaking usapin pa rin sa pagtatagumpay ng modelo ang desididong kapasyahan ng lahat ng bahagi ng akademikong institusyon lalong-lalo na ng mga guro at administrasyon.

Tumutugon ang modelong pampagtuturo sa kabuuang estratehikal na plano ng Pamantasang San Luis na palakasin ang instruksyon, ekstensyon at pananaliksik sapagkat makikita ang elemento ng bawat isa. Sa kabuuan ay nilalayan nitong maisakatuparan ang isang proseso ng pagkatuto at pagtuturong tumutugon sa pagpapaunlad ng indibidwal at lipunan. Ito ay sa pamamagitan ng epektibo at malalimang instruksyon sa loob ng klasrum na magpapahusay sa mga mag-aaral sa gawaing pananaliksik at paggamit ng kapangyarihang ito upang tumulong sa lipunan sa pamamagitan ng pagsasagawa ng mga tiyak na gawaing ekstensyon sa komunidad.

Ang nabuong transpormatibong modelong pampagtuturo sa asignaturang Filipino ay naglalaman ng mga mahahalagang resultang lumabas mula sa pananaliksik. Nakapaloob ito sa kabuuang prinsipyo ng transpormatibong edukasyon na paunlarin ang indibidwal kaugnay ang lipunan at tumutugon sa kabuuang estratehikal na plano ng pamantasan na palakasin ang instruksyon, pananaliksik at ekstensyon. Magkakaagapay ang mga ito upang palakasin ang isa't isa at kung maisasakatuparan ay inaasahang makatutulong sa pagpapalakas ng gawaing ekstensyon sa Kagawaran ng Filipino. Gayunman, kailangang bantayan ang mga hadlang na maaaring idulot ng mga natuklasang suliranin upang maging epektibo ang aplikasyon at implementasyon ng kabuuang modelo.

## **KONKLUSYON AT REKOMENDASYON**

Mula sa mga datos at resultang nakalap ay nabuo ang sumusunod na konklusyon:

1. Natuklasang bahagya lamang ang integrasyon ng mga pamamaraan sa transpormatibong edukasyon sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino. Lubos ang integrasyon ng mga pamamaraan sa pananaliksik na nakabatay sa karanasan o eksperyensyal na pagdulog (*experiential approach*) ngunit walang integrasyon ang mga pamamaraan sa pananaliksik na community-based. Mahusay ang pagtalakay sa nilalaman at pamamaraang ginamit ng mga guro upang maiyon ang paksa ng mga aralin sa prinsipyo ng transpormatibong edukasyon bagama't nakakita ng ilang kahinaan sa mga estratehiyang community-based dahil sa limitasyong itinatakda ng institusyon.

2. Malubha ang suliraning kinakaharap ng mga guro sa integrasyon ng transpormatibong edukasyon sa kanilang pagtuturo. Ang naitalang pinakamalulubhang suliranin ay may kinalaman sa mga polisiya ng administrasyon ng Pamantasang San Luis. Maliwanag na ang mga suliraning nakahahadlang sa integrasyon ay may administratibong katangian at masosolusyunan sa pamamagitan ng desididong pagpapasya ng mga susing sektor na nakapaloob sa institusyon.

3. Ang nabuong transpormatibong modelong pampagtuturo sa asignaturang Filipino ay naglalaman ng mga mahahalagang resultang lumabas mula sa pananaliksik. Nakapaloob ito sa kabuuang prinsipyo ng transpormatibong edukasyon na paunlarin ang indibidwal kaugnay ang lipunan at tumutugon sa kabuuang estratehikal na plano ng pamantasan na palakasin ang instruksyon, pananaliksik at ekstensyon.

Mula sa nabuong konklusyon ng pananaliksik ay iminumungkahi ang sumusunod na rekomendasyon:

1. Mahigpit ang rekomendasyon ng pananaliksik na itong bigyang-pansin ng buong akademikong institusyon ang mga suliraning kinakaharap sa integrasyon na may kinalaman sa mahigpit at mekanikal na polisiya ng unibersidad at kakulangan ng pasilidad at materyales. Maglaan ng pondo sa

modernisasyon ng pamantasan na susing instrumento rin sa epektibong proseso ng pagkatuto at pagtuturo at patuloy na magpaunlad at pataasin ang kamalayan sa transpormatibong edukasyon.

2. Bagama't marami pa ring sagabal sa kabuuang implementasyon ng transpormatibong modelo sa pagtuturo ng pananaliksik sa Filipino ay iminumungkahing subukin pa ring gamitin at paunlarin ang ilang bahaging maaaring mahalaw na pahihintulutan ng pamantasan. Kung sakaling magkaroon ng pagluwag sa panig ng administrasyon ay gamitin ito ng buo upang sumuhay sa adhikaing transpormatibo ng pamantasan.

3. Iminumungkahi sa susunod na mga mananaliksik na ipagpatuloy ang nasimulan ng pananaliksik na ito hindi lamang sa asignaturang pananaliksik ng Filipino kung hindi sa iba pang asignatura at disiplina, may kinalaman man sa pananaliksik o wala. Ang malawakang pagtatasa sa antas ng integrasyon ay susing datos sa mas epektibong pagpapatupad ng pamantasan ng transpormatibong edukasyon.

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# Uncovering Language Attitudes in Two Filipino Children's Stories Through Discourse Analysis

Perpi Alipon-Tiongson

## INTRODUCTION

Consciously or unconsciously, we all have attitudes and opinions about languages. "We endow some language forms with prestige, while we stigmatize others. " (Burns, Matthews and Nolan-Conroy, 2001) For example, many Filipinos hold the belief that the English language is the language of the learned, and is the better medium of instruction especially for subjects like math and science.

In time, these attitudes not only become attitudes towards a language, but form part of larger systems of attitudes and beliefs that become attitudes towards *the user* of the language, so that a person is believed to be intelligent and learned because of their command of the English language.

This is the case with the Filipino Deaf community. Traditionally, society views deafness as a medical condition that requires proper diagnosis and treatment (referred to with a small "d"). Thus, Deaf people are considered disabled and impaired who are in need of fixing. The modern view, on the other hand, sees Deafness as a cultural condition, that assumes an identity and a community sharing a set of values and beliefs, especially a sign language (referred to with a big "D"). These views of Deaf people as users of Filipino Sign Language (FSL) are quickly transferred to the language itself so that some attitudes towards FSL are negative - it is not considered an effective medium of instruction in Deaf education or is not even considered a true language but only the signed form of Filipino, or an inferior variant of American Sign Language.

But as aforementioned, these value judgements are sometimes subconscious: "most people are unaware that they are making judgments about how other people speak, write or sign until they are forced to confront them or articulate them in some manner." (182) Sometimes though, such value judgements are borne of ignorance so that, even when confronted, the one judging sincerely believes that there is no such judgement taking place.

It is perhaps in this regard that studies about language attitudes become significant because such attitudes have real and profound effects on those about whom such attitudes are held. As with the case of the Filipino Deaf, they may explain why some of the Deaf themselves imbibe the same attitudes towards their own language, or how such attitudes have influenced language planning and policy especially for Deaf education.

## A CREATIVE APPROACH

Following the “mentalist view” as discussed by Burns, Matthews and Nolan-Conroy in their essay “Language Attitudes,” (2001) “attitude” is here understood and taken as “a state of readiness or an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person’s response.” (183) This means that attitudes are not merely singular units of response to a situation but an interplay between feelings (affective), knowledge (cognitive) and action (conative). (184) These three components may not always be in harmony (Baker in Burns, Matthews and Nolan-Conroy) but their interrelations make up the framework from which all attitudes are formed.

Studies about language attitudes, however, has its challenges as attitudes are not easy to measure or directly observe. Like thoughts and feelings, attitudes may be hidden, and inference from external behavior is the most that can be done. Thus, one has to be creative and imaginative in devising ways on how to evaluate language attitudes.

Based on these notions, this paper aims to uncover the language attitudes of elementary teachers of public schools of the Deaf towards Filipino Sign Language, by using two children’s stories about Deaf protagonists, “Ang Kuya ni Karina” (De Los Angeles-Bautista, 1996) and “Ang Tahimik na Mundo ni Bunso,” (Canon, 2008). Through discourse analysis, the paper will look at the frameworks that organize the set of values and attitudes in the stories, especially those relating to Deafness and language. This then shall serve as the backdrop for investigating the teachers’ personal views and feelings about Deafness and Deaf people (affective), their knowledge of Deaf culture and FSL (cognitive), and the teaching principles and methods they employ in the classroom (conative), as their responses to the stories (in this study, the stimuli). As a whole, findings should reveal the specific attitudes held by the teachers towards Deaf people and their language.

The creative use of children’s literature finds significance in the fact that for centuries, stories for children have always been (or thought to be) didactic and value-laden, therefore reflecting positive attitudes. This is because societies have used literature as a way of socializing its young into the norms and value-systems of their community towards ensuring highly effective social integration. In the case of the two stories in this study, readers are being socialized into attitudes towards Deafness and Deaf people, and consequently their language.

## METHODOLOGY

In the guise of a survey on instructional materials for use in basic education, this paper will try to survey the prevailing view among elementary teachers in the public schools by using two children’s stories that feature Deaf child-protagonists and deal with Deafness in the main plot. Respondents will

be asked first to read these stories, and then made to answer a questionnaire about their interpretation of the stories, especially if they perceive the Deaf protagonists to be portrayed positively or negatively, if the Deaf experience is a medical one or a cultural one, or if the resolution to the Deaf experience is desirable or undesirable.

The study is limited to the City of Valenzuela for the following reasons:

- The SPED division of the Department of Education in Valenzuela has centralized the education of Deaf students so that the division schools with SPED classes are “focused,” with one school’s SPED class catering only to Deaf students and the other SPED schools catering to the other disabilities.
- As a result, there is a high concentration of Deaf students in the identified school, grouped in three classes: grade 1 level, multi-grade 2-3, and multi-grade 4-6. The total population count is 52 students.
- Upon learning of the project, a locally elected official provided administrative support and expressed interest to adopt the results of the study towards developing programs to improve the quality of Deaf education in the locality.

The classes are currently handled by two teachers, one handling the 4-6 levels, and the other handling the 1-3 levels of two classes. They will be surveyed using a survey questionnaire (see appendix A). Where applicable, answers will then be analyzed and categorized into a nominal rating scale of positivity and negativity (e.g. positive portrayal of Deaf protagonist, negative attitude towards Deafness).

To interpret the results, the paper shall use discourse analysis to describe the discourse frames by which the stories were constructed, and determine if the respondents agree or disagree with such a construction, thereby manifesting such attitudes, values and beliefs which are being measured by the survey.

## DISCOURSE AND DEAFNESS

Most definitions and notions of discourse are the same in that discourse goes beyond the sentence as a unit, and looks at a group of statements which together construct a language, a kind of knowledge, or as Foucault terms it, a “discursive formation.” It is this discursive formation that limits the kinds of statements that can be included as their conditions must be consistent with the knowledge produced in the discourse, or with how a topic can be constructed.

In his discussion of language and meanings, Lehtonen (2000) further explains that “[s]tatements that form a discourse are regulated by a certain *discursive practice*. It creates a group of compelling

unspoken historic rules, which in turn determine in a certain social, economic, geographic or linguistic area what can be said, how it can be expressed, who may speak, where, and under which dominant preconditions.” (41)

It is for this reason that the concept of discourse is often closely associated with the concept of “ideology.” This is because using “ideology” facilitates discussions on what is consistent and inconsistent within a given discourse. After all, “all discursive use of language aims at producing certain effects and subject positions in the recipient,” (47) just not to the same degree or with the same level of success. While this paper does not directly deal with ideology, it will inevitably delve into it if only to establish the discursive formation in the texts.

Lastly, meanings and knowledge produced in discourses manifest themselves in texts – written or otherwise. While text and discourse are often used interchangeably, texts have the quality of specificity and concreteness while discourses tend to lend itself to more “universal” patterns across texts. Ultimately texts that share a common set of central assumptions are said to belong to one discourse, thus we talk not only of intratextual relations but intertextuality and extratextuality or how a text relates with other texts and the world it belongs to.

So what is the discourse on Deafness as told in the two children’s stories?

Let us take a look.

#### INTRATEXTUALITY AND INTERTEXTUALITY

##### **“Ang Kuya ni Karina”**

*Ang Kuya ni Karina* is the story of 5-year-old Karina and her older brother, Kuya Miko, who was born deaf. Karina generally enjoys her brother and the many activities they do together. Although her Kuya Miko is made to go to speech therapy, Karina still finds it difficult at times to communicate with him. One time, Kuya Miko gets frustrated at Karina for not understanding what he said, and Karina feels hurt. Mother helps them patch things up, and when Kuya Miko tries to speak to Karina to tell her he loved her and quacks like a duck, the two are happy again.

In this story, Kuya Miko as the deaf person is referred to as “di-nakakarinig” or “hearing-impaired,” as the story opens with this question: “*Ano kaya ang pakiramdan ng isang batang hindi nakararinig?*” Often mistaken to be a politically correct term which began in the 1990s, this label is looked down upon by the Deaf community. This is because the term focuses on their disability and defines them on this basis, so that they are regarded as hearing people, but with deficiencies or impairments. They

are not complete humans like most hearing people are. This is characteristic of the traditional view of Deafness that sees their condition as a medical one, since the nature of the impairment is usually diagnosed and treated by medical practitioners, as opposed to say, educators or spiritual directors.

Although the book only uses the term “di-nakakarinig” twice in the book, there are other markers that reflect this view:

- Kuya Miko is made to undergo speech therapy. In order to treat his condition and make him more human or hearing, he has to learn how to “speak”, if not hear. Thus he has to take oral lessons to use his voice, and to learn how to lipread to appear as if he can hear.
  - *Nag-aaral magsalita si Kuya. Kaya pagkatapos ng klase niya, may speech therapy pa siya.*
  - *Dahan-dahang magsalita si Nanay at Tatay para mabasa raw ni Kuya ang kanilang bibig. Ako rin, dahan-dahan kung makipagusap kay Kuya.*
- Although the text does not say so, the illustrations show Kuya Miko wearing a hearing aid. In the Deaf community, hearing aids have become a cultural symbol, but a negative one at that. This is because a deaf person who embraces her Deafness as an identity will have no need for hearing aids. After all, as their name implies, they are merely “aids” to one’s ability to hear. A totally deaf person has no residual hearing for the device to amplify.
- Kuya Miko has emotional problems. Most deaf people are often characterized as having difficult behavior and attitudes, such as being irritable, hot-tempered, introverted or even neurotic. (Watson) This is evident in the following lines:
  - *Minsan, hindi ko maintindihan ang sinasabi ni Kuya. Hindi kasi siya malinaw magsalita. Nagalit siya sa akin at umiyak nang umiyak. Pinunit niya ang larawan ng pato na pinapakita niya sa akin.*

While hearing people may also exhibit these same behaviors, deaf people are considered to be suffering from personality maladjustment more than hearing people are, so that while there is some truth to the fact that their frustrations arise from their difficulty to communicate, it might not be accurate to say that their “personality problems” are the direct result of their deafness than the result of the lack of understanding on the part of the hearing. (3: A Deaf Personality?) Thus, the usual solution is not to bridge communication but to treat them or to restore their hearing (or as close to being hearing as possible) since the Deaf person is psychologically ill. The following passage exemplifies this point of view:

Deaf persons in general “by the nature of their defect” tend to think in vaguely wholistic and concrete terms. Hence, a thought disorder may be strikingly simulated in their written communications, which often show a fragmented, confused and primitive quality. Without knowledge of the specific



language handicap of the deaf, these written communications might suggest the kind of thought pathology seen in chronic schizophrenia.

Something that may have a scaring effect regarding deaf persons is that when they are under severe psychic stress and are not able to express adequately what they think and feel, they may react in excitement explosions or abnormal single reactions...

... Our experiences are that congenital or early acquired deafness may give a certain personality structure – surdophrenia – and that deaf persons with nervous reactions are in need of specialized psychiatric service. (Basilier 72-73)

That was 1964, when the concept of Surdophrenia, or the Psychology of the Deaf, was coined and pervaded the literature of psychological study. While this notion has now been largely debunked, it still persists today.

It should be noted that Kuya Miko is also described as having less “disturbing” traits.

- *Magaling siyang magbisikleta. Magaling di siyang maglaro ng basketbol. Kayang-kaya niyang magdribol ng bola.*
- *Mahilig din kaming gumuhit at magpinta... Paborito ni Kuya ang gumawa ng iba’t ibang hayop.*
- *Marami kaming ginagawa ng kuya ko. Naglalaro kami ng bahay-bahayan. Siya ang tatay at ako ang nanay. Nagluluto-lutuan kami. Nag-aalaga kami ng aming mga anak.*

While these descriptions seem positive, it is not necessarily inconsistent with the construct of the Deaf person as hearing-impaired in that Deaf persons, due to the loss of the auditory sense, compensate through the other senses, specifically the visual and the kinesthetic. Thus, most Deaf persons are known to be more adept at physical activities and visual art. However, these talents are usually regarded as “super” talents for a person who has intellectual and psychological delays.

The fact that the text takes the form of a children’s story also merits this characterization. The blurb at the back of the book says: “Sadyang inihanda ang mga kuwentong ito... upang matulungan ang ... [mga bata] na maintindihan at malutas ang mga hinaharap na isyu at problema sa unang anim na taon ng buhay.” Characters and problems, no matter how grave, must always have some saving grace. It is what distinguishes children’s literature from adult literature – the sense of hope that every child reader must be left with at the end of the story.

- Kuya Miko learns to speak. The story's supposed happy ending is when Kuya Miko, upon coming home from school with a newly-hatched duckling from a class experiment, gives the duckling to Karina as a gift and says, "*Kwak! Kwak! Mahal kita, Karina.*" Finally, all their efforts bear fruit as Kuya Miko speaks and as Karina puts it, "*Malinaw na malinaw, sabi sa akin ng kuya ko!*" What is interesting is how Karina responds. She says in the end, "*At kwak, kwak, kwak, mahal ko rin siya.*"

In the story, the reader is prepared for this when in the earlier part, the reader is told that "*May alagang bibe si Kuya at mga kaklase niya sa kanilang klase.*" Thus, when Kuya Miko comes home from school to give the duckling to Karina, and they both quack in the end of the story, it does not seem out of place. However, the use of the duckling may actually be a way of explaining why Kuya Miko sounds funny when he talks or a way of giving him a reason to sound weird.

More often than not, Deaf persons who go through oral training persist to have speech impediments precisely due to their deafness, not having heard, and therefore not knowing, the sounds they have to produce. This has been a common issue in the debate on the efficacy of oralism since more often than not, deaf persons who can voice are usually only intelligible to immediate family members and friends. It is also one of the reasons why Deaf people pose some form of resistance to oralism because they feel ridiculous, or sound ridiculous, as evident in the responses of the hearing ("You sound funny").

### **"Ang Tahimik na Mundo ni Bunso"**

As the title implies, it is the youngest child this time who is born deaf, and like *Ang Kuya ni Karina*, the story is told from the point of view of a sibling. There are other similarities:

- Bunso has super talents. "*Ang bunso kong kapatid, kakaiba talaga. Nakabibilib, nakatutuwa... Kapag kakampi ko siya sa patintero, / Lagi kaming nananalo. Ang bilis / Niyang tumakbo! Di siya mahabol / Ng kamay ng taya. Kay liksi niyang / Umiwas sa patototot! Lahat ng / Nakaharang ay kaya niyang lusutan... / Tuwing kasama siya ni Tatay sa mga bertdey / Party, numero uno siya sa sayawan. Lahat / Ng napanonood na galaw ng sayaw sa TV, kuhang-kuha niya talaga! / Ang galling niyang kumembot! / Kay bilis niyang umikot at kay husay umindak!*" Like Kuya Miko, Bunso is kinesthetic, being agile and graceful with his body. He is described as "kakaiba" or different, and "nakabibilib" or amazing, as though these talents are extraordinary for a young deaf boy.

- But Bunso's talents are quickly negated. *"Ngunit kapag may kotseng dumaraan, hindi / Niya ito namamalayan. Hindi siya agad / Tumatabi kapag may businang nakakabingi, / Bip! Bip! Biip! / Bata! Tumabi ka ryan! / Ang sigaw ng drayber ng sasakyan. / Hindi ito papansinin ni Bunso / Hanggat siya na mismo ay hilahin / Ko para pumunta sa tabi ng kalsada. / kapag wala na / Ang tugtog, hindi siya / Tumitigil sa pagyugyog. / Mahilig siyang sumali / Sa ganitong palaro, / Pero ni minsan ay hindi siya nananalo. / Maganda pa naman ang / Mga papremyo sa mga / Bertdey party."*

To be shouted at, to be told to get out of the way, to lose at games and not win the prize are all considered undesirable outcomes as signaled by the words "ngunit," "hindi," and "pero." Notice also the expression, "maganda pa naman," as though there is a sense of regret or "panghihinayang." And because they are undesirable outcomes, it cannot be helped that such outcomes are associated with the speculated cause, which is deafness.

- Bunso has emotional problems. *"Kapag mayroon siyang hiling / Na hindi naming maibigay / Agad, pumapamewang na, / Sumisimangot pa! Hindi / Nagsasalita, pero lahat ng bagay / Na madampot ay iniitsa. / Pati pintuan ng kanyang kwarto / ay ibinabagsak. // Hindi niya masabi ang kanyang / Kailangan. Hindi niya kayang / Sabihin nang maayos ang / kanyang nararamdaman. // Hirap kaming siya ay maintindihan / Kaya madalas siya ay ang-aalboroto. / Dito na lumalabas ang nawawalang / Boses ni Bunso. // Dinig hanggang sa dulo / Ng kalye ang pag-iyak / At pagsigaw niya. / Aaaah! Aaaah! Aaah! // Parang trumpo kung ikutin niya ang loob / Ng bahay. Parang bagyo kung itapon / Niya ang mga bagay-bagay. Puro ilag, / yuko, at tago ang aking nagagawa. Hindi / maintindihan ni Nanay kung bakit siya / nagagalit. Hindi malaman ni Tatay kung / paano siya mapatatahimik."* Like Kuya Miko, Bunso's inability to express himself and the resulting inability of his family to understand him causes emotional outbursts or, as Basilier describes it, "excitement explosions." Bunso is "pumapamewang," a body language that denotes irritation, anger, impatience or even dismay. "Sumisimangot," "nag-aalboroto," "hanggang sa dulo ng kalye ang pag-iyak at pagsigaw," "parang trumpo," at "parang bagyo" – it is no wonder psychologists in the 60s described deaf persons to have a "scaring effect" and concluded it to be a psychological condition.

Bunso is inevitably characterized as the one with problems, evident in the family's questions: *"Maraming tanong ang gumagambala sa aming isipan. Bakit kaya / Ganito si Bunso? Bakit hindi siya mahilig makipag-usap? Bakit / Hindi niya sinasabi ang iniisip niya? Nasaan ang boses ni Bunso?"* As a result, the family takes him to a doctor to be tested. *"Minabuti naming dalhin siya sa espesyalista..."*

While the initial observations might have had the benefit of the family members not knowing that Bunso was born deaf, the discovery of Bunso's deafness only confirms the notion of deafness as the direct cause of the emotional outbursts. *"Kaya pala madalas / Siyang mag-alboroto at / Magwala kapag di namin / Maintindihan ang gusto / niya. Di niya masabi ang / saloobin niya."* Compare with this: *"Kaya pala madalas siyang mag-alboroto at magwala kasi di kami makaintindi ng gusto niya."* Notice how the latter utterance attributes Bunso's difficult behavior to the family's inability to understand him, rather than his deafness.

- Bunso wears a hearing aid and undergoes speech therapy. This story is more explicit in showing that Bunso's deafness is a medical condition that needs corrective treatment, as shown by the family's visit to a specialist. The story also describes in simple terms what the nature of the problem is (*putul-putol ang mga hair cell sa cochlea / ni Bunso. Hindi ito gumagalaw kapag may tunog na dumaraan. / Hindi tuloy siya makarining*) and how they attempt to solve it – specifically with the use of a hearing aid. Like Kuya Miko, a hearing aid and speech therapy will help Bunso assimilate the traits of hearing people – “hearing” and “speaking” – that will minimize, if not cure, his impairment.
- Bunso speaks. *"Hindi maihahambing ang aming kasiyahan / Nang marinig namin ang boses ni Bunso. Lalo na / Nang kanyang sabihin sa akin, / Salamat, Kuya. // Mahal kita!"* This is evidently a happy outcome as the family is overjoyed to hear Bunso speak.

#### EXTRATEXTUALITY

Based on the discussion above, both texts appear to belong to the same discourse of deafness as a disability.

- Notice, in fact, how in both stories, nowhere is the word “bingi” or “deaf” used to describe the protagonists, or “deafness” to describe their condition. The only time the word “bingi” appeared was to describe the loud horns of vehicles (“businang nakabibingi”) that Bunso could not hear. Ironically, most people think that “deaf” is a negative word, and that “hearing-impaired” is more politically correct or polite. This is similar to the labels “chinoy” and “intsik,” where most Filipino-Chinese prefer using the word “chinoy” as it denotes pride in one’s Filipino and Chinese heritage, while “intsik” is deemed derogative and reminiscent of Filipino-Chinese stereotypes that are often negative such as stingy rich merchants in Binondo wearing sando and slippers. Filipinos, on the other hand, think “chinoy” is a comical imitation of “pinoy,” which connotes pride in one’s Filipinoness, while “intsik” is more respectable.

- Notice how in both stories, deafness is a negative experience, both for the person “inflicted” with deafness, but especially for the family to whom the Deaf person is born. *“Parang hindi ko matanggap / ang sinabi ni Dok. // Napatingin sa malayo si Tatay. // Napaiyak naman si Nanay.”* This is a very common reaction, especially in Philippine culture, where occurrences in the family such as these, are experienced with feelings of shame. Many families with Deaf members often do not learn sign language and rarely think of having the Deaf member undergo sign language classes as an immediate step. Thus, many Deaf individuals acquire a language, if at all, at a very late age, too late for any human being.
- Notice how Filipino Sign Language as the natural language of the Filipino Deaf is not the preferred language of use by the families for the Deaf child-protagonists. Although Kuya Miko is mentioned to have only begun to learn signs (“nag-aaral pa lang siya magsalita at gumamit ng senyas”), it is most probably correct to assume that Kuya Miko is learning Sign-Supported Speech (SSS) or Signing Exact English (SEE2). These are artificial systems of visual communication generally known as Manually Coded English or MCE, which attempt to represent the English language through the hands. SSS involves voicing everything in English while using a form of MCE such as SEE2 at the same time. The vocabulary, syntax and pragmatics of English take precedence over the signs used, although the signs may be borrowed from a sign language.
- Notice how in both stories, the happiness of the family, and of the Deaf person, is dependent upon the Deaf person’s ability to behave like a hearing person or participate in the language of the hearing.

These discursive practices are characteristic of a world outside of the text, and to which the text belongs, a world that practices audism - the notion that Deaf people can only be productive members of society if they are able to participate in the language of the hearing culture.

Audism as a concept was coined by a Deaf scholar, Tom Humphries, in his unpublished essay, “Audism: The Making of a Word.” (1975) In this essay, Humphries describes audism as the “notion that one is superior based on one’s ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears.” (Bauman) This definition describes the attitudes and behavior of most people who assume that being hearing is superior to being Deaf. Thus, they judge people’s intelligence on the basis of their ability in the language of the hearing culture, the spoken languages. They assume that a Deaf person’s happiness depends on the possibility to hear again, or at the very least, to “speak” the language. (It should be noted that “speak” as used here means the ability of a Deaf person to use speech merely as a vocal ability and not as a cognitive ability, meaning a Deaf person may vocalize a word but such vocalization is rendered meaningless by the Deaf person’s deafness.) (Tiongson and Martinez)

In his essay, Bauman further expounds on this concept by exploring three dimensions of audism: the individual, institutional and metaphysical. According to him, individual audism manifests itself much like most forms of individual racism, where an individual holds beliefs and exhibits racist behaviors such as low expectations on academic performance. Institutional audism, on the other hand, points to larger systems of oppression that can manifest itself in societal structures and the notion of privilege allotted to hearing people. Lane (2000) cites the medical and educational institutions as common sites for this kind of audism, when they claim to act in the interest of the Deaf by making them adapt to hearing norms through cochlear implantation and mainstreaming.

Metaphysical audism, Bauman explains, has significant implications on what it means to be human, since perhaps the most palpable difference between humans and animals is the capability for language (animals may produce sounds to communicate but this form of communication does not operate on the level the way human language does). This notion by itself does not make for audism, not until we begin to define and equate language with speech, believing that those who cannot participate fully in spoken languages are less human, impaired or tragic. In this sense, metaphysical audism then is the “orientation that links human identity and being with language defined as speech.”

Bauman draws largely from Derrida’s treatise on phonocentrism (*Of Grammatology*) where Derrida critiques Saussurian linguistics and its having bound thought/idea to sound (“thought-sound”), believing that writing systems merely serve the purpose of representing spoken systems of language.

However, Bauman takes it a step further by applying phonocentrism beyond writing systems to visual languages. After all, neurological/neurolinguistic studies have shown that humans are just as much capable of manual language as spoken language, and may have even communicated through signs even before spoken systems.<sup>1</sup> Hewes even argues for the primacy of gestural communication, explaining the “distinct advantage of greater transparency and ease of communication” that it possesses. It is believed that it was only 100,000 years ago when *Homo Sapiens* switched to speech as its primary means of communication, rendering gestural communication secondary to speech. One cannot help wonder then how Modern Man would have turned out if he had rather been a signing *Homo Sapiens* than a speaking one.

#### TEACHERS’ RESPONSES

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<sup>1</sup> D. Armstrong, “The Gestural Theory of Language Origins,” *Sign Language Studies* (2008) 8(3), 289-314; M. Deuchar, “Spoken Language and Sign Language,” *Human Symbolic Evolution*, eds. A. Lock and C. Peters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 553-570; G. Hewes, “A History of the Study of Language Origins and the Gestural Primacy Hypothesis,” *Human Symbolic Evolution*, eds. A. Lock and C. Peters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 571-595.

Seeing the world in the text, and the world in which the text was created, how do two teachers of the Deaf in the public school respond? What attitudes do they have towards Deaf people, their culture and their language?

Taking the stories as the stimuli, a simple survey was given to find out the teachers' attitudes. Specifically, the survey asked the respondent how the protagonist was portrayed. A simple rating scale asked the respondents to rate the portrayal as positive or negative, accurate or inaccurate, and whether such portrayal was reflective of the generally held view or not. They were also asked whether they agreed with this portrayal or not, and whether they thought there were other ways of portraying the protagonist that they cared to suggest. Lastly, they were asked if they thought there could have been a different or another ending to that provided by the story. The following are their responses.

#### TEACHER 1

##### *Affective*

Teacher 1 said that both stories portrayed the protagonist positively (with a rating of 2 in a 7-point rating scale where 1 is positive and 7 is negative), accurately (rated 2, where 1 is accurately and 7 inaccurately), and similar to how the general population would view the protagonist (rated 2). When asked if she agreed with this portrayal, she answered "yes." She did not offer another view, nor an alternative ending to the story. She believed that the stories had values to impart, were relevant to the curriculum or syllabus, were reader- and language-appropriate for their audiences and were interesting enough as a reading topic.

##### *Cognitive*

Based on her answers to the survey, it was obvious that the teacher had very limited knowledge of Deaf culture, and was not aware of the modern view of Deafness as an ethnolinguistic minority. Her agreement to the characters' portrayal as positive confirms this, despite the characterization of the Deaf children as having medical and emotional problems. This is most likely because the ending is perceived to be the usual happy ending that punctuates most children's stories – in this case, the Deaf child's initial success at speech. However, when asked on the survey if she agreed with the statement that Deaf people were disabled ("May kapansanan ang mga Bingi."), she answered "disagree." Contradictorily, she agreed that "hearing-impaired" and "deaf-mute" were acceptable labels with which to call the Deaf.

In addition, Teacher 1 felt that Filipino Sign Language was only the Tagalog version of American Sign Language (“tinagalog lang naman na ASL yon, diba?”). In a brief interview that followed the survey, Teacher 1 said that she did not have any formal training in sign language as part of her curriculum, but was exposed to ASL<sup>2</sup> during her practicum. She took short courses in sign language outside of her formal study, and a subject in Total Communication as part of her masters. When asked to rate her signing skills in a scale of 1-10, with ten being the highest, she ranked herself a “2.” She has a bachelor’s degree in Elementary Education, specializing in Hearing Impairment.

### *Conative*

On the survey, Teacher 1 indicated that the medium of instruction used in the classroom was English and ASL, “sometimes SEE.” During a classroom observation, however, Teacher 1 was observed to be using SEE2 (which she identifies as ASL) and voicing most of the time. This is not surprising as it is consistent with her attitudes towards the stories, and with the stories themselves, as they share the same view of Deafness. Although she lacks the awareness of FSL being a true and independent language, and the understanding of Deafness as a cultural identity, she realizes that current available instructional materials and pedagogical paradigms are not perfectly suited for instruction of Deaf

Positively	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Negatively
Accurately	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Inaccurately
Reflective of general view	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reflective of a select group

students. She even disagreed with the statement that SEE was more helpful to students than FSL. Thus, she improvises and makes adjustments to the lesson plan as she sees fit.

### TEACHER2

### *Affective*

When asked to rate how the protagonists were portrayed in the stories, Teacher2 had slightly varied answers. For *Kuya ni Karina*, she rated the portrayal “1” for “positively,” “accurately,” and “reflective of the general view.” For *Bunso*, she had the following rating:

When asked to cite specific words or passages to support the rating, this was her response: “As mentioned in the story at first, people around can’t understand his behavior but soon when they found out about his problem they were able to help him and give him the proper

<sup>2</sup> Based on her signing, it seems more accurate to say that she learned SEE2 during her practicum. Most people think that spoken English, when signed verbatim, is ASL.



support he needed.”

Teacher2 felt that the portrayal was neither positive nor negative perhaps because the story depicted the pain that the family experienced upon discovering about Bunso’s deafness. Because the story started out with the family having no knowledge of Bunso’s deafness, the reader is made to journey with the family in discovering the reason for Bunso’s abnormal behavior, thus the “disappointment” is made more striking. This is evident in Teacher2’s answer – “as mentioned in the story first” – which acknowledges the point in the story when the family was still unaware of their “problem.” When asked the same question in relation to *Kuya ni Karina*, Teacher2 cited passages in the story that pertained to Kuya Miko’s positive qualities: “Marami kaming ginagawa ng kuya ko...”, “nag-aaral magsalita si kuya pagkatapos ng klase...”, and “itinuturo nya ang mga larawan o iginuguhit niya...”. These lines can all be found in the earlier part of the story, thus even when it talks about Kuya Miko’s speech therapy, it is not seen as an event after the problem. Besides, the conflict in Kuya Miko’s story did not directly arise from the family’s discovery of Kuya Miko’s deafness but due to their difficulties communicating with him. There is a vague implication that the family has begun to manage his deafness, if not accepted it. Nowhere in the story are the parents described as sad, disappointed or devastated by Kuya Miko’s deafness. This does not mean thought that Kuya Miko’s parents did not go through such emotions and experiences but the story does not delve into it, making it a lighter story than *Bunso*.

Despite this, Teacher 2 still feels that the portrayal of Bunso was accurate with a “2” rating, and was still more reflective of the general view (“3” rating) than just a select group. All in all, she agrees with this kind of portrayal.

### *Cognitive and Conative*

When interviewed as to the medium of instruction used in the class, Teacher2 replied “Total Communication, using mainly ASL and SEE, with occasional use of FSL.” On the survey, however, she wrote down “English.” She thinks that there is no real FSL (“wala naman talagang FSL”), saying that it is essentially ASL or signs borrowed from ASL.

When observed in class, however, Teacher2 was observed to be voicing all the time, and sporadically signing words or phrases when able. Her signing skills were very limited, thus her signing appeared a bit erratic to be considered SSS or SEE. Caught by surprise due to unannounced observation of her class, the teacher decided to conduct a reading (spelling) lesson, declaring the use of the Rochester Method, which focuses on speech and fingerspelling. Each word is fingerspelled, making it time consuming and tedious. Teacher2 used flashcards with English words written on it and students were

made to say the word (oral method), fingerspell it (write in the air), spell it with their bodies, then write it on paper.

Based on these, it seems that Teacher2 is less knowledgeable of sign language and of Deaf culture compared to Teacher1. Like Teacher1, she has not had formal training in FSL as part of her education, but has had some exposure to ASL during her practicum for her undergraduate course. She also mentioned having attended a seminar on FSL which taught them that FSL should be the preferred medium of communication with the Deaf, but she felt that this was impractical because she noticed that the Deaf rarely used FSL due to their difficulty with Filipino. It should be noted that Teacher2 has clearly misunderstood FSL to be the signed version of Filipino, which has led her to believe that the Deaf do not like using FSL. Teacher2 is a graduate of Special Education with specialization in Hearing Impairment.

#### TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

Based on the research conducted, the following attitudes are apparent:

- The teachers do not necessarily consider Deaf people to be disabled but agree with the general perception that deafness is a negative experience resulting in and requiring a different approach specifically in education.
- Some of these special approaches involve the use of manual communication, whether artificial systems like MCE or sign language. Teachers realize the effectiveness of using sign language, but do not understand the linguistic nature of sign languages, and do not have sufficient knowledge of or fluency in the language to teach in it. Their very limited knowledge and understanding are riddled with injurious misconceptions:
  - That FSL is the signed version of ASL or Filipino.
  - That ASL is the signed version of English.
  - That Deafness is a disability or medical construct.
  - That Deaf people will have better chances at success and happiness if they can be made to hear again; and if not, at the very least learn to use their voice and lipread so that they can appear to participate in the dominant spoken languages, Filipino and English.
  - That gaining proficiency in English can be better achieved if SEE is used.
- Given these misconceptions, teachers tend to evaluate Deaf people on the basis of their ability to speak, or lipread, or communicate through spoken languages. As such, a Deaf person is considered to have learned a concept or improved his skills as measured through written tests and oral exercises. Those who are unable to do so are regarded by the teachers to have some other form of disability, condition or mental retardation.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR DEAF EDUCATION

Admittedly, this study has significant limitations and inadequacies that compromise the quality of its results, particularly its very loose methodology and insufficient number of participants. However, the study is intended to be a part of a larger undertaking that hopes to investigate further the real conditions of Deaf education and come up with real workable solutions. Thus as a pilot effort, the results still hold some value towards designing the larger study.

In addition, the findings already seem to shed light into the current state of Deaf education in the country and raise further issues and concerns. One of them is the issue of basic human and linguistic rights that every person is entitled to regardless of disability, as provided for by the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

Current policies and practices relating to Deaf education are burdened by the same serious misconceptions that threaten not only the Deaf child's potential for language development, but learning in general and socialization into a culture that will ensure one's integration into society. In this sense, the educational system violates the Deaf child's right to education in a language that is accessible and can be understood.

Despite researches confirming the success of children's learning when taught in their native language, Deaf children are not introduced to their natural language, Filipino Sign Language, but are forced to learn English and Filipino, the two official languages of the Philippines. Even the newest language-in-education policy of the Department of Education, DepEd Order 74 Institutionalizing Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education or MTBMLE, is not implemented in the education of the Deaf (among many other things).

## CONCLUSION

Understandably, and expectedly, perhaps more questions have been raised by this study. However, there are two salient points that this study would like to end with: the power of stories, and the power of language.

Having established the prejudices or audist practices held in the two children's stories examined here, and how teachers do not find these practices disturbing but in fact reflective of the general view, there is much to be concerned about how Filipino hearing children *and* Filipino Deaf children are

being socialized into this prejudice at an early age. Audism – or the notion that Deaf people can only be productive members of society if they are able to participate in the language of the hearing culture – has already been around for many decades but it has barely made a dent on the way people view the Deaf. Phonocentrism, the view that (human) language has only one modality – speech, characterizes almost all areas of human life and knowledge production that it almost seems normal, natural and commonplace. To find them in stories makes them even more potent, and dangerous. Despite their being fictitious, we perceive them to speak of “truths” and “realities” that are of value, otherwise the story is not worth telling.

Such is truer of children’s stories, since they are not only stories with value, but must be stories that speak of values and impart values.

Lastly, the power of language that is here being emphasized is that quality of language that is closely linked to identity. “Use of natural sign language is the primary identifying criterion for membership of the Deaf community.” (Burns, Matthews and Nolan-Conroy 198)

Perhaps the most significant difference between Deaf communities and other linguistic minorities is the relationship between language and identity. For most linguistic minorities, language is a meaningful but disposable feature of their identity. The decline of the Irish language, for example, has not resulted in a loss of ethnic identity for Irish people. In the case of Deaf communities, however, language is crucial. Use of natural sign language is a defining and non-disposable part of being “ethnically” Deaf.” (198)

If a Deaf person does not have language, then that deaf person is nothing but a hearing person with an impairment who may never have a chance at being “whole” or “complete.”

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## Refining the Agent

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### Abstract

The Filipino language has a rich system of morphological inflections. Mostly done with the addition of affixes or as part of their inflectional paradigms, each word can change from one category to another. The system is complicated, especially with almost all content words easily converting to a verb.

Verbs in an agglutinating language like Filipino have a very complex morphology. Verbs can be inflected for focus, aspect, number and modality and all of these factors are shown with affixes. The subcategorization of verbs needs further study. Verbs may take more than one Agent Focus (AF) affix, they can take an affix with the same form but results in different focuses, some can be focused in a limited way, some can take all the focuses, etc.

The study is about the Agent complement in focus (and not in its other environments), meaning that the subject NP that occurs with the verb is the Agent. The affixes used are only UM, MAG, MA and MANG. The verbs are only inflected for the basic (not modal) Agent Focus. It only discusses the behavior of the verbs in simple active construction of Predicate Verb (basic) + Subject, e.g., *Umalis siya* 'He left,' *Nag-aral siya* 'He studied' and does not include their behavior in embedded constructions, e.g., *Siya ang umalis* 'He is the one who left,' *Siya ang nag-aral* 'He is the one who studied.'

The data is limited to 550 verbs taken from a corpus of contemporary Filipino comic books. The comic books were chosen because they are conversational, and most likely, the verbs used there are the verbs commonly used in everyday speech by Filipino speakers. Comic books which tackle various topics (not limited to a specific story) were used to come up with a variety of verbs.

The objectives are: (1.) to differentiate the Agent from other semantic roles; (2.) to differentiate the meanings of verbs with multiple AF affix (distribution/collocation); and (3.) to categorize the verbs according to the affix they take, to address the frequent problem of those who study Filipino—to know which verbs take what affix.

Results from the study suggest that the four affixes do not only produce the Agent theta-role but also Experiencer and Theme.

This study will be helpful for both teachers and learners of Filipino. It will help learners understand the language better, and teachers to further learn the characteristics of language and prepare better suited teaching materials. This can also be a preliminary step towards a root-based dictionary of verbs.

## 1.0 Introduction

The Filipino language has a rich system of morphological inflections. Mostly done with the addition of affixes or as part of their inflectional paradigms, each word can change from one category to another. The system is complicated, especially with almost all content words easily converting to a verb.

Gil is absolutely correct in stating that “the class of words that can take voice and aspect morphology is much larger than in most languages (1992, p. 1148 in de Guzman, 1996, p. 315).” According to de Guzman (1996), “they attest to the extreme facility with which Tagalog can create verbs and in turn use them in both predicate and nominal positions” (p. 315).

Verbs in an agglutinating language like Filipino have a very complex morphology. Verbs can be inflected for focus, aspect, number and modality and all of these factors are shown with affixes. The subcategorization of verbs needs further study. Verbs may take more than one Agent Focus (AF) affix, they can take an affix with the same form but results in different focuses, some can be focused in a limited way, some can take all the focuses, etc.

This study is about the Agent Focus (AF). If a verb can have only one complement, that single complement is most likely the Agent. The researcher would like to subcategorize the verbs according to the Agent focus affix they take, as it will be shown later that some verbs can take more than one AF affix, affixes prototypically associated as AF affixes also produce other thematic roles and there are some verbs that do not take the AF.

Initially, this work would only like to provide a listing of what affixes verbs take in the Agent Focus, as this is the frequent problem of those who study Filipino—to know which verbs take what affix. The author also attempted to predict the occurrence of affixes with the root, to generalize the characteristics of verbs taking UM, MAG, MA and MANG and group them.



However, a partial listing revealed the randomness of root-affix correspondence and a failure to make generalizations. This led to formulating new objectives which are: (1.) to differentiate the Agent from other semantic roles; (2.) to differentiate the meanings the affixes give to verbs with multiple AF affix (distribution/collocation); and (3.) to categorize the verbs according to the affix they take, which will be listed at the end of the paper.

The data is limited to 550 verbs taken from a corpus of contemporary Filipino comic books. The comic books, Kiko Machine and Pugad Baboy, were chosen because they are conversational. Comic books which tackle various topics (not limited to a specific story) were used to come up with a variety of verbs. This is only a study of the Agent complement in focus (and not in its other environments), meaning that the subject NP that occurs with the verb is the Agent. The affixes used are only UM, MAG, MA and MANG. The verbs are only inflected for the basic (not modal) Agent Focus. It only discusses the behavior of the verbs in simple active construction of Predicate Verb (basic) + Subject, e.g., *Umalis siya* 'He left,' *Nag-aral siya* 'He studied' and does not include their behavior in embedded constructions, e.g., *Siya ang umalis* 'He is the one who left,' *Siya ang nag-aral* 'He is the one who studied.' They are then subcategorized according to the affix they take.

## 2.0 The Agent

The Agent, in the simplest sense, is the doer of the action. However, it does not suffice. Agentivity is not a simple thing and has been widely debated in linguistics.

Schachter and Otnes (S & O), in their landmark study *Tagalog Reference Grammar*, used the term Actor to refer to Agent. Theirs is a broad classification of Actor Focus and Goal Focus. Anything that does not belong to the Actor Focus (AF<sup>2</sup>) is Goal Focus (GF), which can be Object (OF), Direction (DF), or both (OF + DF). They further categorized verbs according to transitive and intransitive. They categorized *ma-* and *-um-* verbs of "becoming" or those that are "essentially non-actional (p. 69)" as Actor Focus.

Nauuhaw ang sanggol. 'The baby is getting thirsty.'

Tumatanda ang aso. 'The dog is growing old.' (p. 70)

The authors recognize that it is difficult to decide on the topic-verb semantic relation with this kind of sentences but conclude that the intransitive verbs are normally Actor Focus, meaning that the topic is still the performer of the action of the verb.

S & O also conducted a survey of major affixes, citing *ma-* as forming transitive AF<sup>2</sup> and OF verbs and intransitive verbs (p. 288), *ma-* *-an* for some intransitive verbs (p. 288), *maka-* in a very few AF<sup>2</sup> transitive and intransitive verbs, and *mag-*, *mang-* and *-um-* as forming major transitive and intransitive AF<sup>2</sup> verbs. They grouped verbs according to their correspondence, i.e., *um* (AF<sup>2</sup>) – *in* (GF), *mag-* & *i-*, *mag-* & *-an*, etc.

Furthermore, they point out that there are many verb bases that occur with *mag-* or *mang-* as well as with *-um-*. For them, some of the *mag-* and *mang-* verbs are best considered as derived from the *-um-* form, while others are best considered as independent major verbs (S & O, p. 92). However, no general rules can be given for the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base with any particular (major) affix.

McFarland further reiterates the unpredictability of base-affix correspondence, stating that they are “subject to a great amount of idiosyncratic behavior. The degree of predictability from one focus form to another is very low (p. 32).”

McFarland follows Schachter and Otnes’ categorization of focuses as AF<sup>2</sup>, OF and DF.

E. Cruz, in her M.A. thesis, follows the basic definition of Actor as the direct performer of the action expressed by the verb (p. 11). Her subcategorization is essentially similar to the other two above, also citing *-um-*, *mag-*, *mang-*, and *ma-* as Actor focus affixes.

Schachter and Otnes, McFarland, and Cruz all agree that affixes UM, MAG, MA, and MANG are Agent Focus affixes, or in their terminology, the Actor Focus. However, they did not provide a list of the verbs with their respective affixes. Only Schachter and Otnes gave notice to how the term Actor could be ascribed with some difficulty to verbs of ‘becoming’ but did not elaborate on it.

This paper differs from all the mentioned literature as it aims to clarify what really is the Agent. It will also provide a list of the verbs with the affix they take and if they take more than one, what is the difference between the resulting forms. It will also be seen that the affixes associated with the prototypical Agent (animate, with volition) are also used in non-prototypical Agent forms and in other thematic roles. This paper also does not rely on the intransitive/transitive dichotomy as such distinction only works for some verbs in Filipino, or in any Philippine language. In fact, direct objects can be embedded in Filipino verbs.

What then is the Agent?

Thematic roles, like the Agent, are a part of the theta-theory which was started by Panini, the renowned Sanskrit grammarian. Its concern is to assign roles to arguments of the verb. There is no general consensus on how to define thematic (or theta/  $\Theta$ ) roles. There is also no agreement on the number of roles. However, it is standard in every discussion to differentiate the Agent from all other roles.

Kate Kearns (2000) defines real Agents as those who have volition and control, with the capacity to decide, have an intent and responsibility. She ranked the properties of agentivity as:

Animate only:

- volition – voluntary involvement in an event or state
- control over involvement in an event or state
- willful initiator or instigator of an event
- consciousness, sentience, perception (experiencer)

Animate or inanimate:

- initiator, instigator or causer of an event or state
- source of force directed at or against another entity
- entity which moves, coming into contact with another entity which is stationary
- entity which moves in a stationary background, or relative to another entity which is stationary (pp. 244-5).

Furthermore, inanimate forces can be natural force, machines, projectiles and those with inherent causal properties (pp. 240-1).

Kearns acknowledges that the whole set is the macrorole of Actor, with many writers using the term Agent to apply only to the animate set.

Van Valin, Jr. (2005) illustrates the relationships in the following diagram:

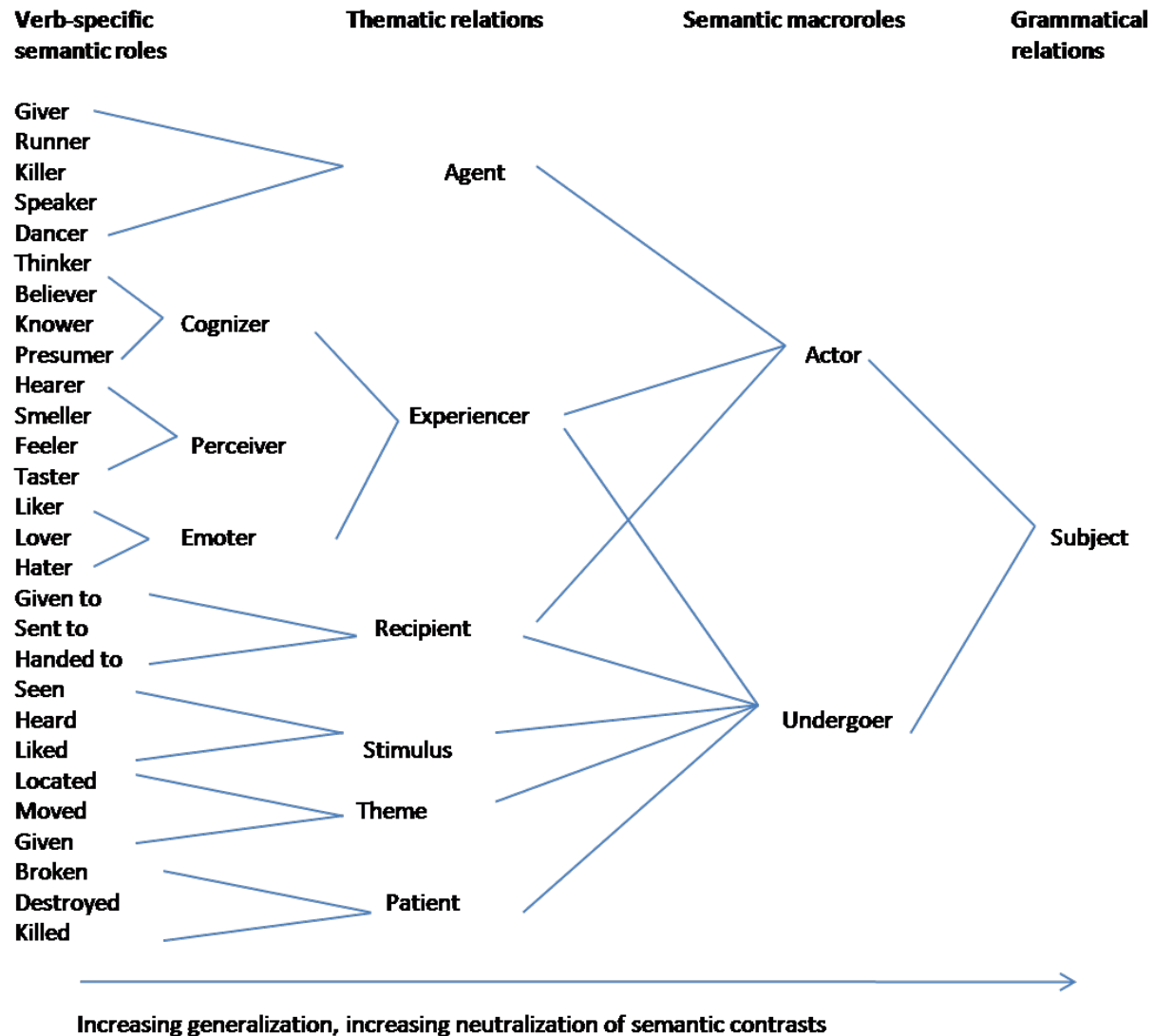


Figure 1. Continuum from verb-specific semantic roles to grammatical relations (p. 54)

Cowper (1992) further widened the category in her position that an agent need not necessarily have intent, as long as it has capacity for volition. Palmer (1994) agrees with this notion that causation can be extended beyond deliberate action from animate beings.

Despite the many definitions, authors generally agree that true Agents are typically animate, acting with volition and intention. For this paper, the animate Agent with volition is the true Agent, adding some for non-prototypical Agents (non-human or animal) and 'Acts of God.'

UM, MAG, MA, MANG are Agent Focus affixes, with the Agents capable of doing the actions out of their own volition. MANG can either be replacive or assimilative. It is assimilative, as the word suggests, if it assimilates to the properties of the first segment of the root, by way of regressive assimilation. Variants of MANG are MAN- and MAM- with the environments

mang- → man-/ \_\_\_\_ d, l, r, s, t

mam-/ \_\_\_\_ p, b

mang-/ elsewhere

It is replacive when it totally replaces the first segment of the stem, e.g., nang+ kuha → nanguha.

However, during the research, it surfaced that these same affixes are used also to come up with not only the Agent, but also other theta-roles, making the differentiations below necessary. UM, MAG, MA and MANG do not mean the same in all instances.

Experiencer, which meshes with the Agent in the diagram above as part of the Actor macrorole, is used for verbs of perception and emotion. It is clear that perceivers are different from the true agent, as they do not initiate the action (Palmer, p. 9). They may even be at the receiving end of a stimulus, which explains why it is also related to the Undergoer. If Cowper's definition of Agent is used, allowing those whose action is not of own volition but the actors are capable of acting willfully, then Experiencer can be considered an Agent. However, the Experiencer is taken as a different theta-role in this paper.

Verbs of 'becoming' or state usually taking the UM affix are also not typical actors, as noticed by Schachter and Otnes. In this paper, the subjects are classified as Theme following Kearns' definition that they undergo "a change of state in the course of the event" (p. 189). It

also has ‘affectedness,’ or “affected or altered in some way by an event or state” (p. 245). It is also similar to Haegeman’s definition of Theme as “the entity affected by the action or state expressed by the predicate” (p. 50). The verbs become ‘verbs of state’ in that they describe the change of state an entity undergoes, as can be seen in the verbs below. It can be that the Theme meshes with the term Patient, as these two terms are not yet fully differentiated. But it is clear that verbs ‘of becoming’ have Theme for complement. It is also evident that the complement is not an Agent, yet the verbs still take the affixes that are used to produce an Agent focus construction.

The affixes UM and MAG are the two most associated as basic Agent Focus affixes. The prefix MA (*ma-*) occurs with only a few verb roots in AF, as it is more used for Goal Focus and modal constructions. The prefix MANG (*mang-*) is also used for basic AF and at times, modal constructions. The dichotomy of the infix UM (*-um-*) and the prefix MAG (*mag-*) has been the subject of many discussions. As will be shown below, there are times when the UM produces a state (Theme) while those with MAG are real Agents. The focus had always been on UM and MAG but there is also a dichotomy between UM and MA, UM and MANG, MAG and MA, MAG and MANG, and a three- and four- way differentiation of these affixes.

Each of the verbs is conjugated for aspect and subject to the following rules:

Aspect	UM	MAG	MA	MANG assimilative	MANG replative
<b>Infinitive</b>	- insert the infix <i>-um-</i> between the first two segments (CV <sub>1</sub> ) of stem/base	- add prefix <i>mag-</i> to stem	-prefix <i>ma-</i> to stem	- add prefix <i>mang-</i> to stem + assimilation	- add prefix <i>mang-</i> to stem -assimilate to 1 <sup>st</sup> segment of stem, then erase 1 <sup>st</sup> segment
<b>Perfective</b>	same as infinitive	-add <i>nag-</i> to stem	-add <i>na-</i> to stem	-add <i>nang-</i> to stem + assimilation	- add <i>nang-</i> to stem + assimilation -erase 1 <sup>st</sup> segment of stem

<b>Imperfective</b>	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> - insert <i>-um-</i> between CV <sub>1</sub> of stem	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> - add <i>nag-</i> to stem	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> -add <i>na-</i> to stem	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> -add <i>nang-</i> to stem + assimilation	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> add <i>nang-</i> to stem + assimilation -erase 1 <sup>st</sup> segment of stem
<b>Contemplative</b>	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub>	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> - add <i>mag-</i> to stem	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> -add <i>ma-</i> to stem	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> -add <i>mang-</i> to stem + assimilation	- repeat CV <sub>1</sub> add <i>mang-</i> to stem + assimilation -erase 1 <sup>st</sup> segment of stem

No word starts with a vowel. However, orthographically, words are written with an initial vowel. For those taking *-um-*, just add the *um-* before the vowel. For consonants, follow the rules above. For those taking *mag-*, add *mag-* to root plus a hyphen. Same rule applies to *mang-* assimilative. For *ma-*, prefix it to the word.

Below is a list of the verbs grouped under Agents, Nature, Non-Volitional Agents, Experiencer and Themes in their respective affixes. For those which take more than one affix, the differentiation/distribution is given. As seen in the diagram above, all these roles are Subjects.

### 3.0 List of Verbs

The list below provides the stress and the glottal stops. It does not add an additional 'h' to words orthographically ending in a vowel, as, according to Zorc, a zero and an 'h' are in free variation.

Take note of the following abbreviations:

s.t. 'something'

s.o. 'someone'

PL 'plural'

REC 'reciprocal'

SS 'stress shift'

DO 'direct object'

Verbs that choose only one of the four affixes are listed first, followed by verbs which can take two or more affixes.

### 3.1 AGENT

#### 3.1.1 UM

These verbs take UM to focus the Agent.

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'?ako?	'to claim/assume responsibility'	Umako siya sa kasalanan niya.
'?angal	'to complain'	Umangal siya sa dami ng pinapagawa.
'?asa	'to hope'	Umasa siya sa sinabi niya.
?a'take	'to attack'	Umatake ang mga kalaban nila.
'?ayaw	'to dislike'	Umayaw siya sa pagkain.
'banat	'to say/point out'	Bumanat siya ng biro.
'banggit	'to mention'	Bumanggit si Pedro ng limang pangalan.
bi'gay	'to give up'	Bumigay na siya.
bi'sita	'to visit'	Bumisita siya sa nanay niya.
bu'?o	'to assemble/compose'	Bumuo siya ng isang organisasyon.
'buhay	'to give/bring to life'	Bumuhay ang doktor ng aso.
bu'long	'to whisper'	Bumulong siya sa akin.
'bunot	'to extract'	Bumunot siya ng ngipin.
'bunot	'to draw lots'	Bumunot siya sa raffle.
da'?ing	'to groan/moan'	Dumaing siya sa sakit.
'dalaw	'to visit'	Dumalaw siya sa maysakit.
'damay	'to help/condole'	Dumamay siya sa biktima.
'dapo?	'to alight'	Dumapo ang ibon sa sanga.
da'ting	'to arrive	Dumating siya kahapon.
'dayo	'to visit'	Dumayo siya sa probinsiya.
di'nig	'to hear a court case'	Duminig siya ng kaso.
'gala?	'to stroll'	Gumala siya sa Maynila.
ga'law	'to move'	Gumalaw siya.
'gastos	'to spend'	Gumastos siya nang malaki.
ga'wa?	'to do/to make'	Gumawa siya ng sulat.
'gilid	'to go to side'	Gumilid siya sa kalsada.
'guhit	'to draw'	Gumuhit siya ng larawan.
halak'hak	'to laugh loudly'	Humalakhak siya dahil sa pelikula.
ha'rurot	'to speed up'	Humarurot siya ng takbo.
hik'bi?	'to sob'	Humikbi ang bata.
'hilig	'to lean'	Humilig siya sa balikat ni Pedro.
hi'ling	'to wish'	Humiling siya sa diwata.
hi'nga	'to breathe'	Huminga ako.



'hirit	'to request/call for'	Humirit siya ng dagdag na baon.
hi'yaw	'to yell'	Humiyaw siya.
'hugot	'to draw/pull out'	Humugot siya ng malalim na buntonghininga.
?in'dak	'to dance/move to the beat/music'	Umindak siya sa tugtog.
?i'nom	'to drink'	Uminom siya ng tubig.
'?iwas	'to evade'	Umiwas siya sa kanya.
?i'yak	'to cry'	Umiyak siya.
'ka?in	'to eat'	Kumain siya ng mansanas.
kam'pi	'to take side'	Kumampi siya kay Pedro.
kan'ta	'to sing'	Kumanta sila.
'kapit'	'to hold'	Kumapit si Maria kay Pedro.
ka'way	'to wave'	Kumaway siya.
'kilos	'to act'	Kumilos na sila.
'kita?	'to earn'	Kumita siya sa pagbenta ng isda.
la'bag	'to violate'	Lumabag siya sa batas.
li'ko?	'to turn/curve/bend'	Lumiko siya.
'limot	'to forget'	Lumimot ka sa ating usapan.
lu'hod	'to kneel'	Lumuhod siya sa simbahan.
ngu'ya?	'to chew'	Ngumuya siya ng nganga.
'panig	'to take sides'	Pumanig siya kay Maria.
'payag	'to agree'	Pumayag siya sa plano.
pi'kit	'to close (eyes)'	Pumikit siya.
pir'ma	'to sign'	Pumirma siya sa kasunduan.
pir'mi	'to stay'	Pumirmi siya sa Canada.
pus'ta	'to bet'	Pumusta siya sa laro.
sak'lolo	'to help'	Sumaklolo ang bumbero.
'sisid	'to dive'	Sumisid siya sa dagat.
subay'bay	'to follow'	Sumubaybay siya sa balita.
su'nod	'to follow'	Sumunod siya sa kanila.
ta'bi	'to be on the side'	Tumabi siya kay Pedro.
ta'himik	'to be silent/quiet'	Tumahimik siya.
ta'lon	'to jump'	Tumalon siya.
'tambay	'to hang out'	Tumambay siya sa mall.
tang'gap	'to receive'	Tumanggap siya ng pera
tang'gi	'to refuse'	Tumanggi siya sa suhol.
'tangis	'to mourn'	Tumangis siya.
ta'ngo?	'to nod'	Tumango siya.
'tawa	'to laugh'	Tumawa siya.
'tawad	'to ask for a discount'	Tumawad siya sa tindera.
'tigil	'to stop'	Tumigil na siya.
ti'li?	'to scream'	Tumili siya.
ti'ngin	'to look'	Tumingin ako sa kanya.

ti'ra	'to live/reside'	Tumira ako sa Manila.
'ti:ra	'to shoot'	Tumira siya sa laro.
'titig	'to stare'	Tumitig siya sa akin.
'tugtog	'to play (an instrument)'	Tumugtog siya sa palabas.
tu'la?	'to recite a poem'	Tumula siya sa programa.
'tulak	'to go'	Tumulak siya patungong Libya
'tulad	'to be alike'	Tumulad siya kay Maria.
'tulong	'to help'	Tumulong siya sa iba.
tu'ngo?	'to look down'	Tumungo siya.
'tutol	'to disagree'	Tumutol siya sa resulta
ʔu'bo	'to cough'	Umubo siya.
'ʔupa	'to rent'	Umupa siya ng bahay.
'ʔusad	'to move forward'	Umusad siya.
yu'ko?	'to look down'	Yumuko siya.

### 3.1.2 UM- Nature as Agent

These verbs are classified under Agent as natural occurrences. They are also referred to as 'Acts of God.'

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'ʔaraw	'to be sunny'	Umaraw na matapos ang bagyo.
bag'yo	'to have a storm/typhoon'	Bumagyo noong isang buwan.
ba'ha?	'to flood'	Bumaha kahapon.
'buhos	'to pour'	Bumuhos ang ulan.
ʔam'bon	'to drizzle'	Umambon muna bago umulan nang malakas.
ham'pas	'to strike/slam'	Humampas ang malakas na alon/hangin.
'hangin	'to blow (wind)'	Humangin nang malakas kanina.
kid'lat	'to produce lightning'	Kumidlat.
ku'log	'to produce thunder'	Kumulog.
lin'dol	'to quake'	Lumindol.
'tubo?	'to grow'	Tumubo ang halaman.
u'lan	'to rain'	Umulan.

### 3.1.3 UM Non-Volitional Agent

These verbs are used for non-volitional or inanimate agents. They follow the definition set by Kearns, as discussed above.

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'ʔagos	'to flow'	Umagos ang tubig.
ʔan'dar	'to start'	Umandar ang kotse.
'ʔapaw	'to overflow'	Umapaw ang tubig.
'gana	'to function'	Gumana ang sasakyan.
la'kas	'to strengthen'	Lumakas ang ulan.

### 3.1.4 UM Agent/Theme & UM NON-volitional Agent

These verbs are conjugated with UM but they can take a volitional Agent or a non-volitional Agent.

VERB	UM Agent	UM Non-volitional Agent
'bagal	'to be slow' Bumagal siya ng pagsasalita.	'to be slow' Bumagal ang tren.
bi'lis	'to be fast' Bumilis siya ng takbo.	'to be fast' Bumilis ang hangin.
'gulong	'to roll' Gumulong siya pababa.	'to roll' Gumulong ang bato.
hin'toʔ	'to stop' Huminto siya sa pag-iyak.	'to stop' Huminto ang ulan.
'ʔihip	'to blow' Umihip siya ng kandila	'to blow' Umihip ang hangin.
kis'lap	'to sparkle' Kumislap ang mata niya. (Theme)	'to sparkle' Kumislap ang mga bituin.

### 3.2 MAG Agent

These verbs take MAG to focus the Agent.

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
ʔa'bang	'to wait/watch out'	Nag-abang siya ng balita.
ʔa'bot	'to hand'	Nag-abot si Kim ng tulong.
'ʔahit	'to shave'	Nag-ahit siya ng bigote.
ʔa'kala	'to assume (wrongly)'	Nag-akala si Kim na aalis si Pedro.

ʔa'laga	'to take care'	Nag-alaga si Bea ng aso.
ʔala'la	'to worry'	Nag-alala si Bea kay Pedro.
'ʔalay	'to offer'	Nag-alay si Pedro ng bulaklak.
'ʔani	'to harvest'	Nag-ani siya ng palay.
'ʔaral	'to study'	Nag-aral si Bea.
ʔa'raro	'to plow'	Nag-araro ang magsasaka.
'bago	'to change'	Nagbago siya ng ugali.
ba'lita	'to announce the news'	Nagbalita siya.
ban'tay	'to watch/guard'	Nagbantay siya sa bahay.
ba'saʔ	'to wet'	Nagbasa siya ng buhok.
'bayad	'to pay'	Nagbayad siya ng utang.
bi'gay	'to give'	Nagbigay siya ng pabuya.
'bihis	'to dress/to change clothes'	Nagbihis siya ng damit.
'bilin	'to remind/request'	Nagbilin siya sa kapatid niya
bit'bit	'to carry'	Nagbitbit siya ng bayong.
bu'not	'to scrub'	Nagbunot siya ng sahig.
da'la	'to bring/ to carry'	Nagdala siya ng aso.
da'sal	'to pray'	Nagdasal siya.
dik'ta	'to dictate'	Nagdikta siya ng eksam.
di'lig	'to water'	Nagdilig siya ng halaman.
desis'yon	'to decide'	Nagdesisyon na siya.
'diwang	'to celebrate'	Nagdiwang sila ng kaarawan.
'duda	'to doubt'	Nagduda ako sa kanya.
'habiʔ	'to weave'	Naghabi ang gagamba ng sapot.
ha'bilin	'to remind/leave a will'	Naghabilin siya sa kanyang apo.
'hagis	'to throw'	Naghagis siya ng bola.
'haʔin	'to serve'	Naghain siya ng lechon.
halung'kat	'to search'	Naghalungkat siya sa mga damit.
ham'bing	'to compare'	Naghambing siya ng presyo.
ha'ngad	'to desire'	Naghangad siyang makatapos.
ha'tid	'to deliver'	Naghatid siya ng pagkain.
hima'laʔ	'to make a miracle'	Naghimala ang Papa.
'hintay	'to wait'	Naghintay siya ng bus.
'hiwaʔ	'to cut'	Naghiwa siya ng sibuyas.
hu'bad	'to undress'	Naghubad siya ng damit.
'hugas	'to wash (body, utensils)	Naghugas siya ng kamay at plato.
huramen'tado	'to run amok'	Naghuramentado siya.
im'bento	'to invent'	Nag-imbento siya ng radio.
'ingat	'to take care'	Nag-ingat siya sa pagmamaneho.
'kahig	'to scratch (soil/ground)'	Nagkahig siya ng lupa.
ka'may	'to use the hands'	Nagkamay sila sa pagkain.
ka'sal	'to wed'	Nagkasal ang pari kanina.

'katay	'to kill'	Nagkatay sila ng baboy para sa piyesta.
'kita?	'to see' (PL)	Nagkita kami/sila.
'klase	'to conduct a class'	Nagklase ang guro.
kumpa'ra	'to compare'	Nagkumpara siya ng mga presyo.
'kwenta	'to count'	Nagkwenta ang teller ng pera sa bangko.
la'?an	'to reserve'	Naglaan siya ng pera sa bangko.
la'ba	'to wash clothes'	Naglaba siya kanina.
'laga?	'to boil'	Naglaga siya ng baboy.
lak'bay	'to travel'	Naglakbay siya sa ibang bansa.
la'ko?	'to peddle'	Naglako siya ng mani.
lam'bing	'to show affection'	Naglambing siya sa nanay niya.
la'ro	'to play'	Naglaro kami.
las'las	'to lacerate'	Naglaslas siya.
la'yag	'to sail'	Naglayag sila sa Caribbean.
'luto?	'to cook'	Nagluto siya ng ulam.
lu'wal	'to give birth'	Nagluwal siya ng kambal.
ma'hal	'to love'	Nagmahal siya nang lubos.
mu'la	'to come from'	Nagmula siya sa Espanya.
'nakaw	'to steal'	Nagnakaw siya.
pahi'nga	'to rest'	Nagpahinga siya.
pa'rusa	'to punish'	Nagparusa siya ng preso.
'pasa	'to pass/hand something over'	Nagpasa siya ng proyekto.
pa'san	'to carry/to bear'	Nagpasan siya ng malaking bag.
'payo	'to give advice'	Nagpayo siya sa mga bata.
pin'ta	'to paint'	Nagpinta siya ng bulaklak.
'plantsa	'to iron'	Nagplantsa siya ng damit.
'punas	'to wipe'	Nagpunas siya ng aparador
pu'no?	'to fill'	Nagpu'no? siya ng balde.
'sabi	'to say'	Nagsabi siya ng bilin niya.
'sagwan	'to paddle'	Nagsagwan siya sa dagat.
'sa?ing	'to cook rice'	Nagsaing siya.
'salin	'to translate'	Nagsalin siya ng isang dokumento.
'salin	'to transfer'	Nagsalin siya ng tubig sa baso.
sali'ta?	'to speak'	Nagsalita siya.
sam'pay	'to hang (usu. clothes)'	Nagsampay siya sa labas.
'sanay	'to train'	Nagsanay siya ng taekwondo.
sa'ra	'to close'	Nagsara siya ng pintuan.
sa'?uli	'to return s.t.'	Nagsauli siya ng libro.
sa'way	'to forbid/prohibit'	Nagsaway siya ng makukulit na bata.
si'bak	'to chop wood'	Nagsibak siya ng kahoy.
'sikap	'to give effort/to persevere'	Nagsikap siya para makatapos.

suk'lay	'to comb'	Nagsuklay siya ng buhok.
simu'la	'to start'	Nagsimula siya ng proyekto.
sum'bong	'to accuse'	Nagsumbong siya sa pulis.
ta'ka	'to doubt'	Nagtaka ako.
ta'hi?	'to sew'	Nagtahi siya ng damit.
ta'gal	'to stay'	Nagtagal siya sa bahay.
'tago?	'to hide'	Nagtago siya sa Hong Kong.
tag'po?	'to meet'	Nagtagpo sila sa bundok.
ta'kip	'to cover'	Nagtakip siya ng ilong
tak'sil	'to betray'	Nagtaksil siya sa pamilya niya.
'tali?	'to string together/bind'	Nagtali siya ng buhok.
'talo	'to quarrel/get into an argument' (PL)	Nagtalo sila.
tam'bak	'to pile'	Nagtambak siya ng basura.
tam'bal	'to pair up' (PL)	Nagtambal sila sa pelikula.
tang'gal	'to remove'	Nagtanggal siya ng salamin.
ta'nong	'to ask'	Nagtanong siya sa akin.
ta'pat	'to tell the truth'	Nagtapat siya sa kanya.
'tapon	'to throw'	Nagtapon siya ng basura.
ta'tag	'to build/institute'	Nagtatag siya ng organisasyon.
ti'pis	'to bear/endure'	Nagtiis siya sa hirap.
tim'pi?	'to control self'	Nagtimpi siya sa kanya.
tin'da	'to sell'	Nagtinda siya sa palengke.
ti'pid	'to be thrifty'	Nagtitipid ako.
'tipon	'to convene'	Nagtipon sila.
ti'ra	'to leave'	Nagtira siya ng pagkain.
'tulak	'to push'	Nagtulak siya ng kariton.
'turo?	'to teach'	Nagturo siya sa UP.
'?ulat	'to report'	Nag-ulat siya sa klase.
'?usap	'to converse' (PL)	Nag-usap sila.
'?utos	'to command'	Nag-utos siya sa kanya.
wal'das	'to waste'	Nagwaldas siya ng pera.
wa'lis	'to sweep'	Nagwwalis siya ng sahig.
'wika?	'to say'	Nagwika siya ng mga bugtong.

### 3.2.1 MAG + Stress Shift Agent

These verbs also use MAG, but they undergo stress shift from the penultima to the ultima.

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'balak	'to plan'	Nagba'lak siyang pumunta sa France.

'banat	'to stretch'	Nagba'nat siya ng buhok.
'bawas	'to deduct/reduce'	Nagba'was siya ng timbang.
'biro?	'to joke'	Nagbi'ro siya.
'hirap	'to work hard'	Naghi'rap siya para makatapos.
'?ipon	'to save'	Nag-i'pon siya para makabili ng bahay.
'isip	'to think'	Nag-i'sip siya.
kun'wari?	'to pretend'	Nagkunwa'ri siya.
'sayang	'to waste'	Nagsa'yang siya ng pera.
'sukat	'to measure'	Nagsu'kat siya ng baywang.
'tapon	'to waste'	Nagta'pon siya ng pera
'tapos	'to finish/graduate'	Nagta'pos siya ng kursong Linguistics.
'turo?	'to point'	Nagtu'ro? siya ng kasama.
'yaya?	'to invite'	Nagya'ya? siya ng mga bisita.

### 3.2.2 MAG NON-VOLITIONAL AGENT

The example below is the only word that came up in the research that uses a Non-volitional Agent for MAG.

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
da'ʔan	'to pass'	Nagdaan ang panahon.

### 3.3 MA Agent

There are a few words that take MA to focus a volitional Agent. Most of the verbs that use MA indicate a Theme, Experiencer or a modal form.

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'hilig	'to be fond of'	Nahilig siya sa pansit.
ki'nig	'to listen'	Nakinig ako ng musika.
'ligo?	'to bathe'	Naligo siya.
'nood'	'to watch'	Nanood siya ng sine.
'tulog	'to sleep'	Natulog siya.

### 3.4 MANG Agent

MANG is also used for Agent Focus. There are two kinds—assimilative and replative. The assimilative, as the word suggests, assimilates to the sound of the first segment of the root by way of regressive assimilation. The replatives replace the first segment of the root.

### 3.4.1 Assimilative

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'ʔagaw	'to snatch/grab'	Nang-agaw siya ng bag.
'dayaʔ	'to cheat'	Nandaya siya sa laro.
'galing	'to come from'	Nanggaling siya sa Espanya.
'gigil	'to be giddy'*	Nanggigil siya sa baby.
'gulpi	'to beat severely'	Nanggulpi siya ng aso.
'hula	'to guess'	Nanghula lang siya sa eksam.
ʔis'nab	'to ignore'	Nang-isnab siya ng kaaway.
'laʔit	'to ridicule'	Nanlait siya ng kakilala niya.
ma'ta	'to lood down on s.o/to ridicule'	Nangmata siya.

\**gigil* can refer to an irresistible urge to pinch or squeeze someone because of being cute/being liked or loved. It can also mean gritting the teeth, or other physical display involved in being too angry.

### 3.4.2 Replative

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'kamkam	'to usurp'	Nangamkam siya ng lupa.
kumbin'si	'to convince'	Nagumbinsi siya ng iba.
pa'ngakoʔ	'to promise'	Nangako siya sa magulang niya.
pu'hunan	'to invest'	Namuhunan siya sa Pilipinas.
sa'bunot	'to pull s.o. hair'	Nanabunot siya.
sa'kal	'to choke'	Nanakal siya ng kalaban.
sa'kit	'to hurt'	Nanakit siya.
sam'pal	'to slap'	Nanampal siya.
sa'pak	'to punch'	Nanapak siya sa bar.
si'ngil	'to collect debt'	Naningil siya ng utang.
'subok	'to spy, peep'	Nanubok siya.

## 3.5 EXPERIENCER



The Experiencer role, as defined above, is used for verbs of perception and emotion, as listed below. UM, MAG, MA and MANG, aside from being used for the Agent role, are also used for the Experiencer.

### 3.5.1 UM

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'danas	'to experience'	Dumanas siya ng kahirapan.
'?ibig	'to love'	Umibig siya kay Pedro.
li'gaya	'to be happy'	Lumigaya siya.
sa'kit	'to hurt'	Sumakit ang tiyan niya.

### 3.5.2 MAG

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
dam'dam	'to feel (negatively)'	Nagdamdam siya kay Pedro.
'dusa?	'to suffer'	Nagdusa siya.
tam'po	'to sulk/to be displeased'	Nagtampo siya.

### 3.5.3 MA

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'?awa?	'to pity'	Naawa siya sa bata.
'gutom	'to be hungry'	Nagutom siya.
hi'ya?	'to be ashamed/shy'	Nahiya siya sa kanya.
'lungkot	'to become sad'	Nalungkot siya sa balita.
man'hid	'to be numb'	Namanhid ang paa niya.
ngi'nig	'to shake'	Nanginig siya sa takot.
pi'kon	'to lose patience'	Napikon siya.
taran'ta	'to be unnerved'	Nataranta siya sa balita.
'tawa	'to laugh'	Nata'wa siya. +SS
'tuwa?	'to be happy'	Natuwa siya
'?uhaw	'to be thirsty'	Nau'haw siya dahil mainit. +SS
win'dang	'to be harried/unnerved'	Nawindang siya sa maraming isusulat.
ya'mot	'to be irritated'	Nayamot siya sa resulta ng laro.

### 3.5.4 MANG

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'kawit	'to be tired'	Nangawit siya sa kakatayo.
ki'labot	'to be terrified'	Nangilabot siya sa litrato.
sa'bik	'to be eager/wanting'	Nanabik siya sa kanya.

### 3.6 THEMES

In the literature, UM, MAG, MANG, and MA are all regarded as the Actor focus affixes and are not differentiated. In the course of the research, the following verbs clearly are not Agents. The theta-role Theme is used for these verbs, following the definition by Kearns and Haegeman.

#### 3.6.1 UM

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'ʔalat	'to become salty'	Umalat ang pansit.
'ʔasim	'to become sour'	Umasim ang paksiw.
bi'gat	'to become heavy'	Bumigat ang timbang niya.
da'liʔ	'to become easy'	Dumali ang eksam.
'dami	'to increase in number'	Dumami ang mga botante.
du'goʔ	'bleed'	Dumugo ang ilong niya
ga'ling	'to heal'	Gumaling siya.
ga'ling	'to become better'	Gumaling siya sa pagkanta.
'gana	'to function'	Gumana ang radyo.
gan'da	'to be beautiful'	Gumanda si Betty.
'guhoʔ	'to collapse'	Gumuho ang gusali.

'haba?	'to lengthen'	Humaba ang paa niya.
ham'pas	'to strike/slam'	Humampas ang ulo niya sa sanga.
ʔik'li?	'to shorten'	Umikli ang buhok niya.
kaun'ti?	'to lessen'	Kumaunti ang dala niya pauwi.
ki'nang	'to shine'	Kuminang ang alahas.
ku'lo?	'to boil'	Kumulo ang tubig.
la'kas	'to be strong'	Lumakas ang katawan niya.
la'kas	'to be loud'	Lumakas ang boses niya.
la'la?	'to worsen'	Lumala ang sakit niya.
'linaw	'to be clear'	Luminaw ang paningin niya.
pa'ʔit	'to become bitter'	Pumait ang ampalaya.
'pangit	'to be ugly'	Pumangit na siya.
pa'sa	'to pass (i.e. an exam)	Pumasa siya sa audition
sa'ma?	'to become bad'	Sumama siya.
sa'rap	'to become delicious/tasty'	Sumarap ang pagkain.
'sayad	'to touch the floor/ground'	Sumayad ang palda niya.
'sobra	'to exceed/be in excess of'	Sumobra ang bayad niya.
ta'ba?	'to be fat'	Tumaba siya noong bakasyon.
ta'bang	'to be bland'	Tumabang ang adobo.
'tagas	'to leak'	Tumagas ang tubig sa gripo.
ta'gos	'to penetrate'	Tumagos ang itak sa bituka niya.
ta'lino	'to be smart'	Tumalino ang bata.
ta'mis	'to become sweet'	Tumamis ang spaghetti.
'tangos	'to be prominent (nose)'	Tumangos ang ilong niya.
ta'tag	'to strengthen'	Tumatag ang kanilng negosyo.
'tibay	'to be durable/sturdy'	Tumibay ang kalamnan niya.
ti'lapon	'to be thrown'	Tumilapon ang dala niya.
'tubo?	'to profit'	Tumubo siya sa negosyo.
'tulo?	'to drip'	Tumulo ang ulan sa bubong.

ʔun'lad	‘to develop’	Umunlad ang Pilipinas.
ʔus'bong	‘to grow’	Umusbong ang negosyo niya.
'yaman	‘to be rich’	Yumaman ang mahirap.

### 3.6.2 MAG

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'hirap	‘to become poor’	Naghirap na ang mayamang pamilya.
'kasya	‘to fit/be enough’	Nagkasya ang pagkain/Nagkasya siya sa damit.
'kulang	‘to be inadequate’	Nagkulang ang pagkain.
'laway	‘to spittle’	Nagla'way ang aso. + SS
ma'hal	‘to become expensive’	Nagmahal ang presyo ng gulay
'mana	‘to inherit’	Nagmana siya sa lolo niya.
pa'saʔ	‘to be bruised’	Nagpasa ang kamay niya.
tag'lay	‘to possess’	Nagtaglay siya ng kapangyarihan.
tagum'pay	‘to succeed’	Nagtagumpay siya sa laban.

### 3.6.3 MA

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
bi'ngi	‘to be deaf’	Nabingi siya sa putukan.
bu'lok	‘to decay/spoil’	Nabulok ang mangga.
bun'tis	‘to be pregnant’	Nabuntis siya.
da'ʔig	‘to surpass’	Nadaig niya si Pedro.
hi'nog	‘to become ripe’	Nahinog na ang mangga.
hu'li	‘to be late’	Nahu'li siya.
lan'taʔ	‘to wilt’	Nalanta ang bulaklak.
li'gaw	‘to be lost’	Naligaw siya sa Baguio.
li'to	‘to be confused’	Nalito siya sa maraming pagpipilian.
'lugiʔ	‘to have a deficit/lose in	Nalugi sila.

	business/deal'	
'lunod	'to drown'	Nalunod siya sa lawa.
'nalo	'to win'	Nanalo ako.
'panis	'to spoil'	Napanis ang ulam.
'pilay	'to be crippled'	Napilay siya sa aksidente.
'pipi?	'to be mute'	Napipi ang bata.
'sugat	'to be wounded'	Nasugat siya.
'talo	'to lose'	Natalo siya.
'tinag	'to budge'	Natinag siya sa kinatatayuan niya.
tu'yo?	'to dry'	Natuyo ang buhok niya.

### 3.6.4 MANG

VERB	GLOSS	EXAMPLE
'bunga?	'to bear fruit'	Namunga ang puno.
ka?i'langan	'to be in need of'	Nangailangan siya ng pera.
'yari	'to happen'	Nangyari na ang inaasahan.

## 3.7 COMBINATIONS

### 3.7.1 UM & MAG

The UM and MAG dichotomy is a subject of interest to many Filipino learners. Essentially, the verbs are from the same root. They just get additional meaning/s from the affixes. They are divided according to their meaning differences.

#### 3.7.1.1 UM Singular, MAG dual-reciprocal or plural

VERB	UM	MAG
'ʔa:bot	'to catch up to something' Umabot siya sa tren.	'to catch up' PL/REC Nag-abot sila sa mall.
'bati?	'to greet' Bumati siya sa kanyang kaibigan.	'to reconcile/greet one another'+ SS PL/REC Nagbati na ang magkaaway.
ha'rap	'to face' Humarap siya sa testigo.	'to face each other' PL/REC Nagharap sila.

'hati?	'to halve' Humati siya ng keyk.	'to halve' Naghati siya ng keyk.
		'to share' Naghati sila sa keyk.
'hawak	'to hold' Humawak siya sa poste.	'to hold' PL/REC Nag'hawak sila ng kamay.
hiwa'lay	'to separate' Humiwalay siya sa grupo.	'to separate from each other' REC 'Naghiwalay ang magkasintahan.'
ka'may	'to shake hands' Kumamay siya sa presidente.	'to shake hands' REC 'Nagkamay sila.
'laban	'to fight' Lumaban siya sa 'bully.'	'to fight' -PL/REC Naglaban kami.
'lapit	'to come near' Lumapit siya.	'to come near' + SS -PL/REC Nagla'pit sila.
la'yo?	'to go far' Lumayo siya sa kanila.	'to go far/apart' PL/REC Naglayo sila.
sa'bay	'to go with, at the same time' Sumabay ako sa kanya.	'to go with, at the same time' PL Nagsabay kami sa pagkain.
sa'lubong	'to meet' Sumalubong ako sa kanya.	'to meet' + SS REC Nagsalu'bong sila.
ta'pat	'to face' Tumapat siya sa kanya.	'to face' REC Nagtapat sila.
'yakap	'to hug/embrace' Yumakap siya kay Pedro.	'to hug/embrace' REC Nagyakap ang magkaibigan.

### 3.7.1.2 UM to Self & MAG towards another element (direct object)

VERB	UM	MAG
?ak'yat	'to go up'	'to bring s.t./s.o. up'

	Umakyat siya sa hagdan.	Nag-akyat siya ng pagkain.
ʔa'lis	'to go/ to leave' Umalis siya ng bahay.	'to remove' Nag-alis siya ng kalat.
'ʔayos	'to put into order/ to fix' Umayos siya ng upo.	'to put into order/ to fix' Nag-ayos siya ng gripo.
ba'baʔ	'to go down' Bumaba siya ng hagdan.	'to bring s.t. down' Nagbaba siya ng pagkain.
ba'lik	'to return' Bumalik siya sa Laguna.	'to return' Nagbalik siya ng sobrang pera.
balik'tad	'to reverse/change self' Bumalik'tad siya sa kanyang kapartido.	'to reverse/change s.t.' Nagbalik'tad siya ng mga sinampay.
dag'dag	'to add' Dumagdag siya sa bilang.	'to add' Nagdagdag siya ng asin.
di'kit	'to stick' Dumikit siya sa pader.	'to stick [s.t.] Nagdikit siya ng poster.
han'daʔ	'to prepare' Humanda siya.	'to prepare s.t.' Naghanda siya.
la'bas	'to go out' Lumabas ako.	'to go/ bring s.t. out' Naglabas ako ng pera.
la'gay	'to put' Lumagay na siya sa tahimik.	'to put' Naglagay siya ng bulaklak sa plorera.
'lakad	'to walk' Lumakad siya sa kalsada.	'to walk' -can be to self or direct object Naglakad siya/ ng papeles
li'pad	'to fly' Lumipad ang ibon.	'to fly' Naglipad siya ng mga sundalo.
'lipat	'to transfer' Lumipat siya ng upuan.	'to transfer'+SS Nagli'pat siya ng upuan.
pan'hik	'to go up' Pumanhik siya sa hagdan	'to go/bring s.t. up' Nagpanhik siya ng pagkain.
'patong	'to put on top/ over' Pumatong siya sa kalaban niya.	'to put on top/ over' Nagpatong siya ng libro sa mesa.
'sabit	'to hang' Sumabit siya sa dyip.	'to hang s.t.' Nagsabit siya ng kwintas.
sa'kay	'to ride' Sumakay siya sa kotse.	'to ride' Nagsakay siya ng pasahero sa kotse.
'sali	'to join' Sumali siya sa paligsahan.	'to join' Nagsali siya ng alagang aso sa paligsahan.
'sama	'to go along' Sumama siya sa kanila.	'to bring s.o./ s.t. along' Nagsama siya ng iba sa party.
'sulong	'to move forward' Sumulong siya sa paligsahan.	'to move forward' Nagsulong siya ng demanda.

'takas	'to escape' Tumakas siya sa bilangguan.	'to escape with s.t./ s.o.' Nagtakas siya ng alahas.
tak'bo	'to run' Tumakbo siya.	'to run' Nagtakbo siya ng pera.
ta'wid	'to cross' Tumawid siya sa kalsada.	'to cross' Nagtawid siya ng matanda sa kalsada.
ta'yo?	'to stand' Tumayo siya.	'to stand/build/erect s.t.' Nagtayo siya ng gusali.
u'po?	'to sit' Umupo kami.	'to sit' Nag-upo siya ng tuta sa pwesto ng Chief Justice.
'?urong	'to step back/retreat' Umurong siya sa laban.	'to step back/retreat' Nag-urong siya ng demanda.
?u'wi?	'to go home' Umuwi siya galing opisina.	'to go/bring home' Nag-uwi siya ng pasalubong.

### 3.7.1.3 UM Theme & MAG Agent

VERB	UM	MAG
?a'ngat	'to lift/raise' Umangat siya sa ranking.	'to lift/raise' Nag-angat siya ng makina.
bag'sak	'to fail/drop' Bumagsak siya sa eksam.	'to fail/drop' Nagbagsak siya ng estudyante.
'benta	'to sell' Bumenta ang gulay.	'to sell' Nagbenta siya ng gulay.
'buhos	'to pour' Bumuhos ang ulan.	'to pour' Nagbuhos siya ng tubig.
bu'kas	'to open' Bumukas ang pinto.	'to open' Nagbukas siya ng pinto.
'hirap	'to become hard' Humirap ang eksam.	'to work hard' + SS Naghi'rap siya para makatapos.
'ilaw	'to light' Umilaw ang Christmas lights.	'to light' Nag-ilaw siya ng Christmas lights.
'kalat	'to spread' Kumalat ang balita.	'to spread/to mess' +SS Nagka'lat siya ng tsismis.
kulay (i.e. dilaw, pula, itim atbp.)	'to become a specific color' Umitim siya ngayong bakasyon.	'to wear clothes of given color' Nag-itim siya sa party.
'linis	'to clean' Luminis ang bahay.	'to clean' Naglinis siya ng bahay.
'sabog	'to explode' Sumabog ang kotse.	'to sprinkle/spread' Nagsabog ang Diyos ng kagandahan.



sa'ra	'to close' Sumara ang pintuan	'to close' Nagsara siya ng pintuan.
sa'ya	'to be happy' Sumaya sila sa balita.	'to have fun' Nagsaya siya.
sin'di	'to light up' Sumindi ang ilaw.	'to light up' Nagsindi siya ng ilaw.
'sipag	'to be industrious' Sumipag ang bata.	'to be industrious' + SS Nagsi'pag siya sa pag-aaral.
'sungit	'to be irritated' Sumungit siya dahil mainit.	'to be irritated' + SS Nagsu'ngit siya.
ta'as	'to raise' Tumaas ang grado niya.	'to raise' Nagtaas siya ng kamay.
ta'tak	'to mark' Tumatak ang aral sa kanyang isipan.	'to mark' Nagtatak siya ng mga papeles.

In sections 3.7.1.4-5, the differences between the verbs are still not clear-cut as the ones above. However, they still reveal a certain pattern but are still subject to further research. For section 3.7.1.4, UM is more purposive than its MAG counterpart. MAG can be repetitive and intensive, as suggested by Pittman (1966) and L.K Santos (1950). It is noticeable though that some of the conjugations with MAG undergo a stress shift from the penultima to the ultima.

#### 3.7.1.4 UM Purposive, MAG intensive/repetitive

VERB	UM	MAG
'basa	'to read' Bumasa siya ng libro.	'to read' +SS Nagba'sa siya ng libro.
'?isip	'to think' Umisip siya ng ibang paraan.	'to think' + SS Nag-isip siya ng ibang paraan.
la'ngoy	'to swim' Lumangoy siya sa ilog.	'to swim' Naglangoy siya sa ilog.
pun'ta	'to go' -location marked by 'sa' Pumunta siya sa Baguio.	'to go' - location marked by 'ng' Nagpunta siya ng Baguio.
sa'yaw	'to dance' Sumayaw siya.	'to dance' Nagsayaw siya.
'sulat	'to write' Sumulat siya.	'to write Nag'sulat siya.'

#### 3.7.1.5 UM Purposive, MAG unclear

Same as above, this part needs further study. It can be said that UM is purposive, but MAG is unclear. By asking some informants, it appears that there is no difference between the two and they can be in free variation.

VERB	UM	MAG
'bilang	'to count' Bumilang siya ng sampu.	'to count' + SS Nagbi'lang siya ng pera.
da'ʔan	'to pass' Dumaan siya sa bintana.	'to pass' Nagdaan siya sa bintana.
'habol	'to go after' Humabol siya sa pasahan ng papel.	'to go after'+SS Nagha'bol siya ng dyip dahil may strike.
'hanap	'to find/to look for' Humanap siya ng iba.	'to find/to look for' + SS Nagha'nap siya ng bahay.
'lagi	'to stay' Lumagi siya sa bahay ng kapatid niya.	'to stay' +SS Nagla'gi siya sa bahay ng kapatid niya.
'layas	'to leave' Lumayas siya sa kanila.	'to leave' + SS Nagla'yas siya sa kanila.
tu'loy	'to continue' Tumuloy siya sa kursong MassComm.	'to continue' Nagtuloy siya sa kurso.
'ʔulit	'to repeat' -marked by 'sa' or 'ng' 'Umulit siya sa kurso'	'to repeat' -marked by 'ng' Nag-ulit siya ng damit.

### 3.7.1.6 Other Collocations

These verbs have random collocations different from the ones above. They have their specific distributions. The \* means that the option is not used.

VERBS	UM	MAG
ʔa'poy	'to fire' Umapoy ang kalan.	'to fire' - can refer to emotion Nag-apoy ang kanyang damdamin.
di'lim	'to become dark' Dumilim ang paligid.	'to be dark, also idiomatic' Nagdilim ang paningin niya.
'hawak	'to hold' Humawak siya sa poste.	'to hold' + SS Nagha'wak siya ng mainit na bagay.
i'ba	'to differ' Umiba siya ng daan. *Umiba siya ng damit.	'to differ' Nag-iba siya ng daan/damit.

'?ikot	'to rotate' Umikot siya. -can rotate around self (revolve)	'to rotate' + SS Nag-i'kot siya.
pa'lit	'to replace s.o.' Pumalit siya sa pwesto ng pangulo.	'to replace s.t.' Nagpalit siya ng damit.
pi'ga?	'to squeeze' Pumiga siya ng kalamansi.	'to squeeze' Nagpiga siya ng kanyang nilalabhan.
'pigil	'to restrain' Pumigil siya kay Ana.	'to restrain' + SS pigil + emotion Nagpi'gil siya ng galit
'putol	'to cut' Pumutol siya ng puno.	'to cut' Nagputol siya ng puno.
	*part of the body	'to cut' + SS Nagpu'tol siya ng kuko.
'tawag	'to call' -marked by 'sa' or 'ng' Tumawag siya sa/ng bata.	'to call + SS -marked by 'ng' Nagta'wag siya ng bata.

### 3.7.2 UM & MANG

#### 3.7.2.1 MANG Intentional

The following verbs are both Agent focus. However, MANG is more intentional or purposive.

VERB	UM	MANG
'dukot	'to get' Dumukot siya ng pera.	'to snatch' Nandukot siya ng bag.
ga'mot	'to treat' Gumamot siya ng sugat.	'to treat' Nanggamot siya ng sugat.
'harang	'to block' Humarang siya sa kanyon.	'to block' Nangharang siya ng kanyon.
hi'ngi?	'to ask for s.t.' Humingi siya ng pera.	'to ask for s.t.' Nanghingi siya ng pera.
hi'ram	'to borrow' Humiram siya ng libro.	'to borrow' Nanghiram siya ng libro.
'huli	'to catch' Humuli siya ng tutubi.	'to catch' Nanghuli siya ng tutubi.
ka'tok	'to knock'	'to knock'

	Kumatok siya sa kapitbahay'	Nangatok siya ng kapitbahay.
'kuha?	'to get' Kumuha siya ng pagkain.	'to get' Nanguha siya ng pagkain.
'ligaw	'to court/woo' Lumigaw siya kay Maria.	'to court/woo' Nanligaw siya kay Maria.
'lusob	'to charge/assault' Lumusob siya sa kaaway.	'to charge/assault' Nanlusob siya ng kaaway.
pin'tas	'to criticize' Pumintas siya ng kapwa.	'to criticize' Namintas siya ng kapwa.
'sugod	'to charge/to advance' Sumugod sila sa Iraq.	'to charge/to advance' -with specific target Nanugod siya ng kaaway.
sum'pa?	'to promise' Sumumpa siya kay Maria.	'to promise' Nanumpa siya.
sun'tok	'to punch' Sumuntok siya sa tagiliran ng kalaban.	'to punch' Nanuntok siya ng kalaban.
'?utang	'to owe' Umutang siya.	'to owe' Nangutang siya sa kanya.

### 3.7.2.2 MANG Directional

In these verbs, the UM action can be done to the self. It even has the notion of doing the action for the sake of doing it, whereas MANG is always directed to a particular something or someone.

VERB	UM	MANG
'bawi?	Bumawi siya sa paligsahan.	Nambawi siya ng regalo.
'gapang	'to crawl' Gumapang siya.	'to crawl' -can be figurative Nanggapang siya.
si'gaw	'to shout' Sumigaw siya.	'to shout' Nanigaw siya.
'sipa?	'to kick' Sumipa siya.	'to kick' Nanipa siya.
'?ubos	'to consume/finish off' -self Umubos siya ng 3 platong kanin.	'to consume/finish off' -intentional; action intended for another Nang-ubos siya ng kanin.

### 3.7.2.3 UM Theme, MANG Agent

The UM is a Theme while MANG is used for the Agent.

VERB	UM	MANG
gu'lo	'to be in disarray/turmoil' Gumulo ang sitwasyon.	'to disturb/ to cause turmoil' Nanggulo sila.
ku'lit	'to be annoying' Kumulit ang kapatid niya.	'to annoy' Nangulit ang kapatid niya.

### 3.7.2.4 Other Collocations

These are various collocations for the UM and MANG affixes.

VERB	UM	MANG
'ʔapak	'to step on' Umapak siya sa sahig. *Umapak siya ng paa. -used for anything that is really stepped upon	'to step on' Nang-apak siya ng paa. *Nang-apak siya ng sahig. not used for anything that is really stepped upon like floor, ground
'baliʔ	'to break' Bumali siya ng sanga ng kahoy. -cannot be used for body part *bumali siya ng buto.	'to break' Nambali siya ng sanga. -can be used for body part Nambali siya ng daliri.
'gamit	'to use' Gumamit siya ng lapis.	'to use' -for person; derogatory Nanggamit siya ng iba para umangat.
'hila	'to pull' hila + s.t.; not body part Humila siya ng upuan.	'to pull' hila + s.t.; + body part Nanghila siya ng buhok.
'hinaʔ	'to weaken' Humina ang katawan niya.	'to weaken' -more intensive Nanghina siya.
ka'gat	'to bite' Kumagat siya sa mansanas.	'to bite' -thing bitten is animate or part of animate. Nangagat siya ng braso.
'kopya	'to copy' Kumopya siya sa libro.	'to copy' -action directed towards animate (person) Nangopya siya sa katabi niya.
la'ki	'to become big' Lumaki ang mata niya.	'to widen/be big' -used mostly with mata 'eye' Nanlaki ang mata niya.
li'ʔit	'to become small' Lumiit ang mata niya.	'to feel small' Nanliit siya sa harap ng magulang niya.
'paloʔ	'to beat/strike'	'to beat/strike'

	Pumalo siya ng gong.	-object should be animate Namalo siya ng bata.
pi'tas	'to pick (harvest)' Pumitas siya ng bayabas.	'to pick (harvest)' - subject has an automatic plural sense Namitas siya ng bayabas.
sa'got	'to answer' -answer anything Sumagot siya sa tanong.	'to answer' -to answer to a fault/wrongdoing Nanagot siya sa kasalanan niya.
'subok	'to try' Sumubok siya ng ibang laro.	'to try/to test' -limited to pasensya 'patience', kakayahan 'ability' Nanubok siya ng pasensya.
'tapak (see 'ʔapak)	'to step on' Tumapak siya sa lupa.	'to step on' Nanapak siya ng paa. *Nang-apak siya ng sahig.

### 3.7.3 UM & MA

For the following verbs, UM is a volitional Agent while MA is a non-volitional Agent.

VERB	UM	MA
'buhay	'to live' Bumuhay siya ng aso.	'to live' Nabuhay siya.
da'paʔ	'to lie (face down)' Dumapa siya.	'to stumble' Nadapa siya.
'ʔihiʔ	'to pee' Umihi siya.	'to pee' Naihi siya.
'luhaʔ	'to shed tears' Lumuha siya.	'to shed tears' Naluha siya.
ta'himik	'to be silent/quiet' Tumahimik siya.	'to be silent/quiet' Natahimik siya.

#### 3.7.3.1 Other Collocations

VERB	UM	MA
hi'gaʔ	'to lie down' -more intentional Humiga siya sa kama.	'to lie down' Nahiga siya sa kama.

'puri?	'to praise' -Agent Pumuri siya ng kandidata.	'to praise' -Recipient Napuri siya.
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### 3.7.4 UM, MA & MANG

In the following verbs, UM is Agent focus, MANG is also AF but more intentional while MA has a Theme.

VERB	UM	MANG	MA
'pakit	'to attract' Umakit siya ng babae.	'to attract' Nang-akit siya ng babae.	'to be attracted' Naakit siya ng babae.
?a'pi	'to maltreat/abuse' Umapi siya ng bata.	'to maltreat/abuse' Nang-api siya ng bata.	'to be maltreated/abused' Naapi ang bata.
'baril	'to shoot (a gun)' Bumaril siya ng usa.	'to shoot (a gun)' Namaril siya ng usa.	'to be shot' Nabaril ang usa.
'gulat	'to surprise' Gumulat siya ng tao.	'to surprise' Nanggulat siya ng tao.	'to be surprised' Nagulat ang tao.

In the next example, UM is Agent focus with action directed to the self. MANG is also Agent focus but the action has an outward direction. MA has a non-volitional Agent.

VERB	UM	MANG	MA
'gising	'to wake up' Gumising siya nang maaga.	'to wake up' Nanggising siya nang maaga.	'to wake up' Nagising siya nang maaga.

### 3.7.5 UM, MAG & MANG

For this dichotomy, UM has an Agent with action directed to the self, MAG directed to another and MANG is also directed to another and more intentional.

VERB	UM	MAG	MANG
?ak'yat	'to go up' Umakyat siya sa	'to bring s.t./s.o. up' Nag-akyat siya ng	'to go up' Nang-akyat siya ng bahay.

	hagdan.	pagkain.	
bi'li?	'to buy' Bumili siya ng pagkain. -DO can be singular/plural	'to sell' Nagbili siya ng pagkain.	'to buy' Namili siya ng pagkain. -the DO is taken as always plural

In the example below, UM has a Theme, MAG has an Agent and MANG has an Agent whose action is more purposive.

VERB	UM	MAG	MANG
bi'gay	'to give up' Bumigay ang katawan niya.	'to give' Nagbigay siya ng pagkain.	'to give' Namigay siya ng pagkain.

In this dichotomy, UM has an Agent with a unidirectional action, while MAG is reciprocal. MANG has a more purposive Agent.

VERB	UM	MAG	MANG
'laban	'to fight' Lumaban siya sa 'bully'.	'to fight' -PL/REC Naglaban kami.	'to fight back' +SS Nanla'ban siya.

Below are other collocations of the three-way dichotomy.

VERB	UM	MAG	MANG
gu'pit	'to cut' Gumupit siya ng papel. Gumupit + s.t.	'to cut' Naggupit + body part (buhok, kuko) -can be done to self or directed to another	'to cut' Nanggupit siya ng buhok. Nanggupit + body part (buhok, kuko) -directed towards another
pa'tay	'to kill s.t/s.o. animate' Pumatay siya.	'to turn off s.t. inanimate' Nagpatay siya ng ilaw.	'to die' Theme Namatay siya.
sak'sak	'to stab/plunge/thrust' animate	'to stab/plunge/thrust' inanimate Nagsaksak siya ng TV.	'to be stabbed' Theme Nasaksak siya.



	Sumaksak siya ng tao.		
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### 3.7.6 MAG & MA

#### 3.7.6.1 MAG Agent, MA Theme

In the following verbs, the MAG affix is Agent Focus, while MA produces a Theme complement.

VERB	MAG	MA
ʔa'lok	'to offer' Nag-alok siya ng tulog.	'to be offered' Naalok siya ng tulong.
'basag	'to break' + SS Nagba'sag siya ng plorera.	'to be broken' Nabasag ang plorera.
'durog	'to crush/pulverize' + SS Nagdu'rog siya ng sili.	'to be crushed' Nadurog ang sili.
ha'lal	'to elect' Naghalal sila ng pangulo.	'to be elected' Nahalal siya bilang pangulo.
'hulog	'to drop' Naghulog siya ng piso.	'to drop' Nahulog siya sa upuan.
ku'long	'to lock/imprison' Nagkulong siya.	'to be imprisoned' Nakulong siya.
'laglag	'to drop' Naglaglag siya ng barya.	'to drop/fall' Nalaglag ang pera.
'mulat	'to educate/nurture' Nagmulat siya ng mga isip.	'to be educated/learned/nurtured' Namulat siya sa maraming bagay.
'pakoʔ	'to nail' Nagpako siya ng kabinet.	'to nail' Napako siya sa krus.
pu'noʔ	'to fill' Nagpuno siya ng dram.	'to be full' Napuno ang dram ng tubig.
sang'kot	'to involve' Nagsangkot siya ng iba sa krimen.	'to be involved' Nasangkot siya sa krimen.
'sayang	'to waste' + SS Nagsa'yang siya ng pera.	'to waste' Nasayang ang pera.
'sunog	'to burn' + SS Nagsu'nog siya ng papel.	'to be burned' Nasunog ang papel.
tad'tad	'to chop/mince' Nagtadtad siya ng sibuyas.	'to be chopped' Natadtad ang sibuyas.
'taliʔ	'to bind' Nagtali siya ng buhok.	'to be bound' Natali siya sa asawa niya.
tang'gal	'to remove' Natanggal siya ng pintura.	'to remove' Natanggal ang pintura.

tum'ba	'to topple' Nagtumba siya ng puno.	'to be toppled' Natumba ang puno.
'tunaw	'to melt' + SS Nagtu'naw siya ng yelo.	'to melt' Natunaw ang yelo.
wa'la?	'to lose (self)' Nagwala siya.	'to lose/be lost' Nawala siya/ Nawala ang singsing niya.
'yari?	'to make' Nagyari siya ng damit.	'to be made' Nayari ang damit.

### 3.7.7 MAG & MANG

MANG has a more purposive Agent complement than MAG.

VERB	MAG	MANG
'?away	'to fight/quarrel' PL (plural)/ REC (reciprocal) Nag-away si Bea at Pedro.	'to fight/quarrel' can be singular Nang-away si Bea ng kaibigan.
'sira?	'to destroy' +SS Nagsi'ra siya ng gamit.	'to destroy' -more intentional Nanira siya ng gamit.

In the next examples, verbs affixed with MAG can have action directed to no one in particular or to self while MANG verbs are always directed to another and more purposive.

VERB	MAG	MANG
'hagis	'to throw' Naghagis siya ng confetti.	'to throw' Nanghagis siya ng itak.
'pahid	'to wipe' -self Nagpahid siya ng lotion.	'to wipe' -directed to another Namahid siya ng pawis.

Below are other collocations of MAG and MANG.

?a'nak	'to bear child' Nag-anak siya ng marami.	'to bear child' (actual giving birth) Nanganak siya kahapon.
'iwan	'to leave s.t.' Nag-iwan siya ng pera.	'to leave (a person)' Nang-iwan siya.

### 3.7.8 MANG & MA

#### 3.7.8.1 MANG Intentional & MA Experiencer

In the following, MANG takes an Agent complement while that of MA is an Experiencer.

VERB	MANG	MA
ʔa'sar	'to taunt' Nang-asar siya.	'to be irritated' Naasar siya.
big'laʔ	'to surprise' Nambigla siya.	'to be surprised.' Nabigla siya.
'galit	'to anger' Nanggalit si Pedro'	'to be angry' Nagalit si Pedro.
gu'lantang	'to surprise' Nanggulantang siya.	'to be surprised' Nagulantang siya sa balita.
ʔi'nis	'to irritate' Nang-inis siya ng kasama.	'to be irritated' Nainis ang kasama niya.
'takot	'to fear' Nanakot siya.	'to fear/be afraid' Natakot siya.

In the next examples, MANG has an Agent while MA has a Theme complement.

VERB	MANG	MA
'damay	'to implicate' Nandamay siya ng iba.	'to be implicated' Nadamay siya sa gulo.
ham'pas	'to strike' Nanghampas siya ng kahoy.	'to be struck' Nahampas siya ng kahoy.
'huli	'to catch' Nanghuli siya ng isda.	'to be caught' Na'huli siya ng pulis.
salan'taʔ	'to damage' Nanalanta ng pananim ang mga balang.	'to be damaged' Nasalanta ang mga pananim.

### 3.7.9 MAG, MANG & MA

In the first example, MA has an Experiencer for a complement, MAG has an Agent with action directed to self, and MANG's action is directed to another. In the second, MA has a Theme, MAG is directed to self and MANG is directed to another.

VERB	MA	MAG	MANG
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ʔa'liw	'to entertain' Naaliw siya (EXP.)	'to entertain' Nag-aliw siya.	'to entertain' Nang-aliw siya ng bata.
'loko	'to be deceived' Naloko siya ng swindler.	'to deceive/fool around' +SS Naglo'ko siya sa pag-aaral.	'to deceive' Nanloko siya.

### 3.7.10 UM, MAG, MA, MANG

There are two verbs that take all four of the affixes in this study. In the first example, UM has an Agent with action directed to self, MAG with action directed to another, MA has a Theme and MANG has a more purposive agent with action directed externally. In the second, UM takes a non-volitional Agent, a volitional MAG Agent, a Theme for MA, and a volitional, more purposive MANG Agent with action directed to another.

VERB	UM	MAG	MA	MANG
'pasok	'to enter' -self Pumasok siya.	'to enter' -directed to another Nagpasok siya ng tsinelas.	'to enter' -Theme Napasok siya sa kontest.	'to enter' -more intentional Namasok siya ng bahay.
'tusok	'to prick' -non-volitional Agent Tumusok ang karayom sa balat niya.	'to prick' +SS Nagtusok siya ng karayom.	'to be pricked' Natusok siya ng karayom.	'to prick' -more intentional -directed to another Nanusok siya ng karayom.

### 3.8 Verbs with no AF

Below are some verbs that do not have an Agent Focus which came up during the course of the research.

Alam 'to know'

Palad 'to be fortunate'

Dama 'to feel'

Sulit 'to maximize the use of'

Kaya 'can/to be able'

Swerte 'to have luck'

## 4.0 Conclusion

The study started with only an aim to subcategorize verbs according to whether they take UM, MAG, MA and MANG. However, it can be seen that the affixes UM, MAG, MA, & MANG, typically associated with the prototypical Agent role, can also produce Experiencer and Theme roles.

The difference between UM and MAG had been discussed since the time of the first Tagalog grammar in 1610 by Francisco Blancas de San José. The most common observation, as is used in guidebooks to learning Filipino, is that the UM expresses action toward the doer and MAG action away from the doer. L.K. Santos (1950) and Pittman (1966) observed the following characteristics: (1) UM action is directed to self while MAG is directed to another entity; (2) UM can be singular and MAG is plural; (3) UM is centripetal with goal moving to self while MAG is centrifugal with goal moving away from self; and (4) UM is simple action while MAG is repetitive or intensive (Santos, pp. 316, 317, 320; Pittman, pp. 12-13). Pittman added the observation that for colors, UM means 'to become' that color while MAG means "to wear that color (p. 13)."

In addition to the early observations, these are the results of the paper: (1) UM verbs can be singular or plural, MAG produces PL and/or REC; (2) UM action is directed to self, MAG is directed towards another entity or a direct object; (3) UM produces State/Themes, MAG, prototypical Agents; (4) UM verbs can be more purposive; (5) some UM constructions uses 'sa' while MAG uses 'ng,' (6) some MAG verbs undergo stress shift; and (7) other collocations or specific uses.

Between UM and MANG, the differences are: (1) UM verbs are directed to self, MANG is always directed to another; (2) UM verbs have a Theme complement while MANG has an Agent; (3) MANG is more intentional; and (4) other specific collocations.

For UM and MA, UM has a volitional Agent role and MA, a non-volitional Agent. There are also other collocations.

Between UM, MA and MANG, UM verbs have an Agent complement or with action directed to self. MA can either be a Theme or a non-volitional Agent and MANG is Agentive with a more purposive action, or an action directed to another.

For UM, MAG and MANG, UM has a Theme complement, a reflexive action or a one-way action. MAG is Agentive, with action directed to another or a reciprocal action. MANG is always Agent Focus and more intentional than the other two. There are also other specific collocations.

Between MAG and MA, MAG has an Agent while MA has a Theme.

MAG and MANG both have Agent complements. An action with MANG is more purposive than MAG. MAG can also be directed to no one in particular while MANG has a specific direction.

Between MANG and MA, MANG has a very purposive Agent while MA has an Experiencer or a Theme.

In the three-way dichotomy of MAG, MANG and MA, MAG's actions are reflexive, MANG to another and MA has an Experiencer or Theme.

There are also a few affixes, two in this paper, that take all four affixes. With UM, the action is directed to self or the Agent is non-volitional. With MAG, the action is directed externally and the Agent is volitional. MA has a Theme and MANG is always purposive and the action is directed to another.

It can also be observed that there are a few verbs that use MA for the Agent. MA is more commonly used for the Theme and the Experiencer. MANG, most of the time, is an AF affix. Compared with UM and MAG, it has a more purposive action and almost always directed externally.

In earlier literature, all these affixes are considered Actor Focus. This present study reveals that the affixes have more complicated properties and they cannot be lumped together in one category. It is also a testament to the complexity of Filipino verbs, that even affixes which have the same form do not give the exact same meaning to every verb. A detailed study on the complements of verbs will be helpful to establish a more detailed subcategorization.

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***When Shit is not Shitty:*** An Exploration of Meaning Dynamics in relation to Culture and  
Normative Practice

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**Abstract**

This paper attempts at exploring how a language expression obtains its meaning through culture and norms. Initial investigation on how meaning is not wholly and always dependent individually on a. sentence structure, b. speaker's intention, c. audience's perception and acceptance will be undertaken.

With local examples and cases, it will be shown that a more plausible approach in locating the meaning of an expression in a language is by coming up with a successful convergence of the speaker's intention and the receiver's understanding of what was expressed. This intersection point is only possible within the same convention, culture, and language background. Hence, meaning cannot be seen apart from these antecedent situations and information.

Towards the end, Wittgenstein's idea of '*meaning-as-use*' will be juxtaposed with the initial thesis that meaning is locatable along its cultural milieu and thus suits well the kind of theory that this paper endeavors to realize. It will be concluded that the two are compatible, and precisely, the use can only be seen along with its setting and the '*rule*'<sup>1</sup> identifiable only within a given '*game*.'

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<sup>1</sup> These are in reference to Wittgenstein's employment of the terms in the *Philosophical Investigations*

One unexamined generalization which I come to accept as true is the belief that every thing that we do has some sort of implication or effect. I am not prepared (nor interested) to defend the metaphysical or ontological basis for this unfounded belief of mine but by virtue of induction, I suppose my adherence to this belief would not warrant an intellectual betrayal. My eating the prepared dinner in the refrigerator would determine whether the food will stay inside the ref or not. My decision to either take the jeepney or the cab will spell a difference in either of the drivers' income for the day. Even my going to the church has some effect too. The space which my butt would occupy inside the church might be occupied by someone else's butt were it not for my going to the parish. Every action seems to yield a corresponding reaction. I am not sure if the Newtonian Action-Reaction law in Physics also applies to the sort of thing I am thinking. Regardless, there seems to be a grain of truth in this phenomenon in the world.

Belief in this generality seems to be something not exclusive to me. A confirmation of this is the widely held notion that every word that comes out of our mouth means something. It seems as if sounds and their combinations must always correspond to particular ideas. To me, it appears that sounds themselves cannot exist apart from what they signify; sounds cannot be produced, under normal conditions, without the 'effect', implication, or 'reaction' that is attached to them. This 'effect', implication, or 'reaction' that I am talking about, we commonly refer to as *meaning*.

The perennial question of course is where does this 'meaning' derive its existence? Utilizing available studies and my ordinary experiences, this paper will explore possible sources of meaning and which among the many possibilities seems more plausible, especially considering our own local experiences and background.

## Infancy: The Beginnings of the Query

One day, last year, around the same time now, when I was thinking of what to write about for this purpose, I strolled around one of the 'lesser' malls in the area only to hear a baby carried by its mother, utter, in its baby-like, innocent tone, the not really innocent expression "*Putang Ina*". I remember having been surprised by this, especially seeing the mother and the older lady accompanying them (who I surmise was the grandmother of the baby) giggling and laughing at the adeptness of the baby in mimicking the what-could-have-been-staple in the family conversations at home. This event inspired my writing of this paper. Not totally shocked by the seeming counter intuitiveness of the reaction of the mother and grandmother, I still wanted to explore the dynamics that governs this and many other like-mannered situations in the Philippine set-up. Why would a curse which is 'supposedly' disgraceful muster a reaction such as theirs? Why would insults be sometimes taken as compliments? And conversely, how could an innocent opinion be considered sarcastic? Where does the meaning of ordinary utterances come from? There are three possible sources which I will deal with in this paper. As a point of clarification, I am not claiming that these three are the only possible sources of meaning. Rather, my interest is on these three because I see that they are the most potent and commonly cited in most literature, the reason for which I will also try to explicate in this paper.

The first in the triumvirate is the quite rampant idea that meaning resides in the very structure of an expression. According to this view, each word has a corresponding objective meaning and in parallel, each sentence has a meaning which is generated through its composite parts. For example, the word 'dog' means 'an organism which in science is known as *canis familiaris*.' The use of the term 'dog' therefore is bound by this meaning, which means that uttering the term 'dog' linguistically forces the audience to infer that what the speaker meant is the organism *canis familiaris*. Thus, according to Horwich, there is a

notion of indication present. In his words, "When we specify the meaning of a word, we are claiming that someone's use of the word would provide a good reason to expect the occurrence in his mental state of a certain concept." (Horwich, 1998, p.47) The utterance or mention of the word *indicates* a particular idea which we refer to as the word's meaning. Each word in a given language has a signification regardless of its surrounding situations.

This position was earlier espoused by analytic philosophers, more prominently, Frege in his account of the sense and reference of a word and similarly, of a sentence. To Frege, the reference and sense provide the meaning of a word; the former, being what the word points to in the world and the latter, being what force the word carries in relation to the reference. Notice that both, as determinants of meaning, are still dependent on the structure of the word. A particular word has a particular reference and a particular sense, regardless of who says it, to whom it was said, and context where it was said. I believe this long tradition was carried and supported by a lot of thinkers. Even the earlier Wittgenstein bought the idea and used the term 'picture' to represent the relationship between words and their meanings: that each word *pictures* a particular aspect of the external world.

It is easy to buy this idea especially considering that this is our elementary idea of what a meaning is. When we teach a child the meaning of a word, we do this by ostension. When a baby is first taught what the word 'mama' means, the mother, for example points to herself and tells the baby, 'mama', as if pairing the word with herself, the entity which the word supposedly means. Later in life, a lot of other words will be taught to the child in the like manner. Consider charts available locally depicting the alphabet. Usually, these charts come with words starting with each letter in the alphabet and pictures illustrating the words. Ideally, the child learns the words by correlating the picture to the word. The word 'ball' therefore to the child is a circular figure usually with longitudinal lines all around it, as it's seen on the chart. This ostensive teaching of meaning illustrates the rudiment of this first leg of the sources of meaning which I intend to go about: that each word derives its meaning

from something external in the world by virtue of it being the word, as if meanings are fixed to words and words are fixed to meanings.

But if meanings are fixed to words, why then can some words have more than one meaning? And why is the same meaning available to more than one word? Why is monogamy therefore not applicable to meanings if they are married to particular words? If meaning is really dependent on words themselves, why can a meaning go about and be used by another word when it has been 'meant' by some word already? Why can one and the same word mean differently in two different places if indeed, meaning depends on the word? How can 'House' be 'an abode' if spoken in this context and 'a TV series' if taken in another? If meaning is really derived from the word then should it be that there'll be no diversity of meaning for a single word? Common experience tells us otherwise. Meaning does not seem to completely depend on the word, and more so, on the expression. If the notion of meaning is this simplistic then there'll be no disputes in language. The notion of ambiguity and vagueness won't even get into the vocabulary because there would be clear correspondence between words and their meanings. But obviously, such is not the case. There is more fluidity in everyday language such that we cannot program a computer software which can completely mimic the entirety of human language and be ready to converse in perfectly the same way as a human being.

Going back to the initial example that I provided, I doubt if the baby who said '*putang ina*' meant by it anything resembling what structurally the expression means. Highly doubtful is the knowledge of the baby of what it meant if meaning is embedded in the structure of words and expressions.

## Childhood: The Meaning is what I 'Mean' it

If meaning is not in the word and expression themselves, then where do we locate it? Another familiar answer to the question is through the speaker's intention. In the Filipino language, meaning is oftentimes translated to '*ibig sabihin*'. To ask what the meaning of the word begs what is the '*ibig sabihin*' of the word. Roughly translated, '*ibig sabihin*' literally means 'what is intended to be articulated by the speaker'. Thus, in Filipino, meaning is really close to what the speaker intends to articulate or communicate to the audience or listener.

P.F. Strawson thinks that "reference to speakers and their intentions is of fundamental importance in the understanding of language". (Avramides, 1997, p.63) This view is compelling considering that if one looks for the signification of a phrase or word, where else do you look it up but from the originator of the expression. The idea here is that if a particular word or expression carries any idea in it, the idea must come from the person who utters the expression. The speaker first concocts the idea in his head and conveys it through his words. Thus, what he means when he states something is the idea that he first had prior to the expression. The meaning therefore of the expression rests on the idea of the speaker, and ultimately on the speaker's intention. Consider a child who calls his mother '*mam*'. What could have been the meaning of this word? Using the first school of thought, we have to look it up in the word itself, '*mam*.' But such a word is not familiar to us, nor can it be found in any dictionary in the world. What does this word mean then? If the child is able to explain himself, then we would have asked the kid. But ordinarily, we look for signs from the child's actions since he is not yet capable of explaining what he said. Say for instance, in what direction is the child looking at. 'Is the child appearing to want to have his mother nearby? We might also consider doing a trial-and-error method by handing the kid out the different toys or objects in direction of his summoning until we pacify him and

finally identify what it is that he wants. Therefore, we ordinary think that what he intended to say (which is that he wanted his mother) is the meaning of what he uttered, in this case, 'mam.'

Going back to the initial example that I have provided, that of the toddler uttering '*putang ina*'. Where do we derive the meaning? Seemingly, this second 'theory' can supply the answer that we are looking for. The meaning perhaps is searchable nowhere else but in the kid's intention. Perhaps, the kid could have just said it in jest, interjecting or he could have used it in reference to something else around him, something which peculiarly, he came to associate with the expression perhaps because he heard someone mentioning the term while holding a particular object, say a cup of coffee. The point is, the meaning is stipulated by the speaker and not by the word itself.

However, this kind of interpretation is also prone to several criticisms. For one, people cannot just go on using all words in whatever manner one wishes. Like for example, I couldn't just excuse myself from cursing around and telling people that what I meant when I say they all look shit to me is that they are gorgeous in my eyes. I suppose there is a fundamental problem in this kind of thinking. We cannot just coin terms unceremoniously and attach meanings whenever they suit our needs. Intention cannot in itself and by itself formalize meanings of expressions. There is another element which should necessarily be factored in: the audience.

### **Adolescence: Meaning as How I construe it**

In H.P. Grice's article, "Meaning", Grice highlighted the need for another element which can complete the formulation of meaning: the audience. In Grice's 1969 formulation, roughly, he stated that the audience must recognize the utterer's intention of making him recognize the utterer's original intention to produce some response in him in the utterance



of a certain expression, in order to produce meaning. Albeit my disagreement with Grice, one thing is clear from this account, that he put a lot of premium to the audience in order to complete the equation of meaning-making. Obviously, the syntax of the expression no longer matters. The intention of the speakers matters BUT only in so far as it is transmitted to the audience. Unless this is the case, meaning is not successfully produced.

This view has its own strength too. In ordinary situations for example, when a father tells his teenage daughter not to 'go to dark places,' with the intention of telling his daughter to avoid places where she could possibly be raped or abused, the daughter should be able to recognize the intention. Otherwise, the meaning does not hold. If and when, what the daughter understands because of her background schema, is that her father is forbidding her to go out at night with her friends, and there is no possible way, say, for her to validate this belief since she cannot muster the strength to ask her dad, then, I suppose that the meaning already lies on how she understood her father. Since the intention cannot be transmitted, then the attaching of meaning to the words spoken already depends on the audience.

A lot of situations in everyday life are of this type—where the intention of the speaker is not clear, the responsibility of meaning-making is left to the audience. Reverting to the original case example of the cursing baby, I suppose the meaning is not so much coming from the baby's intention since it cannot be directly expressed by the baby. Rather, the intention is something read and interpreted by the audience. In that case, the meaning of the curse uttered is really not of the baby's making but of how it was taken by the audience, the mother and the grandmother, thus their eventual reaction of laughter.

This view is also tenable because for one, since the structure of the language failed, we are only left with the choice of taking the meaning from the speaker's intention. But as I have shown, the speaker's intention is not always as apparent as it should be. Moreover, the randomness of expressions matched by speakers to their intentions makes the second option less viable. Given these, this third option of basing meaning on the reception of the audience

is something more practical since at the end of the day, communication begs that the audience gets the message and whatever the audience gets, assuming the communication process succeeded, is rightly the meaning of the utterance.

However, given this, something seems problematic still about this third suggestion. For one, misinterpretation and misunderstanding are endless threats to the communication process. To solely depend on how the audience understood the message in determining the meaning undermines the salient contribution of the speaker and his intention in meaning-making. I think this stand overestimates the capacity of the speaker to always send his message across and likewise, the capacity of the audience to always grasp the message being sent. I don't think meaning can be established without considering the origin of the expression.

Take into account the example of a mother and her child. The mother tells her child, "Listen to your father" with the intention of telling her child to follow his dad. Now, the child on the other hand took his mother's words literally, and by it, he understood that his mother simply wants him to just listen as in hear his father out without necessarily following his advice. In this scenario, can the understanding of the child be the meaning of the mother's statement simply because that's how he understood her? I doubt this highly. I don't think that the failure of expressing the meaning is a problem of meaning. Failure on the part of the utterer in expressing what he wanted to convey nor the inability of the audience to understand is an enough ground to rule out the correct meaning. To claim that the right meaning is what the audience apprehends rules out the possibility of an objective meaning over and above how it was transmitted and received. This view places too much of a power on the audience thus crippling other features of the communication process.

Furthermore, if meaning is like this, how do we deal with multiple interpretations? In a class of 30 for example, who determines the meaning of what the instructor teaches,

assuming there is a conflict of understanding among students? Should we not also take into consideration the speaker's intention?

### **Maturity: Meaning as a Reconciliation in Culture and Normative Practice**

Seemingly, not one among the three possible options I have examined proved to be very promising. Each carries its own deficit and is thus ruled out as the best possible way of determining meaning. The impression that my cogitation on these three provides me is that there must be a way to make them compatible. This intersection point, to my mind, is where meaning really resided.

The syntax or the structure of expressions, although arbitrary in nature, is not as loose and arbitrary for us to totally abandon the idea that some words and expressions retain the meaning usually attached to them. The term 'usually' is fitting to underscore the notion of "normative-ness". A term, a word, or an expression carries a meaning, regardless of the situation, that is normally attached to it. However, this meaning I think can be overridden by situations that make the expression's employment no longer 'normal'. Therefore, a meaning that is assigned to a given expression or word may be scratched in favour of another meaning given that the terms are no longer employed in a 'normal' way. Of course, the next logical question is when is the employment normal? I suggest that the normal use of expressions is something that is determined by culture and practice. The stipulation of a word's meaning is determined and is fortified by a particular linguistic community's continuous adherence and in effect, confirmation of the meaning. For instance, if I use the term 'circle' to any object resembling an idea of points equidistant to a particular circle and my community of speakers employ the word in the same manner, then the meaning becomes normal. This normal use I intend to be the default meaning of words and expressions. However, in real-life situations, default meanings are not always the meanings

we attach to words and expressions. Most often than not, the speaker's intention and the audience's perception are really the determining factors. As such, I will zero in on these two notions.

I think it is clear at this point that the speaker's intention as well as the audience's reception are both important to successfully grapple with the meaning of an expression. The problem is how to make the two compatible. How can the speaker's intention be effectively transferred to the audience? How can there be a possibility to rule out inconsistencies and problems in misinterpretation? How can I call her a bitch without her thinking that I'm considering her a female dog? How can she make sense of a curse when I want her to?

In my attempt to provide a reasonable answer to my own problem, I recalled a pair of uncle and aunt. My uncle would know when my aunt is already pissed at him without her telling him. How? According to him, my aunt's feelings and intentions can be read depending on how she calls him. When she calls him through their term of endearment, that means she is in a very good, sweet, positive mood. When she calls him however, with his whole first name, that means bad. But when he is called by his last name, that means very, very bad. This is not something instituted as a matter of rule in marriage books. This is in fact something that may or may not be exclusive to them (I highly believe it's the latter). The point is they were able to read each other through a method of codification they've made as a matter of habitual practice and convention. Because of this convention, my uncle is supposed to know without pressing, what my aunt wanted him to understand. In a social event for example where my aunt expressly disapproves of what my uncle says or does, she need not show everybody her disapproval. She simply has to revert back to how she calls him depending on her feelings. I suppose the same mechanism works in meaning-making. There has to be a kind of codified, agreed upon 'contract' where the two conflicting sides may meet. There has to be a referee that shall judge who's right and who's wrong. And in

the battle between the speaker's intention and the audience's perception, I think this referee should be culture and convention.

According to Melba Padilla-Maggay (1999) in her book, *Understanding Ambiguity in Filipino Communication Patterns*, the Filipinos are often misunderstood by Westerners because of our propensity (actually penchant) for not meaning what we say. She gives several examples. For instance, when a Filipino visits someone else's home and is offered to join the masters in a meal, the Filipino visitor is most likely to decline even if indeed, he would love too. He would probably want to be pressed in order for him to give in and join them happily. This, according to Maggay depresses our Western counterparts as this Filipino way of communication is highly-confusing and causes a lot of misunderstandings. However, as Maggay writes, it has never been a problem for us and among us since we do understand each other's '*pahiwatig*' which is the key concept in Filipino communication patterns. According to her, Filipinos are not always vocal of what they mean but our non-verbal cues or *pahiwatig* expresses what we really mean well. This, in addition, according to her, is owing to our collectivist culture—product of our shared history, as opposed to the more individualistic western culture,

Using this as a possible case study, I deem that communication can only be effective and more so, meaning can only be deciphered most successfully if the intention of the speaker and the reception of the audience will be arbitrated by a common culture which gives rise to a common linguistic practice as agreed upon, albeit, implicit, by the linguistic community. Therefore, a statement, an expression, no matter how special the case is, no matter how far from the 'normal' employment the use is, will be understood and will reveal its meaning more effectively. This takes into account more sophisticated use of language such as sarcasm, metaphors, and figurative languages. Taking a common stance and cultural background, it is unlikely that meaning will be shadowed by individual biases intentionally, thus a clear-cut meaning-making and understanding. When someone utters an expression in

mind, the method of delivery of the message will take into consideration the cultural background that is understandable to both parties and thus will assure the audience's understanding of it.

### **Twilight Years: Wittgenstein's Meaning as Use and Rule-Following**

A remarkably close, actually, better way of putting my points across is Wittgenstein's ideas of language games and rule-following. "Language always functions in a context and, therefore has as many purposes as there are contexts." (Stumpf and Fieser, 2008) In the *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein points that words can have as myriad uses as tools in a toolbox. Therefore, we must not limit our uses of words on the basis of our default uses or meanings of the words., rather, "the meaning of a word is its use in the language ". (Wittgenstein, trans. Anscombe, 1953) This is where flexibility as opposed to the rigidity, present in the earlier *Tractatus*, in the use of language is earlier seen in the *PI*. However, in response to my fear in my discussion earlier that there is a tendency for a speaker to use a word or expression too loosely and thus is too randomly, Wittgenstein posits the idea of language-games and rule-following.

Using a language is like joining a game. There are a lot of ways of using language in as much as there are a lot of games. In fact, there is not one thread that unites all of these games. To search for something that is common to all language uses, just like looking for what's common to all games, is futile. There is only resemblance among them but not a unifying characteristic. In these games, one thing that's very salient is following rules. Each game has specific rules to follow and violation of which spoils the whole game. The rules in a language are like rules in a game. One has to abide by the rules of the language to assure yielding of meaning and success of the communication process. In my discussion above, these rules are the rules of a particular culture and a specific culture is a specific game where convention may thrive as rules. Violation of these rules guarantees misunderstanding and

alienation of meaning. Meaning therefore, can only be sought in a particular language game. The use of a word can only be within a particular language game, or cultural milieu.

### **Concluding Remarks**

“It is a platitude that language is ruled by convention”. (Lens, 1969) Nonetheless, the seeming endless labyrinth leading to meaning seems to end in convention. To look for a perennial meaning of words and expressions is not just a fruitless, but rather a thoughtless endeavor because language, as an aspect of human existence flourishes only in the context of human beings. It cannot be analyzed apart from human experiences and living. This presupposes that words in themselves are not analyzable but rather are understood with a particular background or context. This context will pave the way for convention and acceptance of ways of expressions that are not just understandable but implicitly agreed upon by a linguistic community. Thus, manners of expressions, rules governing the use of language, and other surrounding circumstances in articulation will be uniformed. In the end, meaning can only be found, nay, seen in this manner.

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**Ang “Di-Kristiyano” bilang “Tribo,” “Infieles,” “Moros” atbp.:  
Kultural na Pagsasalin bilang Lunan ng Elaborasyong Semantikal  
sa Kolonyal na Diskursong Etnograpiko**

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**Abstrak:**

Ang kolonyalismo ay hindi lamang pisikal at tuwirang pagkontrol ng isang dayuhang bayan sa isa pa, bagkus, kinasasangkutan din ito ng imposisyon ng kaisipan, pananaw, at pagpapakahulugan ng mga mananakop sa sinakop. Sa aspetong ideolohikal, mailalapat ang mahalagang papel ng kultural na pagsasalin o tekstuwalisasyon bilang isang estratehiya ng pananakop. Tekstuwalisasyon ang itinawag sa pangkalahatang proseso kung saan “*isinasalin* ng etnograpiya ang karanasan sa teksto” (Clifford 1986). Ang mga ulat o tekstong etnograpiko, kung gayon, ay hindi lamang simpleng pagtatala ng mga obserbasyon ng mga etnograper, kundi isang lunan ng semantikal na elaborasyon o dinamikong proseso ng pagpapakahulugang nakasandig sa kanilang partikular na pook at paninindigan. Paano ba naisagawa ang dominasyon sa bahagi ng mga kolonisador sa pamamagitan ng paglikha at pagtatakda ng mga bagong pakahulugan ng mga salita? Sa ganang ito, makikita ang naging papel ng wika sa pagtatakda ng kaayusang kolonyal. Ayon nga kina Edward Sapir at Benjamin Whorf, ang wika ay hindi lamang sistematikong sagisag ng ating mga karanasan, bagkus ay siya rin mismong humuhubog ng ating kaisipan (sinipi sa Maggay 2002). Partikular sa kaso ng mga tinaguriang “di-Kristiyano,” lumikha ang mga kolonisador, gamit ang kanilang mga etnograpiya, ng mga bagong katawagan at pakahulugang kinasangkapan nila sa paggapi at pagkontrol sa mga ito sa larangang diskursibo.

Sa pangkalahatan, layon ng papel na ito na masiyasat ang politika ng kultural na pagsasalin bilang lunan ng elaborasyong semantikal sa mga taguri o katawagan sa mga di-Kristiyanong Pilipino. Isasagawa ito, una, sa pamamagitan ng pagkalap at pagtatala ng mga depinisyon, deskripsyon at interpretasyon ng mga taguri/bansag o pangalang ibinigay ng mga kolonisador sa mga di-Kristiyano mula sa ilang piling etnograpiyang Kastila at Amerikano. Ikalawa, sisipatin mula rito kung paano naisagawa ang elaborasyong semantikal bilang isang malikhaing paraan ng pagdadalumat, pag-iimahe at paglikha

ng kolonyal na kaalaman tungkol sa mga di-Kristiyanong Pilipino. At ikatlo, susuriin ang produksyon ng naturang kaalaman bilang makapangyarihang paraan ng konsolidasyon ng kaayusang kolonyal.

### **Tekstuwalisasyon bilang Lunan ng Semantikal na Elaborasyon**

Etnograpiya ang tawag kapwa sa (a) metodolohiya ng paglalarawan sa kabuuan ng isang partikular na grupong kultural o komunidad, gayundin sa (b) dokumentasyon o produkto ng paglalarawang ito. Sa ganang dokumentasyon o pagsasatitik ng mga karanasan, naisasagawa ang tinatawag na tekstuwalisasyon. Tekstuwalisasyon ang itinawag sa pangkalahatang proseso kung saan “*isinasalin* ng etnograpiya ang karanasan sa teksto” (Clifford 1986: 115). Hindi lamang simpleng nagsasalaysay, nagtatala at nagsusulat ang etnograper tungkol sa mga naranasan niyang pangyayari. Bagkus ay malikhain niya itong isinusulat ayon sa isang tiyak na pook at paninindigang kanyang pinanggagalingan. Kung kaya, dagdag pa ni Clifford (1990), nariyan na at pormuladong diskurso o kaalaman (“already formulated, fied discourse or lore”) ang isinusulat ng etnograper (57). Kung kaya hindi lamang ito “*inskripsyon*” kundi isang “*transkripsyon*” o “*pagsasaling kultural*” (cultural translation) (Clifford 1990: 57; Emerson *et al.* 1995: 15) na ang isinasaalang-alang ay ang mambabasang pinatutungkulan. Kung banyaga ang etnograper, banyaga rin ang kanyang kausap, gayundin ang wika at tekstong malilikha ng kanyang obserbasyon at pagtatala. Isinasalin ang karanasan ng etnograper batay sa sarili niyang pamantayan ng pagpapakahulugan. Samakatuwid, ang etnograpihong pagsusulat o pagdodokumento ng isang buhay-panlipunan ay isang buhay na proseso ng pagpapakahulugan (interpretive process) (16). Ang mga nalikhang kaalaaman o tekstong etnograpihong ay hindi basta-basta maituturing na lantay na katotohanan kundi pawang mga bukas at buhay na interpretasyong nadaragdagan at nababago batay sa interaksyon ng mga kalahok sa salaysay: nagsusulat, mambabasa at paksa ng ulat. Dito natin maiuugnay ang mga etnograpihong ulat ng kolonyalista sa dinamikong proseso ng elaborasyon: pagpapaunlad ng gamit ng wika (Ramos 2000).

Sa bahaging ito, matutunghayan ang mga siniping tala sa ilang piling ulat etnograpihong ng mga kolonisador (kapwa Kastila at Amerikano) bilang lunan ng pagsasateksto ng kanilang mga karanasan sa mga di-Kristiyanong. Sa pagbasa ng mga teksto, mahalagang isaalang-alang ang sumusunod na katanungan:

(a) Anu-ano ang mga salitang ipinakahulugan sa mga “di-magaping elemento ng lipunan”?

- (b) Anu-ano ang mga naidagdag at nanatili sa agos ng panahon?
- (c) Anu-ano ang mga ipinahihwatig ng mga salitang ito?
- (d) Paano kinasangkapan ang mga naturang bansag/taguri sa layong kontrolin at gapiin ang mga di-Kristiyano? Sa ganang huli, sa partikular, matatasa ang papel na ginampanan ng mga etnograpihong ulat na naging lunan ng elaborasyong semantikal. Tingnan ang **Talahanayan 1 at ang Talahanayan 2.**

**Talahanayan 1:**  
**Mga Negatibong Paglalarawan sa mga Di-Kristiyano**  
**sa Ilang Piling Ulat Etnograpiho ng mga Kolonisador (1789-1934)**

Paksa	Paglalarawan		Pamagat ng Akda	Sumulat	Taon ng pagka-sulat/ pagka-limbag
	Blg.	(Mga tiyak na sipi at pahina)			
Tribu	1	nacion , republica (ethnic group) (p. xix)	<i>Noticia de los Ynfieles Ygorrotes en lo Interior dela Ysla de Manila, de sus Minas de Oro, Cobre, y su Comercio y de Varias Entradas, Tentativas, y Gallos Hechos para su Descubrimiento y Pacificacion ( Noticia mula ngayon). Isinalin sa Ingles ni William H. Scott, 1988.</i>	Francisco Antolin, O.P.	1789
Igorrote	2	Tingue, zambal (p. xiii)			
	3	<b>infieles (pagans)</b> (p.2-3, 4-5, 16-17,18-19, 20-21, 22-23, 34-35, 38-39, 42-43, 46-47, 48-49, 50-51, 56-57, 58-59, 60-61, 62-63, 64-65, 66-67, 68-69, 70-71, 72-73, 76-77, 78-79, 82-83, 86-87, 88-89, 90-91, 92-93, 94-95, 96-97, 100-101, 102-103, 108-109, 114-115, 116-117, 118-119).			
	4	su infidelidad (their paganism) (p. 2-3).			
	5	para librarse de sus frecuentes engaños y asechanzas ( to be safe from their frequent ambushes and deceptions) (p.2-3)			
	6	dichos <b>infieles</b> permanezcan aun en las vicios de su infidelidad ...(these pagans still remain in the evils of their heathenism...) (p. 4-5)			
	7	independientes y apartados de los cristianos (independent and separate from the Christians (p.4-5)			
	8	comerlos y embriagarse en sus fiestas y banquetes de gentiles (get drunk in their fiestas and pagan banquets...) (p.4-5)			
	9	con grave daño y perjuicio de sus almas, y casi sin remedio (with grave danger and harm to their souls, and almost without any hope... (p. 4-5)			
	10	tinguianes, gaddanes, y otros infieles de castas diferentes (tinguianes, gaddanes, and other pagans of different tribes) (p.16-17).			
	11	mas pujantes...se podran las amboscadas, asaltos, robos y muertes en los caminos de cristianos, y quemas de pueblos e iglesias... (...bolder...make ambushes, assaults, robberies, and killings on the Christian trails, and burn towns and churches...) (p.16-17).			
	12	sus mujeres...tratandolas como a esclavas (their women...they treat them like slaves...) (p. 16-17)			
	13	las fieras (beasts) (p.16-17)			
	14	gentes barbaras (barbarous tribes) (p.22-23)			

	15	la agricultura de los indios infieles esta imperfectisima...(the agriculture of the pagan Filipinos is most primitive (p.20-21).			
	16	republica independiente (independent republic)...no tienen aquellas asistencias...de los cristianos (they do not have those duties...which the Christians have) (p.20-21)			
Igorot de Ituy	17	(muy al contrario) ...very much different (p.26-27).			
	18	No envidian los frutos y conveniencias de los cristianos (they do not envy the products and conveniences of the Christians) (30-31)			
	19	Indios montareces que con poco se hallan contentos y satisfechos..(mountain Indios perfectly content with little) (p. 30-31).			
	20	gente belicosa y de grandes cuerpos... (warlike people with large bodies) (p. 26-27).	Noticia	Francisco Antolin, O.P.	1789
	21	semejanza a las bestias (similarity to the beasts) (p. 30-31).			
	22	entendimientos mas comprensivos ni malicia mas adelantada con tantas advertencias y prevenciones (minds more adaptable or cunning, more developed in shrewdness and foresight) (32-33).			
	23	su barbarie, su rusticidad...(their primitiveness and rusticity...) (p.32-33).			
	24	Su extravagancia de opiniones y metodo de vivir ponerlos no muy lejos del paralelo de los brutos ...(their extravagant views, and their way of life to rank them not very far from the level of dumb beasts (p. 32-33).			
	25	...pobre vestido y comida...(Poor clothes and rough food...) (p. 32-33)			
	26	...dificultosos de comprender por la variedad y contradiccion de sus acciones y costumbre (difficult to understand because of the variety and contradiction of their actions and customs) (p. 32-33).			
	27	Su oro lo quieren y emplean solamente en servir a su dios, que es su vientre . (They desire gold and use it only to serve their God, which is their bellies) (p. 34-35).			
	28	Son tan voraces cuando les pica el hambre, que no hay carne mala para ellos, aunque este podrida. Los he visto buscar y alabarse de comer perros, caballos muertos, culebras, monos, murcielagos. (They are so voracious when hunger grips them that they know no bad meat, not even the rotten. I have seen them seek out dogs, dead horses, snakes, monkeys and bats and eat them with relish. ) (p. 34-35).			
	29	No tienen temples, alteres, idolos publicos ni sacerdotes los igorotes. Tampoco tienen letras, escrituras, pinturas y esculturas. (The Igorots have no temples, altars, public idols nor priests. Neither have their letters, writing, painting or sculpture.) (p. 38-39)			
	30	Toda su religion se reduce a niñeras y ganas de llenar la barriga (Their whole religion is mere childishness and the desire to fill their bellies) (p. 38-39).			
	31	...eran mas engañosos y ridiculos sus cultos. Son innumerables las supersticiones y sacrificios de estos infieles para sus cosechas , viajes, casamientos...y esto prueba su grande			

		ignorancia y barbarie (their cults were as strange and ridiculous as these. The superstitions and sacrifices of these pagans for their harvests, trips, weddings... proves their ignorance and primitive state) (p. 38-39).			
	32	Son supersticiosísimos . (They are most superstitious) (p. 38-39).			
	33	Sus casas son muy bajas y asquerosas ... (Their houses are very low, and filthy)...(p. 40-41).			
	34	...gente de mas engaños, tramoyas, deudas, usuras e inconsecuencias ...(a people of more frauds, wiles, deceit, self interest and illogic.) (p. 44-45).			
	35	...fueron enemigos manifiestos de los cristianos (manifest enemies of the Christians) (p. 46-47).	Noticia	Francisco Antolin, O.P.	1789
	36	...su fiereza y crueldad era sin segundo; ... haciendo esto no se veían libres de su furor. (Their ferocity and cruelty were second to none...they (the Christians) would not be able to escape their fury (p. 46-47).			
	37	...la insolencia y crueldad de estos barbaros (...the insolence and cruelty of these barbarians...) (p. 48-49).			
	38	... muy insolentes (recalcitrant) (p. 48-49).			
	39	...a los cristianos...los hacían esclavos... (make slaves of Christians...) (p. 50-51).			
	40	... los infieles echan a correr y se quedan peores que estaban. (...the pagans resort to running away and become worse than before) (p.94-95).			
	41	Indios salvajes (savage Filipinos) (p. 92-93)			
	42	...igorotes que bajan del monte a cortar cabezas (...Igorots who come down from the mountain to take heads) (p. 110-111)			
	43	Gentiles (tribes) (p. 92-93).			
	44	Montes infieles (pagan tribes) (p. 88-89).			
	45	Los gentiles y apostatas (pagan tribes and apostates) (p. 88-89)			
	46	...la dureza de estos barbaros ... (the obduracy of these barbarians) (p. 68-69).			
	47	gentilidad (tribe) (p.68-69).			
	48	gentil comedia (pagan show) (p. 70-71)			
	49	...caras tiznadas y horribles ... (appearance sooty and dreadful...) (p. 72-73).			
	50	...tirania de estos infieles (tyranny of these pagans) (p. 90-91)			
Panoypuyes	51	...casta de igorotes muy temidos siempre, por su valor y fiereza. (...the panoypuyes a tribe of Igorots always feared for their valor and fierceness.)  No son numerables las molestias y amenazas que siempre han hecho a los cristianos. (The troubles and threats they always made for the Christians cannot be counted.) (p. 48-49).			
Igorotes de Quiangan	52	están aun muy insolentes, y todos los años salen a los caminos a robar y matar a los cristianos...(are still recalcitrant, and every year they sally forth to rob and murder Christians on the roads.) (p. 48-49).			
Zambales e	53	Indios serranos (mountaineer Filipinos) (p. 106-107)			

Igolotes	54	...acostumbrar ellos...traiciones y muertes alevosas (...their custom... deceit and treacherous killings) (p. 96-97)			
	55	Malevolos (lawbreakers) (p. 96-97); Salteadores (outlaws) (p. 120-121) Vagamundos (vagabond) (p.120-121)			
	56	...los daños que hacian los zambales e igorotes (injuries the Zambals and Igorots were causing) (p. 116-117).			
Zambales	57	pangasinanes cristianos ... Christian Pangasinanes (p. 116-117).			
	58	...eran muy parecidos por su barbarie a los igorotes, y aun a los pangasinanes, y en los escritos antiguos se suelen llamar a estas tres naciones con el nombre de zambales. Aun hoy en dia llaman los de Ilocos a los pangasinanes cristianos con el nombre de zambales. (...were very similar in their barbarity to the Igorots, and even the Pangasinanes, and in the early accounts they were calling these three races by the one name of Zambals. Even nowadays the Ilocanos designate the Christian Pangasinanes by the name of Zambal.) (p. 116-117).			
Tinguian, Tingues o Tinguianes	59	infieles hacia Ilocos y muy vecinos a los igorotes (pagans in the Ilocos regions very near the Igorots...) (p.22-23)	Noticia	Francisco Antolin, O.P.	1789
	60	Los infieles de las serranias y montes... llamados ...tambien zambales...(pagans of the hills and mountains... also called Zambals ) (p. 118-119).			
Ilongot, Ibilao and Italon	61	intratables, matadores de gente, y continuamente estan en guerras civiles entre si y con los negritos sus confinantes. (...intractable, and killers, and are continually at civil war among themselves and with the Negritos along borders.) (p.26-27).			
	62	...sin llevar mas fin que robar y cortar cabezas de igorotes . (...with no other aim than robbing and taking Igorot heads.) (p. 48-49).			
	63	...infiel (...pagan) (p. 49)			
	64	Muchos cascados y sarnosos (with cracked skin and scabious) (26-27).			
Rancherias de Poliang y Tococan	65	... donde estan las minas de cobre, y son como los moros que viven de robos y cautiverios. (...where the copper mines are, where, like Moros who live by robbery and taking captives, they go out on the trails to rob and seize pagans traveling there unaware, and sell them as slaves) (p. 51).	Igorotes: Estudio Geografico y Etnografico Sobre Algunos Distritos del Norte de Luzon (Igorotes, mula ngayon).  Isinalin sa Ingles bilang Geographic and Ethnographic Study of	Angel Perez, O.S.A.	1891/1902
Igorrotismo	66	...quede todo el igorrotismo para desahogo del celo de nuestros misioneros, ... hasta ahora ha manifestado la cerviz dura...(All Igorotland remains for the discharge of the zeal of our missionaries, ...it has remained stiff-necked up to the present...) (p. 58-59).			
Igorots of Fidelisan, Mainit and Tanulon of Bontoc	67	outlaw...so dreaded for their continual raids upon nearby settlements...(p.3) Fidelisan: ...rebellious warlike spirit (p.218).			
	68	...recalcitrant inhabitants (p.94).			
	69	...took some 30 heads, plus the hands and feet, as is their custom, taking them to their villages to celebrate with great solemnity their religious-warrior feasts and with these so inhuman rites placate the <i>Anito</i> , or the evil principle...(p.9).			
	70	...and those gleaming blades whose brilliance had been dulled and extinguished by the smoking blood of their victims (p.10).			

	71	...horde of savages... (p.10).	Some Districts of Northern Luzon nina Enriqueta Fox, Birgit Keith, Anthony Lauria, Jr. And William Henry Scott noong 1988.	(sinabi ni Fray Casimiro Diaz sinipi ni Angel Perez)  Angel Perez, O.S.A.	
	72	...these horrendous crimes went unpunished (p.10).			
	73	...uncouth and savage...(p.10).			
Igorots (in general)	74	...living blindly in the deceiving shadows of paganism... (p.3)			
	75	...barbaric people, and of little intelligence... (p.4)			
	76	...is always jealous of his whims, liberty and immediate interests ... closes his ears to whatever is told him about the future (p.69).			
	77	...highly suspicious, they doubt whatever advice is given them and refuse...to carry it out (p.75)			
	78	(their religion) ...is endless superstitions which the old men maintain and keep alive (p.75).			
	79	...immorality which prevails among the Igorots...their scandalous frequent drunken feasts ...need repressive laws(p.76).			
	80	...full of more or less crass errors and incoherent ideas...(p.160).			
	81	...we see in these illiterate that there is no unity of beliefs or fixed doctrines (p.160).			
Igorot of Cayan (1881)	82	...had rebelled against the old Maestre de Campo (p.15).			
	83	The form of oath is very Igorotish, and not at all Christian (p.16).			
Igorot of Mayoyao and Quiangan (1836)	84	...most terrible nations of Igorots ...(p.19). ...remained as independent as they were before the expedition...(p.20). ...the pagans were more arrogant than ever... (p.20).			
Igorot of Lepanto (1876)	85	...pagan tribes (p.25). ...independent tribes (p.26).			
	86	...they consider themselves happy in their superstitions and the great liberty which they enjoy in their wild places (p.26).			
	87	...human beings fom the deep darkness of savagery (p.26).			
Igorot of the Districts of Lepanto, Bontoc, Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela (1854)	88	...had always been independent and outlaws and had never recognized any government ... we may call them <i>vere nullius</i> (p.42, 45)			
Igorot of Nueva Sabangan	89	...unlawful (p.53).			
"Igorotism"	90	...flimsy assertions and reasoning ...(p.70).			
Igorot of Angaqui	91	...unfortunate beings...who take pleasure only in what civilized humanity finds most repugnant (p.87).			
	92	...pagans ...(in the) state of brutality ...(p.88).			
	93	...people...with less signs of intellect...(p.88).			
Igorot of	94	...the most abject savagery of these rebel tribes, their instinct			



Quiangan, Lahutan, Asin and Sapao		for devastation, the interior and rugged country they occupy, ...who live in so lamentable a state separated from all contact with their civilized brothers... totally different from that of the subjugated tribes of this western part of the territory (p.94).	<i>Igorrotes</i>	Angel Perez, O.S.A.	1891/ 1902
	95	...ferocious savages... who ran all through the mountains always armed with spear, shield and aliuva, making victims of their ferocity whomever they met in their march...(p.95).			
	96	...these savages...and their practice of oaths, in which legality does not prevail. (p.95).			
Igorot of Tacbac	97	The crimes which these races commit are not deeds by private or isolated individuals...the whole village is accomplice to the crime, before or after the deed; sometimes the individual who is to commit it is designated; other times, custom requires a head ...(p.96).			
	98	...to satiate their cruel instincts who owe them some heads... (p.97).			
	99	...heads, hands and feet...comprise the sacred booty...and whatever they have been able to steal (p.97).			
	100	...whole villages—men, women and children—are taking part in the most repugnant orgy, the gangsas and drum never ceasing that infernal dance...except when some Demosthenes takes the bloody spear in one hand and, in the other, one of the heads cut off, which is on a pole as a trophy, or on a stick with sharp ends, stuck in the ground, and makes the panegyric for some of the warriors; and dips the skull in the container of the <i>buddang</i> -wine; then a deafening hue and cry, a ferocious shout....It is a signal for everybody to drink that wine in which the human head of their enemy has been bathed. He puts it back on the pole, until ...that demonic witches' Sabbath continues, while everything they stole is consumed (p.97).			
	101	...most savage Igorot man ...(p.97).			
Igorot of Mansiqui	102	...share the characteristics of their neighbors: the indolence of the Tingguian of the village of Mayabo, Abra; with their hair combed long, they are as dirty and untidy as the semi-outlaws of Guinaang and Mainit of Bontoc; ...and the slight civilization of those of Angaqui and Tacbac (p.98).			
	103	...extremely poor people, due to their apathy and slovenliness and to their little stability... (p.98).			
Igorot of Namitpit	104	...living more like animals than the state of brutishness in which they vegetate, living more like animals than rational beings.			
Igorot of Banaao (Burik /Burik race)	105	...they all tattoo or paint themselves....In Ilocano the word "burik" signifies "sculpture, to sculpt, to chisel, to carve out designs, to decorate with figures" (p.114).			
	106	...due to ...their being more firmly rooted in their old customs....It is a fact that they are far behind their neighbors (p.133).			
	107	...a coarse people of very little capacity, which seems to be equal to their culture...(p.133)			
	108	...(with) limited intercourse and dealings with the rest of the inhabitants of the district... (p.133)			
	109	Its population...745 pagans (p.115).			
Igorot of	110	...such peoples sunk in a savage state...(p.125).			

Suyoc		...truly independent savages...(p.126).			
Igorot of Suyoc, Mancayan and other villages of Benguet	111	...fugitives...Their populations vary according to whether there are more or fewer malcontents, or whether they bother to work in the settlements... (p.132).			
Igorot of Cadanaan	112	...the poorest of the poor...(p.142).			
Igorot of Masla	113	...very evasive in obeying the orders of the authorities...disobedient...(p.156).			
Igorot of Sumadel	114	Among the <i>busaos</i> , they are the least clean and the laziest...(p.158).	<i>Igorrotes</i>	Angel Perez, O.S.A.	1891/1902
	115	Its inhabitants are one new Christian and 546 pagans (p.161).			
Igorot of Besao	116	...(were) ashamed to admit their ridiculous religion...they weren't willing to admit what those stones and charcoal meant (p.165).			
Igorot of Lesseb, south of Ibanao	117	...with 741 pagans...are relatively poor...(because) the main and almost only subsistence of its inhabitants are camotes and vegetables...(p.177). Their little association with the rest of the villages keeps them burried in a most lamentable state (p.178).			
Igorot of Sabangan	118	...the dirtiest and most careless (p.184).			
Igorot of Namatec	119	...separated from human contacts in their mountains (p.187).			
Igorot of Bagnen	120	Civilization has so much to do for these races to emerge from the state of savagery in which they are still found (p.192).			
Igorot of Comandancia politico-militar of Bontoc	121	As regards the savages, their poverty is such that one need not try very hard to be convinced of it; it is enough just to look at their fields, utilized almost to the limits of possibility...(p.204).			
	122	...is of an unfriendly character, warlike, suspicious, and intensely serious. They are physically robust and muscular, savages certainly, but not so bad as they are supposed to be, nor so resistant to civilization as believed (p.206).			
Tingian of Sacasacan	123	...unsubdued tribes...(p.211)			
Igorot of Sacasacan	124	...is composed of 210 pagans and a few Christians. (p.221) ...there are many who run off fugitive or outlaw; and it is not an exaggeration to suppose that their number reaches 2,500. Until now, it is little explored...(there is) lack of means of communications (p.222).			
Igorot of Politico-Military District of Tiagan	125	...populated exclusively by pagans (p.225) ...share the character and ways of the Tinguian... ...are submissive and docile, weak, lazy and apathetic...(p.229) ...everyone of its individuals has blind faith (p.230).			
	126	...they live in the most absolute and distinguishing nakedness; ...are extremely fond of drinking...for the most insignificant reasons...they eat all kinds of animals...they bury their corpses under or in front of their houses, keep them exposed, with			

		danger to public health for whole weeks or even longer, while they celebrate their orgies (p.230).			
	127	Sometimes, there are writers who exploit them by making them objects of unfounded abuses (p.230).			
	128	The inhabitants of the village of Sibsibu...are for the most part Christians....They differ from the pagans... (p.238).			
Igorot of Concepcion	129	...had 260 pagans in 1891 (p.241).			
Tinguian and Igorot of Abra	130	The pagan population is divided into three groups: first, pagan Tinguianes; second, semi-savage pagans; and third, savages or Igorots (p.272).			
	131	...pagans are of gentle and tranquil charcter, regularly live among the Christians...although there is no mixing of the races (p.273).			
	132	Semi-savage pagans: ...they have fixed residences which are set up in the same form and condition as the villages of Tinguianes; their uses and customs are those of the subjugated Igorots of Lepanto (p.273).			
Igorots or Savages	133	...they live in the center of the mountains like the beasts, ...they attack those who try to visit them with iron spears, and sometimes make hostile excursions (p.274).			
Bangued (founded in 1598)	134	(karamihan ay Kristiyano): ...sufficiently rich because of its agriculture and commerce and, above all, the culture and civilization of its inhabitants (p.274)			
Dalican	135	...its population, extremely warlike, has been reduced to 245 pagans (p.214) ...In Ilocano, stove.			
Non-Christian	136	pagans and savages (p.323)			
Ifugaos de Mayoyaos y Quianganes	137	...barbaros nunca saciados de sangre humana (p.7). [mga barbarong hindi kailanman nagsasawa sa dugo ng tao]	<i>Los Mayoyaos y La Raza Ifugao: Apuntes para un Estudio.</i> Madrid: Sagrado Orden de Predicadores	Bunaventura Campa, O.P.	1894
	138	...raza la mas feroz de aquellos montes, que era el terror de todas las serranias (p. 11). [higit na malulupit na tao ng mga kabundukang iyon, na siyang naghahasik ng lagim sa mga nasabing lupain]			
	139	...salvajes (p.11)...pais de los salvajes (p. 12) [mababangis...bayan ng mababangis]			
	140	... la incesante persecucion de los infieles...(p.22). [walang tigil na pahirap ng mga pagano]			
Moros of Basilan	141	...were generally poor and lazy, and their blind fanaticism made <b>juramentados</b> out of some of them, who very often drenched the soil of La Isabela with blood (p.53).	<i>Mision de la Compania de Jesus de Filipinas en el siglo XIX, Relacion Historica Deducida de los Documentos Autografos, Originales e Impresos Relativos a la Misma</i> (Mision mula ngayon).  Isinalin sa Ingles bilang <i>Mission to Mindanao 1859-1900</i> ni Peter	Pablo Pastells, S.J.	1916
Moros of Talayan	142	...insolent...enemies..(p. 58)			
Moros of Polloc Mission	143	...a multitude of Chinese...lived together with Moro women in a most degrading kind of polygamy (p.59) ...unbelief and barbarity of the Moro settlements (p. 59-60).			
Moros of Balangui-ngui	144	...notorious for their piracies...they did not leave without having ...captured some pagans or Christians (p.89).			
Moros of Cagayan (de	145	...cruel pirates (p. 149).			
	146	Captured ...an uncounted number of Christians and pagans ...			

Oro)		and deprived them of their freedom after falling in their hands (p.157).	Schreurs, MSC noong 1994.		
Subanons of Zamboanga	147	...pagans ... docile and peaceful people although they were used to lead an errant and vagrant kind of life (p.71).			
	148	This bad old man, revered by the Subanon as an oracle ... (p.73).			
	149	In a <b>confused</b> way the Subanon recognize their <i>diwata</i> as god; they also believe in the immortality of the soul... (p.74).			
Non-Christians of Mindanao	150	...were called Tagacaolo, Manobo, Mandaya, Bagobo, Guianga, Bilaan, Tagabilis, Ata, Samal, and Moros... All these tribes live in the crassest ignorance and gross idolatry (p. 91).			
(Bagobos)	151	... still sacrifice human victims to placate the ire of Mandarangan, with whom to make a deal through these bloody offerings (p. 91).			
(Samals of Davao Gulf)	152	Among all tribes of the gulf, the Samal were the best friends of the Spaniards and they generously contributed their labor whenever the governor asked for it (p. 91-92).			
	153	...pagans of the gulf (p.92).			
(Manobos)	154	The infidels (who) received the fugitive Christians...with allround contentment and joy			
	155	...their face and head look strange and wild (p.98).			
	156	It is impossible to say how many victims can be attributed to that ferocious Manobo.			
New Christians	157	Remontado – new Christians who fled to the mountains (p.404).			
Samals	158	"We don't want to become Christians." ... On that very day the Samals ran away... (p. 93).			
Moros	159	...Mohammedans merely in name and pride, but not in fact... . Things that are religiously observed by the Mohammedans are unknown to the Mindanao Moros (p. 544).	<i>Annual Report of the Philippine Commission from December 1900 – October 15, 1901</i>	Jesse George	1901
Igorrotes	160	...can not be classed as <b>pure savages</b> , nor have they hardly yet reached a state of semicivilization (p. 546).			
	161	...are disgustingly filthy, as a rule, in both person and clothing ... the pigs, chickens, and dogs dwelling together with the family in harmony...(p. 546).			
	162	...if a school were established, ...many of them take to the mountains and leave the pueblo (p. 547).			
Non-Christians	163	Pagan or Mohammedan Tribes ...found in Luzon, Mindanao, Panay, Negros, Samar, Mindoro, Basilan, the Sulu Archipelago, Balabac, Palawan, and the Calamianes Islands (p.75)	<i>Report of the Secretary of the Interior to the Philippine Commission</i>	Dean C. Worcester	1902
	164	Their presence, and the existence among them of headhunting, slave hunting, polygamy, and other objectionable practices, create serious problems for the Insular Government (p.75).			
	165	...wild tribes ...(p.75).			
	166	Wild peoples	<i>Philippine Census of 1903</i>		1903
	167	...savage tribes (p.769) ...wilder and less known portions of the Archipelago and the tribes of these regions... (p.771).	<i>Second Annual Report of the Chief of the Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands (formerly the Bureau of</i>	David P. Barrows	1903
Non-Christians of	168	...were independent, fiercely hostile, and sources of incessant piracy (p.770).			

Caraga, the whole of Mindanao and Sulu Archipelago			<i>NonChristian Tribes) to the Secretary of the Interior</i>  <i>Second Annual Report of the Chief of the Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands (formerly the Bureau of NonChristian Tribes) to the Secretary of the Interior</i>	David P. Barrows	1903
Igorot	169	collective name (for)...powerful and warlike Malayan hill tribes (p.770)...occupying the Cordillera Central of northern Luzon (p.780).			
	170	...are divided into the following branches or tribes: Ibaloi, Kankanay, Isinay, Silipan, Mayoyao, Bummayon, Kalinga, Gaddang, Dadayag, Ginaan, Ipokao (sic), and Apayao (p.780).			
	171	We have here...what I believe to be the most rudimentary Malayan language, as well as the most primitive Malayan tribe of the Philippines (p.781).			
	172	...a great deal was done to suppress the terrible feuds that wage between these <b>wild communities</b> and keep the population of the whole region in a constant state of panic and apprehension (p.770).			
	173	...should carry the Igorot forward toward American ideals...(p.774).			
Igorot of Bontok	174	...is probably as primitive Malayan type as there is in Luzon ... (p.774)			
Tingian	175	I have excluded from the Igorot....although I believe them, with little doubt, to be Igorot. Their culture, which approximates that of the Ilokano, has led to their being separately considered (p.781).			
Ibilao or Ilongot	176	From the Igorot I have also excluded the Ibilao or Ilongot. The physical type of these people, as well as their culture, seems to differ. It may be that a strain of Negrito blood has become so thoroughly disseminated among them...(p.781).			
	177	...most inveterate head-hunters of northern Luzon (p.781).			
Negritos	178	...are very short, round headed, flat nosed, with undeveloped jaw...(possessing) an intimate knowledge of the forest and jungle products and the use of the bow and arrow (p.780).			
Negritos of northern Sierra Madre	179	...actual <i>terra incognita</i> ...inhabited by Negritos who are feared by the dwellers of the Cagayan River, and described as cannibals and drinkers of human blood (p. 787).			
Negritos of Zambales	180	... a most promising field for the study of these famous little blacks ... ... pygmies (p.775).			
	181	...have reached a high point in the bow-and-arrow stage...still subsist largely upon the fruits of the chase, and are cunning and tireless hunters. (p.776)			
	182	not having any idea of values, they are systematically fleeced by the unscrupulous Filipinos (p.776).			
Bukidnon	183	...the pagan population ...scattered through the mountains and forests of some parts of Luzon...in the interior of Panay and Negros (p. 781).			
	184	....were called <i>Montescos</i> , <i>Remontados</i> , etc. (by the Spaniards), and a variety of local designations have distinguished them, such as Babaylanes, Pulijanes (sic), Mundos, Igorot, and			

		Bukidnon or Bukitnon (p.781)			
	185	It means people of the "bukid" or the "back country." (p.781).			
	186	...scattered people...unconverted remnants of the <b>Tagalog, Bikol and Bisaya tribes</b> , frequently crossed and mixed with the Negrito population, which they allied themselves with when they fled from the Christianized towns (p.781).			
	187	They speak what is frequently locally described as "pure Bisaya" and "pure Bikol" and everything about them points to their identity of origin with the Christian population (p.781).			
Bukidnon of Occidental Mindoro	188	"Monteses"...these primitive people are, <b>in his estimation</b> , the same race as the Christian people of the coast, although differentiated somewhat by reason of isolation and environment in dialect and physical features (p.777).			
	189	...as a rule, peaceable, though they have allied themselves with the insurgent "Babaylanes" operating throughout this region (p.777).	<i>Second Annual Report of the Chief of the Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands (formerly the Bureau of NonChristian Tribes) to the Secretary of the Interior</i>	David P. Barrows	1903
	190	...the people of the vast unexplored region, as the Llanuras de Tablas, are of the same type, though perhaps a little <b>wilder</b> and not so far advanced in culture.			
Mangyan	191	... <b>primitive</b> ...(p.778)			
	192	In many cases, the type is mixed with Negrito who appears as what must be half-breeds in the Mangyan communities (p.782).			
	193	...closely allied to the Tagbanua tribe (p.782).			
	194	The <b>pure</b> Mangyan is a typical, primitive Malayan; a slender, small man, with brown skin, dark, slightly wavy hair, and sensitive face and uneasy, distrustful disposition (p.782).			
	195	...is not far removed from that of the <b>Christianized tribes</b> of the Philippines (p.782).			
	196	...seems to belong to a wild stock of low culture not reached by the early missionary efforts ...(p.782).			
Tagbanua	197	...the primitive Malayan people who inhabit the islands of Busuanga and Palawan. On Busuanga, the type seems to be pure Malayan, but on the island of Palawan there is evidence of considerable Negrito admixture...the crossing of two races (p.782).			
	198	The name is comprised of the Malay word <i>banua</i> , meaning "country" and...prefix <i>taga</i> , meaning "people of." (p.782).			
Monteses and Manobo	199	...two tribes (in Northern Mindanao)...apart from the Bisaya settlements along the coast...which, while separated by designation, appear to be closely allied... they are very nearly related to the Christianized Bisaya (p.782).			
Moros	200	...pirates			
	201	...Mohammedan tribes of the Philippines...collectively designated by the Spaniards as "Moros" or "Moors." This is not a tribal name nor an ethnic designation at all.			
	202	(They) comprise a number of separate and distinct tribes of different origin and character (p.784)			
(Moros of Sulu)	203	The most prominent of the Moro tribes ...ruling over Samal populations in almost every case.... (p.784).			
	204	We find among their population several types differing in physical peculiarities, which are sometimes puzzling...(p. 784).			
(Samal)	205	...widely scattered tribe (which) is, in my opinion, the true			

Moros)		Malay, the Orang Salat of the Straits (p.785).			
	206	...are simply descendants of the notorious "sea gypsies" ... (p.785)			
	207	The name Samal or Sama means in their own language simply "companion." (p.785).			
	208	...the last strongholds of piracy to be destroyed by the Spaniards (p. 785).			
(Samal laut o Bajau)	209	...the rude seafaring tribe from whom the Samal people are derived...live wholly in their small boats or vintas, never building homes upon the shore (p. 785)			
	210	...a rude and undeveloped race, depending almost wholly upon the sea for their sustenance (p.785).			
	211	...are very imperfectly Mohammedanized and are regarded with contempt by the Sulu and more advanced Samal who refer to them as pagans and swine eaters (p.785).			
	212	...have the most rudimentary social organization and submit temporarily to the government and exactions of the dato on whose coast their boats are finding shelter...			
	213	...have always borne a very bad reputation, and centuries ago were described by the Portuguese historian, De Barros, as "a people who dwell on the sea and whose occupation is to rob and fish" (p. 785).			
(Ilanon)	214	...the Moro tribes occupying the coast of Illana Bay...and their name, which means "people of the lake," would indicate that they are very closely related to the Lanao Moro of the interior of Mindanao (p.786).			
	215	...the worst pirates of Mindanao (p.786).			
(Malanao)	216	...the fierce and unsubdued Moros of the Lake Lanao region, who have been repeatedly whipped during the last year and a half by the expeditionary forces of the United States Army (p.786).			
(Magin-danao)	217	...one of the most advanced and, after the Sulu, the most important of the Moro tribes (p.786). ...both of these powers (the Sultanates of Sulu and Magindanao) are now singularly decayed (p.786).			
	218	The present sovereign, Sultan Mangigin...is now an exile from Cotabato, very poor...a victim of the opium habit,...without present prestige or power to regain his position (p.787).			
	219	Their habitat has always been the fertile valley of the Rio grande de Mindanao (p. 786).			
(Kalibugan)	220	...sparse people (who) appear to be neither more nor less than Subanon...(p. 786).			
(Yakan)	221	A distinct people of the primitive Malayan type (inhabiting) the island of Basilan (p.786).			
	222	...closely related in type and in culture to the Subanon of the Mindanao mainland (p.786).			
	223	...are fierce and fanatical Moros (p. 786).			
Subanon	224	... the only tribe of western Mindanao ...who can be reached from either the north or south coasts and who are found in small numbers in the upper part of Zamboanga Peninsula (p. 782). ...one of the oldest tribes to settle in Mindanao.			

	225	The tribe appears to belong to the typically Malayan race....(with) no evidence among them of admixture. The type among men and women is very pure (p.782).			
	226	Their name is compounded of the word <i>Suba</i> , "river," and the suffix <i>non</i> ,..."people of the river," as distinguished from the seafaring Malays (p. 783).			
	227	Though not warlike and thoroughly cowed by the Moros, the Subanon religion demands a tribute of human life...(p. 783).			
Pagan Tribes of Eastern Mindanao	228	Manobo, Tiruray, Bilan (sic), Tagacaolo, Bagobo, Mandaya, the forest-dwelling Ati north of Mt. Apo, and several other tribes whose exact character and affiliations remain to be determined...have previously been referred to as "Indonesian" (p.783).			
	229	These various tribes...while pagans and characterized by customs of human sacrifice, head hunting, and perhaps ceremonial cannibalism, are by no means mere savages in culture (p.783).			
	230	...are usually scattered throughout the foothills (p.783).			
	231	...the Moros have possessed a decided advantage over them in weapons and organization.... Their great weakness consists in their rudimentary and inadequate political capacity (p.783).			
	232	...strikingly inferior to the American Indian (p.783).			
Pagan Tribes of Iloilo and Antique	233	Some of these people have established relations to a certain extent with the pueblos—in order to be able to purchase such merchandise as they need in the way of dress and to sell their products, the principal of which is hemp—are baptized and pay the cedula tax (p. 216).			
	234	...they are also vindictive and can not forget old grudges, going to the extent of committing murder whenever they believe that they have been ill-treated (p. 216).			
	235	...are at war with each other and ...irreconcilable enemies (p.217).			
Non-Christian Tribes	236	The territory occupied by (them) ... is for the most part rugged and without roads or even pony trails (p. 59).	<i>Report of the Secretary of the Interior <u>sa</u> Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission</i>	Dean C. Worcester	1903
Igorrotes	237	family of mountain tribes (p. 60).			
Bontoc	238	...very primitive tribe (p. 61).			
Igorot	239	...the great stock of primitive Malayan tribes (p. 891)	<i>Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission (Part 3)</i>		1904
	240	...these people ... being most numerous in the old Spanish politico-comandancias of Bontoc, Quiangan, Lepanto and Benguet, and in the province of Abra (p. 891).			
(Quiangan)	241	...the very heart of the head-hunting region, occupied by a fierce but industrious people... (p.892).			
The Moros	242	...retain all the conservatism of the Mohammedan devotee... (p.893)			
The Pagans	243	... are in a state of barbarism in which it is impossible for them to understand the reason or advantages of schools (p. 893).			
Tinguanes	244	"wild people" (p. 53).	<i>Report of the Secretary of the Interior <u>sa</u> Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission (Part 2)</i>	Dean C. Worcester	1905
	245	...are in many ways quite as civilized as their Christian neighbors (p. 57).			
Igorot	246	wild tribes of Northern Luzon (p. 56).			
Negritos	247	...wholly incapable of attaining any considerable degree of			



		civilization (p. 57).			
Non-Christian	248	...are divided into numerous tribes, each with its distinct language and its peculiar customs. Some of them are pacific and gentle in the extreme, while others are very warlike (p.57).			
Tinguian country	249	...I am inclined to believe ... that such a trip would not always be safe for Filipinos (p. 418).	<i>Report of the Ethnological Survey sa Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission</i>	Merton L. Miller	1905
Bilans	250	...a tribe living in the hills some 15 miles south of Santa Cruz (in Davao) (p. 419).			
Moros in the Gulf of Davao	251	...are Moros in name than in religion (p. 419).			
Negritos of Panay	252	...seem less civilized, less accustomed to dealing with other people than those of the lowlands; their dress is a little more primitive, but they are like Visayans in general appearance (p. 419).			
	253	...elusive people...these little blacks (p. 420).			
	254	I was told that some Filipinos who like the <b>lazy life</b> of the Negritos, and who are glad to avoid paying taxes, go to live with the little black people and intermarry with them (p. 420)			
Bukidnon	255	...are apparently a distinct tribe , separated in language and in custom from their Visayan and Manobo neighbors (p. 420).	<i>Report of the Ethnological Survey sa Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission</i>	Emerson B. Christie	1905
	256	...are a barbarous people...have no other name for themselves than Bukidnon or Montesco...(p. 421).			
	257	...a name given by the Visayan to mountain people in Negros (p. 421).			
The Subanos	258	...an interesting example of pagan population of Mindanao...less advanced people (p. 421).			
The Subanos	259	... the relatively civilized Subanos living among the hills near the coast, ... who have been influenced by the Moro civilization through their large trade in rice, and the much more primitive Subanos living in the highlands, and consequently called by the former... "tau tasan" or highlanders (p. 424).			
	260	...timidity and reserve of these people (p. 425).			
Iranun	261	...raiders (p. 425).			
Samal	262	...pirates (p. 425).			
Bontoc	263	"Fun-tak" – a common native word for mountain, the original name of the pueblo (p.33)	<i>The Bontoc Igorot</i>	Albert Jenks	1905
	264	...appears to be in a transition stage, not usually emphasized, between the communism of the savage or barbarian...and the more advanced forms of society...(p. 138).			
	265	For unknown generations these people have been fierce head-hunters (p. 172).			
	266	...a savage...but remarkably industrious for a primitive man... His... most-enjoyed and highly prized recreation—is headhunting. But... a very likable man...there is little about his primitiveness that is repulsive... I have a most sincere and interest in and respect for the Bontoc Igorot as a man (p. 14-15).			
Ifugao	267	"I-pu-kao" or "I-fu-gao" – the "people"... (p. 33) [ <i>tawag ng mga taga-Bontoc sa kanilang sarili</i> ]			
	268	Twenty per cent of the adults have abnormal feet (p. 46)			
	269	the society is too simple... (p.138).			

Igorot of Quiangan	270	noted for such robberies made on the pueblos of Bagabag and Ibung to the south in central Nueva Vizcaya (p. 138).			
Negrito of Buracay	271	...very peaceable and are engaged in the manufacture of barotos, or bancas, under the direction of native Christians (p.217)	<i>Fifth Annual Report of the Executive Secretary for the Philippine Islands covering the period from July 1, 1905 to June 30, 1906</i>		1906
Non-Christians of Palawan	272	...are divided into three tribes – the Mohammedan Moros who have a few scattering settlements on the island of Balabac and along the southern third of the coast of Palawan; the Tagbanuas who inhabit the interior of the southern third of the island and extend down to the coast in its central portion; and the Bataks, a Negrito tribe found in the interior of the central portion of the island and occasionally coming down to the east and west coasts (p. 4).	<i>Report of the Secretary of the Interior sa Annual Report of the Philippine Commission</i>	Dean C. Worcester	1906
(Moros of Palawan)	273	...are chiefly renegades who have violated Moro laws and have been driven out of Jolo or Tawi-Tawi. They do not cultivate the soil. They fish a little, but for the most part try to steal their living from the Tagbanuas of the interior... they have engaged actively in piracy (p. 4).	<i>Report of the Secretary of the Interior sa Annual Report of the Philippine Commission</i>	Dean C. Worcester	1906
	274	...oppressors of the Tagbanuas of southern Palawan (p. 5).			
(Tagbanua)	275	...Palauanes (p.3).			
(Batak)	276	...Tinitiano (p. 3).			
(Tagbanua and Batak)	277	...are normally peaceful, law-abiding, and, for <b>wild</b> people, reasonably industrious (p.5).			
Apayao	278	...unexplored mountain region situated in the eastern part of Ilocos Norte (p.6).			
Apayao and Kalinga	279	...the inhabitants of Apayao...annually make numerous head-hunting raids upon their Christian neighbors.... had an extremely bad reputation (p. 6).			
Moro	280	The general disarmament of Moros and Pagans has been accomplished and peace prevails (p. 3).	<i>Annual Report of the Governor for the Moro Province for the Year Ended June 30, 1913</i>	John J. Pershing	1913
	281	The Moros or Pagans who have come in close contact with our civilization, in the public schools or otherwise, are ... anxious to improve their standards of living and, ... are inclined also to adopt our manners and customs.... if followed up by other civilizing forces, may lead eventually to the <b>social evolution</b> of these wards (p. 33).			
	282	The Moro does not take naturally to cleanliness, but it must be thrust upon him. Recourse to arrest and even imprisonment is often necessary to enforce sanitary rules among the <b>uncivilized</b> population (p. 41).			
	283	There has been some raiding and slave-taking among the <b>wild tribes</b> of the upper Agusan River (p. 61).			
	284	In Lanao, pursuit of <b>outlaws</b> has been vigorous since 1909...(p. 61).			
	285	The <b>brigands</b> resumed their criminal pursuits, and sent their warriors to run amuk against our troops (p. 62).			
	286	Fanatic.. is absolutely fearless, and once committed to combat he counts death as a mere incident (p. 65).			
	287	So bitter in his hatred of the Filipino that he would probably			

		carry on the contest to the point of his own success or his own extermination (p. 65).			
	288	Cunning, fanatical courage... (p. 65).			
	289	The Filipino regards the Moro as a barbarian or a savage, while the Moro thinks the Filipino an inferior, fit only to be his slave. They are in no sense brothers, but are irreconcilable strangers and enemies in every sense (p. 64).			
	290	It is reported that Filipino women of Cotabato were compelled to parade the streets in a nude condition in front of the Moro president (p. 66).			
	291	...this (Moro) Province with its <b>teeming thousands</b> of uncivilized Malays...(p. 68).			
	292	Of all the Moros, the Joloanos (Sulus) are the most persistent in their determination to resist rational control by the government. ... a haughty people... are without exception, the most illogically perverse and doggedly unreasonable of all uncivilized tribes (p. 69).			
	293	...is clannish... the tribe as a body politic is not known among the Moros and only exists in form among the smaller wild tribes (p. 70).	<i>Annual Report of the Governor for the Moro Province for the Year Ended June 30, 1913</i>	John J. Pershing	1913
	294	Accustomed for centuries to piracy at sea and robbery on land...with slight provocation he goes forth to kill...(p. 70).			
	295	...the datu has been the instigator of the crimes of his follower...(p.70).			
	296	...[they] do not wholly acknowledge the established church and cannot in any sense be called true believers (p. 70).			
	297	It is not Allah he calls upon, but the gods of his pagan ancestors. Their Mohammedanism is only skin deep (p. 70).			
	298	The Moro often runs amuk against his enemies as an act of war, but the principal cause is as above stated [polygamy] (p. 71).			
	299	Running amuk or juramentado (p. 71).			
	300	... there is no such thing among the Moros as stable datu government... To attempt to restore datu rule ... would be to go backward a hundred years (p. 73).			
	301	Slavery has always been part and parcel of Moro Mohammedanism...(p. 74).			
Moros of Mt . Bagsak	302	<b>Lawbreakers...criminals...</b> very earnest appeals were made to induce them to listen to reason (p. 62).			
	303	<b>Desperados and criminals</b> ... band of outlaws included some of the most notorious cattle thieves and murderers that have ever infested the land (p. 63).			
	304	The only principle for which they fought was the right to pillage and murder without molestation from the government (p. 63).			
Mandayans (from the north end of Davao Gulf)	305	... the wildest and most savage of the hill tribes (p. 78).			
Manobos	306	... shiftless and lazy, and generally live from hand to mouth... are timid,... are made the prey of other tribes and of shrewd traders (p. 78).			
Bilans	307	...are not warlike but they occasionally go on expeditions			

		against the other tribes simply to show their prowess ... (p. 78).			
Attas	308	... a small tribe on the north coast of Davao Gulf back of Lasang.... They have the same traits as the Dibabawans regarding infidelity. They occasionally raid other tribes to kill so-called enemies... for tribal prestige (p. 79)			
Tirurays	309	...are poor and shiftless and of little promise ... are timid and unwarlike, and are often made the prey of the more aggressive Moro. They lack thrift and industry... (p. 79).			
The Moro Province	310	... in reality, the people are yet in dense darkness and only the merest beginning has been made toward enlightenment (p. 79).			
Non-Christian	311	... it was intended to relate to degree of civilization...to geographical area...	<i>Circular of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes No. 37</i>	Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes	1927
	312	...the natives of the Philippine Islands of a low grade of civilization.			
	313	...headhunting tribes of the Philippine Islands (xiii)	<i>Savage Gentlemen</i>	Mabel Cook Cole	1929
	314	Emerging in Spanish times as a general word, <b>no-cristiano</b> , along with <b>infidel</b> (infidel), to refer to those groups which resisted Christianization (p.12).	<i>Taming Philippine Headhunters: A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon</i>	Felix M. Keesing and Marie Keesing	1934
	315	In accepting for the sake of convenience...the term...refers to recognized members of some eight Mohammedan groups, and twenty-two or more so-called pagan groups which cling more or less to their indigenous religious beliefs and ceremonies (p.12).			
	316	...clearly distinguishable by its geographic location and ethnic characteristics...(p. 12)			
	317	...while all have as a common historical bond the fact of refusing to submit in any great degree to the Spanish mission efforts and politico-military domination, and as a present basis of unity the existence of special legislative policies to safeguard and promote their interests (p.12-13).			
	318	...groups which have retained their old ways as against the newer patterns of Spanish-Filipino-American life (p.13)			
	319	minority groups in the Philippines (p.29).			
	320	scattered peoples (p. 21).			
	321	"Tribal peoples" ... groups whose identity is based on the autonomous kinship, or small community unit (p.12).			
Tribes	322	warring and hostile communities and nomadic bands (p.32).			
	323	do not correspond in the least with the political groupings, in which loyalty is more or less confined to the community and the kin (p.39).			
Igorots	324	Savage gentlemen (pabalat ng libro)	<i>Savage Gentlemen</i>	Mabel Cook Cole	1929
	325	Simple primitive Man in all the glory of his own simple untutored ways – a picture of untamed Man and wild nature which is rapidly being civilized from off the face of the earth (p. xv).			
	326	Mountaineers (p. 35)	<i>Taming Philippine Headhunters: A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in</i>	Felix M. Keesing and Marie Keesing	1934
	327	Philippine headhunters (pabalat ng libro)			
	328	...showing diverse ethnic characteristics (p.38).			
	329	...were scattered over the high ranges and through the lower			

		jungles in self-contained units...(p. 38).	Northern Luzon		
330		...villages with striking differences in housing, dress, social organization, and religious beliefs (p.38).			
331		Ibaloi or Nabaloi, Kankanaï, Lepanto and Amburayan peoples, Bontoc, Ifugao, Tinggian or Tinguian, pagan Gaddang, Isneg or Apayao, Kalinga or Kalingga (p.40-41).			
332		Each unit was potentially hostile to all others (p.38).			
333		All indulged in the thrilling game of headhunting which made the name of the mountain peoples a byword for cruelty and ferocity among the Christianized Filipinos (p.38).			
334		...an Ilocano mother uses it (the term Igorot) to frighten or reprove her children ... (p. 41).			

**Talahanayan 2:**  
**Buod ng Semantikal na Elaborasyon sa “Di-Kristiyano” batay sa Talahanayan 1**

SALITA: TAGURI	KATUTUBONG KAHULUGAN (dati)	PAKAHULUGANG KOLONYAL (bago)
Batak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mula sa bundok (galing sa wikang Kuyonon)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Negrito tribe of northeastern Palawan</li> </ul>
Bontok/Fontok	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Fun-tak</i></li> <li>Bundok</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Magnanakaw</li> <li>Gaya ng mga Moro</li> <li>Namimihag at nagbebenta ng mga alipin</li> <li>Mamumugot ng ulo</li> <li><i>Savages</i></li> <li>Kriminal</li> <li>Mahirap</li> <li><i>Savage gentlemen</i></li> </ul>
Bukidnon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bukid (‘bundok’ sa Bisaya) at – non (taga): taga-bundok</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Buquidnones</li> <li><i>Montescos</i></li> <li><i>Monteses</i></li> <li><i>Remontados</i></li> <li>Babaylanes</li> <li>Pulijanes (sic)</li> <li>Mundos</li> <li>Igorot</li> <li>Bukitnon</li> <li>Remnants of Bikol, Tagalog and Bisaya tribes</li> <li>Galing sa mga Kristiyanong populasyon na nakipagpangasawahan sa mga Negrito</li> <li>Takas sa mga pamayanang Kristiyano</li> <li>Ibang (distinct) tribo inihihiwalay ng wika at kaugalian mula sa mga kapit-bahay nilang Manobo at Bisaya</li> </ul>
Mga Katutubo ng	Lumad ng Mindanaw	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Hill tribes of Mindanao”</li> </ul>

Mindanao na di-Muslim	<p>Ata Ati B'laan, Bagobo</p> <p>Mandaya: Man (tao) + daya (ilaya, <i>upstream</i>)</p> <p>Manobo: katutubo o mula sa lugar; a.k.a. Mansuba: Man (tao) + suba (ilog) = taga-ilog; mula rin sa Banobo, pangalan ng isang sapa na dumadaloy sa Pulangi River</p> <p>Tagabili Tagakaulo Tiruray</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Atta, Bilan, Tagacaolo</li> <li>• Indonesian (batay sa teorya ng waves of migration ni H. Otley Beyer)</li> <li>• Sumasamba sa mga idolo</li> <li>• Ignorante/mangmang</li> <li>• Infielles/ pagans/infidels</li> <li>• Kumukupkop sa mga takas na Kristiyano: <i>remontados</i></li> <li>• Magkakaiba: mula sa pinakatahimik at pasibo tungo sa pinakamalulupit</li> <li>• Hiwa-hiwalay</li> <li>• Tinik sa lalamunan</li> <li>• <i>Tribes</i></li> <li>• <i>Cannibals</i></li> <li>• <i>Head-hunters</i></li> <li>• <i>Savages</i></li> <li>• Walang kapasidad para pamahalaan ang sarili</li> <li>• Di-hamak na mas mahina at mababa kaysa American Indian</li> <li>• (Mandayan): wildest and most savage of the "hill tribes"</li> <li>• (Tiruray): mahirap, walang pag-asa sa buhay, tamad, inaalipin ng mga Moro</li> </ul>
Ifugao	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "I" (taga) at pugao (lupa), i.e. taga-lupa; o mga tao (people)</li> <li>• Tawag din ng mga Bontok sa kanilang sarili: 'I-pu-kao' [Jenks 1905]</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Feroces</i></li> <li>• Lahing sadyang mabagsik</li> <li>• Mababangis</li> <li>• Malulupit</li> <li>• "puso ng rehiyon ng pamumugot ng ulo" ("the very heart of the head-hunting region")</li> <li>• Sadyang pahirap sa gobyerno</li> <li>• Uhaw sa dugo</li> </ul>
Igorot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mula sa dalawang salitang "i" (taga) at golot/golod (bundok o mataas na lupain), i.e., taga-bundok</li> <li>• Singkahulugan ng "tinggi," "sambal," at "daya", i.e. interyor (Scott 1962: 155-156)</li> <li>• Tumutukoy sa sumusunod na grupo: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Apayao (Isneg)</li> <li>Ayangan</li> <li>Bontok</li> <li>Bummayon</li> <li>Bun-ayan (Kiangnan)</li> <li>Dadayag</li> <li>Gaddang</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Apostata</li> <li>• Arogante, mayabang</li> <li>• <i>Alzados, rebeldes, salteadores</i></li> <li>• Barbaro</li> <li>• Bastos, walang modo</li> <li>• Biktima ng mga pang-aabuso</li> <li>• Di-Kristiyano</li> <li>• <i>Gentil, pagan/pagano/walang</i> dinidiyos kundi ang kanilang mga sikmura</li> <li>• Gentil, gentilidad, tribu, tribe</li> <li>• Hayop na mabangis</li> <li>• Iba, hiwalay, tiwalag sa mga Kristiyano at sibilisado, "villages with striking differences"</li> </ul>

	<p>Ginaang Ibaloi Ilongot Ipukao/Ifugao Isinay Kalinga Kankanay Mayoyao Silipan Tinggian (Itneg)</p> <p>[Jenks 1905]</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Iba sa mga Tinggian at Ilongot, maging sa mga Ifugao</li> <li>• <i>Igorrotes, Igolotes</i></li> <li>• Imoral</li> <li>• Independiente</li> <li>• <i>Indios montareces</i></li> <li>• <i>Indios de los montes; indios serranos</i></li> <li>• <i>Infel</i>, pagano, walang relihiyon</li> <li>• iskandaloso</li> <li>• Kaaway ng mga Kristiyano</li> <li>• Kinatatakutan</li> <li>• <i>Malevolo</i>, Kriminal, masamang-loob</li> <li>• May-sa-demonyo</li> <li>• Magkakaiba at nag-aaway-away</li> <li>• Magnanakaw, mandarambong, manliligalig, mananambang</li> <li>• Mahina</li> <li>• Mahirap, hampas-lupa</li> <li>• Mahirap maunawaan, walang lohika, di-mawari</li> <li>• Mailap</li> <li>• Makasarili</li> <li>• Malas, aba, kahabag-habag</li> <li>• Malupit, paladigma</li> <li>• Mamamatay-tao</li> <li>• Mamumugot ng ulo, uhaw sa dugo ng tao</li> <li>• Mangmang</li> <li>• Mapang-alipin, tirano</li> <li>• Mapanlinlang</li> <li>• Marumi</li> <li>• Namumuhay sa kasamaan ng kanilang kawalan ng Diyos</li> <li>• Matakaw, masiba, manginginom, puro bisyo, gahaman</li> <li>• Matigas ang ulo</li> <li>• <i>Primitive</i>, mababang uri ng pamumuhay, magaspang</li> <li>• Primitive Malayan tribe</li> <li>• Punong-puno ng kontradiskyon</li> <li>• <i>Salvaje, savage</i>, mabangis</li> <li>• <i>Savage gentlemen</i></li> <li>• Suspetsoso</li> <li>• Tamad</li> </ul>
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Igorotism	(wala pa)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (panahong Amerikano): Baluktot at mababaw na pangangatwiran</li> </ul>
Igorrotismo	(wala pa)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (panahong Kastila): Lupain ng mga Igorot, paganismo, kawalang lohika, katigasan ng ulo, kalupitan, pamumugot ng ulo</li> </ul>
Ilongot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tawag sa sarili ng mga Ilongot sa kabuuan; ‘i’ (mula) at ‘runut’ (gubat), i.e., taga-gubat</li> <li>• Tinatawag ding Ibilao, Italon, at Bugkalot.</li></ul> <p>[Gatan 1997: 32].</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kaaway ng mga Negrito at Igorot</li> <li>• Nag-aaway-away na tribo</li> <li>• Mamamatay-tao</li> <li>• Infiel</li> <li>• Magnanakaw</li> <li>• Mamumugot ng ulo, pinakamalupit na mamumugot ng ulo sa hilagang Luzon</li> <li>• Iba sa mga Igorot (dahil sa kanilang “physical type”)</li> </ul>
Indio	(wala pa)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mga katutubong sinakop: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a.Cristiano, gaya ng “indios cristianos”</li> <li>b.Infieles, gaya ng “indios infieles”</li> </ul> </li> <li>• “cristianos” na lang nang malaunan</li> </ul>
Mangyan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Katutubo; mula sa lugar</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manguianes</li> <li>• Tribe of Mindoro</li> <li>• Primitive Malayan</li> <li>• Malapit na malapit sa Tagbanua tribe</li> <li>• Mga komunidad na nag-aaway-away</li> <li>• Nomadic bands</li> </ul>
Moros	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Muslim sa Mindanao at Kapuluang Sulu:</li></ul> <p><b>Suluanon</b> (Joloanon)/Tausug: [<i>mga tao ng agos:</i> (1) <i>tau higad – taga-baybay</i> (2) <i>tau gimba – taga-bundok</i></p> <p><b>Sama:</b> [<i>kasama</i>]</p> <p><b>Maguindanao:</b> [<i>mga tao ng kapatagan (floodplains)</i>]</p> <p><b>Maranao:</b> [<i>(mga tao ng lawa (ranao))</i>]</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Moors /Moros</i></li> <li>• <i>Mohammedans</i></li> <li>• <i>Mohammedan</i> sa pangalan lang</li> <li>• <i>Mohammedan tribes</i></li> <li>• Iba’t iba at hiwa-hiwalay na tribo</li> <li>• Kaaway</li> <li>• Bastos, walang modo</li> <li>• Barbaro</li> <li>• Malulupit na tao</li> <li>• <i>Brigand</i></li> <li>• <i>Fanatic</i></li> <li>• Pirata</li> <li>• Tribo</li> <li>• Likas na marumi</li> <li>• Mangmang</li> </ul>



	<p><b>Ilanon/Iranun:</b> <i>[mga tao ng lawa]</i></p> <p><b>Kalibugan:</b> “halo” (half-breed), resulta ng pagpapangasawahan ng mga Muslim na Samal at Yakan o Muslim sa baybayin ng Zamboanga at katutubong Subanon</p> <p><b>Badjaw o Sama D’laut</b> (taong dagat)</p> <p>Yakan</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mapagkunwari, mapanlinlang</li> <li>• Namimihag</li> <li>• Ubod ng bangis</li> <li>• Wild tribes</li> <li>• Outlaws</li> <li>• Uncivilized Malays</li> <li>• (Sulu): Maraming pisikal na pekyuliyaridad; pinakawalang katwiran sa lahat ng “uncivilized tribes”</li> <li>• (Samal): sobrang kala-kalat at hiwa-hiwalay, inapo ng mga “sea gypsies” na may masamang reputasyon</li> <li>• (Bajau): bastos na mga “sea gypsies”; lagalag; magnanakaw, masasamang-loob; lahing paurong o umurong; paganong Mohammedan, swine eaters</li> <li>• (Ilanon/Iranun): ang pinakamasahol na pirata</li> <li>• (Malanao): mabagsik at di-magapi-gaping Moro ng Lawa ng Lanao</li> <li>• (Maguindanao): nabubulok na kapangyarihang Moro</li> <li>• (Yakan): Morong panatiko at mabagsik</li> <li>• (Moro ng Palawan): nang-aapi ng mga Tagbanua</li> <li>• (Moro ng Bud Bagsak): <i>desperados and criminals</i></li> <li>• Mamamatay-tao</li> </ul>
Negrito	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tinatawag sa iba’t ibang pangalan: Aeta Agta Ata Ati Batak</li> <li>Dumagat Ibukid Ita</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Naging kolektibong katawagan sa mga “little blacks”</li> <li>• <i>Cannibals</i></li> <li>• Nasa pinakamababang antas ng sibilisasyon</li> <li>• <i>Pygmies</i></li> <li>• Tuso</li> <li>• Tahimik ang iba</li> <li>• Biktima ng mapagsamantalang Kristiyano</li> <li>• Walang kapasidad para sa sibilisasyon</li> <li>• (ng Panay): “less civilized than the Visayan,” hindi marunong makitungo sa mga tao; tamad, mailap</li> </ul>
No cristiano/ Non-Christian	(wala pa)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>infel</i></li> <li>• Pagano at Salvaje</li> <li>• Pagan or Mohammedan Tribes ...found in Luzon, Mindanao, Panay, Negros, Samar, Mindoro, Basilan, the Sulu Archipelago, Balabac, Palawan, and the Calamianes Islands</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Problema ng gobyerno dahil sa kanilang poligamiya, pamumugot ng ulo, pamimihag ng mga alipin</li> <li>• Wild tribes</li> <li>• Wild peoples</li> <li>• Savage tribes</li> <li>• Mga tribong nagtataglay ng “distinct language and peculiar customs.”</li> <li>• Ang iba ay payapa at maginoo (gentle)</li> <li>• Ang iba ay sobrang paladigma</li> <li>• <i>Minority groups</i></li> <li>• <i>Scattered peoples</i></li> <li>• <i>Tribal peoples</i></li> </ul>
Subanon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Suba (Ilog) at -non (taga), i.e. taga-ilog</li> <li>• Tau-tasan (mga taga-bundok) na Subanon</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subanos</li> <li>• Sunud-sunuran lang</li> <li>• Walang kibo</li> <li>• Pasibo</li> <li>• Lagalag, pagala-gala</li> <li>• Vagamundo</li> <li>• Pulubi</li> <li>• <i>Pagan</i></li> <li>• Mahiyain</li> </ul>
Tagbanua	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Taga + banua (lupa)</li> <li>• Palawan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mailap</li> <li>• Palauanes</li> <li>• Wild people</li> </ul>
Tinggian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Itneg, i.e. mga taong naninirahan sa may itaas na bahagi ng Ilog Tineg (“I” at “tineg”), a.k.a. taga-ilog</li> <li>• Tinggi, i.e., mataas na lupain, bundok</li> <li>• Tinatawag ding Sambal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tinguian, Tinguianes</li> <li>• Infieles ng Ilocos, infieles ng kabundukan</li> <li>• Iba sa mga Igorot dahil sa kalapitan sa mga Ilokano pero pinaniniwalaang Igorot din</li> <li>• Igorot, Igorrote</li> <li>• Di-magaping tribo</li> <li>• <i>Wild</i></li> <li>• Banta sa mga Pilipino</li> </ul>
Tribu/ Tribes	(wala pa)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mga tao sa Pilipinas: Kristiyano at Di-Kristiyano (mula 1899-1903)</li> <li>• Christianized tribes</li> <li>• Non-Christian tribes</li> <li>• Nang magtagal, tumukoy na lamang sa mga di-Kristiyano</li> <li>• “warring and hostile communities...villages with striking differences.”</li> </ul>
Zambal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sambal</li> <li>• Igorot</li> <li>• Pangasinan</li> <li>• Tinggi</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barbaro</li> <li>• Indios serranos (taong bundok)</li> <li>• Igorrotes</li> <li>• Pangasinanes cristianos</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Masasamang-tao, kriminal</li> </ul>
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Paano babasahin ang talahanayang ito? Sa unang hanay, ipinakikita ang mga salita o taguring ginamit para tukuyin ang mga grupong labis na tumutol sa Kristiyanisasyon at kolonyalismo. Isinama rin sa talaan ang ilang mga kataga o salitang banyaga, e.g. “pagan,” “non-Christian,” “Moros,” “Indios,” “tribes” dahil ang mga ito mismo ang pamagat ng paksa ng paglalarawan. Anupa’t mahihiwatigan dito na para sa mga etnograper, malayang nagpapalitan (interchangeable) at magkasingkahulugan ang mga ito at ang katutubong taguri. Ibig sabihin, ang katutubong salitang “Igorot” at ang ipinakilalang “infiel” o “pagan” ay tuwirang magkaugnay, i.e. magkasingkahulugan at hindi lamang simpleng deskripsyon ng una ang huli. May mga espesipiko ring katagang itinampok (e.g., Ilongot, Ifugao at Tinggian) at hindi lamang mga kolektibong katawagan (e.g., Igorot, Moro). Dahil may mga kumikilalang sadyang naiiba ang mga ito sa diumano’y “kolektibong” taguring kanilang itinakda. O dili kaya naman, may eksklusibong tuon ang ilang ulat ukol sa kanila. Sa ikalawa, itinala ang katutubong kahulugan o pinanggalingan/pinaghanguan ng mga salita batay sa kaalamang bayan na binabanggit din sa ilang pag-aaral. At sa ikatlo, itinampok ang mga bagong salita (banyaga) at isinaling kahulugan ng mga paglalarawan, gayundin ang bago/binagong anyo (o baybay) ng mga nasabing taguri batay sa pagkakasulat (inskripsyon at transkripsyon) ng mga kolonyal na etnograper. Sadyang pinanatili ang mga banyagang taguri sa paniniwalang bitbit ng mga ito ang partikular na kontekstong kultural at historikal ng mga etnograpihong ulat. Kung ano’t anuman, matutunghayan sa kabuuan kung paano nabago o nagdagdagan ng mga “mapanlait” na pakahulugan ang mga taguri sa mga grupong etnolinggwistikong hindi pumaloob sa kolonyal na diskurso ng pagbubuo ng bayan “pueblo,” “town” at “nacion/nation”.

Mahalagang isaalang-alang na perspektiba ito una, ng mga eksploradores na Kastila, sampu ng kanilang mga misyonero at *conquistadores*; ikalawa, ng ilang bilang ng mga sinanay na antropologo at etnograper-opisyal na Amerikano (at Pilipino)<sup>1</sup> na nagsagawa ng sarbey etnolohikal upang tukuyin, tiyakin at uriin ang mga tao sa ganang lahi at kultura mula 1901 hanggang 1914 sa ilalim ng Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes/Bureau of Ethnological Survey/Philippine Bureau of Ethnology; at ikatlo, ng ilang piling etnograpiya ng mga Amerikano hanggang 1934. Tampok dito ang mga sumusunod na akda:

- Dalawa ang nagmula sa ordeng relihiyoso ng mga Dominiko: ang *Noticia* ni Fray Francisco Antolin (1789), at ang *Los Mayoyaos y La Raza Ifugao* ni Fray Buenaventura Campa (1894).

Ang una ay kalipunan ng mga “standard” na sanggunian tungkol sa mga Igorot ayon sa mga historyador na Dominiko, Agustino, Fransiskano at Heswita, gaya nina Diego Aduarte, Gaspar de San Agustin, Juan Francisco de San Antonio, at Francisco Colin, Juan de la Concepcion. Isinama rin niya ang unang tatlong tomo ng *Historia general de Philipinas* ni Juan de la Concepcion at ang *Conquistas* ni Casimiro Diaz, gayundin ang *Cronica* ni Antonio de Llave.

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<sup>1</sup>Bagaman nakapagsulat din ang mga Pilipino ng ulat-etnograpiya sa parehong konteksto, minarapat ng may-akda na tumuon lang sa pag-aakda ng mga dayuhan alinsunod sa delimitasyon ng pananaliksik na ito.

Sumangguni rin siya sa buntong ng *cedularios* ng gobyerno at mga ulat sibil at militar (Scott: 1988: xiv). Hinati niya ang *Noticias* sa dalawang bahagi. Naglalaman ang una ng isang pangkalahatang perspektiba sa mga Igorot kaakibat ng isang pangkalahatang paglalarawang etnograpiya tungkol sa lahat ng aspeto ng kanilang pamumuhay. Tampok din dito ang mga salaysay tungkol sa samu't saring eksplorasyon sa lupain ng mga Igorot mula 1739 hanggang 1788 mula sa mga manlalakbay/eksplorador mismo. Ang pangalawa ay kalipunan ng mga orihinal na akdang nakaayos nang sunud-sunod ayon sa panahon na isa na umanong “maliit na artsibo” (Scott 1988: xv). Taglay ng akda sa kabuuan, ayon kay Scott, ang marka ng mataas na kapantasang maaasahan sa panahong iyon. Kung kaya, minarapat ng saliksik na ito na itampok ang akda bilang isa sa mga autoridad sa paksang “Igorot.”

Samantala, sa “Los Mayoyaos” ni Buenaventura Campa, O.P., binibigyan ang mambabasa ng pagkakataong matitigan nang malapitan ang kaso ng mga Ifugao ng Mayoyao at Quiangan na magpahanggang sa panahon ng mga Amerikano ay nagtataglay pa rin ng masamang reputasyon bilang “puso ng rehiyon ng pamumugot ng ulo” (“the very heart of the head-hunting region”) (Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission 1904: 892). Para sa mambabasang nagnanais sipatin ang espesipikong konteksto ng isang grupong lubhang naging “pahirap” sa mga kolonisador, napakahalaga ng etnograpiyang ito.

- Isa ang galing sa ordeng Agustino. Ang “*Igorrotes*” ni Fray Angel Perez na una sa dalawang akdang isinulat niya tungkol sa paksa, ang huli ay ang *Relaciones agustinianas de las Razas del Norte de Luzon* (1904). Kapwa inilimbag ang dalawang ito ng Bureau of Ethnological Survey nang magkasunod noong 1902 at 1904 upang gabayan ang “civilizing mission” ng mga Amerikano sa hilagang Luzon (Worcester 1905: 56). Orihinal na isinulat noong 1891, ang “*Igorrotes*” na siyang itinatampok sa papel na ito ay kalipunan ng mga serye ng liham mula sa mga misyonerong paring Kastila at naglalaman ng mahahalagang dokumentong historikal tungkol sa pagtatatag ng mga misyon (*missiones*) ng simbahan. Nagpapanukala ang akda kung paano mabisang maisakatuparan ang konbersyon ng mga “infieles” sa pamunuan ng ordeng Agustino. Masisipat mula rito ang diumano’y labis na obsesyon ng mga kanluranin noong siglo 19 sa karumihan at pagiging “hubad” ng mga Igorot. Batbat ito ng maririing pagkiling na kakikitaan ng mayamang batis ng semantikal na elaborasyon sa taguring “Igorot” bilang “gentes salvajes.”
- Una sa tatlong tomo ng “*Mision*” ni Pablo Pastells ng ordeng Heswita ang ginamit sa saliksik na ito. Naglalaman ang akda ng mga tala tungkol sa gawaing misyonero sa Mindanao noong huling apatnapung taon ng siglo 19. Bagaman salaysay talaga ito ng mga naisakatuparan (at/o hindi naisakatuparan) ng mga paring misyonero para sa konbersyon ng mga Moro at tinatawag nilang “pagano,” masisipat mula rito ang buhay na paglalarawan sa huli. Hindi lingid sa kaalaman ng

marami, tanging mga Heswita ang matagumpay na nakapasok sa mga komunidad sa Mindanao na labis na kitakutan sa kahabaan ng rehimeng Kastila dahil sa daantaong tradisyon nito ng “*pirrateria*” bilang lunsaran ng depensa sa mga opensiba ng pamahalaang kolonyal. Mahalaga ang akdang ito, kung gayon, bilang batis ng kaalaman sa mga komunidad ng Mindanao sa panahong ito sa pangkalahatan.

- Matatagpuan sa bulto ng *Philippine Commission Reports* ang mga naratibo ng opisyal ng mga Amerikano na nagsilbing panulukang-bato ng Gobyerno Sibil sa Pilipinas. Tatlong pangunahing institusyon ng gobyerno ang mangangasiwa sa diumano’y mabilis na “integrasyon” ng mga “tinik sa lipunang kolonyal”: ang mga Igorot ng hilagang Luzon, mga “Moro” at ilan pang “pagano” sa iba’t ibang panig ng kapuluan. Pangunahin na rito ang Departamento ng Interyor sa ilalim ng pangangasiwa ni Dean C. Worcester na nanungkulan bilang kalihim nito mula 1901 hanggang 1913—napakatagal kung kaya’t naging napakaimpluwensyal na pigura sa politika at tadhana ng Pilipinas (Sullivan 1991). Napakamakapangyarihan ng aparatong ito ng gobyerno. Dito nakaatang ang mga kaukulang imbestigasyon para sa mga panukala, lehislasyon at implementasyon ng mga patakarang kolonyal sa antas na lokal. Sila, kung gayon, ang may direktang kontrol sa mga komunidad at lokal nitong pamahalaan. Ikalawa, sa ilalim ng Departamento ng Interyor ay ang Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT mula ngayon), a.k.a. Bureau of Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands—ito ang nagsagawa ng mga sarbey-etnolohikal na bumuo ng korpus ng kaalaman bilang gabay sa paggawa ng patakaran at lehislasyon kaugnay ng mga “di-Kristiyano.” At ikatlo, ang Bureau of Public Instruction na nagtaguyod ng malawakang edukasyon sa mga sakop, ang naging pangunahing armas, higit pa sa mga armas-pandigma, ng patakaran ng “Benevolent Assimilation” (basahin: ganap na kontrol ng mga Amerikano sa mga Pilipino) (Kramer 2006). Ilan sa mga prominenteng opisyal na nagsilbi ring etnograper ay ang mga dalubhasang antropologong sina David P. Barrows, naging Hepe ng BNCT (1901-1903) pagkatapos niyang manungkulan bilang City Superintendent of Schools sa Maynila (1900-1901); Albert Jenks, pumalit kay Barrows (1903-1905), Merton L. Miller, sa kanyang kapasidad bilang Acting Chief ng Bureau of Ethnological Survey noong 1905; Emerson Christie, Assistant Ethnologist ng Ethnological Survey, 1905, Jesse George, Teacher in-Charge of Schools for the Province of Benguet. Nang likhain ang espesyal na probinsya ng “Moro Province” noong 1903 sa ilalim ng pamamahala ng mga militar, nagsulat din ang mga

sundalong kagaya ni Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing ng U.S. Army bilang gobernador ng probinsya noong 1913. Sa taong nabanggit, “opisyal” na winakasan ng mga Amerikano ang kolektibong paglaban ng mga Moro sa napakadugong Labanan ng Bud Bagsak na sinundan ng masidhing kampanya para sa Pilipinisasyon” ng gobyerno, at ang kaakibat nitong Pilipinisasyon ng “*White Man’s Burden*” vis-à-vis mga di-Kristiyano. Ito ang bagong patakaran ng administrasyong Harrison noong 1914 (Kramer 2006: 378). Sa kontekstong ito mauunawaan ang sidhi ng emosyon ng ulat ni Pershing una, laban sa mga Joloanong (Moro ng Sulu) na nasa likod ng “Bud Bagsak;” at ikalawa, laban sa napipintong paglipat ng Moro Province sa pamamahala ng mga Kristiyanong Pilipino.

- May mga partikular na akdang etnograpike na inilimbag bilang bahagi ng serye ng diumano’y “scientific studies” ng *Ethnological Survey*.<sup>2</sup> Isa na rito ang *The Bontoc Igorot* ni Albert Jenks na isinulat noong 1903 at inilathala noong 1905. Ipinasya ni Jenks na pag-aralan sa partikular ang mga Igorot ng Bontoc sa layong patunayan ang diumano’y “pagkakaiba-iba” ng mga tipo ng kultura at gawi, maging ng mga katangiang pisikal ng mga Igorot. Nakakalap siya ng mga datos sa loob ng humigit-kumulang siyam na buwang pakikipamuhay at pagbisita sa Bontoc, nabuo niya ang napakadetalyadong kalipunan ng mga datos at retratong inorganisa para maipinta ang larawan ng tinatagurian nilang “noble savage” o “savage gentlemen.” Eupemismo itong ginamit ng mga kolonyalistang Amerikano sa kanilang di-mawaring pinaghalong pagkutya at pagdakila sa mga “object of civilizing mission” na kumikilala na sa kapangyarihan at superyoridad ng mga Amerikano (Jenks 1905:15).
- Ganito rin ang tono ng napakapersonal na pagsasalaysay ng *Savage Gentlemen* ni Mabel Cook Cole (1929) na iminamapa ang pagsailalim ng “mababangis” sa proseso ng tinagurian nilang “culture change” (basahin: pagtangkilik ng mga ideyal na Amerikano). Koleksyon ito ng mga malapitang sipat at danas sa samu’t saring “savage” ng kapuluan mula hilagang Luzon hanggang Mindanao, sa partikular: mga Tinguian, Negrito, Batak ng Palawan, Moro, Bilaan at Bagobo.
- Nagtatapos ang listahan sa obra ng mag-asawang Keesing (Felix at Marie) ng Stanford University (1934). Ang *Taming Philippine Headhunters* ay isa ring pag-aaral ng partikular na kaso (case

<sup>2</sup> Malaki rin ang naiambag ni Barrows sa serye ng mga publikasyong ito na lumabas noong 1903, gaya ng mga sumusunod: “The Tribes of the Cordillera Central of Northern Luzon;” “Notes on the Ibalao;” “Notes on the Mangyan of the Baco River, Mindoro;” “The Subanon of Western Mindanao;” “The Mohammedan Tribes of the Philippine Islands;” “A Contribution to the Classification of the Races of the Philippines.”

study) ng unti-unti, subalit “siguradong” integrasyon ng mga di-Kristiyano ng hilagang Luzon. Ang “*taming*” o pagpapaamo ay nagsisilbing talinghaga sa diumano’y paghahatid sa mga dating “head-hunters” sa kairalan ng sibilisasyon...mga “Filipinos in the making” anina Keesing (269).

### **Ilang Obserbasyon: Sipat at Suri sa mga Semantikal na Elaborasyon**

Dapat alalahaning ang mga salitang nakatala sa talahanayan sa itaas, ay nakalap sa ilang piling ulat-etnograpike lamang at hindi sinasabing kumakatawan sa lahat ng mga naisulat sa panahong saklaw (i.e., 1789 hanggang 1934). Ang taong 1789 ay petsa ng pagkalimbag ng pinakamatandang dokumentong ginamit, ang *Noticia* ni Fray Antolin; samantalang ang 1934 naman ay para sa pinakahuling ginamit na akda, *Taming Philippine Headhunters* nina Felix at Marie Keesing. Gayumpaman, mula sa mga piling akda/ulat na ito makabubuo tayo ng sapat na korpus ng kaalaman: paglalarawan at pagpapakahulugan, sa mga tinaguriang di-Kristiyano na maaaring gamitin sa preliminaryong pagsipat at pagsusuri sa nangyaring elaborasyong semantikal sa katawagan sa mga ito. Masasabing partikular na mahalaga ang panahong bumabalangkas sa mga akda. Nasa hugpungan ito ng dalawang kolonyalismo at pagsubok sa pagsasarili: ang siglo 19 na sumaksi sa mapagpasyang transisyon ng kapangyarihan mula sa kolonyal na pamahalaang Kastila tungo sa mga Pilipino subalit bumalik na naman sa panginoong kolonyal na bago. Sa panahon ding ito: pagtatapos ng siglo 18 hanggang unang bahagi ng siglo 20, isasagawa, kapwa ng mga Kastila at Amerikano ang puspusang patakaran ng integrasyon sa mga di-Kristiyano bilang pagtatangka na makontrol nang ganap ang buong arkipelago (Keesing and Keesing 1934). Sa kaso ng mga Kastila, mapapansing sa huling bahagi na lamang ng kanilang pananakop mapapasok ang “naciones de los infieles y Moros” sa pamamagitan ng puspusang paglulunsad ng ekspedisyong militar. Sa hilagang Luzon, pinahintulutan ng noo’y makabagong teknolohiya sa pakikidigma (i.e. ang riple) ang matagumpay na ekspedisyong militar ni Guillermo Galvey na sinundan ng pagtatatag ng mga comandancia politico-militar na siyang higit na nagpabilis sa penetrasyon, partikular sa mga lugar ng higit na “mababangis” na Ifugao. Sa madaling sabi, dinaan sa dahas ang hindi nagawa ng patakaran ng atraksyon at konbersyon sa Kristiyanismo na matagal ding inilunsad ng mga *misiones* ng simbahan (Scott 1974; Florendo 1992). Para naman sa mga Amerikano, kagyat nilang tutugunan ang “Igorot and Moro problem” – ang dalawang “pinakamatinding” grupo ng mga “irreconcilables” na patuloy na nagsasagawa ng pinakamasahol na kalupitan sa anyo ng “headhunting” at “piracy” -- sa pamamagitan ng pinaghalong bisa ng militarisasyon at edukasyon. Sa lahat ng ito, kung ano’t anuman, malaki at makapangyarihan ang naging papel ng etnograpiya at ng mga kaalamang nalikha nito bilang tagahulma ng kaisipan at kaayusang kolonyal.

Narito ang ilang obserbasyon mula sa isinagawang paghahanay ng semantikal na elaborasyon.

1. Unang ginamit ang salitang di-Kristiyano sa anyo nitong “no-cristiano” ng mga Kastila at nang maglaon ay isinalin bilang “non-Christian” ng mga Amerikano. Subalit, sa kaso ng ulat ng mga Kastila, “infieles” at “salvajes” ang higit na ginagamit. Sa partikular, ginamit ni Antolin ang salitang “tribu” sa “tribus independientes” subalit sa kalakhan ng kanyang *Noticia* “infieles” ang namutawi gaya ng makikita sa Talahanayan 1, Paglalarawan Blg. 3.

2. Ang salitang “Indio” ay hindi lang tumutukoy sa “mga nakristiyanisa” sa simula. Sapagkat mayron ding “indios infieles” na tumutukoy sa mga di-binyagang Igorot (Cf. Talanayan 1, Paglalarawan Blg. 15).
3. Gayundin naman, sa etnograpiyang Amerikano, ginamit ang salitang “tribe” hindi lamang bilang eksklusibong pantukoy sa mga di-Kristiyano, dahil mayroon ding “Christianized tribes” (Cf. Talahanayan 1, Paglalarawan Blg. 195). Makikita rin ito sa winika ni Merton Miller:

We hope...to undertake a careful study of the general culture of one of the great **Christian tribes**, probably of the Ilocanos or Vicals (1905: 423).

4. Gayon na lamang ang obsesyon sa pagtatala o pagbanggit hinggil sa pag-aaway-away, pagiging kalat-kalat o dili kaya’y matingkad na pagkakaiba-iba (anupa’t “isolation”) ng mga grupong etniko upang lamnan ang palagay nilang mga “tribes” ang umiiral sa Pilipinas.
5. Subalit nagiging problematiko ang taguring “tribe” sa harap ng penomenon ng pagpapangasawahan sa pagitan ng mga di-Kristiyano (e.g., Tagbanua at Negrito), at maging di-Kristiyano -- Kristiyano (Ilokano-Igorot).
6. Kapansin-pansin din ang obsesyon ng mga Amerikanong etnograper sa pag-uuri at pagtukoy sa mga “tipo” ng mga di-Kristiyano upang papagtibayin ang ipinanukalang teorya (basahin: mito) ng “waves of migration ng Amerikanong antropologong si Henry Otley Beyer tungkol sa pagkakaroon ng tao sa Pilipinas, kung kaya ang mga Negrito ay “pygmies” na nasa “pinakamababang antas ng pag-unlad” (“most primitive”; habang ang ilang “hill tribes” ng Silangang Mindanao, i.e. Mandaya, Tiruray, atbp. ay “Indonesian” bilang “semi-civilized;” at ang mga Moro at Igorot ay “primitive Malayan tribes.” Kitang-kitang rito ang impluwensya ng pilosopiya ng Social Darwinismo na namamayagpag nang mga panahong iyon sa Amerika at Europa bilang lehitimo at siyentipikong batayan ng kanilang superyoridad at ng kakabit nitong kolonyalismo. Ito ang rasyalisadong (racialized) na pagbuo ng diskurso ng “di-Kristiyano” na diumano ay nasa landas ng “**social evolution**” (Cf. Talahanayan 1, Paglalarawan Blg. 281).
7. Problematiko pa rin ang pakahulugan sa “tribe” para tumukoy sa mga taong wala o may mas mababang antas ng sibilisasyon sa winikang ito ni David P. Barrows (1903): Aniya, “We have **tribes** representing the **whole scale of culture from savagery to civilization...** (789).



8. Ang sama o tindi ng negatibong pakahulugan ay depende sa estado at konteksto ng pakikitungo sa mga kolonisador. Noong 1913, maoobserbahan na diumano ang kagyat na manipestasyon ng kapayapaan sa Mindanao, liban na lamang sa katigasan ng mga Joloano ng Sulu. Kung kaya't ganun na lamang ang sidhi ng galit na madarama sa tinurang ito ni Pershing (1913):

Of all the Moros, the Joloanos (Sulus) are the most persistent in their determination to resist rational control by the government. ... a haughty people... are without exception, the most illogically perverse and doggedly unreasonable of all uncivilized tribes (p. 69).

Kasabay ng pagbabago o pag-aanyo ng di-Kristiyano tungo sa pagiging “westernisado” nagbabago at nag-aanyo rin tungo sa magandang paglalarawan ukol sa kanila ang mga ulat-etnograpike. Sa pagkilala, halimbawa ng mga Bontoc sa mga Amerikano bilang “friends” kikilalanin din siya ng huli bilang “gentleman” na karapat-dapat sa kanilang respeto. Sa ganang ito, kitang-kita ang pagiging **arbitrario** ng pagpapakahulugan sa mga di-Kristiyano.

Itinatakda rin ang mga taguring “di-Kristiyano” bilang salbahe, pagano, barbaro, at pagiging tribo batay sa heograpikal na lokasyon o kinaroroonan ng kanilang tirahan *vis-à-vis* itinakdang sentro: *pueblo* o *town*. Simple subalit napakatindi ng implikasyon ng lohika nito: kung kalat-kalat, nasa matatarik na bundok, liblib o interyor at bundok, “walang pag-unlad” o “walang kapag-a-pag-asang umunlad.” Narito ang paglilinaw ng BNCT sa katagang “Non-Christian” sa Circular na pinalabas nito noong 1927: ... it (the term) was intended to relate to degree of civilization...to geographical area....

Sa ganang ito, makikita ang politika ng espasyo ayon sa kompartmentalisadong pananaw sa daigdig ng mga Europeo. Kung paano nila iniestrutura at kinokompartmentalisa ang mga bagay-bagay, gayundin ang lugar. Kung kaya, ang kapatagan na kanilang itinakda bilang sentro ng kapangyarihan ang dapat ding maging pamantayan at sukatan ng sibilisasyon at kaayusan. Taliwas na taliwas ito sa holistikong pananaw ng mga katutubo na ang lahat ng bagay ay magkakaugnay kung kaya't hindi ganoon kaimportante sa kanila ang pagtatakda ng hangganan.

9. Kung tutunghayan ang askipsyon o pagpapangalan ng mga katutubo sa kanilang sarili, pawang mga designasyon lamang ito ng kanilang kinalulugaran o tirahan kaugnay ng agos ng ilog o ng ilog mismo. Kung kaya ang mga Subanon halimbawa, ay nahahati pa sa dalawa: yaong mga nasa bukana ng ilog at yaong mga nasa ilaya o kung tawagin nila mismo ay *tau-tasan* (Christie 1905: 425). Pero pagdating ng mga mananakop, naging batayan pa ito ng paghahati ayon sa antas ng sibilisasyon. Yaong mga nasa interyor ay “less-civilized” o “more uncivilized tribe” kaysa mga nasa baba.
10. Hindi rin eksklusibo sa isang grupo ang mga katutubong katawagan. Halimbawa, tinatawag din ng mga Igorot ng Bontoc ang kanilang sarili bilang “I-pu-kao” / “Ifugao,” na wala’t dili iba ang katutubong kahulugan kundi “mga tao” (Cf. Talahanayan 2) .

Maaninag din sa mga kataga o bansag ang kasidhian ng hirap ng pagsasagawa ng “civilizing mission.” Mapapansin sa bahagi ng mga Kastilang misyonero ang higit na masisidhing paglalarawan at pagpapakahulugan sa mga “infiel” at “Moro.” At habang umaamo ang “mabangis” sa mga Amerikano, tumataas din ang antas ng pagtingin sa kanila ng huli. Mismong sa ulat ni Barrows noong 1903, nag-iiwan siya ng puwang para kwestiyonin ang kredibilidad at validity ng napakanegatibong deskripsyon at interpretasyon ng mga Kastila ukol sa mga “tribong” ito:

The ferocity of these tribes, while hardly exaggerated by the Spaniards, breaks down more quickly than could have been expected in the presence of the American Government. Head-hunting in the north and slavery and raiding in the south can be stopped just as soon as a proper effort is made. (1903:789).

Kung mga aktwal na etnograpiya ang pagbabatayan, maaga pa para sabihing higit na nahirapan ang mga Kastila kaysa mga Amerikano. Subalit sa mga dokumentong napasadahan, makakakuha ng impresyon ang mambabasa na ganito nga ang nangyari. Bagaman, lubhang nahirapan din naman ang mga Amerikano sa pasipikasyon sa mga Moro kung kaya’t ganoon na lamang kasidhi ang galit na madarama sa ulat ni Pershing noong 1913.

11. Nakadepende rin ang bulto ng paglalarawan at produksyon ng kaalaman sa halaga ng partikular na grupong etniko sa imperyalistang interes ng kolonisador. Kahit na sa Philippine Commission Report lamang bumatay, masasabing higit na maraming banggit tungkol sa mga Moro at Igorot kaysa sa iba pang grupo. Una, dahil sa pangako ng mina ng ginto sa Kordilyera at napakalaking pontensyal pang-ekonomiya ng Mindanao; at pangalawa, dahil sa matinding banta sa seguridad ng pamumugot ng ulo ng mga Igorot at “piracy” ng mga Moro. Kung kaya’t nawika pa rin ni Barrows (1903): “We are ready to make report upon the **two most important bodies** of non-Christian peoples—the Igorot of northern Luzon, and the Moros of the south (787). (Akin ang diin.)
12. Hindi lamang sa mga ulat-etnograpike nakalimita ang masasamang pakahulugan sa mga di-Kristiyano. Nasa kaibuturan na rin ito ng kamalayang Pilipino . Kung kaya’t nakababahala ang nabanggit na ito ng mag-asawang Keessing: ...an Ilocano mother uses it (the term Igorot) to frighten or reprove her children ... (1934: 41). Kumawala na mula sa mga ulat-etnograpike ng

mga mananakop ang derogatoryong pakahulugang “Igorot” upang pasukin ang popular na kamalayan mismo ng mga sakop. At dito madarama ang higit na bisa ng etnograpiya.

Mauulinigan sa mga salaysay etnograpike (noticias, memorias at relaciones ng mga misyonerong Kastila; at mga ulat sa Philippine Commission ng mga opisyal na Amerikano) ang di-matatawarang halaga ng mga pagtuklas at pagbuo ng kaalaman sa proseso ng “civilizing mission” (basahin: pananakop para sa yaman, kapangyarihan at kaluwalhatian ng kanilang imperyo). Inaalingawngaw ito ng mga sumusunod na pahayag:

**It would be very important and useful if somebody were to write of these pagans** and their mountainous lands which are right in the midst of the Christian provinces..., giving clear details which might serve for the enlightenment and instruction of those who live so near them by reason of their ministry or office of converting their paganism, or at least **to be safe from their frequent ambushes and deceptions** (Antolin 1789: 2 at 3).

**...obtaining knowledge of their customs and qualities, and the things for which their country is known...**if there are metals (tumutukoy sa pinakaaasam-asam na ginto), spices, drugs and precious stones, domestic or wild animals, agricultural products, good virgin timber, and all other things mentioned in the Laws (*Recopilacion de las Leyes de los Indios* a.k.a. *Compilacion*) [(Ley 9, titulo 1, libro 4 de la *Recopilacion*, sinipi sa Antolin 1789, isinalin ni Scott sa Ingles 1988). (Akin diin at mga karagdagan.)

**...that the field parties of this bureau will have explored every region of the islands, visited every non-Christian tribe, and secured the geographical and ethnological data necessary to complete our knowledge of the Archipelago.** (Barrows sa kanyang ulat sa Kalihim ng Kagawaran ng Interyor Dean C. Worcester noong 1903).

Tahasan ding binabanggit sa mga ulat sa Philippine Commission ang kaugnayan ng mga eksperto/opisyal ng BNCT/Bureau of Ethnological Survey sa pangangalap ng datos para sa St. Louis Exposition na labis na pinagkakitaan ng mga Amerikano (Fermin 2004). Dito natin makikita ang pagtutulungan na sa totoo lang ay sabwatan ng siyensiya at komersyo, ng kapantasan at kapitalismo na nabigyang daan ng sarbey-etnolohikal ukol sa mga di-Kristiyano. Makailang beses na binanggit ito sa mga susing opisyal ng Departamento ng Interyor upang hindi makatawag ng pansin:

The necessity of securing this information at an early date...**for an adequate representation of the non-Christian tribes at the coming Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis**, has kept the employees of the survey almost constantly in the field... (Worcester 1904: 59). (Akin ang diin.)

A number of collectors have also been delegated to visit different regions in the archipelago and **obtain information for the survey and material for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition** (p. 61). (Akin ang diin.)

By arrangement with the exposition board this bureau has had the services of two admirably equipped men...in **preparing the ethnological exhibit for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition** (Barrows 1903: 778). (Akin ang diin.)

Napakapraktikal ng halaga ng mga ulat-etnograpihong ito, kung kaya't nawika ni Merton Miller,

Acting Chief ng Bureau of Ethnological Survey noong 1905:

...as we learn more and more about the people of the Philippines, the belief is strengthened ...that these reports will furnish the best means for making the people of the Philippines known to those who can not travel about the islands, and so simplifying gradually but surely the problem of government (1905: 423).

At nasa kaibuturan ng kanilang kagustuhang pamahalaan ang Pilipinas ang pangangailangan ng kanilang sikmura (ekonomikong interes ng mga imperyalista).

The **industrial importance of these tribes** has been considerable in the history of Mindanao. Practically all of the hemp which comes out of the ports of northern Mindanao is raised by the Pagans, and to their ancient working of mines is due the long-standing fame of Cagayan and Butuan for the production of gold (Barrows 1903: 782).

Na hindi na maikukubli sa simula't simula pa lang ng pagkakatatag ng pamahalaang sibil ng mga Amerikano sa Pilipinas. Itinagubilin umano ng unang gobernador-heneral ng gobyerno-sibil, William Howard Taft noong 1901 na magsagawa ng sistematikong pagsisiyasat etnolohikal. Aniya: "...to get the best of the **Filipino servants**...one must know them and study their traits" (sinipi sa Kramer, 2006: 181). (Akin ang diin.)

### **Elaborasyong Semantikal sa "Di-Kristiyano" bilang Diskurso ng Lahi at Kolonyalismo**

Ang diskurso ay tumutukoy sa produksyon ng kaalaman sa pamamagitan ng wika na siyang nagtatakda ng hangganan ng mga kahulugan sa mga bagay-bagay at panlipunang gawi (social practices); o sa mga isinaayos na pamamaraan ng pag-uusap o pagsasalita tungkol sa mga bagay-bagay ("regulated ways of speaking about objects"). Ibig sabihin, nabibigyan at nasisiyasat ang kahulugan ng mga salita depende sa partikular na konteksto kung saan at kailan ito ginamit, sino-sino ang nakapaloob sa usapan o sino ang nagsasalita kanino; at sino ang kinakausap nino. Mahalaga rito ang mga ugnayang panlipunan na siyang tinitingnan bilang tagapagtakda ng paggamit ng wika ( language use is socially determined) (Fairclough 1989: 21). Sa ganang ito, tinitingnan ang wika bilang isang panlipunang praktika o gawi ("language as social practice") na itinatakda ng mga panlipunang estruktura (Fairclough 1989: 17). Samakatuwid, ang diskurso ay isang panlipunang praktika ("discourse as social practice"). Anupa't para kay Michel Foucault (sipi sa Barker 2008), pinag-iisa ng *diskurso* ang wika at praktika. Ang

etnograpihong kaalaman o pag-iimahe, halimbawa, sa mga di-Kristiyanong Pilipino bilang “mababangis na nilalang,” (wild and uncivilized) ay hindi lamang simpleng tumutukoy sa kung “ano” sila bilang mga lantay na katotohanan. Isinasalang-alang dito kung bakit sila inilarawan ng “ganito” o “ganoon”; paano sila nailarawan nang “ganoon” o paano natanggap ang partikular na kaalaman tungkol sa kanila bilang “lantay na katotohanan” (cold facts). Ito ang tinatawag na “discursive formation” o “kayariang diskursibo”.

Mula sa mga semantikal na elaborasyon ng mga kataga, nakabuo ng diskurso o isang partikular na ugnayan ng kaalaman at kapangyarihan tungkol sa pagiging di-Kristiyano. Isa na rito ang magkatuwang na diskurso ng lahi at kolonyalismo.

Higit pa sa isang biolohikal na kaisipan, tinitingnan ang lahi bilang isang ideolohikal na kayariang naglilingkod diumano sa pandaigdigang kapitalismo ( “ideological construct in service of world capitalism”) (Miles 1989). Ibig sabihin, ang mga katangiang pisikal, laluna ang kulay ng balat, at iba pang katangiang pisikal ay ginamit na batayan ng superyoridad ng mga kolonisador bilang pilosopikal na batayan ng kanilang imperyalistikong agenda noong siglo 19 hanggang 20 (Cf. Social Darwinism). Ang paghahati at ang kasunod nitong pag-aantas ng mga tao alinsunod sa katangiang pisikal ay itinakda bilang isang kaayusan at lantay na katotohanan. Rasyalisasyon o pagbubuo ng lahi bilang batayan ng ugnayan ng kapangyarihan, ang taguri dito. Sa ganang ito, nabubuo at sinasagisag ang mga kategorya ng lahi sa isang proseso ng panlipunan at politikal na tunggalian ng kapangyarihan. Kung kaya, ang klasipikasyong rasyal sa kontekstong politikal ang maituturing na ugat ng rasismo (Barker 2008). At lilikhain ng mga kolonisador sa Pilipinas ang taguring “di-Kristiyano” at “tribo” bilang isang rasyalisadong (*racialized*) diskurso. Kung ano’t anuman, bitbit ng lahat ng mga nasabing ulat-etnograpihong yabang at superyoridad ng mga puti na nakaukit sa mito ng “*limpieza de sangre*” (kadalisan ng lahi) ng mga Kastila, at “White Man’s Burden” ng mga Amerikano. At malinaw na ang tanging daan tungo sa sibilisasyon ay ang westernisasyon. Kung kaya’t nasabi ito ni Pershing:

The Moros or Pagans who have come in close contact with our civilization, in the public schools or otherwise, are ... anxious to improve their standards of living and, ... are inclined also to adopt our manners and customs.... if followed up by other civilizing forces, may lead eventually to the **social evolution** of these wards (1913: 33).

Ang taguring di-Kristiyano o “non-Christian” ay ibinigay ng mga Amerikano dahil sa kawalan ng mas mabuting katagang lalagom sa mga grupong tumutol sa Kristiyanisasyon (Keesing & Keesing 1934: 12). Salin ito ng salitang *infíel* na ginamit ng mga Kastila para sa mga taong ito, na hindi lamang nagtataglay ng implikasyong panrelihiyon. Paggigiit nina Keesing: “...the word has a historical, cultural, and political rather than a purely religious significance. It refers to recognized members of some eight Mohammedan groups, and twenty –two or more so-called pagan groups which cling more or less to their indigenous religious beliefs and ceremonies” (12). Subalit hindi lamang ito simpleng usapin ng paniniwala o “fanatismo.” Sapagkat kakabit ng Kristiyanisasyon ay ang pagpailalim sa dominasyon ng mga kolonisador. Ang pananatíing malaya at pagtutol sa konbersyon ay pagtutol din sa pagbabayad ng buwis (na simbolo ng pagkabasalyo), *polo y servicios* (sapilitang paggawa) at lahat ng imposisyong sumisira sa ginhawa ng tao. Lahat sila ay may mahabang kasaysayan ng paglaban: hayag o hindi man sa kabuuang sistema o kaayusan at kulturang ipinapataw ng mga mananakop. At lahat ng paglabang ito ay nakaukit at nakatala sa mga mapanlait na katagang “infíeles”/ “pagans,” “gentes salvajes”/ “wild and savages,” “tribus independientes.” Subalit ang mga anyo ng kabayanihan at pagigiit para sa kalayaang ito ay nangahulugan naman ng pananakop at pagkagapi ng mga di-Kristiyano sa larangang semantikal ng kolonyal na diskursong etnograpiko.

Kinikilala ng mga Amerikano ang labis-labis na pagpupunyagi ng mga Kastila upang payapain at sibilisahin ang mga Igorot ng Hilagang Luzon. Mula sa pinaka-di-hayag (pagbubukas ng kalsada) at pinakadiplomatikong kaparaanan (i.e. patakaran ng atraksyon, pagtatatag ng mga misiones at paaralan) hanggang sa pinakamarahas (ekspedisyong militar at pagtatatag ng mga comandancia-politico- militar), isinagawa ang “*conquista*” (basahin: pasipikasyon, reduccion at konbersyon) (Barrows 1903: 770). Subalit sa kabila ng lahat ng ito, nananatili pa rin diumano silang malaya. Subalit ang kalayaan ay naging singkahulugan ng pagiging tiwalag sa kairalan. Isang malaking kabalintunaan, habang pinagsusumikapan ng mga kolonisador, kapwa Kastila at Amerikano, ang kanilang integrasyon sa “kairalang Kristiyano” lalo lamang silang ginawang “iba,” “hiwalay” at “tiwalag” sa pamamagitan ng mga paglalarawan at pagpapakahulugang ikinabit sa kanilang mga pangalan.

### **Ang “Di-Kristiyano” bilang “Infíeles/Pagans” at “Moros/Mohammedans” Sa Diskurso ng Etnisidad at Kabansaan**

“Politics of difference” o ang paggamit sa pagkakaiba-iba ng mga grupong etniko sa Pilipinas upang maigiit ang kolonyal na agenda (Kramer 2006) ang isa pang kontekstong bumabalabal sa isyu ng di-Kristiyano. Pinasidhi ng mga pagpapakahulugang ito ang kinathang imahe ng mga Kastila at

Amerikano bilang gabay natin sa pagbubuo ng bansa bilang sagisag ng kaisahan. Subalit ano ang pamantayan ng nasabing kaisahan? Sino ang magtatakda o paano ito itatakda. Lalo itong naging problematiko sa harap ng kolaborasyon ng mga Kristiyanong Pilipino sa mga kolonyalista.

Sa hanay ng mga sinakop, ang mga edukado, Hispanisadong elit na Kristiyano ang higit na nakipagtagisan sa mga kolonisador sa usapin ng kabansaan. Isang kabalintunaang habang iginigiit nila ang katwiran sa pagsasarili, lalo naman nilang hinihigpitan ang kapit sa mga Amerikano. Kapalit ng pangako ng Pilipinisasyon ng gobyerno ay ang kolaborasyon ng elit sa huli. Kinailangan nilang pumasok sa diskurso ng “Little Brown Brothers” (sa wika ni Taft) upang maisakatuparan ang mga aspirasyon ng pagsasanasyon. Kapansin-pansing habang umaarangkada ang Pilipinisasyon, mawawala na rin ang katagang “Christian tribes” bilang tanda ng ganap na asimilasyon ng mga ito sa gawing Amerikano. Sa harap ng ganitong uri o estratehiya ng pagsasabansa (i.e. kolaborasyon sa mga kolonisador), lalo lamang naging masalimuot ang usapin ng di-Kristiyano, hindi lamang bilang “obheto” ng civilizing mission ng mga mananakop, kundi pati na rin ng kapwa nila kababayan. Anupa’t pagsapit ng 1914, itataguyod din ni Gob. Hen. Harrison ang “Filipinization of the White Man’s Burden.” Noong 1902, mapapag-alamang kinasangkot ng kolonyal na pamahalaan ang anila’y “Filipino gentlemen” bilang “volunteer field worker” sa mga sarbey-etnolohikal ukol sa mga di-Kristiyano (Barrows 1903:779; Worcester 1903: 61). Patunay ni Worcester:

Several valuable contributions to our knowledge of the non-Christian tribes of the islands have been made during the past year by Filipino and other volunteer workers.

Among these may be mentioned:

The Ifugaos, by Señor Wenceslao Valera, Bayombong, N.V.

The Buquidnones of Oriental Negros, by Señor Santiago Gonzales.

The Negritos of Cagayan, by Señor Pedro Daña.

Manguianes, by Señor Servulo Leuterio, Calapan, Mindoro.

Tinguianes, by Señor Emeteru Molina, Dolores, Abra.

Sa pagkakataong ito, nagsilbing makapangyarihang lunan ng kolaborasyon at kooptasyon sa mga kolonisador ang isinagawang ulat-etnograpiko ng mga Kristiyano. Matatandaang sa ilalim ng mga Kastila, wala ni man lamang pagtatangka na ilahok ang mga “indio” (Kristiyanong Pilipino) sa pagsasagawa ng korpus ng kaalaman tungkol sa mga di-Kristiyano. Subalit sa kamay ng mga Amerikano, napadanas at naipadama sa kanila kung paano tratuhing katuwang sa paglikha ng kaalaman – isang napakamakapangyarihang paraan ng panghihikayat at pagpapaniwalang totoo ang mito ng tinuran ni Taft sa mga Pilipinong elit bilang “Little Brown Brothers.”

Kung tatasahin ang bisa ng mga ulat etnograpiko sa usapin ng kabansaan, mahalagang matunghayan ang paglalarawan mismo ng mga Pilipino (sa pagkakataong ito, opisyal ng kolonyal na pamahalaang Amerikano). Ang sumusunod na sipi ay mga ulat ng ilang Pilipino (sa kanilang kapasidad bilang gobernador ng lalawigan) sa Gobernador-Heneral ng Pamahalaang Sibil ng Amerika sa Pilipinas para sa taong piskal 1906.

...I was able to bring together a number of nomad families of Aetas in the southeast part of Sibalom, ...with the assistance of Sr. Jose Fontanilla, organized a settlement of 176 individuals...which was named Villafont. I have refrained from requesting the approval of the Secretary of the Interior to the organization of this settlement for the reason that its members being of a nomadic disposition may all abandon it, and so long as they do not begin to cultivate their lands in a permanent manner and make it clear that it is their intention to reside at the said place...(Salazar 1906: 153)

Mahihiwatigan dito ang tila higit na pagkaunawa ng Pilipino sa huli bilang kanyang kababayan. Subalit mapapansing karamihan ay kakikitaan ng kaparehong negatibong persepsyon ng mga kolonisador. Tunghayan ang paglalarawang ito ng gobernador ng Bataan na si L.L. Zialcita tungkol sa mga Aeta.

The Non-Christian tribes of Negritos or Aetas, the only wild tribes here known, are distributed in all or nearly all of the pueblos throughout this province. The type of individual composing said tribes is very **well known**. ...these people **wander about almost naked in nomadic groups** through the interior in the hills and forests. They are, as a general rule, inoffensive, complaisant, and submissive, **but entirely refractory to social civilized life within inhabited places** (1906: 162). (Akin ang diin.)

Sa parehong ulat, ganito naman niya inilarawan ang kalakhan ng populasyong Kristiyanong sakop ng kanyang lokal na pamahalaan:

The inhabitants in general are friends of peace and good order, eager to fulfill their obligations, devoting themselves to work... As a general rule, they are loyal to the constituted government and gladly bear their burden notwithstanding the many calamities which have impoverished these pueblos (162).

At sa pagtatapos ng ulat, gayon na lamang ang kanyang pasasalamat sa mga miyembro ng kagawaran ng probinsya, opisyal ng munisipyo, maging sa Konstabularya—pawang mga Pilipino ang lahat ng ito -- para sa kanila diumanong matapat na pagtulong at suporta sa pagganap niya ng tungkulin bilang gobernador (1906: 163).

Ikinagagalak namang ibalita ni Gob. Melchor Flor ng Ilocos Norte ang tagumpay, diumano, ng pag-oorganisa niya ng 12 komunidad o “colonies” para sa mga di-Kristiyanong “tribo.” Sa mga ito, nabanggit niya ang posibilidad ng konsolidasyon o pagsasama-sama ng mga pamayanang “higit na



sibilisado” (more civilized) sa isang bayan upang mas mapadali ang paghahatid sa kanila sa kaunlaran (Flor 1906: 294). Subalit may gustong sabihin ang sumusunod na pahayag hinggil sa kababawan ng tagumpay na ito.

The inhabitants of the nine colonies last mentioned are almost assimilated with the Christian pueblos **in their manner of dress**...(294). (Akin ang diin.)

Lalo lamang nalalagay sa alanganin ang pahayag ng tagumpay laluna sa deklarasyon diumano ng mga di-Kristiyano ayon sa pahayag na ito:

They have gladly accepted their new political organization and show a great desire to progress, **though they are not willing to be consolidated with the Christian pueblos** even when of the same scale of civilization (Flor 1906: 295).

These (Ilocano) officers, as representing Spanish authority, practically governed the towns. Their presence was and is **distasteful** to the Igorot...(Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission 1904, Part 3: 891). (Akin ang diin.)

Paano nga ba susukatin ang tagumpay? Sapat bang batayan ang kasuotan lamang? Sa totoo lang, mababanaagan pa rin naman ang kultural na kaugnayan ng mga Igorot at Ilokano sa tinurang ito ni Flor:

They are peaceable, hospitable, and law-abiding, and slavery no longer exists among them . ...It has been noted that they are very moral. A few of them can read and write Ilocano and also speak and understand Spanish (295).

Subalit, paano nga ba makadarama ng apilyasyon ang mga di-Kristiyano sa mga Kristiyano kung mismo ring ang huli ay “iba” na ang tingin sa kanila. Wika pa ni Flor:

They are very different from the Christians in many of their customs, having no religion or special superstitions (295).

At may mas masahol pa kaysa pagtinging iba ang mga di-Kristiyano sa kanilang mga Kristiyano. Sa pareho pa ring ulat ni Flor, ganoon na lamang ang batikos niya sa tatlong komunidad (i.e., Dumalneg, Aoan, at Bayag) mula sa 12 na diumano ay nananatili pa ring “pasaway” sa kabila ng paninirahan nila kasama ng mga Kristiyano. Tunghayan ang sumusunod na sipi:

[They] are less capable and enlightened than the ones above mentioned.

They go almost naked...There is a suspicion that some of these latter **still preserve the inhuman custom and sanguinary instinct of killing** any person they find in isolated places when influenced thereto by their belief in spirit propitiation (296). (Akin ang diin.)

Ganito rin ang tono ng ulat ng gobernador ng Probinsya ng Lepanto-Bontoc na isa ring Pilipino:

Lepanto-Bontoc has over 80,000 inhabitants ranging from the well-to-do, educated Europeans and Filipinos to the wildest and most primitive Igorots....It is safe to say that even among the latter, never has there been such respect for law and regard for the life and property of others (1906: 365).

At nagpapatuloy ang banta sa seguridad ng mga pamayanang Kristiyano hangga't may mga nananatiling Igorot na "hindi pa naoorganisa." Ganito winakasan ni Gob. Flor ang kanyang ulat:

...during the fiscal year, of the total of the seven Christians killed...some were put to death by Igorots of settlements not yet organized and lying far in the interior...(296).

Sa probinsya rin ng Lepanto-Bontoc, may balita ang gobernador tungkol sa patuloy na pagsasagawa ng krimen (pamamaslang at pamumugot ng ulo) ng ilang Igorot. At labis-labis na pagkasuklam sa naturan ang mauulinigan sa pahayag na ito:

...the blood lust was so strong in some young bucks of Tucucan (Bontok) that, lacking other subject on which to wreak vengeance, they fell upon an inoffensive little Ilocano boy...(Annual Report 1906: 366).

Subalit kung tutunghayan ang iba pang ulat, mapag-aalamang sa mga panahong ito, tumitindi na ang mutwal na antagonismo sa pagitan ng mga Kristiyano at di-Kristiyano. Hindi lamang umano, ang huli ang dahilan ng lahat ng "krimeng" ito, may bahagi ring ginagampanan ang una sa kanilang pagsasamantala sa huli. Tunghayan ang isinasaad sa ulat ni Gob. Blas Villamor ng Isabela:

The custom of these tribes to kill anyone not of their settlement...had its origin in the bad treatment they received from certain Christians. During the past (Spanish) rule. They were scarcely ever considered in any way, while the Christians were always indulged and protected by the authorities (1906: 338).

Maging sa Kabisayaan na kalakhan talaga ng populasyon ay mga Kristiyano, mauulinigan ang patuloy na "panliligalig" o kung hindi ma'y pakikipagsabwatan ng mga di-Kristiyano sa mga manliligalig (na tulisan) sa lalawigan ng Iloilo:

There are quite a large number of non-Christian tribes in this province that inhabit the mountains. Some...were captured last year as accomplices to the crime of brigandage and sentenced to imprisonment by the Court of First Instance (Lopez 1906: 318).

Hirap din umano ang mga Aeta sa pagtalikod sa kanilang kinagawian sa kabila umano ng kanilang pagbaba at pakikipamayan na sa mga Kristiyano.

The Aetas are not adapted to the industrious life of the towns and therefore continue, as is their inveterate habit, to lead a nomadic life...they only come down to the plain on rare occasions for the purpose of begging alms (318).

Gayon na lamang ang pagkawala ng pag-asa ni Gob. Blas Villamor ng Isabela sa kaso ng mga pamilyang Negrito rito:

There are many families of Negritos in this province, but as this tribe **has no future** I refrain from dwelling upon it (1906: 337).

Kapareho rin ito ng sentimyento ni Gob. Manuel L. Quezon ng Tayabas (na magiging Presidente ng Pamahalaang Komonwelt—ang pinaniwalaang unang hakbang sa pagsasarili). Aniya:

I have endeavored to bring the Negritos under the influence of civilization.... It is impossible, however, (for them), to become civilized (1906: 629).

Masama rin ang ipinipinta ng pahayag sa kanyang ulat tungkol sa mga Ilongot ng kabundukan ng Baler, na magpahanggang sa panahong iyo'y nananatiling “sakit ng ulot ng gobyerno” sa kabila ng diumano'y pagpapailalim sa kanila sa mga autoridad simula pa man nang panahon ng mga Kastila:

They are a ferocious race always on the look-out for an opportunity to kill the inhabitants of every other settlement. Their attacks are always characterized by treachery...For an Ilongot to marry, it is necessary that he first bring the number of heads of Christians that his future father-in-law may designate (629-630).

Dalawang bagay ang maitatampok sa mga nasabing pahayag. Una, sa aspeto ng pag-uulat kakikitaan na ng reproduksyon ng kolonyal na diskursong etnograpiko ang mga ito. Kung papasadahang muli ang mga pahayag, tila normal nang binabanggit ang mga negatibong katangian ng mga di-Kristiyano bilang “tribo” una sa lahat. At kakabit nito ay ang pagiging “lagalag,” “walang permanenteng tirahan,” “mamamatay-tao,” “pumapatay dahil sa kanilang mga ritwal panrelihiyon,” “pagano.” Sa partikular, mahalagang banggitin sa bahaging ito ang tuwirang pag-alingawngaw ng mga Kristiyano sa kolonyal na diskurso sa katawagang ibinigay nila para pag-ibahin ang mga Aeta ng Zambales. Tunghayan ang sinabing ito ni Gob. Juan Manday ng Zambales (1906):

Those that, as a whole, still retain their **savage** instinct (here called **Abunlon**, to distinguish them from the **less savage** to whom the specific name of **conquistados** (conquered) is given... (651). (Akin ang diin.)

Mga deskripsyon at interpretasyon itong kakikitaan kung paano muling nilikha ng mga Pilipino mismo ang diskursong etnograpiko laban sa mga di-Kristiyano. At ikalawa, litaw na litaw na ang pagkabuo ng Pilipinong diskursong nagtatampok sa mga Kristiyano bilang likas na “iba” at mas superyor sa mga di-Kristiyano.

Damang-dama ang panganib na idinulot ng mutwal na antagonismo sa pagitan ng mga Kristiyano at di-Kristiyano lalo pa't titingnan ito bilang bahagi ng likas na kairalan. Ito ang ipinahihwatig ng tinurang ito ni Pershing (1913):

When we consider the diverse elements of humanity that go to make up this conglomerate, **it is natural** that there should be intense antagonism. The actual relations are such that any attempt at Filipino government would lead only to rebellion and disaster (65). (Akin ang diin.)

With these striking examples of incapacity, it is difficult to understand how any consideration could be entertained of a proposal to turn over the government of the Province, or any part of it, to Filipino control (66).

At ang karugtong nito ay ang pagpapatingkad sa papel ng mga Amerikano bilang tunay na kaibigan ng mga di-Kristiyano laban sa mga Kristiyano:

... the wild people and the Moros have come to look upon the Americans as their **true friends**...their defenders against their own countrymen who would keep them in ignorance for exploitation or seize upon them and sell them into slavery (79). (Akin ang diin.)

Maliwanag na ginagamit ni Pershing ang argumento ng inter-etnikong hidwaan ng mga Moro at Kristiyano bilang matibay na batayan ng kawalan ng kapasidad ng mga Pilipino para sa pagsasarili. Ano ang gustong sabihin ng lahat ng ito: sa bahaging ito ng ating kasaysayan, wala pa tayo o malayo pa tayo sa ating minimithing kabansaan.

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**“Babae, Pagkababae, at Kababaihan: Ang Pagtanggap ng Sapi  
(Isang Panimulang Feministang Pagbasa sa Wika at Panitikang Tagalog)”  
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Ang depinisyon ng babae, partikular sa loob ng isang patriyarkal na lipunan katulad ng Pilipinas, ay (madalas na) iniuugnay sa lalaki. Ang kanyang ka-*ako*-han ay nakabatay sa pagpapakahulugan sa lalaki: sa pamamagitan ng kanyang pagiging iba dito (at hindi ang kabaliktaran nito). Itinuturing bilang ekstensyon lamang, kinuha sa tadyang ni Adan. Sila ay sekundayo, di-esensyal at insidental lamang. Sila ang madalas na itinuturing bilang pasibo at kimi, ang buwan, ang kalikasan, ang puso at ang emosyon. Sila ang 0 (zero) sa Boolean number<sup>1</sup>. Kung saan ang bilang na 1 (isa) ay katumbas ng kalalakihan. Ang 1 (kasama ang iba pang matutulis na konsepto) ang simbolo ng phallus, ang lalaki sa sikolohiya ni Freud. Sila ang “I”, ang “Ako”, ang “Sentro”, ang “Amo” sa pilosopiya ni Hegel. Sila ang binibigyang prebilehiyo, sila ang binibigyang halaga. Samantalang ang bilang na 0 (kasama ang iba pang mga konseptong iniuugnay sa butas), ang babae, ang “other”, ang “sila”, ang “nasa gilid”, ang “alipin.”

Sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng *mata ng isang malay na Filipinang feminista*, tatawasin ang mga kasalukuyang pagpapakahulugan sa salitang *babae* (at iba pang anyo nito) sa wika at

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<sup>1</sup> 101010101010 Ito ang Boolean number, ang wika ng computer. Sinasabing lahat ng impormasyon — salita, letra, marka — na iniinput sa computer ay may katumbas na numero: maaaring 1 (on) o kaya naman ay 0 (off). Sinusundan nito ang lohika ng matematika kung saan ang numero 1 ay katumbas ng “pagkakaroon”, ng “pagiging narito”. Sa madaling salita, may value o halaga ang numero 1. Sa kabilang banda, kabaligtaran naman nito ang bilang na 0. Ito ay ang “pagiging wala” na katumbas din ng kawalan ng halaga.

panitikang Tagalog na matagal nang sinapian ng Espiritu ng Ama (isa pa ang Espiritu ng Bana, Kuya, Tiyo, Lolo at iba pa). Bahagi rin nito ang mismong panggagamot upang makabalik sa sariling ka-Ako-han ang salitang *babae*.

### ***MATA NG MALAY NA FILIPINANG FEMINISTA:***

#### **Ang Pantawas sa Kasalukuyang Kalagayan ng Salitang *Babae* sa Wika at Panitikang Tagalog**

Sa ilalim ng pamamalakad ng mga pyudal na kongkistador sa Pilipinas, sinimulan na ang historikal na pagpapataksik sa kababaihan. Sa proseso ng pagbabago ng moda ng produksyon at sistema ng pamamahala, tuluyang dumaos ang mga prebilehiyong dating tinatamasa ng mga Filipina. Pilit na isinantabi ng mga “bagong panginoon” ang imahen ng babae bilang tagapagtago ng kayamanang-bayan at manggagamot ng kanyang komunidad. Bilang bahagi ng pagpapakilala ng bagong relihiyon, tinawag ang mga *babaylan* at *catalonan* na mga bruha, mangkukulam, mambabarang at iniugnay ang kanilang mga gawi at ritwal bilang gawa ng demonyo. Sinunog ang kanilang mga anito at lugar-sambahan. Ang (literal at simbolikal) na kagubatan at kweba ay napalitan na ng mga (nag)lalaki(hang) mga edipisyo — simbahan at torre — ang simbolikal na *phallus*.

Ang pagtawas bilang bilang *x-ray* (isama pa ang *CT Scan* at *MRI*) ng nakalumang panahon na nakatutulong sa pagtukoy sa sanhi o dahilan ng kasalukuyang kalagayan o posisyon ng isang tao ang magsisilbi ring paraan ng pagdalumat sa salitang ‘babae’ sa wika at panitikang Tagalog. Katulad ng pagbabasang ginagawa ng magtatawas sa mga patak ng kandilang nakalutang sa tubig o sa platong lata na pinahiran ng langis at pinadaan sa dila ng kandila, babasahin ang salitang ‘babae’ batay sa depinisyon nito sa mga pangunahing diksyunaryong

Filipino at eksistensya nito sa mundo ng panitikang Tagalog. Sa pamamagitan ng pagtawas, muling binabalikan ng papel na ito hindi lamang ang masalimuot na pagsusuri ng sakit na sumapi (at / o kasalukuyang estado) ng salitang ‘babae’, bagkus ay nabibigyan rin ng gamot (o paunti-unting solusyon kung hindi man tuluyang pantanggal) sa nakapagbigay ng sakit o nakasapi rito.

Kaugnay nito, mahalagang bigyang diin ang pagtawas bilang iba sa eksorsismo na bahagi ng kolonyal at patriyarkal na relihiyong Kristiyanismo. Kung babalikan ang mayamang kasaysayan ng bansa, ang mga babaylan, kadalasang ginagampanan ng kababaihan, ang nataasan hindi lamang sa pagtatago ng panitikang bayan bilang mga mang-aawit ng mga epiko ng komunidad, bagkus ay itinuturing din bilang mga *shaman* na nagsisilbing mala-doktor at tagapag-ugnay sa mga yumao noong sinaunang panahon. Sila yaong nagtago ng mga kaalamang may kaugnayan sa panggagamot gamit ang mga pinaghalu-halong halamang ugat at / o dahon. Iba sila sa mga eksorsista, na eksklusibo lamang para sa mga pari, sa mga lalaki, ng relihiyong Katoliko. Kung balikan ang mga pelikulang “The Exorcist” o “The Exorcism of Emily Rose,” literal at simbolikal na ipinakikita ang relasyon ng kapangyarihan sa pagitan ng kasarian. Kapansin-pansin na laging mga babae ang sinasapian (mga babaeng hindi diumano’y normal ang kilos at galaw dahil sa kanilang kakaibang kalakasan, katalinuhan at katabilan ng dila) at lagi silang ‘tinutulungan’ ng pari upang matanggal ang kung anumang espiritong gumagambala rito.

Sa kabuuan, sa pamamagitan ng papel na ito, binibigyang diin ang sinaunang paraan ng paggagamot ng mga babaylan / katalonan at maging ang muling pagbibigay kapangyarihan sa kanila na manggamot na kaiba sa eksorsismo ng Simbahan. Dagdag pa rito, ang pagbasang gagamitin ay ang *mata ng malay na Filipinang Feminista*. Ito ang magsisilbing pantawas upang makita ang ‘sapi’ sa kasalukuyang sa wika at panitikan ng mga Tagalog.

Maraming mahahalagang konsepto ang nakapaloob sa paraan ng pagbasang ito na kailangang himay-himayin at talakayin. Una ay ang salitang *malay* na maaaring itumbas sa pagiging “mulat” o bukas ang mga mata. Kung saan, sa pamamagitan nito, mas nakikita at nagiging sensitibo ang mambabasa sa ilang mga detalye sa loob ng teksto. Sa partikular, napupuna at napagtutuunan ng pansin ang mga bagay-bagay na dati’y naisasantabi, mas nagiging kritikal, matanong at mapag-usuisa. Sa madaling salita, hindi basta-bastang tinatanggap na “natural” at “unibersal” ang iba’t iba at samu’t saring dibisyon at hirarkiya na nagaganap sa lipunan, bagkus isang pumapalag na mambabasa na naghihimay-himay sa mga konseptong nakapaloob sa teksto.

*Filipina* dahil sa babasahin ang wika at panitikan batay sa karanasan at posisyon ko sa lipunang aking ginagalawan na nakaaapekto sa paraan ng aking pagsusuri at pagbibigay-kahulugan ng mga tekstong aking binabasa (bagamat walang kinalaman ang biyolohikal na kayarian ng isang tao sa pagkakaroon ng *Feministang* pananaw). Dahil din hindi iisa o homogenous na grupo ang feminismo, ang konseptong *Filipina* sa paraan ng pagbasa ang magbibigay rito ng pekularidad. Binubukas nito ang isa sa marami pang posisyon at karanasan ng feminismo — ako bilang isang babaeng feminista na mula sa Ikatlong Mundo at may ideyolohiyang maka-Ikatlong Mundo (importante ring banggitin na hindi naman awtomatikong maka-Ikatlong Mundo ang kaisipan ng isang babaeng mula lamang sa Ikatlong Mundo).

Panghuli ay ang salitang *Feminismo*, na kumikilala sa pagkakaroon at pananaig ng *double standards* sa lipunan, kung saan ang posisyon ng mga babae sa loob ng sistemang ito ay desbentaha, bukod pa rito, nakikita ang pangangailangan upang baguhin ang ganitong kaisipan at pagpapahalaga.

Nangangahulugan na ang nananaig na gahum at kaayusan na pumapabor sa Batas ng Ama ay hindi pikit matang tinatanggap na lamang. Bagkus, sa loob rin nito mismo ay may umuusbong na isang kontra-hegemoniya, isang bagong paraan ng pagpapahalaga at pagbasa na naglalandat at (posibleng) magtanggali sa kasalukuyang patriyarkal na kaayusan.

## **ANG BABAE SA WIKA AT PANITIKANG FILIPINO:**

### **Ang Aktwal na Pagtawas sa Wika at Panitikang Tagalog**

Magiging tuntungan ng pag-aaral sa Wika ang pagbabalik-aral sa popular o gamiting mga diksyunaryo sa bansa. Halimbawa na ryan ang “Diksyunaryong Pilipino (1973) ni Jose Villa Panganiban, diksyunaryong pansentenyal ng Komisyon ng Wikang Filipino (1998) na inedit ni Ponciano B. Pineda at “UP Diksyunaryong Filipino” ni Virgilio Almario. Samantala, magiging tuntungan naman ng pag-aaral sa Panitikan ang pagbabalik sa mga naunang pag-aaral, listahan at / o antolohiya at / o patimpalak gaya ng mga prestihiyosong Don Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards, Cultural Center of the Philippines Award, Pambansang Alagad ng Sining (sa Panitikan) at iba pa.

**WIKANG**. Madalas na iniuugnay ang *wika* sa ina, sa mga babae. Subalit, kung susuriing mabuti, hindi na pagmamay-ari ng mga babae ang kasalukuyang wikang ginagamit at sinasalita nila.

Sa kasalukuyan, sa unang tingin, kung ikukumpara ang Tagalog sa Ingles at Español, hindi kaagad mahahalata ang “Kapangyarihan ng Ama” sa wika. Hindi kasi ito katulad ng Ingles na lagi na lamang ikinakabit ang *babae* sa *lalaki*: (wo)man, (fe)male. Sa Tagalog, kapansin-

pansin na may sariling pagkakakilanlan ang salitang *babae*<sup>2</sup> na hiwalay sa *lalaki*. Sa Ingles, maging sa panghalip, nakakabit ang salitang *babae* sa *lalaki*: (s)he, sa ikatlong panauhan na pang-isahan sa Ingles. Sa wikang Tagalog, lahat sila ay: *siya*, panghalip na walang tinutukoy na ispesipikong kayarian ng tao. Bukod pa rito, may tendensiya ring yapusin at saklawin ng salitang *man* ang *sangkatauhan* (*mankind*) o bawat *tao* (*person*). Sa kabilang banda, sa Wikang Español, nakakabit hindi lamang sa ikatlong panauhan na pang-isahan ang salitang *babae* (*ella*) sa *lalaki* (*el*), bagkus maging sa ikatlong panauhan na pangmaramihan: *ellas* / *ellos*. Mahalaga ding banggitin na (halos) lahat ng mga salita sa wikang ito ay may espesipikong kayarian — maging ang mga bagay at konseptong wala namang buhay: (la) mesa, (la) educacion, (el) libro, (el) fuego at iba pa.

Ang ganitong katayuan ng ‘babae’ (yaong salita at maging ang tao na rin mismo) sa lipunang Fiipino ay hindi naman kataka-taka. Ayon na rin sa mga her-storya-dor, bago pa man dumating ang mga Español sa bansa, maraming prebilehiyo na ang tinatamasa ng kababaihan.<sup>3</sup> Sa katauhan ng mga babaylan at catalonan, makikita ang mahalagang papel na ginagampanan ng kababaihan.<sup>4</sup> Sila ang naatasang mag-alaga at magpreserba ng kultura, ang hahawak sa oral na tradisyon ng kanilang komunidad — sila ang kumakanta ng mga epiko, ang tinatawag sa panahon ng pagtatanim at pag-ani, kapag may bagong panganak o namamatay. Bukod pa rito, mga manggagamot at ispiritwal na pinuno rin sila ng kanilang lugar.<sup>5</sup>

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2 Ito ay *babai*, *babaye*, *babayi*, *bayi* sa ibang mga wika sa Pilipinas.

3 Bagamat marami ang nagtatalo kung talaga bang pantay ang katayuan ng babae at lalaki noong panahong ito. Elizabeth Eviota, *The Political Economy of Gender* (London: Zed Boks, 1992), pp. 3-5.

4 Bagamat may ilang lalaki rin na gumaganap nito, kailangan pa rin nilang magsuot ng mahabang buhok at malabestidang damit sa kanilang komunidad. Francisco Demetrio S.J. et al., *The Soul Book* (Quezon City: GCF Books, 1991). p.138.

5 Zeus Salazar, “Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayang Pilipinas” nasa *Women’s Role in Philippine History* (Quezon City: University Center for Women’s Studies, 1990), pp. 35-41.

Sinususugan maging ng mga popular na alamat ang sinaunang relasyon sa pagitan ng babae at lalaki katulad ng kuwentong “Si Malakas at si Maganda” na bagamat ang mga pang-uring ginamit sa pagpapangalan sa mga pangunahing tauhan ay isteryotipikal, sabay pa rin silang lumabas sa isang kawayan at hindi hinugot lamang sa tagiliran ng isa, ang isa. Bagamat alamat na ring itinuturing ang kuwento ni Prinsesa Urduja ng Pangasinan, hindi pa rin maitatanggi na maging sa imahinasyon ng mga sinaunang Pilipino, maaaring maging magaling na pinuno ang isang babae.<sup>6</sup> Sa pag-aaral naman ni Priscelina Patajo-Legasto sa mga epiko ng Pilipinas, nakita niya na: (1) walang diskriminasyon sa anak na babae o sa pagpabor sa magiging anak (maliban na lamang sa epikong “Labaw Donggon”), (2) walang diin o empasis sa pagiging birhen ng babae bago pa ito ikasal at (3) may kalayaan ding hiwalayan ng babae ang kanyang bana.<sup>7</sup>

Subalit matapos ang ilang daang taong pananakop, ng iba’t ibang mga bansa, sa iba’t ibang paraan, tiyak na naimpluwensiyahan ang ating kalinangan ng kolonyal at patriyarkal na pagpapahalaga.

Sa puntong ito, hihimay-himayin at ilalagay sa sentro ng diskusyon hindi lamang ang salitang *Babae* bagkus ang dalawa pang salitang na nakaugat sa salitang Babae: ang *Pagkababae* at *Kababaihan*.

Ang salitang *babae*, batay sa ibinigay na depinisyon ni Jose Villa Panganiban noong 1973, ay:

1. (*pangngalan*) mistress, kalaguyo, querida
2. (*pang-uri*) female, feminine

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<sup>6</sup> Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo, “Tracing A Hidden Tapestry” nasa Women Reading, ed. Thelma Kintanar (Quezon City: UP Press at UP UCWS, 1992), pp. 31-32.

<sup>7</sup> Binanggit sa Lilia Quindoza-Santiago, Sa Ngalan ng Ina (Quezon City: UP Press, 1997), pp. 47-48.

*Babae* ang nakaugaliang tawag ng isang “macho” sa mga karelasyon niyang pinagsasabay-sabay. Madalas din itong gawing pamantayan ng pagiging “tunay na lalaki.” Sa kabilang banda, hindi naman mababasa sa ilalim ng salitang ‘lalaki’ ang depinisyon may kinalaman sa *pagiging number two* (ng isang babae). Mahihinuha na ang konsepto ng pagkakaroon ng kalaguyo ay iniuugnay lamang sa kinakasama ng isang lalaking (may asawa) at hindi ng isang babae. Batay naman sa ikalawang depinisyon, ipinag-isa nito ang konsepto ng pagiging biyolohikal na babae (*female*) at mga gawain at galaw na iniaatas ng lipunan sa babae (*feminine*), na kung susuriin ay hindi magkasing kahulugan.

Sa puntong ito, mahalagang banggitin na magkaiba ang *kayarian* sa *kasarian*, (bagamat hindi maitatangging mahigpit itong magkaugnay). Ang *kayarian* (sex) ay tumutukoy sa biyolohiya, sa simplistikong depinisyon, nakabatay ito sa kanyang chromosomes (XX o XY) at hormones (progesterone at androgen o testosterone). Sa kabilang banda, ang *kasarian* (gender) naman ay tumutukoy sa klasipikasyong ginagawa ng lipunan upang eksaheradong pag-ibahin ang (biyolohikal na) babae at lalaki sa pamamagitan ng paglikha at pagtakda ng mga papel at posisyon na dapat gampanan ng isang babae at lalaki sa lipunang kanilang ginagalawan.<sup>8</sup> Sa madaling salita, ang kasarian o gender ay isa lamang konstrak na nagdidikta sa *pagiging lalaki* o *pagiging babae* ng isang tao. Sinasabing pagkasilang na pagkasilang pa lamang ng sanggol sa mundong ito, tinuturuan at itinakda na ang kanyang mga dapat ikilos, pag-uugali at gawi (depende sa biyolohikal na kayarian) batay sa mga kostumbre ng lipunan, na magbibigay-prebilehiyo o maglilimita sa mga potensyal o maaaring maging kontribusyon niya sa lipunan. Samantala, sa tulong na rin ng iba pang mga represibo at ideyolohikal na aparato ng lipunan — mga institusyon tulad ng pamilya, edukasyon, simbahan, media at iba pa — mas madaling

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<sup>8</sup> Ang pagtutumbas sa mga salitang ‘kayarian’ at ‘kasarian’ sa ‘sex’ at ‘gender’ sa Ingles ay ginamit ni Lilia Q. Santiago, *Sa Ngalan ng Ina* (Quezon City: UP Press, 1997), p.10-11.



napatatagos ang ang ganitong kaugalian. Dagdag pa ni Elizabeth Eviota, “Sa bawat kultura at panahon, ang babae at lalaki ay kumikilos batay sa mga panuntunan ng lipunan na tinatawag na sistemang kayarian-kasarian. Sa pamamagitan ng sistemang ito, ng biyolohiya at kultura, nagiging babae ang babae at nagiging lalaki naman ang lalaki; nagdidikta ito ng ispesipikong mga gawain at papel ng babae at lalaki batay sa kasarian; tinatakda nito ang mga parametro ng sekswal at reprodiktibong pagkilos; minamanduhan din nito ang panlipunang ugnayan ng mga tao (aking salin).”<sup>9</sup>

Nang inilabas naman ang diksyunaryong pansintenyal ng Komisyon ng Wikang Filipino (KWF) noong 1998 (na ibinatay sa talatinigan ng Linangan ng Wikang Pambansa (LWP) noong 1989), kapansin-pansin na hindi nalalayo ang ibinigay na depinisyon ng KWF sa depinisyon ni Panganiban sa salitang *babae*:

1. (pangngalan) kalaguyo, kerida, kinakasama
2. (pang-uri) taong ang kasarian ay ukol sa pagiging ina

Mababasa pa rin ang unang depinisyon; ang *babae* bilang “number 2” ng isang lalaking may asawa. Sa pagkakataong ito, batay sa ikalawang depinisyon, animo’y ipinaghiwalay na ang konsepto ng *female* at *feminine*. Subalit ito ay sa unang tingin lamang. Bagamat itinumbas ng KWF ang salitang *babae* sa pariralang “*pagiging ina*,” kung saan ang *ina* ay: *yaong mga taong may kakayahang makapagluwal*, malayung-malayo naman ito sa ibinigay na kahulugan sa salitang *ama*:

1. *magulang na lalaki*
2. *ninunong nagtatag ng isang lahi o lipi*

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<sup>9</sup> Hiniram ni Elizabeth Eviota, Political Economy of Gender (London: Zed Books, 1992), pp. 3. kay Nancy Chodorow, “Mothering, Male Dominance and Capitalism,” nasa Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism, ed. Zillah Eisenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

3. *nagbibigay ng pagkakandiling-ama*  
(e.g. bilang tagapagtanggol o tagapanustos)

Mahihinuha na wala sa mga binanggit ang may kaugnayan sa biyolohiya, bagkus, iniuugnay ang konsepto ng *ama* sa kanyang mga itinayo, mga ipinaglaban at sinuportahan. Walang pagbanggit sa kanyang kakayahan halimbawa na magbigay ng esperma o makabuntis. Batay pa sa depinisyon, kapansin-pansin na kaakibat ng konseptong *ama* ang iba pang pananagutan na may kaugnayan sa pagpapalaki ng sanggol / bata. Nangangahulugan na ang salitang *ama* ay isang responsibilidad na itinakda o idinidikatang dapat gawin ng isang lalaki; nangangahulugan din na hindi na lamang simpleng biyolohiya o kapabilidad at kakayahang na manganak ang konsepto ng *babae*, bagkus may ikinakabit na ritong kilos at gawi.

Kaugnay nito, hindi maiaalis ang konsepto ng ‘mother’s instinct,’ ang kakanyahang taglay diumano ng bawat ina o nagsilang. Dahil *instinct*, itinuturing na *innate* o awtomatikong ginagawa. Ang implikasyon tuloy nito, ang mga inang nahihirapan sa pagtukoy sa kahulugan ng bawat pag-iyak ng sanggol (na nangangahulugan din na nahihirapan siyang tukuyin ang mga pangangailangan o nararapat gawin para sa bata) ay kinukuwestiyon ng “iba,” sa kanilang kakayahan na maging isang mabuti ina; madalas, sa proseso, kinukuwestiyon na rin ng ina ang kanyang pagiging ina.

Batay sa ating ginagawang diskurso, mas angkop ipanumbas sa salitang *feminine*, na nauna nang binanggit, ang salitang *pagkababae* sa Tagalog. Ayon mismo sa KWF, ang salitang *pagkababae* ay *kalagayan ng pagiging babae, mga katangiang pambabae*. Ayon pa sa KWF, nilalapian ito ng “*pagka*” sa unahan na “*nagsasaad ng kabasalan, buod ng kakayahan o ng tanging kalikasan sa isang bagay o tao*” at salitang-ugat na “*babae*.” Batay sa kahulugan na ibinigay ng diksyunaryo, nililimitahan nito ang kilos, galaw at kakayahan ng isang indibidwal

dahil sa kanyang biyolohikal na kayarian. Pangalawa, kapansin-pansin ang pagkakabit ng konseptong ito sa mga babae lamang. Nangangahulugan na tanging mga biyolohikal na babae lamang ang (inaasahang) kumilos nito, na nagreresulta ng pagkakastigo sa mga indibidwal na lumalabag sa ganitong kaayusan, sa nakaugalian. Nariyan ang mga pisikal na pandarahas, pagkutya at pagtawag ng mga pangalan — tomboy, t-bird, dikya, malas sa negosyo at marami pang iba.

Subalit, ano nga ba ang mga katangiang para sa babae lamang? Lumalabas sa diskusyon na ang konseptong ito ay konstruksyon lamang ng lipunan. Ibig sabihin, idinidikta ng kultura at lipunan. Sinasabing pagkasilang na pagkasilang pa lamang ng isang sanggol sa mundong ito, tinuturuan at itinakda na ang kanyang mga dapat na ikilos, pag-uugali at gawi batay sa nakaugaliang kostumbre. Halimbawa, nilalampinan ang babaeng sanggol ng kulay rosas, pinapalaro ng mga manyika (bilang preparasyon sa kanyang pagiging ina balang araw) at pina-lalaki-ng mahinhin, kimi at tahimik.

Samakatuwid, hindi rin napaghihiwalay ng KWF ang konsepto ng kayarian at kasarian (sex at gender), bagkus ay tinitignan bilang halos magkasingkahulugan pa. Tinuturing na sa pamamagitan ng kayarian ng isang tao, partikular ng babae, natutukoy at nadedetermina na ang papel, kakayahan at potensyal sa kanyang lipunan. Sa tulong na rin ng mga ideyolohikal na aparato ng lipunan, mas napapatanggap na “natural” at “unibersal” ang ganitong kaayusan sa lipunan. Bagamat makikita at mararamdaman rin sa loob ng superistraktura ng lipunan ang pakikibaka at pagkikitunggali sa kaayusang ito.

Nang konsultahin ang ibinigay na depinisyon sa salitang *kababaihan* sa diksyunaryo ni Panganiban, bagamat lumalabas ang salitang ito, hindi naman niya ito binigyan ng katuturan. Sa kabilang banda, hindi naman mahahanap ang salitang ito sa diksyunaryo ng KWF.

Maganda tuloy tanungin kung bakit hindi napasama ang salitang *kababaihan* sa mga salitang dapat bigyan ng kahulugan? Hindi ba importante ang salitang ito kaya hindi nakasali? Wala ba talagang ganitong salita? Maraming kahulugan at mensaheng ipinaparating ang hindi pagbanggit ng mismong diksyunaryo na ginawa pa naman ng mga kinikilalang institusyon ng bansa. Kung tutuusin, isang kapangyarihan ang pagsusulat ng diksyunaryo dahil nagkakaroon ng prebilehiyo (ang editor) na mamili ng mga salitang mapapaloob at mapapasama sa koleksyon. Isa rin itong kapangyarihan dahil nagbibigay ito ng depinisyon, hugis, itsura ang mga salita (sa kasamaang palad din, sa proseso ng pagbibigay ng kahulugan sa isang bagay, nakapagbibigay rin ito ng limitasyon sa kahulugan).

Ayon kay Quindoza-Santiago, ang salitang *kakabaihan* ay tumutukoy sa “*isang kilusan upang igiit ang kanilang mga karapatan sa mga istraktura ng kapangyarihan sa lipunan.*”<sup>10</sup> Nangangahulugan na isa itong pulitikal na kilusan na may layuning ilantad ang hirarkiya, ang hindi pagkakapantay-pantay sa lipunan — partikular sa pagitan ng babae at lalaki — pati na rin ang pagbuwag sa sistemang ito. Batay dito, hindi kataka-taka kung hindi napasama ang isang mapagpalayang depinisyong ito sa mga diksyunaryong parehong pinamatnugutan ng lalaki, sina Jose Villa Panganiban at Ponciano Pineda.

Sa kabuuan, ang *wika* bilang produkto ng lipunan na naglalaman ng mga pagpapahalaga ng isang kultura, ay isa ring midyum upang ipalaganap ang mga kaisipang ito sa susunod na henerasyon at sa mga bagong dayo sa komunidad. Kung kaya naman, isa rin itong arena na dapat gamitin upang tunggaliin ang kasalukuyang androsentriko at patriyarkal na kaayusan. Bagamat may mga feminista, tulad ni Mary Daly na naniniwalang kailangang bumuo ng sariling wika at paraan ng pagpapahayag ang hanay ng kababaihan, na kailangang lumabas sa kasalukuyang

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<sup>10</sup> Santiago, p. 11.

patriyarkal na tipo ng wika na ginagamit,<sup>11</sup> mahalaga pa rin na pakinabangan ang kaalaman ng kababaihan sa patriyarkal na wika at gamitin ito para sa pagpapalaya ng kanyang sarili.

**PANITIKAN.** Batay sa *UP Diksyunaryong Filipino* (2001), ang salitang *panitikan* ay mula sa salitang *titik* na nilagyan ng unlaping *pang* at hulaping *an*. Narito pa ang ilan sa mga ibinigay na depinisyon ng UPDF:

- 1) *Literatura (Español) o literature (Ingles)*
- 2) *Mga akda na kangi-tangi sa masining at malikhaing pagtatanghal ng mga ideya*
- 3) *Ang kabuuang lawas ng mga naisulat sa tiyak na wika, panahon ay iba pa*
- 4) *Ang propesyon ng manunulat at awtor*

Kung susumahin ang mga nabanggit na depinisyon, hindi maikakailang iniuugnay ang *panitikan* sa pagkakaroon ng edukasyon — o yaong mga nakapag-aral. Ito ay sa kadahilanang ang propesyong ito ay nangangailangan ng karunungan sa pagsusulat at pagbabasa na makukuha, madalas, sa pormal na paaralan. Subalit, kung babalikan ang kasaysayan ng pormal na edukasyon sa bansa, matatanto na sa mahabang panahon ay naging eksklusibong panlalaki lamang ang akademya. Kung maaalala, pinuri sa pamamagitan ng isang liham ni Dr. Jose Rizal ang kababaihan ng Malolos (1888) dahil sa kanilang determinasyon na ipaglaban ang pantay na oportunidad ng babae at lalaki sa paaralan. Gaya ng alam natin, noong panahong iyon, tanging mga pambahay na gawain lamang at katekismo ang itinuturo sa mga babae, samantalang ang mga lalaking ilustrado naman noo'y nakapagtatapos na ng mga degri sa medisina at

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11 Mary Daly, *The Church and the Second Sex* (Boston: Beacon, 1985); \_\_\_\_\_, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon, 1978).

abogasya. Napatid lang ang pagkauhaw na ito ng kababaihan sa pagkakaroon ng pormal na edukasyon noong nabuksan ang pinto ng akademya sa mga babae noong panahon ng pananakop ng mga Amerikano sa pamamagitan ng mga pampublikong paaralan.<sup>12</sup>

Kung tutuusin, hindi naman (talagang lantarang) pinagbabawalan ang pagpasok ng mga babae sa mundo ng pagsusulat, subalit hindi rin naman ito lubos na sinasang-ayunan. Sinasabi pa na ang labis-labis na “pagkahumaling” ng sinumang babae dito ay tiyak na may hinihintay na “kaparusahan” — ang pagiging hiwalay sa asawa (tulad ni Leona Florentino), pamumuhay ng mag-isa (tulad ni Magdalena Jalandoni)<sup>13</sup>, at pagbatikos ng lipunan kung mapabayaang ang pamilya.

Batay na rin sa ikalawang depinisyon na ibinigay ng diksyunaryo, hindi maaaring ihiwalay sa produksyong pampapanitikan ang konsepto ng “*literariness*” — o ang masining at malikhaing pagtatanghal sa loob ng panitikan — upang maturing na “tunay na panitikan” ang isang akda. Subalit sino ba ang nagdedetermina ng kagandahan? Kaninong pamantayan ang ginagamit?

Batay sa isang pag-aaral na ginawa nina Lina Sagaral Reyes at Marjorie Evasco sa mga nagsipagwagi ng mga gantimpala at parangal sa mga patimpalak gaya ng Cultural Center of the Philippines Award at Don Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards (kasama ang pagsasaalang-alang sa

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12 Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo et al., Feminist Theories and Movements (Quezon City: UP Open University and UP CSWCD, 1997), pp. 93-94. Maaaring ring basahin ang Maria Luisa CAmagay, Working Women of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (QC: UP Press, 1995), Kabanata sa Maestras.

13 Itinuturing si Leona Florentino bilang “first full-time Filipino woman of letters” samantalang si Magdalena Jalandoni naman ang pinakaunang nobelistang Filipina ng bansa. Ang kanilang maikling talambuhay ay mababasa sa <http://www.panitikan.com.ph/criticism/thewriterandherroots.htm>

mga naging hurado sa mga nasabing patimpalak), lumalabas na nananatiling monopolyo pa rin ng kalalakihan ang mga gawad pampanitikan.<sup>14</sup> Kung susumahin sa kasalukuyan ang mga nahirang nang Pambansang Alagad ng Sining, partikular sa larangan ng panitikan simula pa noong mabuo ito noong 1972, iisa pa lamang ang babae, si Edith Tiempo noong 1999; sampu naman sa labing-isang Alagad ng Sining ay lalaki.

Kung gayon, hindi rin nagkamali ang UPDF sa pagtumbas sa salitang *panitikan* sa *literature* ng Ingles. Ayon sa ibinigay na depinisyon ng *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933, renibisa noong 1972) sa salitang *literature*: “*Literary work or production; the activity or profession of a **man** of letters...*”(aking diin).” Kapansin-pansing ang tinatawag na *literature* ay anumang likha ng isang lalaki. Nangangahulugan na ang babaeng manunulat ay walang lugar, walang depinisyon, sa mundo ng panitikan.<sup>15</sup>

Kung susumahin, mabibilang pa rin ang mga babaeng manunulat na napapasama sa mga antolohiya at koleksyon, na mayorya ay pinapatnugutan ng mga lalaki. Halimbawa, nang lumabas ang antolohiyang *50 Kuwentong Ginto ng 50 Batikang Kuwentista* noong 1939, na pinamatnugutan ni Pedrito Reyes, tanging siyam (9) na babaeng manunulat lamang ang napasama dito. Kabilang rito sina: Rosario Aguinaldo, Andrea Arce, Carmen Batacan, Susana de Guzman, Nieves del Rosario, Carmen Herrera, Hilaria Labog, Jovita Martinez at Belen Santiago. Nang lumabas naman ang *Ang 25 Pinakamabuting Kathang Pilipino* noong 1944, na pinamatnugutan ni Teodoro Agoncillo, tanging sina Rosalia Aguinaldo, Hilaria Labog, Liwayway Arceo, Gloria Villaraza at Lucila Castro, limang (5) babaeng manunulat lamang, ang napasama sa koleksyong ito. Sinasabi pa na kaya lamang napapasama ang mga babaeng manunulat sa mga antolohiyang pinapatnugutan ng mga lalaki (lalo na noong panahong iyon) ay

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<sup>14</sup> Nabanggit sa Lilia Quindoza-Santiago, *Sa Ngalan ng Ina* (Quezon City: UP Press, 1997), pp. 7-8.

<sup>15</sup> Nasa Ruth Robbins, *Literary Feminisms* (London: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 7-8.

sa kadahilanang ang mga salita't imahen na nakapaloob sa kanilang mga akda ay “hagod-lalaki”, kung saan mata at boses pa rin ng mga lalaki ang naglalarawan. Sabi pa ni Aling Bebang (Genoveva Edroza-Matute) na ang turing sa kanila ng mga kapwa lalaking manunulat ay “*parang mga multo*” o “*mga lalaking gumagamit lamang ng mga pangalang babae.*”<sup>16</sup> Batay naman sa karanasan ni Magdalena Jalandoni, sinasabing noong nagsisimula pa lamang siyang magsulat noong unang bahagi ng 1900, kinailangan niyang gumamit ng *pseudonym* dahil sa kinokonsiderang hindi pambabae ang gawing magsulat at malimbag noong mga panahong iyon.<sup>17</sup>

Nang inilabas naman ni Virgilio Almario ang *Walong Dekada ng Makabagong Tulang Pilipino* noong 1981, tanging si Elynia Ruth Mabanglo sa labing-apat na lalaking napasa sa koleksyon. Kapansin-pansin pa na tanging tatlong tula ni Mabanglo ang nagsilbing halimbawa ng kanyang mga tula<sup>18</sup> samantalang may mga lalaking makata sa seleksyon na mayroong sampu o higit pang mga halimbawa. Ilan rito sina Jose Corazon de Jesus, Benigno Ramos, Alejandro G. Abadilla, Amado V. Hernandez, Lamberto Antonio, at Federico Licsi Espino Jr. Nang inilabas naman ang Ang Aklat Likhaan ng Dula (1997-2003) noong 2006 na pinamatnugutan nina Rene Villanueva at Vim Nadera, tanging dula ni April Tong na pinamagatang “Nang Mawala ang Junior ni Junior” at adaptasyon ni Lisa Magtoto ng “Agnoia”<sup>19</sup> ang napasama sa koleksyon na binubuo ng labinlimang mandudula.

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16 Rosario Torres-Yu, *Sarilaysay* (Pasig: Anvil, 2000), pp. 2-3.

17 <http://www.panitikan.com.ph/criticism/thewriterandherroots.htm>

18 Ang mga tulang “Pag-iisa,” “Mga Batang Taludtod,” at “Isang Tulang Haka kay Hen. Antonio Luna” ang napasama sa koleksyon.

19 Ang dulang “Agnoia” ay ibinatay sa maikling kuwentong “Horoscope” na isinulat ni Eli Guieb.



Kung babalikan naman ang isa sa pinakagamitin na antolohiya ukol sa Panitikan ng Pilipinas, ang “Philippine Literature: A History and Anthology (Revised Edition)” nina Bienvenido at Cynthia Lumera na lumabas noong 1997, mabibilang pa rin sa daliri ang mga manunulat na babaeng napasama sa koleksyon. Halimbawa, sa kabanata ukol sa *Panitikan sa Ilalim ng Pamahalaang Espanyol*, tanging sina Leona Florentino at Gregoria de Jesus ang napasama sa labing-isang manunulat ng panahon. Sa kabanata naman ukol sa *Panitikan sa Ilalim ng Pamahalaang Amerikano*, sina Magdalena Jalandoni at Evangeline Guerrero ang napasama sa labing-anim na manunulat. Sa *Panitikan sa Ilalim ng Republika* na kabanata sina Genoveva Edroza Matute, Kerima Polotan Tuvera at Fanny Garcia ang napasama kumpara sa dalawampu’t dalawang lalaking bahagi rin ng panahon. Sina Joi Barrios, Marjorie Evasco, Elynia Ruth Mabanglo at Lilia Quindoza Santiago ang napasama sa *Panitikan Matapos ng EDSA* na kabanata; malayo pa rin ito sa siyam na lalaking bahagi ng kabanata.

Batay sa diskusyong ito, makikita ang kasalukuyang posisyon at predikament ng isang babaeng manunulat sa Pilipinas. Kung kaya, isa rin itong pinto na kailangang buksan, isa itong arena na kailangang tunggaliin, isiwalat, kuwestyunin at punahin ang nananaig na misohino at patriyarkal na pagpapahalaga.

## **ANG UNTI-UNTING PAGGAGAMOT**

Sa kasalukuyan, unti-unti namang lumuluwag ang siwang ng pintong nakapinid para sa mga babaeng manunulat. May mga inisyatib na na ginawa ang ilang mga babaeng manunulat (sa kasalukuyan) na maglabas ng mga antolohiya ng mga akda ng kapwa Filipinang manunulat gaya ng *Silid na Mahiwaga* (1994) ni Soledad Reyes na kalipunan ng mga maiikling kuwento at tula

sa Wikang Tagalog<sup>20</sup> at *Sa Ngalan ng Ina* (1997) ni Lilia Quindoza Santiago na kalipunan naman ng 100 tulang feminista mula 1889 hanggang 1989<sup>21</sup>. Hindi rin maisasantabi ang antolohiya ng dalawampung kuwentong buhay ng ilang piling Tagalog na manunulat na muling

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20 Ang mga babaeng makata at fiksyunista na napasama sa koleksyon ay sina Filonila Abordo, Carmen Acosta, Mila Aguilar, Rosalia Aguinaldo, Filomena Alcanar, Paquita Alejandro, Trinidad Alvarez, Eden Apostol, Corazon Arceo-Entrada, Liwayway Arceo, Natalia Baltazar, Joi Barrios, Lualhati Bautista, Mary Ruby Beltran, Merlinda Bobis, Cecelia Caquingin, Teresita Capili-Sayo, Lucila Castro, Remedios Cayari, Olivia Cervantes, Emma Maria Cristina, Teresita Arce Cruz, Ma. Assunta Cuyengkeng, Amor Datinguinoo, Simeona Decena, Susana De Guzman, Mariett Dichoso, Gregoria De Jesus, Nieves Baens Del Rosario, Genoveva Edroza Matute, Ma. Gloria Esguerra, Evelyn Estrella, Lucia Valentin Eusebio, Rowena Penaflor Festin, Zenaida Arcega Flores, Fanny Garcia, Mila Reyes Garcia, Flor Condino Flores, Gloria Villaraza-Guzman, Aida Paredes Hombrebueno, Virginia Ignacio, Rose Latoga Jao y Labayo, Leonila Gatmaitan Jose, Mercedes Jose, Marra Lanot, Francisca Laurel, Rosario de Guzman-Lingat, Rosario Cruz Lucero, Ruth Elynia Mabanglo, Pilar Manalili-Garcia, Teresita Manaloto, Luz Maranan, Jovita Martinez, Francine Medina, Loreta Medina, Noemi Medina, Edna Mercado, Vicenta Navarro, Ma. Magdalena Novella, Pilar Pablo, Jean Page, Ma. Belen Paloma, Aurora Payad, Rosalinda Pineda, Lilia Quindoza Santiago, Maria Ramos, Ma. Elnora Roca, Cleothilde Reyes, Ligaya Rubin, Aida Santos-Maranan, Benilda Santos, Cristeta Santos, Lady Ana May Sia, Luna Sicat, Priscilla Supnet-Macasantos, Lorena Tariman, Ivy Catherine Tomenio, Ma. Luisa Torres, Lina Flor Trinidad, Veronica Uy, Adela Vera, Anacleto Vilalcirta-Agoncillo, Sofia Viray, at Ma. Jovita Zarate.

21 Binubuo ang koleksyon ng mga tula na nasa wikang Tagalog, Ingles at Ilokano. Kasama sa listahan sina (Tagalog) Gregoria De Jesus, Filomena Alcanar, Zenaida Arcega Flores, Edna Mercado, Eden Apostol, Maria Ramos, Ligaya Perez, Margarita Francia Villaluz, Gloria Villaraza Guzman, Fanny Garcia, Emelita Perez Baes, Flor Condino Gonzales, Rhea Cabrera, Romina De Los Reyes, Clarita Roja, Marua Luisa Torres, Marra Lanot, Rosalinda Pineda, Ruth Elynia Mabanglo, Ruby Gamboa Alcantara, Ligaya Rubin, BS Amor, Nena Gajudo, Aida Santos, Chit Balmaceda-Gutierrez, Estrella Consolacion, Adora Faye De Vera, Priscilla Supnet Macasantos, Lilia Quindoza Santiago, Lualhati Bautista, Anna Maria Gonzales, Maria Michaela Sanchez, Joi Barrios, Merlinda Bobis, Luz Barca Maranan, Lucia Makabayan, Rowena Penaflor Festin, Maria Jovita Zarate, Zelda Soriano, Benilda Santos, (Iloko) Leona Florentino, Enriqueta De Peralta, Antinia Marcos Rubio, Ursula Villanueva, Cresencia Dela Rosa-Domingo, Pacita Saludes, Florentina Somera, Hermilinda Lingbaoan, Alice Almario, Mercedes Magno, (Ingles) Angela Manalang Gloria, Tarrosa Subido, Tita Lacambra Ayala, Mila Aguilar, Maria Lorena Barros, Nieves Benito Epistola, Lucila Hosillos, Denise Chou Allas, Anna Leah Sarabia, OH Tipon, Elizabeth Lolarga, Migen Osorio, Ophelia Alcantara Dimalanta, Merlie Alunan Wenceslao, Marjorie Evasco, Christine Godinez Ortega, Fanny Haydee Llego, Grace Monte de Ramos, Karina Africa Bolasco, Lina Sagaral Reyes at Ma. Luisa Aguilar-Carino.

isinalaysay ni Rosario Torres Yu sa *Sarilaysay* (1997)<sup>22</sup>. Ganoon din sa larangan ng pagsulat ng diksyunaryo, mayroon nang inisyal na primer na isinulat si Thelma B. Kintanar upang maging *gender-sensitive* ang paggamit ng wika (partikular sa Ingles). Subalit, hindi dapat dito matapos ang lahat. Marami pa ring mga panitikan ng kababaihan ang naisasantabi, kinakalimutan at hindi nabibigyan ng sapat na pagkilala, pag-aaral at pagpapalimbag, lalung-lalo na yaong mga manunulat sa iba pang mga wika sa Pilipinas.

Ayon kay Elaine Showalter, madalas na napapabayaang hindi nabibigyan ng sapat na pagkilala at pag-aaral ang maraming akda ng babaeng manunulat (partikular sa kanluran). Dagdag pa niya, kakaunti na nga lamang ang kanilang bilang, naisasantabi pa ang mga hindi gaanong sikat sa kanilang hanay. Dahil dito, nagkakaroon tuloy ng pagkaputol sa kasaysayan ng pagsusulat ng mga babaeng manunulat at maging ng buong tradisyon ng panitikan ng bansa.<sup>23</sup> Pinangalawahan naman ni Benilda Santos ang panimulang obserbasyong ito ni Showalter, partikular sa konteksto ng Pilipinas. Ayon sa kanya, nagkakaroon ng pagkaputol sa kasaysayan ng pagsusulat hindi lamang ng mga babaeng manunulat bagkus maging ng kabuuang tradisyon ng panitikan sa bansa. Dagdag pa niya, bagamat lumalakas na ang kilusang kababaihan na nagreresulta ng mas lumuwag na siwang sa pinto ng panitikan at palimbagan sa mga babaeng fiksyunista, nananatiling monopolyo pa rin ito ng kalalakihan at / o ng iilang mga babaeng nagsusulat sa Ingles.<sup>24</sup> Sa kabuuan, mahaba-habang tawasan pa rin ang kailangang gawin upang

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22 Kabilang sa mga kuwentong-buhay ay kina Anacleto Villacirita-Agoncillo, Liwayway Arceo, Amelia Lapena Bonifacio, Gloria Villaraza Guzman, Genoveva Edroza Matute, Lualhati Bautista, Fanny Garcia, Sol Juvida, Marra Lanot, Rosario Lucero, Elynia Mabanglo, Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo, Lilia Quindoza-Santiago, Aida Santos, Rebecca Anonuevo, Glecya Atienza, Mayette Bayuga, Joi Barrios, Benilda Santos at Luna Sicat.

23 Elaine Showalter, "The Female Tradition," nasa *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, ed. Robyn Warhol and Diane Herndl (USA: Rutgers, 1991), pp. 269-288.

24 Benilda Santos, "Ang Panitikan ng Kababaihan at Ang Rebisyon ng Pambansang Panitikan," nasa *Daluyan*, 4 (1997): 459-498.

mabalik sa kamay ng mga babaylan, kababaihan, ang kanilang posisyon sa mundo ng panitikan at wika.

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# **A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE LEXICAL, MORPHOLOGICAL, AND SYNTACTIC VARIATION OF THE SORSOGANON LANGUAGES**

**Michael John A. Jamora**

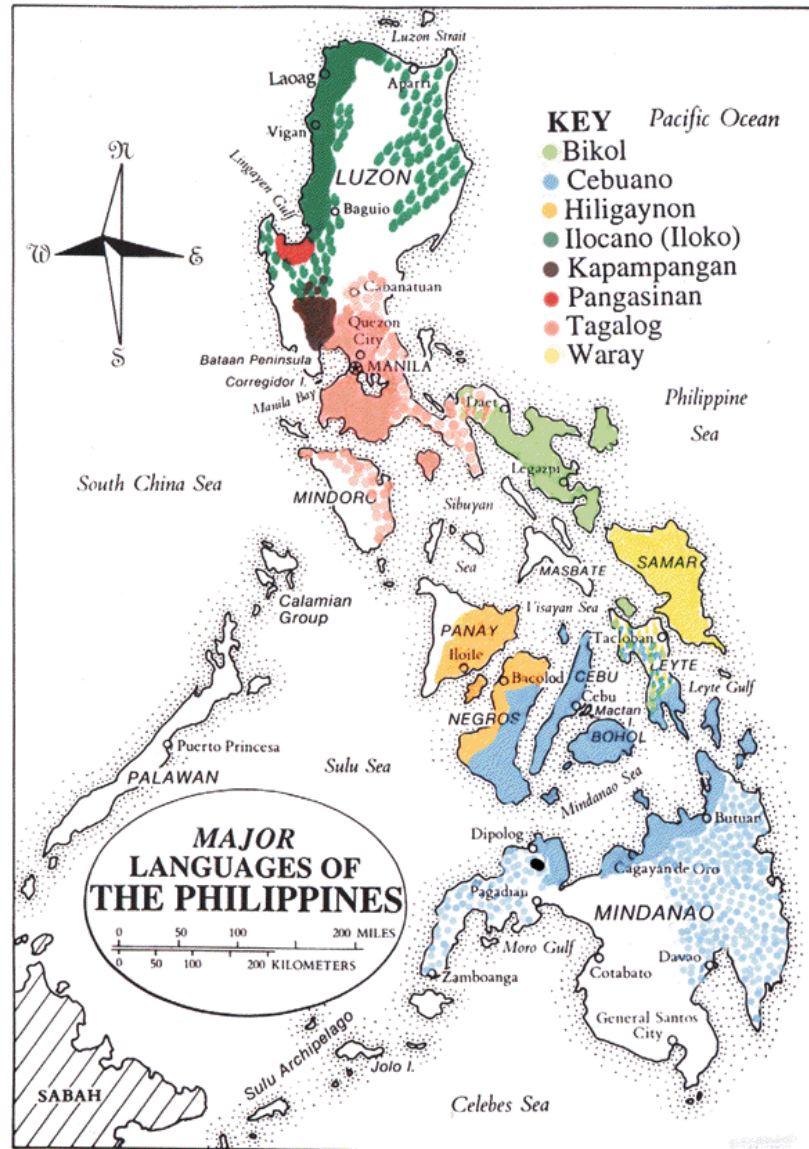
Sorsogon State College

## **Introduction**

It is a common peculiarity in any region of the Philippines for a traveler to encounter a different speech variety (any language, dialect, or register) from one province to another, and even between towns and *barangays*. At times, these variations are so significant that just traveling for a few kilometers in any direction from a place, an observer will take notice of a distinct change in the speech used by the locals. This linguistic phenomenon, language or dialect variation, is the distribution of particular words, pronunciation, and other linguistic features throughout an area. Such is the case of the municipalities of Sorsogon included in this study: their linguistic characteristics have considerable differences that they cannot be considered similar varieties of an individual language. Comparing their vocabularies, sentence structures and to some degree, word formation, will certainly emphasize their linguistic variations or differences.

To understand the linguistic diversity of the province, we must first comprehend the macrocosm of the entire Philippines as a country with multitudes of languages and other speech varieties. According to Reid (2005b), there are over 150 Philippine languages (specifically 167 Philippine ethno-linguistic groups, in Grimes 2000, as cited by Reid) all belonging to the Western Malayo-Polynesian group of the Austronesian

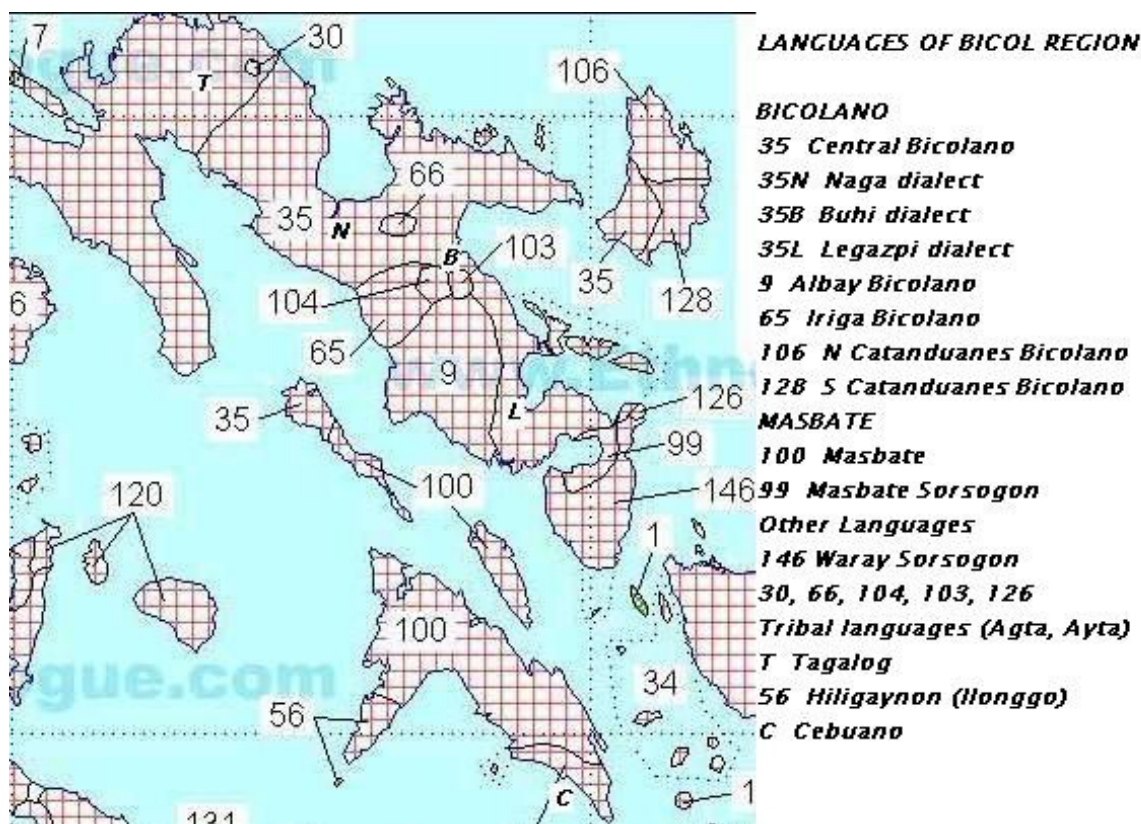
language family. In addition, McFarland (1994) indicated that the number of languages which are not mutually intelligible or understandable in the Philippines is around 110. Yet in another study, Gonzalez (1992) stated that there are 85 “mutually unintelligible but genetically related languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family” used in the Philippines [see figure 1]. Whichever of these is more accurate, they all support the fact that the Philippines is indeed multilingual and this fact applies to its regions and provinces. The latter compose dialect areas which are sections of the country defined by distinct word usage and pronunciations bounded by isoglosses (Fromkin & Rodman 1993, p. 406) and delineated by language/dialect boundaries. Figure 2 shown below and (cf.) Figure 8 in page 48 illustrate such areas in the Bicol region where Sorsogon is located.



(<http://iloko.tripod.com/Phlmap.gif>)

Figure 1 Major Languages of the Philippines





(<http://mikenassau.freehomepage.com/bicol.html>)

Figure 2 The Languages of the Bicol Region

Sorsogon is the southernmost province connected to the island of Luzon. It is a peninsula, surrounded at all sides by the sea. Immediately to the north is the province of Albay and beyond that, Camarines Sur. To the west are the islands of Ticao and Masbate across the pass named after the former. Northern Samar is across the San Bernardino Strait to the south, and the vast Pacific Ocean lines its eastern coasts. These physical barriers – mainly wide bodies of water as well as mountain ranges – present no hindrance to the diffusion of both Bikol and Bisayan cultures and languages into the province. In addition, McFarland (1980; 1994) stated that, as a general observation in Philippine languages and their subgroupings (dialects), communication is easier by sea than inland through hills and mountains.

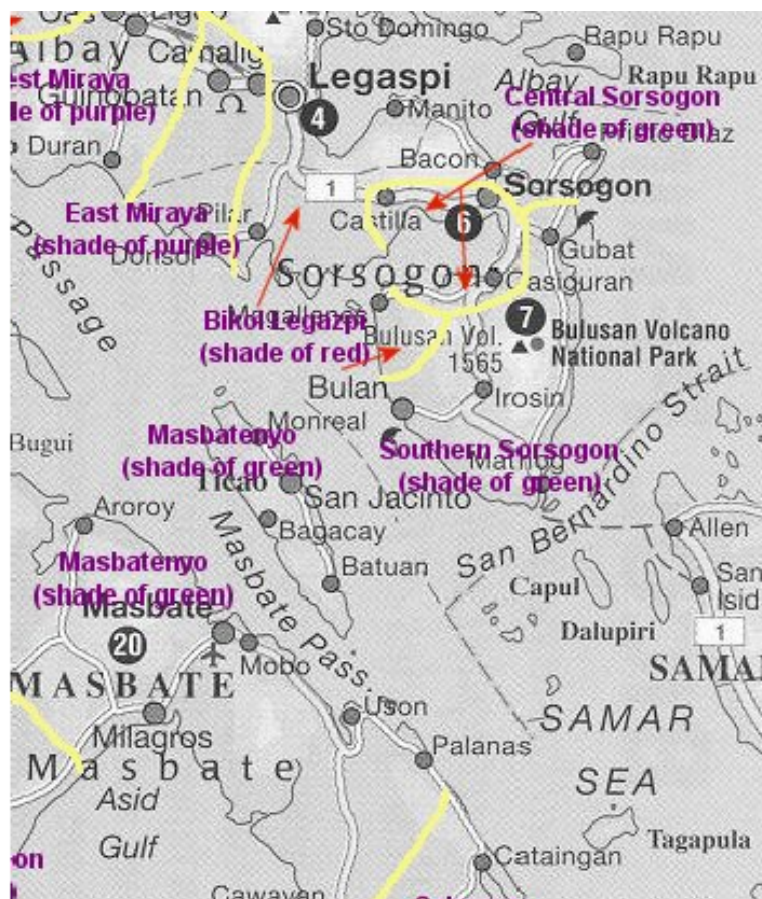


Figure 3 Close up of Sorsogon Province in the Bicol Region Language Map based on Lobel (2000) – see Figure 8 (p. 48)

The speech varieties spoken in the municipalities of Sorsogon province can be classified in the following subgroupings: *Northern Sorsogonan* is spoken in the towns of Pilar, Castilla, Magallanes, Bacon and Prieto Diaz which uses the Northern (Standard) Bikol common in Camarines Sur and Eastern Albay; *Central Sorsogonan*, which uses the Masbate dialect, is spoken in Sorsogon City and Juban; and *Southern Sorsogonan* in Gubat, Barcelona, Bulusan, Irosin, Bulan, Matnog and Santa Magdalena uses Waray, a Central Bisayan language (McFarland, 1994). There exist slight variations of the Southern Sorsogonan dialect among these towns. Donsol uses a variety of *Miraya* closely related to the Southern Bikol dialects of Camalig, Daraga, and Guinobatan of

Albay province. Another exception is Casiguran, which uses a blend of Northern Bikol and Central Sorsoganon [see figures 3 and (cf.) 4] (Lobel, 2007).

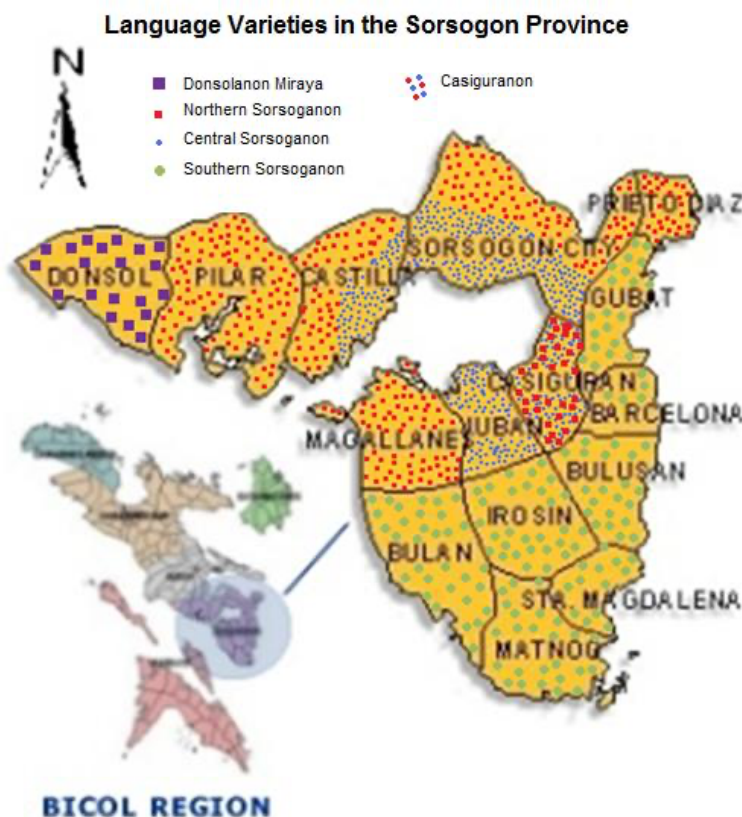


Figure 4 Linguistic Diversity of the Sorsogon Province

If Sorsogon town is located at the center of the provincial map, then Bacon is 10 kilometers to its north and Gubat 19 kilometers east. It must be noted that while the latter remains an independent municipality of the Province of Sorsogon, the first two were merged into a city in 2001, the former converted into a district of the latter. However, the linguistic attributes of each remain distinct; differences would immediately be noticeable as one approach the former municipal lines, what McFarland (1980; 1994) termed as a “dialect boundary”. In addition, the major dialect classes spoken in the

province are represented in the speech varieties in each of these towns for lexical, morphological and syntactic comparison.

The language varieties used in Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat are representatives of Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon respectively, and it is the primary purpose of the present study to investigate the lexical, morphological, and syntactic features of the former to describe and illustrate the same linguistic variations that are applicable to the latter.

Specifically, this study wished to answer the following questions:

1. What are the lexical features of Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon in terms of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs as used in Bacon, Sorsogon and Gubat respectively?
2. What are the morphological features in Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon as used in Bacon, Sorsogon and Gubat respectively? How distinct are they from one another?
3. What are the syntactic features in Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon as used in Bacon, Sorsogon and Gubat respectively?

In addition, the researcher also includes these additional problems which have relevance to the present research since they further illustrate the linguistic diversity of the Sorsogon province as well as the possible origins of these language varieties. These points of interest are minor linguistic cases compared to the main concerns of this study (questions 1 – 3). Similar research methods are used to yield data in these questions as those in the previous items.

4. What are the lexical and syntactic features of the Casiguran dialect as compared to the language varieties of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat?
5. What are the lexical and syntactic features of the Donsol dialect as compared to the language varieties of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat?
6. What are the lexical and syntactic features of the dialect used in Barrio Lamboon (New Sto. Domingo), Irosin as compared to the language varieties of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat?
7. What are the linguistic (lexical and syntactic) features of adjacent regional/provincial speech varieties that influenced and contributed to the Sorsoganon dialects of the study:
  - a. Gubat (Waraynon from Northern Samar)
  - b. Sorsogon (Central Masbateño and Hiligaynon/Ilongo from Iloilo),
  - c. Bacon (Northern/Standard Bicol from Albay and Camarines Sur), and
  - d. Donsol (Albay Miraya)?

Relevant to the last problem, Reid in the introduction of 'A cross-generational view of contact-related phenomena in a Philippine language: Phonology (2005a)' describes the Philippines as "a treasure house for the study of the effects of language contact", which primarily refers to the extensive borrowing of the various Philippine languages from the Chinese and Malays, as well as from the Spanish and Americans (English). He observes that the influence of these Philippine languages on each other has not often been as carefully explored as that with the foreign languages, and which can be another potentially rich source of data on language contact. Reid further adds that "all Philippine languages have large sets of lexical items which have been borrowed

from one or another of the widely-spoken languages such as Filipino (Tagalog), Ilokano, Cebuano, Hiligaynon or Magindanao.” This latter statement raises the interest on the possible source languages of the Sorsogon speech varieties from the surrounding provinces and regions (speech communities). This concern is investigated in the latter part of this study (see question no. 7).

## **Methodology**

The most suitable research methods for this study are ethnography and elicitation techniques since it is based on a community and is focused on the linguistic features of the members of a particular speech community. They are necessary to investigate the language variations occurring in these specified communities and to provide interpretations in-context with the linguistic phenomena observed.

Ethnographic methods such as unobtrusive and participant observation that yield qualitative information is the most appropriate (especially for the first 3 problems of the study) since the researcher is a native of one of the communities included in the study, thus his high proficiency in the spoken and written usage of *Sorsoganon*. Social immersion to learn about the culture and languages of his subjects is no longer required since the researcher himself is part of the community he observed. It must be noted that in order for participative observation (or any ethnographic research techniques) to yield significant data from a particular community, the researcher must be socially embedded and accepted (thus the term immersion) in that area before he gains the trust and confidence of its inhabitants who are the potential respondents/subjects of the study.

In addition, since this type of research is longitudinal and collaborative with the stakeholders-subjects of the study, the researcher has ample time to sustain the

investigation on a long-term basis since he lives within the community and among the subjects. The researcher himself is able to compile words from this dialect and to draft the sample sentences based on his own knowledge of *Sorsoganon* and with some assistance from key informants. Additional interaction with other native speakers is of much help in the collection of sample words and statements.

Furthermore, it is also necessary to investigate the concerns of this study in the natural context in which it occurs. In this manner, it is possible to yield reliable information on the actual language use of the people being observed in a natural context uninfluenced by external factors that may alter the outcome of the research. Ethnography is subjective because it relies on the contextual perceptions of a phenomenon of both the researcher and the subjects, but objectivity can still be maintained by focusing on the problem/concern at hand. That is, the cultural meanings revealed by the linguistic usage of the subjects under study (Watson-Gegeo and Ulichny, cited in Nunan 1992).

It is also a characteristic of this method that data gathering precedes the formulation of any hypotheses and it also focuses on descriptive investigation and analysis (LeCompte and Goetz, as cited in Nunan 1992). In the present study, data that are obtained through participative observation and semi-structured interview are presented first before the analysis of their lexical and syntactic components. Only after these are any hypotheses and findings formed and discussed.

However, since the researcher has limited knowledge of the other languages and dialects included in this study, he applies another method. Apart from the fact that the researcher can basically speak *Gubatnon/Ginubatnon* and even transcribe the speech



variety into written form, he encounters difficulty in doing both with regard to *Bacongnon*, and the dialects of Casiguran, Donsol and Barrio Lamboon. His communication level on these four dialects is passive: the researcher can only gather information by listening and not through active two-way communication using any of them. Thus it is necessary to apply elicitation techniques – in particular, production tasks and semi-structured oral interview – in this part of the study. These also apply to the gathering of data regarding the source languages of the Sorsogon dialects, namely, Northern (Standard) Bicol, Central Masbateño, Hiligaynon, Waray, and Albay Miraya.

The second method (elicitation) is used in this manner: the lists of the words as well as the sample sentences – both in English, with Sorsoganon translations – are presented to selected native speakers/key informants of the five dialects and five source languages and they were asked to translate them one by one (production task). The statements serve as stimuli that are expected to elicit response in the form of words and sentences translated by the informants to their native dialects. Any additional or special meanings of particular words in the list are also noted for clarification and accuracy (using semi-structured interview on the informants). After the translation, the completed lexical list and statements are read one after the other to another set of subjects to confirm their correctness and accuracy. Any additional details or corrections are clarified and noted before being adopted.

Since this study did not require a large number of informants with varying backgrounds, interviews are more preferable than surveys and questionnaires in eliciting the data required. The former is also more advantageous particularly because the meanings of certain words must be made clear in specific contexts. This might not



be clarified if the respondents were just to write their responses instead of being given the opportunity to explain the semantics of their speech varieties. The semi-structured oral interview is the more preferred form for this study since it features both flexibility in format and topic; at the same time, the researcher still has control of the direction and progress of the interaction. It is a qualitative research technique that produces rich information about social relationships and phenomena as well as gives access on these in a profound way (Dowsett, cited in Nunan 1992).

While in the outset, any native of the five towns and the barrio may qualify as informants for the study, it becomes quite difficult for the researcher to select each since education should also be a consideration given the fact that they should be able to explain hidden semantics and certain contexts whereas the words and statements from their dialects are applicable, education is also a consideration. In addition, inhabitants of the *barangays* of Bacon, Casiguran and Gubat nearest the border with Sorsogon as well as those from the *poblacion* areas have frequent contact and interaction with those from the latter. An eventual effect is a high level of communication and shared speech innovations that may also result to the 'dilution' of each other's dialects, a linguistic phenomenon called convergence (Finegan 2008). Thus, the ideal subjects are high school- or college-educated residents of the *barrios* (rural communities) of Bacon or Gubat. The initial primary/key informants of this study are an elementary school principal, a pharmacist (UST graduate), an English professor, and ten 3<sup>rd</sup> year college students (education majors), all of whom possess the required attributes. The other subjects are encountered by the researcher during his daily routines in Sorsogon, and Gubat. However, when the study is expanded to include problems 4 to 7, additional

informants are added; they are mainly the researcher's colleagues and students who reside in the speech communities concerned.

## Results

### I. The Major Speech Varieties of Sorsogon

#### A. Lexical Variations

Lexicon is a component of grammar containing the speakers' knowledge about morphemes and words; it also refers to the speakers' mental dictionary or vocabulary. The following tables illustrate the lexical distinction of the speech varieties of the three towns included in the study. Despite the obvious differences, there are many word similarities particularly between Sorsogon and Gubat probably because they are both classified as *Bisacol* and have originated from Bisayan languages. Other cases of conjunction can also be attributed to shared verbal innovations between the three dialects as they harmoniously coexist in close proximity to each other and share common words/terms.

Table 1  
Noun Variations in Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon languages  
of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat

	<b>Bacon</b>	<b>Sorsogon</b>	<b>Gubat</b>
<i>companion</i>	kaibahan	<b>kaupod</b>	
<i>spouse</i>	agom	<b>asawa</b>	
<i>sibling</i>	tugang	<b>manghod</b>	<b>kamanghod</b>
<i>child</i>	aki	<b>batit</b>	<b>bata</b>
<i>enemy</i>	kaiwal	kaaway	kahiran/kahangit
<i>face</i>	<b>pandok</b>	bayhon	<b>pandok</b>
<i>head</i>	payo	<b>ulo</b>	
<i>nose</i>	dungo	ilong	irong
<i>mouth</i>	ngimot	baba	hiwa
<i>foot</i>	bitis	ti-il	siki
<i>shame</i>	supog	alo	raw-ay
<i>sickness</i>	helang	sakit	hapdos
<i>wound</i>	lugad	pilas	habol

<i>day</i>	<b>aldaw</b>	<b>adlaw</b>	
<i>night</i>	banggi	<b>gab-i</b>	
<i>dream</i>	pangatorogan	damgo	inop
<i>ground</i>	daga	duta	ingod
<i>ricefield</i>	<b>kabas-an</b>		pasakay
<i>unhusked rice</i>	paruy	humay	paray
<i>boiled rice</i>	maluto	kan-on	<b>luto</b>
<i>viand</i>	panira	<b>isirira</b>	isuruda/suda
<i>cooked vegetable</i>	<b>gulay</b>		solì
<i>banana</i>	batag	<b>saging</b>	
<i>taro plant</i>	tangoy	gabi	gaway
<i>coconut (young)</i>	<b>lumbod</b>		silot
<i>meat (lean)</i>	<b>unod/laman</b>		tayod
<i>bird</i>	<b>bayong</b>		tamsi
<i>cat</i>	ikos	kuting	kuying
<i>rat</i>	kino	<b>iraga</b>	
<i>grass/bush</i>	awot	du-ot	gabon/ging-ot
<i>house</i>	<b>balay</b>		
<i>forest</i>	<b>kadlagan</b>		tahok
<i>side</i>	<b>gilid</b>		piliw
<i>town</i>	<b>banwa/centro</b>		bungto
<i>money</i>	<b>kuarta</b>		sinte/ <b>kuarta</b>
<i>language</i>	taramon	<b>surmaton</b>	

Table 2  
Verbal Variations in Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon languages  
of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat

<i>see</i>	hiling	kita	imod
<i>peek</i>	<b>sid-ip</b>	<b>sud-ip/sid-ip</b>	sikop
<i>meet</i>	sabat	sugat	bagat/tapo
<i>walk/wander</i>	<b>lakaw</b>	lakat	<b>lakaw</b>
<i>hear</i>	mati	<b>bati</b>	
<i>eat</i>	<b>kaon</b>		
<i>love</i>	<b>padaba</b>		<b>padaba/palanyag</b>
<i>help</i>	tabang	bulig	danon
<i>give</i>	ta-o	<b>hatag</b>	
<i>borrow</i>	subli/haram	hura	hudam
<i>go (there)</i>	duman	<b>kadto</b>	<b>kadto/ka-on</b>
<i>come (here)</i>	digdi	kadi	kanhi
<i>tell</i>	osip	<b>sumat</b>	
<i>say</i>	<b>sabi</b>		bagaw
<i>know</i>	<b>aram/tata-o</b>	<b>aram</b>	
<i>know (a person)</i>	midbid	<b>kilala</b>	kila
<i>call</i>	apod	tawag	gahoy

<i>talk</i>	taram	<b>surmaton/istorya</b>	
<i>believe</i>	tubod	tuod	niwala
<i>laugh</i>	olok	<b>tawa</b>	<b>tinawa</b>
<i>cry</i>	<b>hibi</b>	iyak	<b>hibi</b>
<i>sit</i>	tukaw	<b>ingkod</b>	
<i>make fun of</i>	<b>karaw</b>	ti-aw	<b>karaw</b>
<i>play</i>	kawat	kanam	uyag
<i>ask (for)</i>	<b>hagad</b>		ayo
<i>die</i>	gadan	<b>matay</b>	
<i>rest</i>	pahingalo	pahuway	pamunay
<i>keep quiet/silent</i>	alo	humilom	pumuyo
<i>fetch (water)</i>	harok	ugob/tabo	alog
<i>push</i>	<b>tulak/tuklang</b>		usong
<i>pull</i>	botong/ <b>guyod</b>	<b>guyod</b>	sa-og
<i>fight</i>	iwal	away	hiran
<i>burn</i>	sulo	silab	sunog
<i>leave behind</i>	walat	<b>bilin</b>	
<i>steal</i>	hab-as	<b>kawat</b>	
<i>hair cut</i>	<b>pagunting</b>		paburog
<i>show off</i>	<b>padayaw</b>		patala

Table 3  
Pronoun Variations in Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon languages  
of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat

<i>I/me</i>	<b>ako</b>		
<i>my/mine</i>	<b>ko/sakuya</b>	<b>ko/saakon</b>	<b>ko/saako</b>
<i>our</i>	<b>mi</b>	<b>mi/namon/naton</b>	namo/nato
<i>ours</i>	samuya/satuya	saamon/saaton	saamo/saato
<i>you (singular &amp; plural)</i>	<b>ika/kita</b>	<b>ikaw/kita</b>	
<i>he/she</i>	<b>siya</b>		
<i>they</i>	<b>sinda</b>		<b>sira</b>
<i>theirs</i>	<b>sa inda</b>		sa kanira/kaninda
<i>none</i>	<b>da-i/wara</b>	<b>wara</b>	
<i>this</i>	<b>ini</b>		
<i>that</i>	iyen/an	ina	yuon
<i>there (distant)</i>	duman	<b>didto</b>	
<i>there (near)</i>	diyan	dida	duon
<i>here (presence)</i>	ani-on/digdi	yadi	ya-a
<i>here (location)</i>	<b>digdi</b>	didi	dini
<i>who</i>	sisay	<b>sin-o</b>	
<i>whose</i>	kay sisay	kanin-o	kan kunay
<i>when</i>	<b>nu-arin</b>	san-o	<b>su-arin</b>
<i>what</i>	ano	<b>nano</b>	

<i>where</i>	sa-in	<b>diin</b>	
<i>why</i>	nata	kay nano	nakay

Table 4  
Adjectival Variations in Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon languages  
of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat

<i>big</i>	dakula	<b>dako</b>	
<i>small</i>	sadit/ <b>saday</b>	<b>saday</b>	
<i>thin</i>	<b>manipis/maniwang</b>		mahugos
<i>thick</i>	<b>mahib-og</b>		madamo
<i>pregnant</i>	<b>bados</b>		burod
<i>oldest/eldest</i>	matu-a	<b>magurang</b>	tiggurangi
<i>all</i>	gabos	<b>intiro</b>	
<i>many</i>	dakul	damo	daghan
<i>few</i>	diit	diyut	diyu
<i>good/well</i>	marhay	mayad	dianis
<i>bad</i>	<b>maraot</b>		mala-in
<i>angry</i>	ngisog	orit	hangit
<i>afraid</i>	takot	hadlok	hadok
<i>lighted</i>	<b>maliwanag</b>		masuna
<i>shining/shiny</i>	<b>masin-ag</b>		magilang
<i>dark</i>	madiklom/ <b>madulom</b>	<b>madulom</b>	
<i>wet</i>	dumog	<b>basa</b>	
<i>cold</i>	malipot	mahagkot	mapinit
<i>hot</i>	<b>mainit</b>		mapaso

Table 5  
Adverbial Variations in Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon languages  
of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat

<i>now</i>	ngunyan	<b>niyan</b>	
<i>later</i>	diyan	dida	du-on
<i>a long while/time</i>	haloy/ <b>awat</b>	<b>awat</b>	
<i>awhile/first</i>	<b>ngun-a</b>	anay	<b>mun-a</b>
<i>like (comparison)</i>	<b>arog</b>	irog/bagan	sugad/malin
<i>(like) + this</i>	kaini	sadi	sine
<i>(like) + that</i>	kaan	sana	su-on
<i>maybe</i>	ba-ad	basi	badi
<i>yes</i>	iyo	<b>amo</b>	<b>ma-o</b>
<i>no/not</i>	bako	lain/dili	dire

The words enumerated and given translations in the tables above were randomly selected from common terms often used by the subjects and heard by the researcher. Most are content words since they have intrinsic meanings and need not be used in statements for them to be understood. Terms that are similar in all three dialects occur and are included in the study. Of the 123 sample words from each dialect, only 68 are similar: 25 between Sorsogon and Bacon, 25 Sorsogon and Gubat, 4 Bacon and Gubat, and 14 in all three dialects.

Some of the terms are related, in the sense that they are derived from similar root words but have variant affixes; in some cases, a letter is altered or its position reversed within the words. There are 32 of these related words: 4 between Sorsogon and Bacon, 16 Sorsogon and Gubat, 4 Bacon and Gubat, and 8 in all three dialects.

#### B. Morphological Distinctions

Morphology is the study of the structure of words; it is the component of grammar that includes rules of word formation. The three dialects share similar features in word formation; even though not all of their words are similar, the affixes used are basically the same.

- NAG + tarawa sinda. / + urulok sinda. / + tirinawa sira. (They laughed.)
- NA + parong/matay an ilaw. / + gadan/palsok su ilaw. (The light went off.)
- MAG + ugob ka sin tubi. / + harok ka ki tubig. / + alog ka tubig. (Fetch water.)
- IPA + huraam mo saiya an libro. / + haram mo saiya an libro. / + hudam mo sa kaniya an libro. (Lend him the book.)
- MAKAKA + pahuway ka na. / + pahingalo ka na. / + pamunay ka na. (You can rest already.)

However, *Gubatnon* has a different pattern in forming the past tense of verbs and the superlative form of adjectives, which can be used instead of the ordinary affix NAG + indicating the former and PINAKA + for the latter:

- *Tuninawa (tawa) sira san/sa istorya ko.* (They laughed because/at of my story.)
- *Unuli (uli) na an mga bisita ko.* (My visitors have left already.)
- *Kunaon (kaon) mun-a sira bag-o hunali (hali).* (They ate first before leaving.)
- *Sa kanira ako tunurog (turog) san sayo kagab-i.* (I slept at their house the other night.)
- *Siya an tighigusi san kanira magkaramanghod.* (He is the most industrious in their family.)
- *Si Aida na tiggayuni sa intirol na kataragahan sa kanira baryo.* (Aida is the most beautiful maiden in their barrio.)
- *Diri mo yuon pag-asawahon kay ma-o yuon an tighugaki sa kanira.* (Don't ever marry that [guy] because he is the laziest in their place.)
- *An pinangat na gaway an tigsirami na soli.* (The taro leaves *pinangat* is the most delicious vegetable dish.)

### C. Syntactic Differences

Syntax is the rules of sentence formation; the component of mental grammar that represents the speakers' knowledge of the structures of phrases and sentences. Although their component words are different, the sequence and resulting pattern of the sentence elements are similar in each dialect. Note that the morphological features illustrated in the previous section are also observed in the sample statements here.

The sentences illustrating morphological and syntactic differences were transcribed actual utterances in one of the dialects and then translated to the others. Like the sample vocabulary, they were also arbitrarily selected from common expressions of the native speakers. Some of them were drafted by the researcher using the *Sorsoganon* vocabulary and presented to informants for translation. It is possible to produce counterparts for all the statements, each of them having almost identical meaning. However, the English translations provide just the approximate sense of each set of sentences to guide non-native speakers in understanding them.

# 1. Declarative

## a. *It's cold at night.* (descriptive)

Bacon: Malipot kun banggi.

Sorsogon: Mahagkot kun gab-i.

Gubat: Mapinit kun gab-i.

## b. *Their house is taller than ours.* (descriptive)

Bacon: Mas halangkaw an balay ninda kaysa samuya.

Sorsogon: Mas hataas an balay ninda kaysa saamon.

Gubat: Mas higtaas an balay nira kaysa saamo.

## c. *There are kids playing football at the side of the field.* (existential)

Bacon: May mga aki na nagkakawat (ki) football sa gilid kan kabas-an.

Sorsogon: May mga batit na nagkakanam (sin) football sa gilid san kabas-an.



Gubat: May mga bata na nag-uuyag (sin) football sa piliw san pasakay.

d. *Peter is very thin because he got sick.* (descriptive)

Bacon: Maniwangon si Pedro ta nagkahelang siya.

Sorsogon: Maniwangon si Pedro kay pan-o nagkasakit siya.

Gubat: Mahuguson si Pedro kay pan-o nagkahapdos siya.

2. Interrogative

a. *Where did your companions go?* (locative)

Bacon: Nagpasa-in an mga kairiba mo?

Sorsogon: Nagpakain an mga kaurupod mo?

Gubat: Punakarhin an mga kaurupod mo?

b. *Why was the child crying?*

Bacon: Nata naghibi an aki?

Sorsogon: Kay nano nag-iyak an batit?

Gubat: Nakay naghibi an bata?

c. *Has your brother a wife/spouse?* (existential)

Bacon: May agom an tugang mo na lalaki?

Sorsogon: May asawa an manghod mo na lalaki?

Gubat: May asawa an kamanghod mo na lalaki?

d. *Where did you fetch water?* (locative)

Bacon: Sain ka nagharok (ki) tubig?

Sorsogon: Diin ka nag-ugob (sin) tubig?

Gubat: Diin ka nag-alog (sin) tubig?

### 3. Imperative

a. *Please lend me that pencil of yours.*

Bacon: Pasubli-a/paharama man kaan na lapis mo.

Sorsogon: Pahurama man sana na lapis mo.

Gubat: Pahudama man suon na lapis mo.

b. *Give this letter to your elder sister.*

Bacon: Ita-o mo ining surat sa matu-a mong babayi.

Sorsogon: Ihatag mo ini na surat sa magurang mo na babayi.

Gubat: Ihatag mo ini na surat sa kamanghod mo na babayi.

c. *Do not tell anybody that you met me here.*

Bacon: Da-i mo ipagtaram/ipag-osip maski kiisay na nasabat mo ako digdi.

Sorsogon: Lain mo ipagsumat maski kanin-o na nasugat mo ako didi.

Gubat: Diri mo ipagsumat maski kanin-o na nabagat/natapo mo ako dini.

d. *Keep quiet there!*

Bacon: Alo diyan!

Sorsogon: Humilom ka dida!

Gubat: Pumuyo ka duon!

### 4. Exclamatory

a. *Certainly yes! or I said yes!*

Bacon: Sinabing/Tinaraman nang iyo!

Sorsogon: Sinabing amo!

Gubat: Atog ma-o!

b. *Shame on you!*

Bacon: Makasusupog ka!

Sorsogon: Makaaalo ka!

Gubat: Makararaw-ay ka!

c. *There goes the jeepney!*

Bacon: Ituon na su jeep!

Sorsogon/Gubat: Yadto na an jeep!

d. *I said stop making fun of me!*

Bacon: Tinaraman nang da-i mo ako pagkarawan!

Sorsogon: Sinabing dili mo ako pagti-awan!

Gubat: Atog dire mo ako pagkarawan!

### Comparative sentence patterns of the Sorsoganon language varieties

To clearly emphasize the similarities and differences of the major speech varieties of Sorsogon, sentences expressing the same ideas in the three dialects were made. These sentences were classified by their functions and organized in the typology illustrated in the module *Learning Bikol-Naga with a Native Speaker* (2005), and their elements were also identified and arranged using the basic sentence patterns.

#### A. Descriptive sentences

##### 1. Description + topic marker + topic noun

Bacon: Halangkaw + si + Juan. – *Juan is tall.*

Sorsogon/Gubat: Hataas + si + Juan.

##### 2. Negation word + description + topic marker + topic noun

Bacon: Bako + halangkaw + si + Pedro. – *Pedro is not tall.*

Sorsogon: Lain + hataas + si + Pedro.

Gubat: Dire + hataas + si + Pedro.

3. Comparative degree + description + topic + kaysa kay (than) + personal name/non-personal name

Bacon: Mas + matu-a + si Leo + kaysa kay + Roger. – *Leo is older than Roger.*

Sorsogon/Gubat: Mas + magurang + si Leo + kaysa kan + Roger.

## B. Equational or Classification sentences

1. Topic question word + topic marker + topic noun

Bacon: Sisay + ang + kaibahan mo? – *Who is your companion?*

Sorsogon/Gubat: Sin-o + an + kaupod mo?

2. Topic marker/topic pronoun + topic noun + topic noun (equational)

Bacon: Si + Eddie + an agom ni Nena. – *Eddie is the spouse of Nena.*

Sorsogon/Gubat: Si + Eddie + an asawa ni Nena.

3. Noun + topic marker + topic noun/pronoun (classification)

Bacon: Gulay na tangoy + an + panira ta. – *Taro leaves vegetable is our viand.*

Sorsogon: Gulay na gabi + an + isirira ta.

Gubat: Soli na gaway + an + isuruda ta.

4. Negation word + topic + topic marker + topic noun (classification)

Bacon: Bakong + siya + an + kaibahan mi. – *He/She is not our companion.*

Sorsogon: Dili + siya + an kaupod mi.

Gubat: Dire + siya + an kaupod mi.

### C. Possessive sentences

#### 1. Possessive question word + topic

Bacon: Kay sisay + an saday na balay? – *Whose is the small house?*

Sorsogon: Kanin-o + an saday na balay?

Gubat: Kan kunay + an saday na balay?

#### 2. Possessive marker + noun/possessive pronoun + topic

Bacon: Kay + Tomas + ining libro (or an librong ini). – *This book is Thomas'.*

Sorsogon/Gubat: Kan + Tomas + an libro na ini (or ini na libro).

### D. Existential sentences

#### 1. Existential word + indefinite topic + place/topic (possessor)

Bacon: May/igwa(ng) + mga aki + an mag-agom. – *The couple has children.*

Sorsogon: May/igwa + mga batit + an mag-asawa.

Gubat: May-on + mga bata + an mag-asawa.

#### 2. Negation(-ing) + indefinite topic + place/topic (possessor)

Bacon: Da-i(ng) + helang + an pasyente. – *The patient is not sick.*

Sorsogon/Gubat: Wara(ng) + sakit + an pasyente.

### E. Locative sentences

#### 1. Place question word + topic

Bacon: Sa-en + an/su eskwelahan nindo? – *Where is your school?*

Sorsogon/Gubat: Ha-en + an eskwelahan nindo?

#### 2. Place word + place + topic

Bacon: Ituon sa + may cathedral + an/su eskwelahan mi. – *Our school is near the cathedral.*

Sorsogon/Gubat: Yadto sa/Nasa + may cathedral + an eskwelahan mi.

#### 3. Demonstrative place word + place + topic noun

Bacon: Ani-on digdi + sa balay mi + an tindahan. – *Our store is right here in our house.*

Sorsogon: Yadi didi + sa balay mi + an tindahan.

Gubat: Ya-a dine + sa amo balay + an tindahan.

## II. **Minor Speech Varieties**

### **Language variety of Casiguran town in Sorsogon**

The municipality of Casiguran is located approximately 20 kilometers south of Sorsogon City. Sorsogon City to its north uses Masbateño-based Central Sorsoganon; Juban to the west has the same speech variety. Irosin to its south, Bulusan and Barcelona in the east, and Gubat in the northeast all use Southern Sorsoganon which is based on the *Waray* language.

Although it is not proximate to any area speaking Northern Sorsoganon (Standard Bikol) such as Bacon, Prieto Diaz or Magallanes, its lexicon still possesses a sizable amount of words from this speech. Previous studies classify the language of

Casiguran as belonging to Central Sorsoganon, such as those of Lobel and Tria (2000) and Mintz and Britanico (1985). However, it is apparent that this speech community is clearly distinct from any of these two language varieties since its vocabulary contains an even combination of both Northern and Central Sorsoganon words (Lobel, 2007), even a few from Southern Sorsoganon, and also some lexical items unique to it and not found and used in any of the other Sorsoganon language varieties.

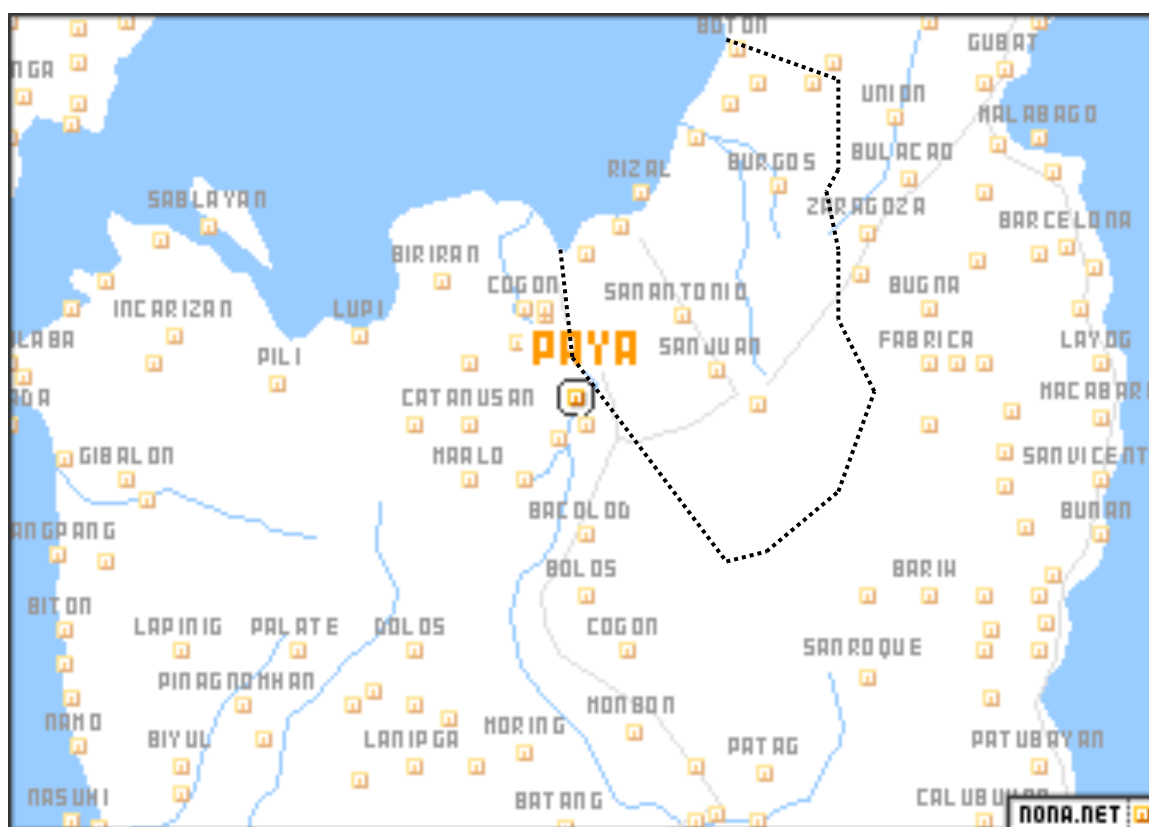


Figure 5 Casiguran town in Sorsogon (area within dotted lines)

A. Comparative Vocabulary of the major Sorsoganon and the Casiguranon speech varieties

<b>Casiguranon</b>	<b>Bacon</b>	<b>Sorsogon</b>	<b>Gubat</b>
kaiba ( <i>companion</i> )	kaibahan	kaupod	
agom ( <i>spouse</i> )	agom	asawa	
tugang ( <i>sibling</i> )	tugang	manghod	kamanghod
aki ( <i>child</i> )	aki	batit	bata
kaiwal ( <i>enemy</i> )	kaiwal	kaaway	kahiran

bayhon ( <i>face</i> )	pandok	<b>bayhon</b>	pandok
payo ( <i>head</i> )	<b>payo</b>	ulo	
dungo ( <i>nose</i> )	<b>dungo</b>	ilong	irong
baba ( <i>mouth</i> )	ngimot	<b>baba</b>	hiwa
bitis ( <i>foot</i> )	<b>bitis</b>	ti-il	siki
supog ( <i>shame</i> )	<b>supog</b>	alo	raw-ay
hapdos ( <i>sickness</i> )	helang	sakit	<b>hapdos</b>
lugad ( <i>wound</i> )	<b>lugad</b>	pilas	habol
adlaw ( <i>day</i> )	aldaw	<b>adlaw</b>	
banggi ( <i>night</i> )	<b>banggi</b>	gab-i	
damgo ( <i>dream</i> )	pangatorogan	<b>damgo</b>	inop
daga ( <i>ground</i> )	<b>daga</b>	duta	ingod
bayong ( <i>bird</i> )	<b>bayong</b>		tamsi
du-ot ( <i>grass/bush</i> )	awot	<b>du-ot</b>	gabon/ging-ot
balay ( <i>house</i> )	<b>balay</b>		
kadlagan ( <i>forest</i> )	<b>kadlagan</b>		tahok
gilid ( <i>side</i> )	<b>gilid</b>		piliw
banwa ( <i>town</i> )	<b>banwa</b>	centro	bungto
uding ( <i>cat</i> )	ikos	kuting	kuying
kabas-an ( <i>ricefield</i> )	<b>kabas-an</b>		pasakay
kanuton ( <i>young coconut</i> )	lumbod		silot
unod ( <i>lean meat</i> )	<b>unod/laman</b>		tayod
saba ( <i>talk</i> )	taram	surmaton/istorya	
kalit ( <i>steal</i> )	hab-as	kawat	
iwal ( <i>fight</i> )	<b>iwal</b>	away	hiran
tagbo ( <i>meet</i> )	sabat	sugat	bagat
huras ( <i>borrow</i> )	subli/haram	<b>huras</b>	hudam
apod ( <i>call</i> )	<b>apod</b>	tawag	gahoy
hawidan ( <i>stop</i> )	pugulan		
dihan ( <i>there</i> )	diyan	dida	duon
<b>kasu-arin</b> ( <i>when</i> )	nu-arin	san-o	su-arin
tan naha ( <i>why</i> )	nata	kay nano	nakay

Lexical items that are similar or closely related in Casiguranon and the major dialects are noted here. There are 37 sample words from each dialect and 35 are similar or related: 21 between Casiguran and Bacon, 11 Casiguran and Sorsogon, 1 Casiguran and Gubat, and 2 in all three dialects. There are, however, 9 words that are unique in Casiguranon.



It can also be observed in the following statements that the sequence and resulting pattern of their elements are similar in each dialect though their component words are different. The morphological features of these words also follow similar transformation patterns.

B. Comparative Sentences of the major Sorsoganon and the Casiguranon speech varieties

1. Dihan sa may gilid san dalan an balay mi. (Casiguran) – *There beside the road is our house.*  
     Diyan sa may piliw san dalan an harong mi. (Bacon)  
     Dida sa may gilid san dalan an balay mi. (Sorsogon)  
     Duon sa may piliw san dalan an balay mi. (Gubat)
2. Natagbo mi an mag-agom sa banwa. (Casiguran) – *We met the couple in town.*  
     Nasabat mi an mag-agom sa banwa. (Bacon)  
     Nasugat mi an mag-asawa sa centro. (Sorsogon)  
     Nabagat mi an mag-asawa sa bongto. (Gubat)
3. Nagkalit kanuton an mga aki. (Casiguran) - *The children stole young coconuts.*  
     Naghab-as lumbod an mga aki. (Bacon)  
     Nagkawat lumbod an mga batit. (Sorsogon)  
     Nagkawat silot an mga bata. (Gubat)
4. Iba an saba sa Casiguran kaysa Sorsogon. (Casiguran) – *The speech/language of Casiguran is different from that of Sorsogon.*  
     Iba an tataramon sa Casiguran kaysa Sorsogon. (Bacon)

Iba an surmaton sa Casiguran kaysa Sorsogon. (Sorsogon/Gubat)

5. Kasuarin kamo nagkadi? (Casiguran) – *When did you come here?*

Nuarin kamo nagdidi? (Bacon)

San-o kamo nagkadi? (Sorsogon)

Suarin kamo nagkanhi? (Gubat)

6. Ta naha yadi kamo ngunyan? (Casiguran) – *Why are you here today?*

Nata nagdigdi kamo ngunyan? (Bacon)

Kay nano kay nagkadi kamo niyan? (Sorsogon)

Nakay yaa kamo niyan? (Gubat)

### **Language variety of Donsol town in Sorsogon**

Donsol is a coastal town in the northeastern part of the province. It is more conveniently accessible inland from Jovellar, Camalig and Daraga, and by sea from Pio Duran and Panganiran in coastal western Albay, than the nearest municipalities of Sorsogon to its east, Pilar and Castilla. Both the latter also use a Bikol language, Standard, due to their proximity to eastern Albay. Donsol, however, as an adjunct barrio of Quipia (now Jovellar, Albay) in the 1800s (Malanyaon 1991, p. 416) and because of its geographical location, has adopted Albay Bikol or *Miraya* apparently through migrations from the southern areas of Albay where this speech variety is prevalent.

In textual form, the dialects of Donsol and those of municipalities which use *Northern Sorsoganon* (e.g. Bacon) are distinct, although both originated from the Bikol languages of Albay. However, this divergence is even more apparent and emphasized in the spoken form since their phonological features are also entirely different particularly in the division of syllables and the pronouncing of the individual words.

A. Comparative Vocabulary of the major Sorsoganon and the Donsolanon speech varieties (see Appendix A:I for complete list)

Donsol	Bacon	Sorsogon	Gubat
akos ( <i>child</i> )	aki	batit	bata
awung ( <i>face</i> )	pandok	bayhon	pandok
urong ( <i>nose</i> )	dungo	ilong	irong
kimot/ <b>ngimot</b> ( <i>mouth</i> )	<b>ngimot</b>	baba	hiwa
apay ( <i>taro plant</i> )	tangoy	gabi	gaway
sasabyun ( <i>language</i> )	taramon	surmaton	
sumbong/sabyun ( <i>tell</i> )	osip	sumat	
na(h) <b>iling</b> /pitong ( <i>see</i> )	<b>hiling</b>	kita	imod
agi ( <i>walk</i> )	lakaw	lakat	lakaw
alin ( <i>go</i> )	duman	hali	
<b>taw</b> ( <i>give</i> )	<b>ta-o</b>	hatag	
<b>uram</b> ( <i>borrow</i> )	subli/haram	<b>hura</b> m	<b>hudam</b>
<b>agad</b> ( <i>ask for</i> )	<b>hagad</b>		ayo
unga ( <i>ask a question</i> )	hapot		
adun <b>didid</b> /didid ka ( <i>come here</i> )	mari digdi	kadi <b>didid</b>	kanhi dini
angal ( <i>call</i> )	apod	tawag	gahoy
<b>tud</b> ( <i>believe</i> )	<b>tubod</b>	<b>tuod</b>	niwala
<b>ibi</b> ( <i>cry</i> )	<b>hibi</b>	iyak	<b>hibi</b>
lising ( <i>make fun of</i> )	karaw	ti-aw	karaw
guran ( <i>die</i> )	gadan	matay	
<b>ba-yan</b> ( <i>leave behind</i> )	walat	<b>baya-an</b>	
taban ( <i>steal</i> )	hab-as	kawat	kalit
matakug/ <b>maliput</b> ( <i>cold</i> )	<b>malipot</b>	mahagkot	mapinit
<b>maynit</b> ( <i>hot</i> )	<b>mainit</b>		mapaso
ngana ( <i>now</i> )	ngunyan	niyan	
kina ( <i>then</i> )	tapos		
pawnu ( <i>because</i> )	pan-o		
tibad/badkin ( <i>maybe</i> )	ba-ad	basi	
kidamlag ( <i>tomorrow</i> )	saga	saaga/buwas	
<b>ya-di</b> ( <i>here – presence</i> )	digdi	<b>yadi</b>	yaa
<b>sisay</b> ( <i>who</i> )	<b>sisay</b>	sin-o	
<b>kisay</b> ( <i>whose</i> )	<b>kay sisay</b>	kanin-o	
kina-no ( <i>when</i> )	nuarin	san-o	suarin
<b>uno</b> ( <i>what</i> )	<b>ano</b>	nano	
<b>din</b> ( <i>where</i> )	sa-in	<b>diin</b>	
yanga/nyanga ( <i>why</i> )	nata	kay nano	nakay

Words that are similar or closely related in Donsolanon and the major dialects are noted here. There are 119 sample words from each dialect and 126 are similar

or related: 62 between Donsol and Bacon, 36 Donsol and Sorsogon, 13 Donsol and Gubat, and 15 in all three dialects. There are, however, 41 words that are unique in Donsolanon. (Note: The word count is from the complete list in Appendix A:I)

The following statements illustrate that the morphological features of their component words follow the same patterns as in the dialects previously discussed. The sequence and pattern of their elements are also similar in each dialect though many of the words are distinct.

**B. Comparative Sentences of the major Sorsoganon and the Donsolanon speech varieties** (see Appendix A:II for complete list)

1. Malipot/matakug kun ga-bi. (Donsol) – *It's cold at night.*

Malipot kun banggi. (Bacon)

Mahagkot kun gab-i. (Sorsogon)

Mapinit kun gab-i. (Gubat)

2. Din nag-adun an mga kaiba mo? (Donsol) – *Where did your companions go?*

Nagpasa-in an mga kairiba mo? (Bacon)

Nagpakain an mga kaurupod mo? (Sorsogon)

Punakarhin an mga kaurupod mo? (Gubat)

3. Nyanga nag-ibi an akus? (Donsol) – *Why was the child crying?*

Nata naghibi an aki? (Bacon)

Kay nano nag-iyak an batit? (Sorsogon)

Nakay naghibi an bata? (Gubat)

4. Itaw mo uning surat sa tugang mong babay. (Donsol) – *Give this letter to your elder sister.*

Ita-o mo ining surat sa matu-a mong babayi. (Bacon)

Ihatag mo ini na surat sa magurang mo na babayi. (Sorsogon)

Ihatag mo ini na surat sa kamanghod mo na babayi. (Gubat)

5. Indi mo pagsabi maski kisay na nag-ilingan kita didi. (Donsol) – *Do not tell anybody that you met me here.*

Da-i mo ipagtaram/ipag-osip maski kiisay na nasabat mo ako digdi. (Bacon)

Lain mo ipagsumat maski kanin-o na nasugat mo ako didi. (Sorsogon)

Diri mo ipagsumat maski kanin-o na nabagat/natapo mo ako dini. (Gubat)

6. Puede mag-unga si-mo? (Donsol) – *May I ask a question (from you)? May I ask you a question?*

Puede maghapot saimo? (Bacon, Sorsogon, Gubat)

### **Albay Bikol in New Sto. Domingo (Lamboon), Irosin, Sorsogon**

Barrio Lamboon (or New Sto. Domingo) is two (2) kilometers from the Poblacion of Irosin town of Sorsogon Province, on the road to the municipality of Bulusan. The community is located on hilly terrain, its location being on the foothills of the Bulusan Volcano. Lamboon is bounded on the north by Hacienda Visaya, on the south by mountain ranges, on the east by Barrio Patag and on the west by Barrio Tabon-Tabon, both in Irosin. Since the barrio is along the national road to Bulusan town, it is accessible to all forms of land transportation.

The community came into the interest of and relevance to this research particularly since it is an illustration of the second situation described by MacFarland (1980) in the Discussion section. Specifically, the early settlers of this barrio were originally from Sto. Domingo in Albay (thus the name) and for some reason retained their original speech variety instead of adopting the language of their new home, i.e. the

Waray-influenced Southern Sorsoganon. Both Irosin and Bulusan which are in the immediate vicinity of the community speak the latter language variety, as well as five (5) other towns of Sorsogon. However, this speech community specifically uses Standard Bikol similar to Northern Sorsoganon, which is indeed very peculiar in this area dominated by communities speaking the Southern Sorsoganon tongue.

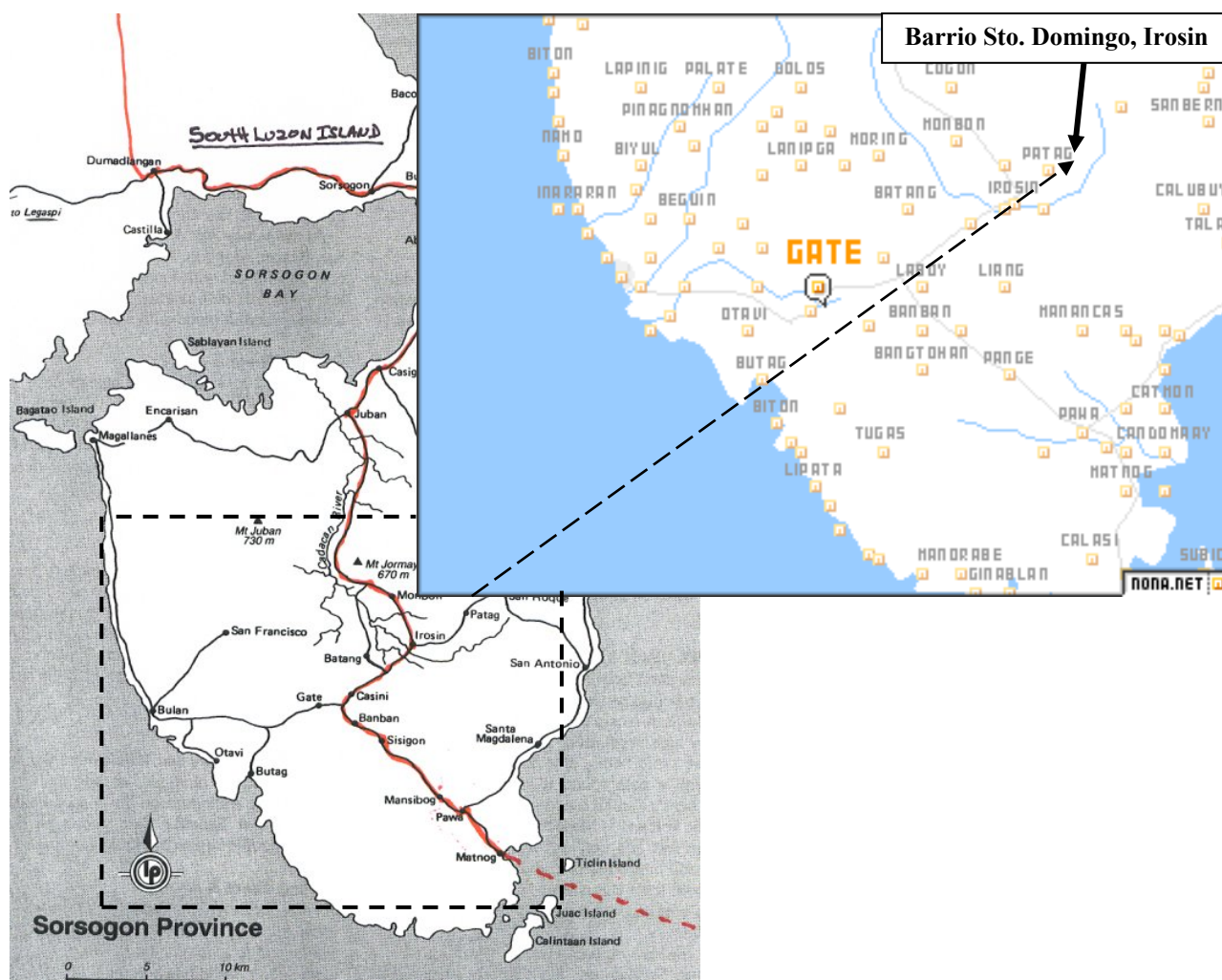


Figure 6 Location of Lamboon, Irosin in Sorsogon Province

A. Comparative Vocabulary of the major Sorsoganon and the Sto. Domingo (Lamboon), Irosin speech varieties

Sto. Domingo	Bacon	Sorsogon	Gubat
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nata ( <i>why</i> )	<b>nata</b>	kay nano	nakay
sisay ( <i>who</i> )	<b>sisay</b>	sin-o	
nuarin ( <i>when</i> )	<b>nuarin</b>	san-o	suarin
maduman ( <i>to go</i> )	<b>maduman</b>	makadto	
mapasaen ( <i>where</i> )	<b>mapasaen</b>	mapaka-en	mapakarin
paros ( <i>wind</i> )	<b>paros</b>	hangin	
gapo ( <i>stone</i> )	<b>gapo</b>	bato	
iosip ( <i>to tell</i> )	<b>iosip</b>	isumat	
diyan na ( <i>later</i> )	<b>diyan na</b>	dida na	duon na
harong ( <i>house</i> )	balay		
yaon ( <i>there</i> )	<b>yaon</b>	yada	yuon
inda ( <i>don't know</i> )	<b>inda</b>	ambot	
mabalad ( <i>to dry</i> )	<b>mabalad</b>	mabulad	
samo ( <i>ours</i> )	<b>samo</b>	sa amon	saamo
masangli ( <i>to change clothes</i> )	<b>masangli</b>	maliwan	
banggi ( <i>night</i> )	<b>banggi</b>	gab-i	
aldaw ( <i>day</i> )	<b>aldaw</b>	adlaw	
tugang ( <i>sibling</i> )	<b>tugang</b>	manghod	kamanghod
baku ( <i>no</i> )	<b>baku</b>	dili	dire
madigdi ( <i>to come here</i> )	<b>madigdi</b>	makadi	makanhi
iyo ( <i>yes</i> )	<b>iyo</b>	amo	ma-o
taramon ( <i>language/speech</i> )	<b>taramon</b>	surmaton	
hiling ( <i>to see/meet</i> )	<b>hiling</b>	kita	imod
kaidto ( <i>in the past</i> )	<b>kaidto</b>	sadto	
ngonian ( <i>now, at present</i> )	<b>ngonian</b>	niyan	
apod ( <i>call</i> )	<b>apod</b>	tawag	gahoy
makanam ( <i>to play</i> )	makawat	<b>makanam</b>	mauyag
gadan ( <i>dead</i> )	<b>gadan</b>	minatay	
masubli ( <i>to borrow</i> )	<b>masubli</b>	mahuram	mahudam
malipot ( <i>cold</i> )	<b>malipot</b>	mahagkot	mapinit

Words similar or closely related in the Sto. Domingo (Lamboon) speech and the major dialects are listed above. There are 30 sample words from each dialect and 35 are similar or related: 28 between Sto. Domingo and Bacon, 2 Sto. Domingo and Sorsogon, 2 Sto. Domingo and Gubat, and 3 in all three dialects.

The Lamboon speech variety also closely follows the word transformation pattern and sentence element sequence observed in Bacongnon and the other dialects of this study. Moreover, there are no distinctions noted in the statements in Bacon and Sto. Domingo dialects.

B. Comparative Sentences of the major Sorsoganon and the Sto. Domingo (Lamboon), Irosin speech varieties

1. Ano an pangaran mo? (Sto. Domingo/Bacon) – *What is your name?*  
     Nano an pangaran mo? (Sorsogon/Gubat)
2. Taga-saen ka? (Sto. Domingo/Bacon) – *From where are you? (literal) or Where do you live?*  
     Taga-diin ka? (Sorsogon/Gubat)
3. Ano an trabaho mo? (Sto. Domingo/Bacon) – *What is your occupation/job?*  
     Nano an trabaho mo? (Sorsogon/Gubat)
4. May mga tugang ka na taga-digdi? (Sto. Domingo/Bacon) – *Do you have siblings who live here?*  
     May mga manghod ka na taga-didi? (Sorsogon)  
     May mga kamanghod ka na taga-dine? (Gubat)
5. Siisay an mga kaibahan mo sa harong nindo? (Sto. Domingo/Bacon) – *Who are your companions in your house?*  
     Sin-o an mga kaurupod mo sa balay niyo? (Sorsogon/Gubat)
6. Nuarin ka maduman sa banwa? (Sto. Domingo/Bacon) – *When are you going to town?*  
     San-o ka makadto sa centro? (Sorsogon)  
     Suarin ka makadto sa bongto? (Gubat)



7. Saen nagkakanam an mga batet? (Sto. Domingo/Bacon) – *Where do the children play?*

Diin nagkakanam an mga batet? (Sorsogon)

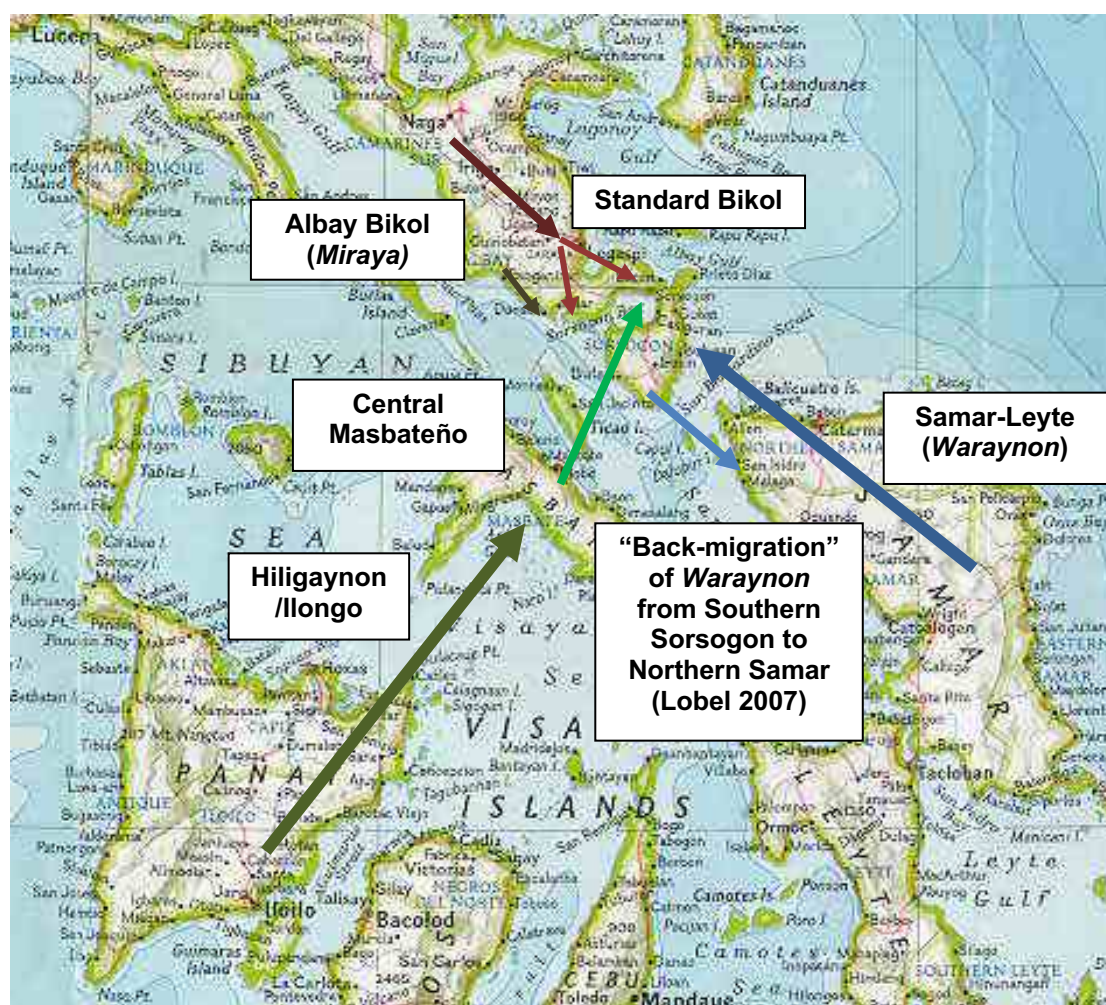
Diin nag-uuyag an mga bata? (Gubat)

### III. Source Languages of the Major Dialects of Sorsogon

The works of Lobel (2007), Lobel and Tria (2000), McFarland (1994) and Mintz and Britanico (1985) identified and delineated Bikol language areas, their dialects, and sub-dialects. These studies established that the source language of *Northern Sorsoganon* spoken in Bacon town is Northern (Standard) Bikol, which originated from Camarines Sur and Eastern Albay; that *Central Sorsoganon*, spoken in Sorsogon City, came from the Masbate dialect and Hiligaynon/Ilongo; *Southern Sorsoganon* in Gubat uses Waray, a Central Bisayan language from Samar and Leyte; and that Donsolanon from the *Miraya* dialect closely related to the Southern/Albay Bikol dialects of Camalig, Daraga, and Guinobatan of Albay province [see Figure 7].

Lexical items that are similar or closely related in the major Sorsogon dialects and their source languages are enumerated below. There are 102 sample words in Bacon, Bikol Legazpi and Naga and 114 are similar or related ( 31 Bacon and Legazpi, 9 Bacon and Naga, 5 Legazpi and Naga, and 69 in all 3 dialects); 105 in Sorsogon, Masbateño, and Hiligaynon/Ilongo and 105 are similar or related (35 Sorsogon and Masbateño, 10 Sorsogon and Hiligaynon/Ilongo, 7 Masbateño and Hiligaynon/Ilongo, and 53 in all 3 dialects); and 112 words in Gubatnon and Waraynon, of which 105 are similar or related.

The words in the statements below have related morphological patterns and thus the resulting sequence of their elements is mostly similar in each dialect although their component words are diverse.



(<http://www.whoa.org/publications/maps/04centr.jpg>)

Figure 7 Source Languages of the Speech Varieties of Sorsogon

Comparative Lexical Features of the major Sorsoganon speech varieties and their Source Languages (see Appendix B for complete list)

A. Sorsogon, Central Masbateño and Hiligaynon

	Sorsogon	Central Masbate	Hiligaynon
<i>companion</i>	kaupod		

<i>sibling</i>	<b>manghod</b>		
<i>child</i>	batit	<b>bata</b>	
<i>face</i>	<b>bayhon</b>	pamayhon	itsura/tsura/pagawi/gawi
<i>nose</i>	<b>ilong</b>	irong	<b>ilong</b>
<i>shame</i>	alo		huya
<i>sickness</i>	<b>sakit</b>		
<i>wound</i>	<b>pilas</b>	samad	<b>pilas</b>
<i>day</i>	<b>adlaw</b>		
<i>night</i>	<b>gab-i</b>		
<i>dream</i>	<b>damgo</b>		
<i>boiled rice</i>	<b>kan-on</b>	luto	<b>kan-on</b>
<i>language</i>	<b>surmaton</b>		hambal
<i>believe</i>	<b>tuod</b>		pati
<i>laugh</i>	<b>tawa</b>		kadlaw
<i>cry</i>	iyak	tangis	hibi
<i>sit</i>	<b>ingkod</b>		pungko
<i>make fun of</i>	<b>ti-aw</b>	sunlog	<b>ti-aw</b>
<i>play</i>	<b>kanam</b>		hampang
<i>ask (for)</i>	hagad	pangaro	pangayo
<i>rest</i>	<b>pahuway</b>	diskanso	<b>pahuway</b>
<i>keep quiet/silent</i>	humilom	puyo	mahipos
<i>push</i>	<b>tulak</b>	turak	<b>tulak</b>

## B. Bacon and Standard Bikol

	<b>Bacon</b>	<b>Albay (Legazpi)</b>	<b>Naga</b>
<i>companion</i>	<b>kaibahan</b>	kaibanan	<b>kaibahan</b>
<i>sibling</i>	<b>tugang</b>		
<i>child</i>	<b>aki</b>		
<i>face</i>	<b>pandok</b>		lalaogon
<i>head</i>	<b>payo</b>		
<i>mouth</i>	<b>ngimot</b>		nguso
<i>shame</i>	<b>supog</b>		
<i>wound</i>	<b>lugad</b>		
<i>day</i>	<b>aldaw</b>		
<i>night</i>	<b>banggi</b>		
<i>ground</i>	<b>daga</b>		
<i>ricefield</i>	<b>kabas-an</b>		umahan
<i>viand</i>	<b>panira</b>	isirira/isira	<b>panira</b>
<i>taro plant</i>	<b>tangoy</b>	<b>tangoy/natong</b>	natong
<i>bird</i>	<b>bayong</b>		gamgam
<i>cat</i>	<b>ikos</b>		
<i>rat</i>	<b>kino</b>		
<i>grass/bush</i>	<b>awot</b>		doot

<i>language</i>	<b>taramon</b>		<b>tataramon</b>
<i>hear</i>	<b>mati</b>		dangog
<i>eat</i>	kaon	<b>kakan</b>	
<i>help</i>	<b>tabang</b>		
<i>give</i>	<b>ta-o</b>		
<i>borrow</i>	<b>subli/haram</b>	<b>subli/aram</b>	<b>subli</b>
<i>go (there)</i>	<b>duman</b>		
<i>come (here)</i>	digdi	igdi	<b>digdi/madya</b>
<i>tell</i>	<b>osip</b>		sumbong
<i>know</i>	<b>tata-o/aram</b>		
<i>call</i>	<b>apod</b>		
<i>talk</i>	<b>taram</b>		sabi

## C. Ginubaton and Waraynon

	<b>Gubat</b>	<b>Waray (N. Samar)</b>
<i>sibling</i>	<b>kamanghod</b>	
<i>enemy</i>	<b>kahiran/kahangit</b>	<b>kamanghod/bugto</b>
<i>face</i>	<b>pandok</b>	<b>kahiran/kangudyot</b>
<i>nose</i>	<b>irong</b>	<b>pandok/kahimo</b>
<i>mouth</i>	<b>hiwa</b>	
<i>foot</i>	<b>siki</b>	
<i>sickness</i>	<b>hapdos</b>	
<i>wound</i>	habol	<b>hapdos/sakit</b>
<i>dream</i>	<b>inop</b>	samad
<i>ground</i>	<b>ingod</b>	
<i>cooked vegetable</i>	<b>solli</b>	
<i>bird</i>	<b>tamsi</b>	<b>solli/utan</b>
<i>cat</i>	<b>kuying</b>	
<i>rat</i>	<b>iraga</b>	
<i>forest</i>	<b>tahok</b>	<b>iraga/yatot</b>
<i>side</i>	<b>piliw</b>	
<i>town</i>	<b>bungto</b>	
<i>money</i>	sinte/ <b>kuarta</b>	<b>kuarta/tipoy</b> (inf.)
<i>language</i>	<b>surmaton</b>	<b>surmaton/paglata</b>
<i>believe</i>	<b>niwala</b>	tood
<i>borrow</i>	<b>hudam</b>	<b>hudam/huram</b>
<i>come (here)</i>	<b>kanhi</b>	
<i>go (there)</i>	<b>kadto/ka-on</b>	<b>kadto</b>
<i>say</i>	<b>bagaw</b>	<b>bagaw/lata</b>
<i>make fun of</i>	<b>karaw</b>	<b>karaw/suri</b>
<i>call</i>	<b>gahoy</b>	<b>gahoy/tawag</b>
<i>tell</i>	<b>sumat</b>	
<i>know</i>	<b>aram</b>	

<i>laugh</i>	<b>tinawa</b>
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Comparative Syntactic Features of the major Sorsoganon speech varieties and their Source Languages (see Appendix C for complete list)

A. Sorsogon, Central Masbateño and Hiligaynon

1. Nagtarawa sinda. (Sorsogon/Central Masbateño) – *They laughed.*  
Nag**kinadlaw** sila. (Hiligaynon)
2. Mag-ugob ka sin tubi. (Sorsogon) – *(You) Fetch water.*  
Mag-**alog** ka sin tubi. (Central Masbateño)  
Mags**ag-ob** ka **sang** tubig. (Hiligaynon)
3. Maniwangon si Pedro kay (pan-o) nagkasakit siya. (Sorsogon) – *Peter is very thin because he got sick.*  
**Maniwang** si Pedro kay (pan-o) nagkasakit siya. (Central Masbateño)  
**Kaniwang kay** Pedro kay nag**masakit** siya. (Hiligaynon)
4. Kay nano nag-iyak an batit? (Sorsogon) – *Why was the child crying?*  
Kay nano nag**tangis** an **bata**? (Central Masbateño)  
**Ngaman naghibi** ang bata? (Hiligaynon)
5. Pahurama man sana na lapis mo. (Sorsogon/Central Masbateño) – *Please lend me that pencil of yours.*  
Pahulam **sang** lapis mo **nga ina**. (Hiligaynon)
6. Sinabing dili mo ako pagti-awan! (Sorsogon) – *I said stop making fun of me!*  
Sinabi **na** dili mo ako pags**unlugon**! (Central Masbateño)  
**Hambal nga hindi** ako **paglahug-lahugi** (or pagti-aw-ti-awi)! (Hiligaynon)

B. Bacon and Standard Bikol

1. Mas halangkaw an **balay** ninda kaysa samuya. (Bacon) – *Their house is taller than ours.*

Mas halangkaw an **harong** ninda kaysa samuya. (Legazpi)

2. Nata nag**hibi** an aki? (Bacon) – *Why was the child crying?*

Nata nag-**ibi** an aki? (Legazpi)

3. Nagpasa-in an mga **kairiba** mo? (Bacon) – *Where did your companions go?*

Nagpasa-in an mga **kairibanan** mo? (Legazpi)

4. Da-i mo ipagtaram/ipag-osip maski **kaysay** na nasabat mo ako digdi. (Bacon) – *Do not tell anybody that you met me here.*

Da-i mo ipagtaram/ipag-osip maski **kiisay** na nasabat mo ako digdi. (Legazpi)

5. Sinabing/Tinaraman nang iyo! (same w/ Legazpi) – *Certainly yes! or I said yes!*

6. Alo diyan! (same w/ Legazpi) – *Keep quiet there!*

#### C. Ginubatnon and Waraynon

1. Mas higmaas an balay nira kaysa saamo. (Gubat) – *Their house is taller than ours.*

Mas **hataas** an balay nira kaysa sa **am**. (Waray)

2. May asawa an kamanghod mo na lalaki? (Gubat) – *Has your brother a wife/spouse?*

May asawa na an **im bugto** na lalaki? (Waray)

3. Diin ka nag-alog (sin) tubig? (Gubat) – *Where did you fetch water?*

Diin ka nag-alog **san** tubig? (Waray)

4. Ihatag mo ini na surat sa kamanghod mo na babayi. (Gubat) – *Give this letter to your elder sister.*

Ihatag mo ini **nga** surat sa **bugto** mo na babayi. (Waray)

5. Pumuyo ka duon! (Gubat) – *Keep quiet there!*

**Ayaw pagliya dithon!** (Waray)

6. Atog dire mo ako pagkarawan! (Gubat) – *I said stop making fun of me!*

**Insugad ko na ikaw na dire ako pagsuri-an!** (Waray)

In this section of the study, it is important to reiterate McFarland's observation in order to explain the language diversity in the Sorsogon province. That, in the Philippine languages and their subgroupings (dialects), communication is easier on the shores of easily navigated seas, through coastal plains, and along rivers than inland through hills and mountains (1980; 1994). All the speech communities in this study are accessible by sea or through rivers, except Barrio Lamboon which is landlocked and situated on the slopes of Mt. Bulusan. With this crucial geographic attribute, large scale migrations have taken place in the past, apparently from the areas where these diverse dialects have originated. As evidence of this, language boundaries composed of distinct speech varieties exist in Sorsogon. Moreover, these areas have maintained communication with the sources of their dialects (and population) thus preserving a high degree of similarity in their speech.

However, changes in the political and economic alignments of these communities have contributed to a change in their level of communication. For instance, the political and commercial relations between Sorsogon and Masbate have declined when the latter became an independent province in 1922 (Malanyaon 1991, pp. 345 & 366) and also as the importance of the Sorsogon Bay area as a major port gradually diminished. The latter condition has once brought migrant workers and transient traders to

Sorsogon from Central Bisayas, thus the significant influence of Central and even South (Cebuano) Bisayan languages as well as Bikol to its dialect (Lobel 2007). Yet, the entire province's sociopolitical identification actually deviates from its linguistic subgrouping; i.e., Sorsogon may be associated with the Bikol socioeconomic community, but most of its languages are still distinctly of the Central Bisayan subgroup (McFarland 1994).

Southern Sorsoganon is closely related to the speech of Northwestern Samar, especially Allen town – both areas speak *Waraynon* which originated from Samar and some parts of Leyte. However, what is interesting to note is that the dialect of the latter is actually an expansion of the former. Lobel (2007, p. 134) described this as the “back-migration” of this dialect; initially transferring from its source (Samar and Leyte) to another area (Southern Sorsogon) and then its return to its point of origin (Samar). Lobel furthermore supported this claim by tracing and analyzing the family relations of residents in both areas. He found out that many people from Northern Samar have relatives in Southern Sorsogon, but not vice versa; thus, the migration must be from the latter to the former, and so it was with the speech variety. In the same study, Lobel also classified Central Sorsoganon as a dialect of Masbateño since the latter is prevalent in a wide area while the former is only spoken in two municipalities in the province (p. 134).

## **Discussion**

Fromkin and Rodman (1993) have stated that dialectical diversity develops when people are separated from each other geographically and socially. The changes that occur in the spoken language in an area or group do not necessarily spread to another. Within a single group of speakers who are in regular contact with one another, the



changes are spread among the group and “relearned” by their children. Linguistic changes/ variations are not easily spread and dialectical differences are reinforced when some communication barriers separate groups of speakers. In the case of the Sorsoganon dialects, which are mostly different from one town to another, the proximity of the province to other provinces has made significant influence on the variations of these dialects.

McFarland (1980) describes how linguists classify all speech types either as languages or as parts of languages, and official languages as dialects. These divisions are based on the concept of ‘mutual intelligibility’, essentially as stated by Bloomfield (1926). Mutual intelligibility is the main criterion for determining whether or not a speech variety is a dialect or a language; the degree to which speakers of two different speech varieties understand each other. This concept can be summarized as follows:

- a. When speakers of two speech varieties can communicate easily and without noticing any differences between their respective speeches, they use speech varieties of the same dialect and same language.
- b. However, if the speakers can still communicate although with some degree of difficulty and with noticeable variations in each other’s speeches, they use discrete dialects which are parts of the same language.
- c. If the speakers of two speech varieties cannot communicate, they use different, unrelated languages.

The condition described in criterion (a) is not applicable between the dialects of the study, considering their lexical difference and its effect on sentence formation. Criterion (c) is an extreme case and also not possible, since there is some level of

interaction between the speakers of these dialects. Thus (b) closely describes the communicative situation between the inhabitants of these municipalities; understanding each other's speech is possible but limited by their linguistic diversity.

McFarland (1980) also explains and illustrates how languages change; from the set of speech habits or idiolects of individual speakers to a speech variety commonly shared by the inhabitants of a community. Linguistic innovation can also affect language change; particularly when a community previously connected to another fails to preserve their communication ties. Innovations are words that are unique to one language or group of languages and therefore not found in other related languages, or in the proto-language were they are derived from. When these verbal innovations were not exchanged and their speech varieties become more unrelated and different, this results in language divergence and communication disturbance between the speakers and their communities. However, the opposite is true in the major languages of the study: the speech varieties coexist and are widely used and innovations are regularly shared between them. There occur language mergers or convergence between these dialects because of the high level of communication between their proximate speech communities (Finegan 2008 & McFarland 1980). Thus, their speakers have some level of understanding of each other's dialects even though these are distinct from their own. And eventually, it is even possible that because of the high level of communication between these communities with initially diverse speeches will ultimately lead to the convergence of their dialects. The differences of each dialect – accumulated innovations – are shared to the other dialect/s, and with the passage of time the dialect

boundaries between these previously distinct speech communities may eventually disappear (McFarland 1980).

McFarland identifies three different situations to which the term 'dialect' could be applied. Firstly and the most common is the gradual variation of dialects used by communities in an extended area. Speech differences between neighboring communities may be too slight to be noticeable; but in those of the far communities on the opposite sides of the area, the differences would be apparent and significant. This is called a language or dialect continuum/area by Finegan (2008) and Fromkin and Rodman (1993). Secondly, the dialects and the groups speaking them were referred to as clearly mutually distinct; diversification between the speech varieties increases at a high rate when physical obstacles hinder communication between communities. Thirdly, the development of social dialects whose speakers are distinguished to a particular social class; they constitute a speech community whose speech is different from other social classes, even though all these classes occupy the same geographical area.

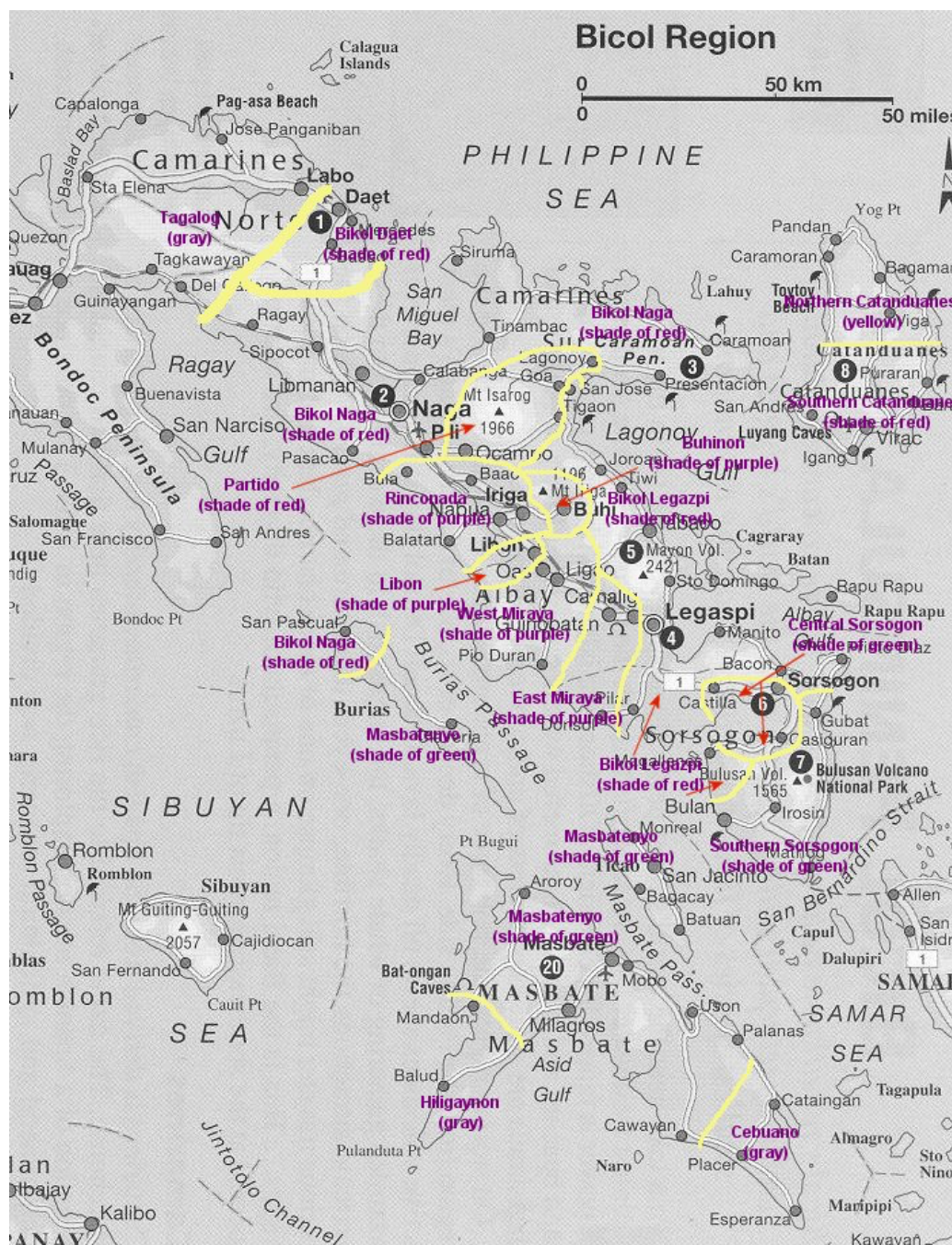
A special case of the second situation which is highly applicable to the speeches of this study is the presence of dialect boundaries. Here, the speech varieties in neighboring towns which have high level of communication are noticeably different. A possible cause of the existence of these boundaries is the movement and/or expansion of one or more communities towards another, bringing communities which are originally separated and having distinct speech varieties into close contact with one another. The small populations of Sorsogon, Gubat, and Bacon did not have frequent contact with each other many years ago and were influenced by different Filipino subcultures and foreign ones as well. Thus, they adopted different languages as they developed their

own communities independently of each other. In the course of time, these languages were also modified and variants result from their interactions with other speech communities; the Casiguran dialect was an illustration of this. The “languages of Sorsogon” bore similarities with their origins yet they also contained considerable variations. And as the inhabitants increased and the barriers formerly hindering them were overcome, different people and their respective speeches came into contact. However, even with familiarity and understanding they still retained and preserved the languages that mark them as different from each other.

Lobel (2007) emphasized the linguistic diversity of the Bikol region in his article *The Language of Sorsogon and the Bikol Region*; not only did its inhabitants speak variations of the Bicol language, but also five genetically Bisayan languages which resulted from the influence of Ilongo and Cebuano. An isogloss map of Sorsogon delineated the linguistic boundaries of the diverse speech varieties of the province. An isogloss is the boundary separating one regional (in this study, municipal) dialect or dialectal characteristic from another. Four Sorsoganon dialects are identified, including the municipalities where they are spoken: Northern Sorsoganon which is similar to Bicol-Legaspi, and prevalent in Pilar, Castilla, Bacon, Prieto Diaz, and Magallanes; Central Sorsoganon, influenced by Masbateño, used in Sorsogon town, Juban, and partially in Casiguran, which also uses Standard Bikol; Southern Sorsoganon, the most widespread of the dialects and related to Waraynon, spoken in Gubat, Barcelona, Bulusan, Santa Magdalena, Irosin, Matnog and Bulan; and the Donsolanon *Miraya*, which is clearly related to the dialects of Southwestern Albay, namely Guinobatan, Camalig, Daraga and Jovellar. This article gave the present study its *raison d’etre*, with

the diversity of the Bicol languages – and that of Sorsoganon dialects as well – serving as the background of the comparison of the lexical and syntactic variations of the dialects of the three sample municipalities of the province. It also provided concrete proof that within a province in Bicol, between its towns, there are indeed differences of the languages used. The dialects of Bacon, Sorsogon, and Gubat were respectively representatives of Northern, Central, and Southern Sorsoganon, which were described in Lobel's article, as well as that of Casiguran.

Lobel and Tria (2000) identified four language areas in Bikol, the region being among with the highest linguistic diversity in the Philippines. These areas were indicated in a map of the entire region (Figure 8), where the Bikol languages, their dialects, and sub-dialects were identified and delineated. The first language group – North Coastal Standard – is related to this study since Northern Sorsoganon, spoken in Bacon, is a variation of one of its sub-dialects, Eastern Standard. Central and Southern Sorsoganon, on the other hand, are classified as dialects of *Bisacol* - the blending of Bisayan and Bikol languages – and which includes the speech of both Sorsogon town and Gubat. Lobel also stated that of the 12 dialects in Bikol, only three have written forms which are available publicly as signs, notices, government and church newsletters. These are Central Standard Bikol which includes Bacon, and the *Bisacol* dialects Southern Sorsoganon, and Masbateño. It must be noted that some Standard Bikol words are combined with these written local dialects.



(<http://members.aol.com/linggwistik/private/bicoldialectmap.jpg>)

Figure 8 Bicol Region Language Map based on Lobel (2000)

## Conclusion

At present, the speech varieties of Sorsogon, Gubat, Bacon and even those of Casiguran, Donsol and Barrio Lamboon in Irosin can no longer be considered as

entirely distinct languages because there is sufficient relevance and similarities between their lexical, morphological, and syntactic features that will make them related, even distantly. They are mutually intelligible, but with varying difficulties or “disturbances (Blomfield 1926, cited in McFarland 1980)” to the interlocutors using them. This is the language development achieved from the years of coexistence and unlimited interaction between these different speech communities.

However, the term ‘dialect’ is more appropriate to label each of them; not of a nonexistent Sorsoganon “language” but of the various speeches they are originally derived from. Thus, it will be more accurate to say that *Bacongnon* and that of Barrio Lamboon are dialects of Standard Bikol from Naga and Legaspi, *Donsolanon* of Albay Bikol or *Miraya*, *Sorsoganon* of Central Masbateño and Hiligaynon, and *Gubatnon* of Waraynon. However, the Casiguran linguistic phenomenon is unique, a case of linguistic compromise with its surrounding speech communities.

The speech community of Barrio Lamboon of Irosin is a dialect extension of Northern Sorsoganon spoken in Bacon and tracing its origin to Albay Bikol. On the other hand, the speech of Casiguran is obviously a combination of the lexical features of Northern and Central Sorsoganon, as well as some words borrowed from its Southern *Waraynon* neighbors. In general, these speech varieties as applied to the province can be better known as the “languages of Sorsogon”, reinforcing how Lobel (2007) referred to them in his article.

The researcher hopes that this study will primarily serve as a guide to linguists and language students who wish to make a more in-depth research on the lexical, morphological and syntactical variations of the three major dialects investigated. It will

reinforce with concrete and specific evidence the studies conducted by Lobel (2007) and Datar (2007) regarding the dialects spoken in the whole province since their studies focus on common dialects in general areas (encompassing several towns in the province and even extending to other Bicol languages and dialects). As for this study, it cites the dialect variations in three neighboring municipalities in the province as well as the three distinct cases of minor speech communities. It provides documentation to the words of the contemporary vocabularies of each dialect as well as a record of the common sentence structures formed using these words and used in ordinary conversations.

The focus of Lobel's and Mintz's published works was more on Bikol-Naga (Standard Bikol) than on the minor speech varieties of the region, including the *Sorsoganon* languages. One of the purposes of this study was to pave the way for a more directed description of the vocabulary and expressions of Sorsogon that would supplement and even enhance their efforts.



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## Appendix A

### I. Comparative Vocabulary of the major Sorsoganon and the Donsolanon speech varieties

Table 1  
Noun Variations

<b>Donsol</b>	<b>Bacon</b>	<b>Sorsogon</b>	<b>Gubat</b>
kaiba ( <i>companion</i> )	kaibahan	kaupod	
agom ( <i>spouse</i> )	<b>agom</b>	asawa	
tugang ( <i>sibling</i> )	<b>tugang</b>	manghod	kamanghod
akos ( <i>child</i> )	aki	batit	bata
kaway/kaiwal ( <i>enemy</i> )	<b>kaiwal</b>	kaaway	kahiran/kahangit
awung ( <i>face</i> )	pandok	bayhon	pandok
payo ( <i>head</i> )	<b>payo</b>	ulo	
urong ( <i>nose</i> )	dungo	ilong	irong
ngimot/kimot ( <i>mouth</i> )	<b>ngimot</b>	baba	hiwa
tiil/bitis ( <i>foot</i> )	<b>bitis</b>	<b>ti-il</b>	siki
supog ( <i>shame</i> )	<b>supog</b>	alo	raw-ay
(h)ilang/kamati-an ( <i>sickness</i> )	helang	sakit	hapdos
lugad ( <i>wound</i> )	<b>lugad</b>	pilas	habol
aga ( <i>day</i> )	aldaw	adlaw	
ga-bi ( <i>night</i> )	banggi	<b>gab-i</b>	
pangaturugan ( <i>dream</i> )	pangatorogan	damgo	inop
daga ( <i>ground</i> )	<b>daga</b>	duta	ingod
parayan/tarukan ( <i>ricefield</i> )	kabas-an		pasakay
paray ( <i>unhusked rice</i> )	paruy	humay	<b>paray</b>
maluto ( <i>boiled rice</i> )	<b>maluto</b>	kan-on	luto
panuma/panira ( <i>viand</i> )	<b>panira</b>	isirira	isuruda/suda
batag ( <i>banana</i> )	<b>batag</b>	saging	
apay ( <i>taro plant</i> )	tangoy	gabi	gaway
bayong ( <i>bird</i> )	<b>bayong</b>		tamsi
ikos ( <i>cat</i> )	<b>ikos</b>	kuting	kuying
kino ( <i>rat</i> )	<b>kino</b>	iraga	
awot ( <i>grass/bush</i> )	<b>awot</b>	du-ot	gabon/ging-ot
harong/balay ( <i>house</i> )	<b>balay</b>		
bulod ( <i>forest</i> )	kadlagan		tahok
tampi/gilid ( <i>side</i> )	<b>gilid</b>		piliw
banwa ( <i>town</i> )	<b>banwa</b> /centro		bungto
kuarta ( <i>money</i> )	<b>kuarta</b>		sinte/ <b>kuarta</b>
sasabyun ( <i>language</i> )	taramon	surmaton	

Table 2  
Verb Variations

Donsol	Bacon	Sorsogon	Gubat
na(h)iling/pitong ( <i>see</i> )	hiling	kita	imod
si-rip/su-dip ( <i>peek</i> )	sid-ip	sud-ip/sid-ip	sikop
nasabat ( <i>meet</i> )	sabat	sugat	bagat/tapo
agi ( <i>walk/wander</i> )	lakaw	lakat	lakaw
namati ( <i>hear</i> )	mati	bati	
kaon ( <i>eat</i> )	kaon		
moot ( <i>love</i> )	padaba		padaba/palanyag
tabang ( <i>help</i> )	tabang	bulig	danon
taw ( <i>give</i> )	ta-o	hatag	
uram ( <i>borrow</i> )	subli/haram	haram	hudam
(h)alin ( <i>go there</i> )	duman	kadto	kadto/ka-on
adun didi/didi ka ( <i>come here</i> )	digdi	kadi	kanhi
sumbong/sabyun ( <i>tell</i> )	osip	sumat	
sabi ( <i>say</i> )	sabi		bagaw
aram ( <i>know</i> )	aram/tata-o	aram	
angal ( <i>call</i> )	apod	tawag	gahoy
istorya/sabi ( <i>talk</i> )	taram	surmaton/istorya	
tud ( <i>believe</i> )	tubod	tuod	niwala
ngarakngak/ngisi ( <i>laugh</i> )	olok	tawa	tinawa
(h)ibi ( <i>cry</i> )	hibi	iyak	hibi
ingkod/tukaw ( <i>sit</i> )	tukaw	ingkod	
lising ( <i>make fun of</i> )	karaw	ti-aw	karaw
kawat ( <i>play</i> )	kawat	kanam	uyag
(h)agad ( <i>ask for</i> )	hagad		ayo
guran ( <i>die</i> )	gadan	matay	
hingalo/paingalo ( <i>rest</i> )	pahingalo	pahuway	pamunay
alo ( <i>keep quiet/silent</i> )	alo	humilom	pumuyo
sarok ( <i>fetch water</i> )	harok	ugob/tabog	alog
tulak ( <i>push</i> )	tulak/tuklang		usong
kabig/guyod ( <i>pull</i> )	botong/guyod	guyod	sa-og
ba-yan ( <i>leave behind</i> )	walat	bilin	
taban ( <i>steal</i> )	hab-as	kawat	
unga ( <i>ask a question</i> )	hapot		
ambog ( <i>show off</i> )	padayaw		patala

Table 3  
Pronoun Variations

<b>Donsol</b>	<b>Bacon</b>	<b>Sorsogon</b>	<b>Gubat</b>
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ako ( <i>I/me</i> )	ako		
sa-kun ( <i>my/mine</i> )	ko/sakuya	ko/saakon	ko/saako
na-mun ( <i>our</i> )	mi	mi/namon/naton	namo/nato
sa-mun/sa-tun ( <i>ours</i> )	samuya/satuya	saamon/saaton	saamo/saato
ika/kita ( <i>you – singular &amp; plural</i> )	ika/kita	ikaw/kita	
siya ( <i>he/she</i> )	siya		
sinda ( <i>they</i> )	sinda		sira
sa inda ( <i>theirs</i> )	sa inda		sa kanira/kaninda
wara ( <i>none</i> )	da-i/wara	wara	
ini ( <i>this</i> )	ini		
iyang/yan ( <i>that</i> )	iyang/an	ina	yuon
didto ( <i>there – distant</i> )	duman	didto	
diyan ( <i>there – near</i> )	diyan	dida	duon
ya-di ( <i>here – presence</i> )	digdi	yadi	ya-a
digdi/didi ( <i>here – location</i> )	digdi	didi	dini
sisay ( <i>who</i> )	sisay	sin-o	
kisay ( <i>whose</i> )	kay sisay	kanin-o	kan kunay
kina-no ( <i>when</i> )	nu-arin	san-o	su-arin
uno ( <i>what</i> )	ano	nano	
diin ( <i>where</i> )	sa-in	diin	
yanga/nyanga ( <i>why</i> )	nata	kay nano	nakay

Table 4  
Adjectival Variations

<b>Donsol</b>	<b>Bacon</b>	<b>Sorsogon</b>	<b>Gubat</b>
dakula/sarig ( <i>big</i> )	<b>dakula</b>	dako	
saday/sadayut ( <i>small</i> )	sadit/ <b>saday</b>	<b>saday</b>	
maniwang/manipis ( <i>thin</i> )	<b>manipis/maniwang</b>		mahugos
ma(h)ibog ( <i>thick</i> )	mahib-og		madamo
budos ( <i>pregnant</i> )	bados		burod
subang/pinakagurang ( <i>oldest/eldest</i> )	matu-a	<b>magurang</b>	<b>tiggurangi</b>
gabos/intiro ( <i>all</i> )	<b>gabos</b>	<b>intiro</b>	
dakul ( <i>many</i> )	<b>dakul</b>	damo	daghan
itu ( <i>few</i> )	diit	diyut	diyu
maboot/maray ( <i>good/well</i> )	marhay	mayad	dianis
maraut ( <i>bad</i> )	maraot		mala-in
dagit ( <i>angry</i> )	ngisog	orit	hangit
takut ( <i>afraid</i> )	takot	hadlok	hadok
maliwanag ( <i>lighted</i> )	<b>maliwanag</b>		masuna
makintab ( <i>shining/shiny</i> )	<b>makintab/masin-ag</b>		magilang

madulum ( <i>dark</i> )	madiklom/madulom	madulom	
dumug ( <i>wet</i> )	dumog	basa	
maliput/matakug ( <i>cold</i> )	malipot	mahagkot	mapinit
maynit ( <i>hot</i> )	mainit		mapaso

Table 5  
Adverbial Variations

Donsol	Bacon	Sorsogon	Gubat
ngana ( <i>now</i> )	ngunyan	niyan	
dyan-dyan/taud-taud ( <i>later</i> )	diyan	dida	du-on
sadto ( <i>a long while/time</i> )	haloy/awat	awat	
ngu-na/nga-nay ( <i>awhile/first</i> )	<b>ngun-a</b>	<b>anay</b>	mun-a
tibad/baga ( <i>like – comparison</i> )	arog	irog/bagan	sugad/malin
ini/sadi ( <i>like</i> ) + <i>this</i>	kaini	<b>sadi</b>	sine
yadto ( <i>like</i> ) + <i>that</i>	kaan	sana	su-on
tibad/badkin ( <i>maybe</i> )	ba-ad	basi	badi
amo ( <i>yes</i> )	iyo	<b>amo</b>	ma-o
indi ( <i>no/not</i> )	bako	lain/dili	dire
pawnu ( <i>because</i> )	pan-o		
kidamlag ( <i>tomorrow</i> )	saaga		

II. Comparative Sentences of the major Sorsoganon and the Donsolanon speech varieties

1. Declarative

a. Malipot/matakug kun ga-bi. (Donsol) – *It's cold at night.*

Bacon: Malipot kun banggi.

Sorsogon: Mahagkot kun gab-i.

Gubat: Mapinit kun gab-i.

b. Mas hataas an balay ninda kaysa sa-mun. (Donsol) – *Their house is taller than ours.*

Bacon: Mas halangkaw an balay ninda kaysa samuya.

Sorsogon: Mas hataas an balay ninda kaysa saamon.

Gubat: Mas higmaas an balay nira kaysa saamo.

- c. May mga akus na nagkakawat ning football sa gilid ning bulod. (Donsol) – *There are kids playing football at the side of the field.*

Bacon: May mga aki na nagkakawat (ki) football sa gilid kan kabas-an.

Sorsogon: May mga batit na nagkakanam (sin) football sa gilid san kabas-an.

Gubat: May mga bata na nag-uuyag (sin) football sa piliw san pasakay.

- d. Maniwangon si Pedro pawnu nag-ilang siya. (Donsol) – *Peter is very thin because he got sick.*

Bacon: Maniwangon si Pedro ta nagkahelang siya.

Sorsogon: Maniwangon si Pedro kay pan-o nagkasakit siya.

Gubat: Mahuguson si Pedro kay pan-o nagkahapdos siya.

## 2. Interrogative

- a. Diin nag-adun an mga kaiba mo? (Donsol) – *Where did your companions go?*

Bacon: Nagpasa-in an mga kairiba mo?

Sorsogon: Nagpakain an mga kaurupod mo?

Gubat: Punakarhin an mga kaurupod mo?

- b. Nyanga nag-ibi an akus? (Donsol) – *Why was the child crying?*

Bacon: Nata naghibi an aki?

Sorsogon: Kay nano nag-iyak an batit?

Gubat: Nakay naghibi an bata?



- c. May agum na an tugang mong lalaki? (Donsol) – *Has your brother a wife/spouse?*

Bacon: May agom an tugang mo na lalaki?

Sorsogon: May asawa an manghod mo na lalaki?

Gubat: May asawa an kamanghod mo na lalaki?

- d. Din ka nagsaruk tubig? (Donsol) – *Where did you fetch water?*

Bacon: Sain ka nagharok (ki) tubig?

Sorsogon: Diin ka nag-ugob (sin) tubig?

Gubat: Diin ka nag-alog (sin) tubig?

- e. Puede mag-unga si-mo? (Donsol) – *May I ask a question (from you)?*

Bacon, Sorsogon, Gubat: Puede maghapot saimo?

### 3. Imperative

- a. Pahuram ning/sang lapis mo. (Donsol) – *Please lend me that pencil of yours.*

Bacon: Pasubli-a/paharama man kaan na lapis mo.

Sorsogon: Pahurama man sana na lapis mo.

Gubat: Pahudama man suon na lapis mo.

- b. Itaw mo uning surat sa tugang mong babay. (Donsol) – *Give this letter to your elder sister.*

Bacon: Ita-o mo ining surat sa matu-a mong babayi.

Sorsogon: Ihatag mo ini na surat sa magurang mo na babayi.

Gubat: Ihatag mo ini na surat sa kamanghod mo na babayi.

- c. Indi mo pagsabi maski kisay na nag-ilingan kita didi. (Donsol) – *Do not tell anybody that you met me here.*

Bacon: Da-i mo ipagtaram/ipag-osip maski kiisay na nasabat mo ako digdi.

Sorsogon: Lain mo ipagsumat maski kanin-o na nasugat mo ako didi.

Gubat: Diri mo ipagsumat maski kanin-o na nabagat/natapo mo ako dini.

d. Pumundo ka/tumunong ka dyan! (Donsol) – *Keep quiet there!*

Bacon: Alo diyan!

Sorsogon: Humilom ka dida!

Gubat: Pumuyo ka duon!

4. Exclamatory

a. Sinabi nang amo! (Donsol) – *Certainly yes! or I said yes!*

Bacon: Sinabing/Tinaraman nang iyo!

Sorsogon: Sinabing amo!

Gubat: Atog ma-o!

b. Makasusupog ka! (Bacon/Donsol) – *Shame on you!*

Sorsogon: Makaaaalo ka!

Gubat: Makararaw-ay ka!

c. Uyadto na su jeep! (Donsol) – *There goes the jeepney!*

Bacon: Ituon na su jeep!

Sorsogon/Gubat: Yadto na an jeep!

d. Sinabyan nang di ako paglisingan! (Donsol) – *I said stop making fun of me!*

Bacon: Tinaraman nang da-i mo ako pagkarawan!

Sorsogon: Sinabing dili mo ako pagti-awan!

Gubat: Atog dire mo ako pagkarawan!

III. Comparative Lexical Features of the Donsolanon Speech Variety and its Source Language

Table 1  
Nouns

	<b>Donsol</b>	<b>Miraya (Albay)</b>
<i>companion</i>	kaiba	kayriba
<i>spouse</i>	<b>agom</b>	
<i>sibling</i>	<b>tugang</b>	<b>tugang</b> (ipangod/subang)
<i>child</i>	<b>akus</b>	
<i>enemy</i>	<b>kaway/kaiwal</b>	<b>kaway</b>
<i>face</i>	<b>awung</b>	
<i>head</i>	<b>payo</b>	
<i>nose</i>	<b>urong</b>	
<i>mouth</i>	ngimot/kimot	<b>kimot</b>
<i>foot</i>	<b>bitis/til</b>	
<i>shame</i>	<b>supog</b>	
<i>sickness</i>	(h)ilang/kamati-an	<b>ilang</b>
<i>wound</i>	<b>lugad</b>	
<i>day</i>	aga	aldaw
<i>night</i>	<b>ga-bi</b>	
<i>dream</i>	<b>pangatarugan</b>	
<i>ground</i>	<b>daga</b>	
<i>boiled rice</i>	maluto	umay
<i>viand</i>	panuma/panira	<b>panira/itutuma</b>
<i>cooked vegetable</i>	<b>gulay</b>	
<i>banana</i>	<b>batag</b>	
<i>taro plant</i>	<b>apay</b>	
<i>coconut (young)</i>	lumbod	mangod
<i>meat (lean)</i>	<b>laman</b>	
<i>bird</i>	<b>bayong</b>	
<i>cat</i>	<b>ikos</b>	
<i>rat</i>	<b>kino</b>	
<i>grass/bush</i>	<b>awot</b>	
<i>house</i>	<b>(h)arong/balay</b>	
<i>forest</i>	<b>bulod</b>	
<i>side</i>	tampi/gilid	<b>gilid</b>
<i>town</i>	<b>banwa</b>	
<i>money</i>	<b>kuarta</b>	
<i>language</i>	<b>sasabyun</b>	

<i>ricefield</i>	parayan/tarukan	tarukan
<i>unhusked rice</i>	paray	

Table 2  
Verbs

	<b>Donsol</b>	<b>Miraya</b>
<i>see</i>	na(h)iling/pitong	pitung/nakita
<i>peek</i>	si-rip/su-dip	si-rip
<i>meet</i>	nasabat	
<i>walk/wander</i>	nag-agi	
<i>hear</i>	namati	
<i>eat</i>	kaon	
<i>love</i>	moot	
<i>help</i>	tabang	
<i>give</i>	taw	
<i>borrow</i>	uram	
<i>go</i>	(h)alin	
<i>come (here)</i>	adun didi/didi ka	adun didi
<i>tell</i>	sumbong/sabyun	sabyun
<i>know</i>	aram	aram/tataw
<i>call</i>	angal	
<i>talk</i>	istorya/sabi	sabi
<i>believe</i>	tud	
<i>laugh</i>	ngarakngak/ngisi	ngisi
<i>cry</i>	(h)ibi	
<i>sit</i>	ingkod/tukaw	tukaw/sala
<i>make fun of</i>	lising	intrimis (Sp.)
<i>play</i>	kawat	amon
<i>ask (for)</i>	(h)agad	
<i>ask a question</i>	unga	
<i>die</i>	guran	
<i>rest</i>	hingalo/paingalo	paingalo
<i>keep quiet/silent</i>	alo	
<i>fetch (water)</i>	sarok	
<i>push</i>	tulak	tuklang
<i>pull</i>	kabig/guyod	guyod
<i>leave behind</i>	ba-yan	
<i>steal</i>	taban	
<i>show off</i>	ambog	

Table 3  
Pronouns

	<b>Donsol</b>	<b>Miraya</b>
<i>none</i>	<b>wara</b>	
<i>that</i>	<b>iyanyan</b>	<b>yan</b>
<i>there (distant)</i>	<b>didto</b>	
<i>there (near)</i>	<b>diyan</b>	
<i>here (presence)</i>	<b>ya-di</b>	
<i>here (location)</i>	<b>digdi/didi</b>	
<i>who</i>	<b>sisay</b>	
<i>whose</i>	<b>kisay</b>	
<i>when</i>	<b>kina-no</b>	
<i>what</i>	<b>uno</b>	
<i>where</i>	<b>diin</b>	<b>din/sadin</b>
<i>why</i>	<b>yanganyanga</b>	<b>nyanga</b>

Table 4  
Adjectives

	<b>Donsol</b>	<b>Miraya</b>
<i>big</i>	<b>dakulo/sarig</b>	
<i>small</i>	<b>saday/sadayut</b>	<b>sadayut</b>
<i>thin</i>	<b>maniwang/manipis</b>	
<i>thick</i>	<b>ma(h)ibog</b>	<b>mahi-bog</b>
<i>oldest/eldest</i>	<b>subang/pinakagurang</b>	<b>subang</b>
<i>pregnant</i>	<b>budos</b>	
<i>all</i>	<b>gabos/intiro</b>	<b>intiro</b>
<i>many</i>	<b>dakul</b>	
<i>few</i>	<b>itu</b>	
<i>good/well</i>	<b>maboot/maray</b>	<b>maray</b>
<i>bad</i>	<b>maraut</b>	
<i>angry</i>	<b>dagit</b>	<b>naingut</b>
<i>afraid</i>	<b>takut</b>	
<i>lighted</i>	<b>maliwanag</b>	
<i>shining/shiny</i>	<b>makintab</b>	
<i>dark</i>	<b>madulum</b>	
<i>wet</i>	<b>dumug</b>	
<i>cold</i>	<b>maliput/matakug (Oas)</b>	<b>maliput</b>
<i>hot</i>	<b>maynit</b>	

Table 5  
Adverbs

	<b>Donsol</b>	<b>Miraya</b>
<i>now</i>	<b>ngana</b>	

<i>later</i>	<b>dyan-dyan/taud- taud</b>	<b>dyan-dyan</b>
<i>a long while/time</i>	<b>sadto</b>	
<i>awhile/first</i>	<b>ngu-na/nga-nay</b>	<b>nga-nay</b>
<i>(and) then</i>	<b>kina</b>	
<i>because</i>	<b>pawnu</b>	
<i>like (comparison)</i>	<b>tibad/baga</b>	<b>tibad</b>
<i>(like) + this</i>	<b>ini/sadi</b>	<b>ya-di</b>
<i>(like) + that</i>	<b>yadto</b>	
<i>maybe</i>	<b>tibad/badkin</b>	
<i>tomorrow</i>	<b>kidamlag</b>	
<i>yes</i>	<b>amo</b>	
<i>no/not</i>	<b>indi</b>	

### Appendix B

Comparative Lexical Features of the major Sorsoganon speech varieties and their Source Languages

Table 1  
Nouns

	Sorsogon	Central Masbate	Hiligaynon
companion	kaupod		
spouse	asawa		
sibling	manghod		
child	batit	bata	
enemy	kaaway		
face	bayhon	pamayhon	itsura/tsura/pagawi/gawi
head	ulo		
nose	ilong	irong	ilong
mouth	baba		
foot	ti-il		
shame	alo		huya
sickness	sakit		
wound	pilas	samad	pilas
day	adlaw		
night	gab-i		
dream	damgo		
ground	duta/lupa		
boiled rice	kan-on	luto	kan-on
viand	isirira	isurura	sud-an
cooked vegetable	gulay	utan	gulay
banana	saging		
taro plant	gabi		abalong

<i>coconut (young)</i>	<b>lumbod/buko</b>	<b>buko</b>
<i>meat (lean)</i>	<b>unod/laman</b>	
<i>bird</i>	<b>bayong</b>	<b>pispi</b>
<i>cat</i>	<b>kuting</b>	<b>iding</b>
<i>rat</i>	<b>iraga</b>	<b>langgam</b>
<i>grass/bush</i>	<b>du-ot</b>	<b>gamhon</b>
<i>house</i>	<b>balay</b>	
<i>forest</i>	<b>kadlagan</b>	<b>kagubatan</b>
<i>side</i>	<b>gilid</b>	<b>kilid</b>
<i>town</i>	<b>centro/banwa/poblacion</b>	
<i>money</i>	<b>kuarta</b>	
<i>language</i>	<b>surmaton</b>	<b>hambal</b>
<i>ricefield</i>	<b>kabas-an</b>	<b>palayan/bukid</b>

	<b>Gubat</b>	<b>Waray (N. Samar)</b>
<i>companion</i>	<b>kaupod</b>	<b>kaupod/upod</b>
<i>spouse</i>	<b>asawa</b>	
<i>sibling</i>	<b>kamanghod</b>	<b>kamanghod/bugto</b>
<i>child</i>	<b>bata</b>	
<i>enemy</i>	<b>kahiran/kahangit</b>	<b>kahiran/kangudyot</b>
<i>face</i>	<b>pandok</b>	<b>pandok/kahimo</b>
<i>head</i>	<b>ulo</b>	
<i>nose</i>	<b>irong</b>	
<i>mouth</i>	<b>hiwa</b>	
<i>foot</i>	<b>siki</b>	
<i>shame</i>	<b>raw-ay</b>	<b>raw-ay/alo</b>
<i>sickness</i>	<b>hapdos</b>	<b>hapdos/sakit</b>
<i>wound</i>	<b>habol</b>	<b>samad</b>
<i>day</i>	<b>adlaw</b>	
<i>night</i>	<b>gab-i</b>	
<i>dream</i>	<b>inop</b>	
<i>ground</i>	<b>ingod</b>	
<i>boiled rice</i>	<b>luto</b>	
<i>viand</i>	<b>isuruda/suda</b>	<b>isuruda/suda/igsura</b>
<i>cooked vegetable</i>	<b>solli</b>	<b>solli/utan</b>
<i>banana</i>	<b>saging</b>	
<i>taro plant</i>	<b>gaway</b>	
<i>young coconut</i>	<b>silot</b>	
<i>lean meat</i>	<b>tayod</b>	
<i>bird</i>	<b>tamsi</b>	
<i>cat</i>	<b>kuying</b>	
<i>rat</i>	<b>iraga</b>	<b>iraga/yatot (inf.)</b>
<i>grass/bush</i>	<b>gabon/ging-ot</b>	
<i>house</i>	<b>balay</b>	
<i>forest</i>	<b>tahok</b>	

<i>side</i>	<b>piliw</b>	
<i>town</i>	<b>bungto</b>	
<i>money</i>	<b>sinte/kuarta</b>	<b>kuarta/tipoy(inf.)</b>
<i>language</i>	<b>surmaton</b>	<b>surmaton/paglata</b>
<i>ricefield</i>	<b>pasakay</b>	
<i>unhusked rice</i>	<b>paray</b>	

	Bacon	Albay (Legazpi)	Naga
companion	kaibahan	kaibanan	
spouse	agom		
sibling	tugang		
child	aki		
enemy	kaiwal		
face	pandok		lalaogon
head	payo		
nose	dungo		
mouth	ngimot		nguso
foot	bitis		
shame	supog		
sickness	helang		
wound	lugad		
day	aldaw		
night	banggi		
dream	pangatorogan		pangiturogan
ground	daga		
boiled rice	maluto		
viand	panira	isirira/isira	panira
cooked vegetable	gulay		
banana	batag		
taro plant	tangoy	tangoy/natong	natong
bird	bayong		gamgam
dog	ayam		ido
cat	ikos		
rat	kino		
grass/bush	awot		doot
house	balay	(h)arong	harong
forest	kadlagan		bukid
side	gilid		
town	banwa		banwaan
money	kuarta		
language	taramon		tataramon
ricefield	kabas-an		umahan

Table 2  
Verbs



	Sorsogon	Central Masbate	Hiligaynon
<i>see</i>	kita		
<i>meet</i>	sugat		kita
<i>walk/wander</i>	lakat		
<i>hear</i>	bati		bati-an
<i>eat</i>	kaon		
<i>love</i>	padaba	palangga	
<i>help</i>	bulig		
<i>give</i>	hatag		
<i>borrow</i>	hulam		hulam
<i>go</i>	kadto		
<i>come (here)</i>	kadi		kadto dire
<i>tell</i>	sumat		ihambal
<i>know</i>	aram		bal-an
<i>call</i>	tawag		
<i>talk</i>	surmaton/istorya	surmaton	istorya
<i>believe</i>	tuod		pati
<i>laugh</i>	tawa		kadlaw
<i>cry</i>	iyak	tangis	hibi
<i>sit</i>	ingkod		pungko
<i>make fun of</i>	ti-aw	sunlog	ti-aw
<i>play</i>	kanam		hampang
<i>ask (for)</i>	hagad	pangaro	pangayo
<i>die</i>	matay	patay	matay
<i>rest</i>	pahuway	diskanso	pahuway
<i>keep quiet/silent</i>	humilom	puyo	mahipos
<i>fetch (water)</i>	ugob/tabob	sarok	tabo/sag-ob
<i>push</i>	tulak	turak	tulak
<i>pull</i>	guyod		
<i>leave behind</i>	bilin		
<i>steal</i>	kawat		takaw

	<b>Gubat</b>	<b>Waray (N. Samar)</b>
<i>see</i>	<b>imod</b>	<b>imod/kita</b>
<i>peek</i>	<b>sikop</b>	
<i>meet</i>	<b>bagat/tapo</b>	
<i>walk/wander</i>	<b>lakaw</b>	lakat/ <b>lakaw</b>
<i>hear</i>	<b>bati</b>	<b>mati</b>
<i>eat</i>	<b>kaon</b>	
<i>love</i>	padaba/palanyag	palangga/paura/ hinigugma
<i>help</i>	<b>danon</b>	<b>danon/bulig</b>
<i>give</i>	<b>hatag</b>	
<i>borrow</i>	<b>hudam</b>	<b>hudam/hulam</b>

<i>go (there)</i>	<b>kadto/ka-on</b>	<b>kadto</b>
<i>come (here)</i>	<b>kanhi</b>	
<i>tell</i>	<b>sumat</b>	
<i>say</i>	<b>bagaw</b>	<b>bagaw/lata</b>
<i>know</i>	<b>aram</b>	
<i>call</i>	<b>gahoy</b>	<b>gahoy/tawag</b>
<i>talk</i>	<b>surmaton/istorya</b>	<b>surmaton/istorya/lata</b>
<i>believe</i>	niwala	tood
<i>laugh</i>	<b>tinawa</b>	
<i>cry</i>	<b>hibi</b>	<b>hibi/tangis</b>
<i>sit</i>	<b>ingkod</b>	<b>ingkod/lingkod</b>
<i>make fun of</i>	<b>karaw</b>	<b>karaw/suri</b>
<i>play</i>	<b>uyag</b>	
<i>ask (for)</i>	<b>ayo</b>	<b>ayo/aro</b>
<i>ask a question</i>	<b>hapot</b>	<b>hapot/pangutana</b>
<i>die</i>	<b>matay/minatay</b>	
<i>rest</i>	<b>pamunay</b>	<b>pamunay/pahuway</b>
<i>keep quiet/silent</i>	<b>pumuyo</b>	<b>pumuyo/ay pagliya</b>
<i>fetch (water)</i>	<b>alog</b>	
<i>push</i>	<b>usong</b>	
<i>pull</i>	<b>sa-og</b>	
<i>leave behind</i>	<b>bilin</b>	
<i>steal</i>	<b>kawat</b>	
<i>hair cut</i>	<b>paburog</b>	
<i>show off</i>	<b>patala</b>	<b>patala/padayaw</b>

	Bacon	Albay (Legazpi)	Naga
<i>see</i>	<b>hiling</b>	iling	<b>hiling</b>
<i>meet</i>	<b>sabat</b>		
<i>walk/wander</i>	<b>lakaw</b>		
<i>hear</i>	<b>mati</b>		dangog
<i>eat</i>	kaon	<b>kakan</b>	
<i>help</i>	<b>tabang</b>		
<i>give</i>	<b>ta-o</b>		
<i>borrow</i>	<b>subli/haram</b>	<b>subli/aram</b>	<b>subli</b>
<i>go (there)</i>	<b>duman</b>		
<i>come (here)</i>	<b>digdi</b>	igdi	<b>digdi/madya</b>
<i>tell</i>	<b>osip</b>		sumbong
<i>know</i>	<b>tata-o/aram</b>		
<i>call</i>	<b>apod</b>		
<i>talk</i>	<b>taram</b>		sabi
<i>believe</i>	<b>tubod</b>		
<i>laugh</i>	<b>olok</b>		ngirit
<i>cry</i>	<b>hibi</b>	ibi	<b>hibi</b>
<i>sit</i>	<b>tukaw</b>		

<i>make fun of</i>	<b>karaw</b>	<b>karaw/subi</b>	suba
<i>play</i>	<b>kawat</b>		
<i>ask (for)</i>	<b>hagad</b>	agad	<b>hagad</b>
<i>die</i>	<b>gadan</b>		
<i>rest</i>	<b>pahingalo</b>	paingalo	<b>pahingalo</b>
<i>keep quiet/silent</i>	<b>alo</b>		
<i>fetch (water)</i>	harok	arok	sakdo
<i>push</i>	<b>tulak/tuklang</b>		tulod
<i>pull</i>	<b>botong/goyod</b>		<b>goyod</b>
<i>leave behind</i>	<b>walat</b>		bayaan
<i>steal</i>	<b>ha-bas</b>		hab-on/ikit

Table 3  
Pronouns

	Sorsogon	Central Masbate	Hiligaynon
<i>none</i>	wara		wa-ay
<i>that</i>	ina		
<i>there (distant)</i>	didto		
<i>there (near)</i>	dida		dira
<i>here (presence)</i>	yadi	adi	ari dire
<i>here (location)</i>	didi		dire
<i>who</i>	sin-o		
<i>whose</i>	kanin-o	kay sin-o	
<i>when</i>	san-o		
<i>what</i>	nano/ano		
<i>where</i>	diin		sa diin
<i>why</i>	kay nano		ngaman

	<b>Gubat</b>	<b>Waray (N. Samar)</b>
<i>none</i>	<b>wara</b>	waray
<i>that</i>	<b>yuon</b>	<b>yuon/itun</b>
<i>there (distant)</i>	<b>didto</b>	
<i>there (near)</i>	<b>duon</b>	
<i>here (presence)</i>	ya-a	yadi/uya
<i>here (location)</i>	dini	dini/didi
<i>who</i>	<b>sin-o</b>	
<i>whose</i>	<b>kan kunay</b>	
<i>when</i>	su-arin	san-o
<i>what</i>	<b>nano</b>	
<i>where</i>	<b>diin</b>	
<i>why</i>	<b>nakay</b>	<b>nakay/kay nano</b>

	<b>Bacon</b>	<b>Albay (Legazpi)</b>	<b>Naga</b>
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<i>none</i>	da-i		mayo
<i>that</i>	iyan/an		
<i>there (distant)</i>	duman		
<i>there (near)</i>	diyan		
<i>here (presence)</i>	digdi		
<i>here (location)</i>	digdi		
<i>who</i>	sisay		
<i>whose</i>	kay sisay/kay say	kiisay	
<i>when</i>	nu-arin		
<i>what</i>	ano		
<i>where</i>	sa-in		
<i>why</i>	nata	nyata	taanu

Table 4  
Adjectives

	Sorsogon	Central Masbate	Hiligaynon
<i>big</i>	dako		
<i>small</i>	saday	dyutay/dyuting	gamay
<i>thin</i>	manipis/maniwang		
<i>thick</i>	mahib-og	madakmol	makapal
<i>oldest/eldest</i>	magurang		
<i>all</i>	intiro	tanan	
<i>many</i>	damo		
<i>few</i>	diyut	gamay/dyuting	gamay
<i>good/well</i>	mayad	mayo	mayad
<i>bad</i>	maraot		malain
<i>angry</i>	orit		akig
<i>afraid</i>	hadlok		
<i>lighted</i>	maliwanag		masanag
<i>shining</i>	masin-ag	masilaw	
<i>dark</i>	madulom		
<i>wet</i>	basa		
<i>cold</i>	mahagkot	matugnaw	malamig/ramig
<i>hot</i>	mainit		

	<b>Gubat</b>	<b>Waray (N. Samar)</b>
<i>big</i>	<b>dako</b>	
<i>small</i>	<b>saday</b>	<b>saday/sadit/ditoy</b>
<i>thin</i>	<b>mahugos</b>	
<i>thick</i>	<b>madamo</b>	madakmol/ <b>madamo</b>
<i>oldest/eldest</i>	<b>tiggurangi</b>	<b>tiggurangi/arog</b>
<i>pregnant</i>	<b>burod</b>	
<i>all</i>	<b>intiro</b>	<b>intiro/ngatanan</b>
<i>many</i>	<b>daghan</b>	<b>daghan/damo</b>

<i>few</i>	<b>diyu</b>	<b>diyu/ditoy</b>
<i>good/well</i>	<b>dianis</b>	<b>dianis/kamayad/maupay</b>
<i>bad</i>	<b>mala-in</b>	
<i>angry</i>	<b>hangit</b>	<b>hangit/ngudyot/langot</b>
<i>afraid</i>	<b>hadok</b>	
<i>lighted</i>	<b>masuna</b>	
<i>shining/shiny</i>	<b>magilang</b>	<b>magilang/mainggat</b>
<i>dark</i>	<b>madulom</b>	<b>madulom/masirong</b>
<i>wet</i>	<b>hulos</b>	
<i>cold</i>	<b>mapinit</b>	
<i>hot</i>	<b>mapaso</b>	

	Bacon	Albay (Legazpi)	Naga
<i>big</i>	dakula		
<i>small</i>	saday	sadit	
<i>thin</i>	manipis/maniwang		
<i>thick</i>	mahib-og	mahi-bog	mahib-og
<i>oldest/eldest</i>	matu-a		
<i>all</i>	intiro	gabos	
<i>many</i>	dakul		
<i>few</i>	diit		dikit
<i>good/well</i>	marhay	maray	marhay
<i>bad</i>	maraot		
<i>angry</i>	ngisog	dagit	anggot
<i>afraid</i>	takot		
<i>light/shining</i>	maliwanag/masin-ag		masilyab
<i>dark</i>	madulom	madiklom	
<i>wet</i>	dumog		basa
<i>cold</i>	malipot		
<i>hot</i>	mainit		

Table 5  
Adverbs

	Sorsogon	Central Masbate	Hiligaynon
<i>now</i>	niyan	nyana	subong
<i>later</i>	dida	niyan	dugay-dugay
<i>a long while/time</i>	awat	dugay	
<i>awhile/first</i>	anay		
<i>like (comparison)</i>	irog		daw/matsa
<i>(like) + this</i>	sadi	sani	daw amuni
<i>(like) + that</i>	sana		daw amuna
<i>maybe</i>	basi		
<i>yes</i>	amo		hu-o
<i>no/not</i>	lain/dili	dili	hindi

	Gubat	Waray (N. Samar)
<i>now</i>	<b>niyan</b>	
<i>later</i>	du-on	niyan na/unina
<i>a long while/time</i>	<b>awat</b>	<b>awat/ma-iha</b>
<i>awhile/first</i>	<b>mun-a</b>	<b>mun-a/ngun-a</b>
<i>like (comparison)</i>	<b>sugad/malin</b>	
<i>(like) + this</i>	<b>sine</b>	
<i>(like) + that</i>	<b>su-on</b>	<b>su-on/siton</b>
<i>maybe</i>	badi	baka/bangin/ba-in
<i>yes</i>	<b>ma-o</b>	
<i>no/not</i>	<b>dire</b>	

	Bacon	Albay (Legazpi)	Naga
<i>now</i>	<b>ngunyan</b>		
<i>later</i>	diyan	atyan	saga
<i>a long while/time</i>	<b>haloy/awat</b>	<b>aloy/awat</b>	atyan
<i>awhile/first</i>	<b>ngun-a</b>	<b>ngu-na</b>	mu-na
<i>like (comparison)</i>	<b>arog</b>		garo
<i>(like) + this</i>	<b>kaini</b>		
<i>(like) + that</i>	kaan	ka-yan	kaiyan
<i>maybe</i>	<b>ba-ad</b>	<b>tiba-ad</b>	baka
<i>yes</i>	<b>iyo</b>		
<i>no/not</i>	<b>bako</b>		da-i

### Appendix C

#### Comparative Syntactic Features of the major Sorsoganon speech varieties and their Source Languages

##### A. Sorsogon, Central Masbateño and Hiligaynon

1. Nagtarawa sinda. (Sorsogon/Central Masbateño) – *They laughed.*

Nag**kinadlaw** sila. (Hiligaynon)

2. Namatay/parong an ilaw. (Sorsogon/Central Masbateño) – *The light went off.*

Napatay ang **suga**. (Hiligaynon)

3. Mag-ugob ka sin tubi. (Sorsogon) – *(You) Fetch water.*

Mag-**alog** ka sin tubi. (Central Masbateño)

Mags**sag-ob** ka **sang** tubig. (Hiligaynon)

4. Ipahuram mo saiya an libro. (Sorsogon/Central Masbateño) – *Lend him the book.*

Ipahulam mo saiya **ang** libro. (Hiligaynon)

5. Makapahuway ka na. (Sorsogon) – *You can rest already.*

Makad**iskanso** ka na. (Central Masbateño)

Makapahuway ka na. (Hiligaynon)

6. Mahagkot kun gab-i. (Sorsogon) – *It's cold at night.*

Matug**naw** kun gab-i. (Central Masbateño)

Malam**ig** kung gab-i. (Hiligaynon)

7. Mas hataas an balay ninda kaysa saamon. (Sorsogon) – *Their house is taller than ours.*

Mas hataas an balay **niyo** kaysa saamon. (Central Masbateño)

Mas mataas ang balay nila kaysa saamon. (Hiligaynon)

8. May mga batit na nagkakanam (sin) football sa gilid san kabas-an. (Sorsogon) – *There are kids playing football at the side of the field*

May mga **bata** na nagkakanam (sin) football sa gilid san kabas-an. (Central Masbateño)

May mga **bata nganaghahampang sang** football sa kilid sang **bukid**. (Hiligaynon)

9. Maniwangon si Pedro kay (pan-o) nagkasakit siya. (Sorsogon) – *Peter is very thin because he got sick.*

**Maniwang** si Pedro kay (pan-o) nagkasakit siya. (Central Masbateño)

**Kaniwang kay** Pedro kay nag**masakit** siya. (Hiligaynon)

10. Nagpakain an mga kaurupod mo? (Sorsogon) – *Where did your companions go?*

Nagpakain an mga **kaupod** mo? (Central Masbateño)

**Sa diin** kamo nagkadto **sang** mga **upod** mo? (Hiligaynon)

11. Kay nano kay nag-iyak an batit? (Sorsogon) – *Why was the child crying?*

Kay nano kay nag**tangis** an **bata**? (Central Masbateño)

**Ngaman naghibi** ang bata? (Hiligaynon)

12. May asawa na an manghod mo na lalaki? (Sorsogon/Central Masbateño) – *Has your brother a wife/spouse?*

May asawa na ang manghod mo **nga laki**? (Hiligaynon)

13. Diin ka nag-ugob (sin) tubi? (Sorsogon) – *Where did you fetch water?*

Diin ka nags**arok** (sin) tubi? (Central Masbateño)

**Sadiin** ka nags**sag-ob sang** tubig? (Hiligaynon)

14. Pahurama man sana na lapis mo. (Sorsogon/Central Masbateño) – *Please lend me that pencil of yours.*

Pahulam **sang** lapis mo **nga ina**. (Hiligaynon)

15. Ihatag mo ini na surat sa magurang mo na babayi. (Sorsogon/Central Masbateño) – *Give this letter to your elder sister.*

Ihatag mo ining sulat sa magulang mo na **bayi**. (Hiligaynon)

16. Lain mo ipagsumat maski kanin-o na nasugat mo ako didi. (Sorsogon) –

*Do not tell anybody that you met me here.*

Dili mo ipagsumat maski **kanay** na nasugat mo ako didi. (Central Masbateño)

**Hindi** mo pag-ihambal biskan kay **sin-o** na nagkita kita **dire**. (Hiligaynon)

17. Humilom ka dida! (Sorsogon) – *Keep quiet there!*



**Pumuyo** ka dida! (Central Masbateño)

**Paghipos** ka! (Hiligaynon)

18. Sinabing amo! (Sorsogon) – *Certainly yes! or I said yes!*

Sinabi **na** amo! (Central Masbateño)

**Hambal ko hu-o!** (Hiligaynon)

19. Makaaalo ka! (Sorsogon) – *Shame on you!*

Makaaralo ka! (Central Masbateño)

**Kahuluya** ka! (Hiligaynon)

20. Yadto na an jeep! (Sorsogon) – *There goes the jeepney!*

Adto na an jeep! (Central Masbateño)

**Ato** na ang jeep! (Hiligaynon)

21. Sinabing dili mo ako pagti-awan! (Sorsogon) – *I said stop making fun of me!*

Sinabi **na** dili mo ako pagsunlugon! (Central Masbateño)

**Hambal nga hindi** ako paglahug-lahugi (or pagti-aw-ti-awi)! (Hiligaynon)

B. Bacon and Standard Bikol (Legazpi)

1. Malipot kun banggi. (same w/ Legazpi) – *It's cold at night.*

2. Mas halangkaw an balay ninda kaysa samuya. (Bacon) – *Their house is taller than ours.*

Mas halangkaw an **harong** ninda kaysa samuya. (Legazpi)

3. May mga aki na nagkakawat (ki) football sa gilid kan kabas-an. (same w/ Legazpi) – *There are kids playing football at the side of the field.*

4. Maniwangon si Pedro ta nagkahelang siya. (Bacon) – *Peter is very thin because he got sick.*

Maniwangon si Pedro ta nagka-**elang** siya. (Legazpi)

5. Nagpasa-in an mga kairiba mo? (Bacon) – *Where did your companions go?*

Nagpasa-in an mga kairibanan mo? (Legazpi)

6. Nata naghibi an aki? (Bacon) – *Why was the child crying?*

Nata nag-**ibi** an aki? (Legazpi)

7. May agom an tugang mo na lalaki? (same w/ Legazpi) – *Has your brother a wife/spouse?*

8. Sain ka nagharok (ki) tubig? (Bacon) – *Where did you fetch water?*

Sain ka nag-**arok** (ki) tubig? (Legazpi)

9. Paharama/Pasubli-a man kan lapis mo. (Bacon) – *Please lend me that pencil of yours.*

**Paarama**/Pasubli-a man kan lapis mo. (Legazpi)

10. Ita-o mo ining surat sa matu-a mong babayi. (same w/ Legazpi) – *Give this letter to your elder sister.*

11. Da-i mo ipagtaram/ipag-osip maski **kaysay** na nasabat mo ako digdi. (Bacon) – *Do not tell anybody that you met me here.*

Da-i mo ipagtaram/ipag-osip maski **kiisay** na nasabat mo ako digdi. (Legazpi)

12. Alo diyan! (same w/ Legazpi) – *Keep quiet there!*

13. Sinabing/Tinaraman nang iyo! (same w/ Legazpi) – *Certainly yes! or I said yes!*

14. Tinaraman nang da-i mo ako pagkarawan! (same w/ Legazpi) – *I said stop making fun of me!*

15. Ituon na su jeep! (same w/ Legazpi) – *There goes the jeepney!*

16. Makasusupog ka! (same w/ Legazpi) – *Shame on you!*

## C. Ginubatnon and Waraynon

1. Mapinit kun gab-i. (Gubat) – *It's cold at night.*

**Mahagkot** kun gab-i. (Waray)

2. Mas higtaas an balay nira kaysa saamo. (Gubat) – *Their house is taller than ours.*

Mas **hataas** an balay nira kaysa sa **am**. (Waray)

3. May mga bata na nag-uuyag football sa piliw san pasakay. (same w/ Waray) – *There are kids playing football at the side of the field.*

4. Mahuguson si Pedro kay pan-o nagkahapdos siya. (Gubat) – *Peter is very thin because he got sick.*

Mahuguson si Pedro kay nagkasakit siya. (Waray)

5. Punakarhin an mga kaurupod mo? (Gubat) – *Where did your companions go?*

**Diin nagkadto** an mga kaurupod mo? (Waray)

6. Nakay naghibi an bata? (Gubat) – *Why was the child crying?*

**Kay nano nagtangis** an bata? (Waray)

7. May asawa an kamanghod mo na lalaki? (Gubat) – *Has your brother a wife/spouse?*

May asawa na an **im bugto** na lalaki? (Waray)

8. Diin ka nag-alog (sin) tubig? (Gubat) – *Where did you fetch water?*

Diin ka nag-alog **san** tubig? (Waray)

9. Pahudama man suon na lapis mo. (Gubat) – *Please lend me that pencil of yours.*

Pahurama man **san** lapis mo. (Waray)

10. Ihatag mo ini na surat sa kamanghod mo na babayi. (Gubat) – *Give this letter to your elder sister.*

Ihatag mo ini **nga** surat sa **bugto** mo na babayi. (Waray)

11. Diri mo ipagsumat maski kanin-o na mabagat/matapo mo na nabagat/natapo mo ako dini. (Gubat) – *Do not tell anybody that you met me here.*

Diri **ka magsumat** maski **sin-o an nahitapo** mo na **nagkita kit** dinhi. (Waray)

12. Pumuyo ka duon! (Gubat) – *Keep quiet there!*

**Ayaw pagliya dithon!** (Waray)

13. Atog ma-o! (Gubat) – *Certainly yes! or I said yes!*

**Insugad ko na oo!** (Waray)

14. Atog dire mo ako pagkarawan! (Gubat) – *I said stop making fun of me!*

**Insugad ko na ikaw na dire ako pagsuri-an!** (Waray)

15. Makararaw-ay ka! (Gubat) – *Shame on you!*

**Makaaalo ka!** (Waray)

16. Yadto na an jeep! (same w/ Waray) – *There goes the jeepney!*

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTERROGATIVE STRUCTURES  
IN PANGASINAN AND FILIPINO**  
*(Komparatibong Analisis ng mga Interrogative Structure sa Pangasinan at Filipino)*

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**Abstract**

This paper describes the interrogatives in Pangasinan and Filipino, and focuses mainly on yes-no questions, confirmation questions and interrogative pro questions. It presents the similarities, as well as the differences, of interrogative structures in both languages. This descriptive-comparative study aims to help native speakers and interested second language learners to have a deeper understanding of the grammatical structure of these languages.

**1.0 Introduction**

Studies on interrogatives usually include the typical listing of the interrogative markers, their definitions and a few examples. In his *Pangasinan Reference Grammar*, Richard Benton (1971) discussed the interrogative adverbs *ta*, *kasi* and *ey* and “interrogative pro-phrases” *iner*, *anto*, *opa*, *dinan*, *akin*, *panon* and *piga* (pp 70-71; 94-96). The provided definitions are simplistic. The interrogative markers are loosely described in such a way that the grammar does not include the kind of information and the grammatical categories that the interrogative pro-phrases elicit.

On the contrary, *Tagalog Reference Grammar* by Schacter & Otnes (1972) provided a more detailed discussion on Tagalog interrogatives. They classified the Tagalog questions into five classes according to the type of answers elicited – yes-no questions, alternative questions, confirmation questions, information questions and please-repeat questions. Though more detailed than the usual analysis of interrogatives, it still does not include a deeper syntactic analysis of the interrogative structure.

**1.1 Objectives**

The primary objective of this paper is to provide a more detailed description and comparison of the interrogative markers and syntactic analysis of the interrogatives structures in Pangasinan and Filipino. It aims to describe and compare the interrogatives in Pangasinan and Filipino with focus on yes-no questions, confirmation questions and interrogative pro questions. It will also provide a list of interrogative markers, give a comprehensive definition of each interrogative marker, and examine the interrogative structures in both languages.

## 1.2 Scope and limitations

As already mentioned, this paper will focus on three types of questions – yes-no questions, confirmation questions and interrogative pro questions. A **yes-no question** is a type of question that is answerable by ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ It is also used to confirm or deny the existence or non-existence of an entity. A **confirmation question** is also answerable by affirmative and negative. A marker, which is added at the beginning or end of the sentence, makes it different from a yes-no question. An **interrogative pro question**, the other hand, is a type of question that elicits different information. In English, interrogative pro questions are often referred to as the wh-questions. The required information depends on the interrogative pro used in the sentence.

## 1.3 Framework of analysis

Aside from the usual listing and classification of interrogative markers, this paper will adopt the analysis of Edith Aldridge (2002) on wh-movement in Tagalog. Aldridge claims that wh-questions can be formed in two ways: overt wh-movement for the adjunct wh-questions and clefting for the argument wh-questions (p. 410).

The analysis of Raphael Mercado (2004) on wh-questions is also related to that of Eldridge. Mercado also claims that there are two types of wh-questions in Tagalog: wh-DPs (determine phrases) and wh-PPs (prepositional phrases). Mercado’s wh-DPs are the equivalent to Aldridge’s argument wh-questions and wh-PPs are the adjunct wh-questions. He explains that wh-DPs require the subject marker *ang* while wh-PPs do not (p. 96-97). The use of the subject marker *ang* is evident when wh-DPs undergo transformation.

This paper will also make use of a concept from the speech acts theory. Basically, the theory of speech acts claims that “speaking a language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behaviour” (Searle, 1969, p.22). The speech act theory considers not only the linguistic elements, but also the connection of the speech act to the speaker’s intention or illocutionary act and the perlocutionary effect of the speech act to the interlocutor.

When we apply speech acts theory in the analysis of interrogative sentences, we can postulate that the interrogative marker is an illocutionary force indicator which the interlocutor receives as a signal that a speech act is performed – a question. Saying that interrogative markers bear an illocutionary force, we can explain that having the interrogative pro at the beginning of the sentence makes the illocutionary force more explicit.

## 2.0 Interrogatives in Pangasinan and Filipino

### 2.1 Yes-no questions

In Pangasinan, a simple declarative sentence can be transformed into a yes-no question just by changing the intonation pattern – from falling to rising.

- (1) *Magana (sikato).* ‘She is beautiful.’  
 >*Magana (sikato)?* ‘Is she beautiful?’
- |              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| <i>E, On</i> | ‘Yes’ |
| <i>Andi</i>  | ‘No’  |

There are two interrogative particles that can be used to transform a declarative sentence into a yes-no question just by inserting them somewhere in the sentence– *ta* and *kasi*.

- (2) *Ginamit mo ta la imay impawit kod sika?*  
 ‘Have you used that one I sent you?’
- |              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| <i>E, On</i> | ‘Yes’ |
| <i>Andi</i>  | ‘No’  |
- (3) *Labay mo kasi iyay iter ko?*  
 ‘Will you like this one that I am going to give you?’

In Filipino, the rising intonation pattern also transforms a simple declarative sentence into a yes-no question.

- (4) *Umulan nang malakas kahapon.*  
 ‘It rained hard yesterday.’  
 >*Umulan nang malakas kahapon?*  
 ‘Did it rain hard yesterday?’
- |                |       |
|----------------|-------|
| <i>Oo, Opo</i> | ‘Yes’ |
| <i>Hindi</i>   | ‘No’  |

The interrogative particle *ba* can be used to form Filipino yes-no questions.

- (5) *May pera siya.* ‘He has money.’  
 >*May pera ba siya?* ‘Does he have money?’
- |              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Meron</i> | ‘There is, Yes’ |
| <i>Wala</i>  | ‘None’          |

Pangasinan uses *e* (pronounced as /ə/) or *on* ‘yes’ and *andi* ‘no’ to answer a yes-no question while Filipino uses *oo* or *opo* ‘yes’ and *hindi* ‘no.’ *On* and *opo* are more polite affirmative answers.

To answer existential questions, Pangasinan uses *walá* ‘there is/yes’ and *anggapo* ‘none’ while Filipino uses *meron* ‘there is/yes’ and *walâ* ‘none.’

## 2.2 Confirmation questions

Confirmation questions in Pangasinan include the use *awa* or *anto* which are added at the end of the declarative sentence. Also, the Filipino expression *di ba* (from *hindi ba*), which has become a common expression among the younger generation of Pangasinan speakers, is also

being used to form a confirmation question. It has to be noted that, in Pangasinan, only the shortened form is used.

- (6) *Mitindaan ka, awa?*  
‘You are going to the market, aren’t you?’
- (7) *Inmakar ka la lamet, anto?*  
‘You went out again, didn’t you?’
- (8) *Marakep ya, di ba?*  
‘This one is nice, isn’t it?’
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} E, On & \text{‘Yes’} \\ Andi & \text{‘No’} \end{array} \right\}$

In Filipino, *noh* and *di ba* (shortened form of *hindi ba*) are used to form confirmation questions.

- (9) *Inggit ka, noh?*  
‘You are jealous, aren’t you?’
- (10) *Tapos ka na, di ba?*  
‘You are finished, aren’t you?’
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} Oo, Opo & \text{‘Yes’} \\ Hindi & \text{‘No’} \end{array} \right\}$

## 2.3 Interrogative pro markers in Pangasinan and Filipino

### 2.3.1

Pangasinan	<i>siopa/opa</i>	Filipino	<i>sino</i> (Sg) <i>sinu-sino</i> (Pl)
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The interrogative pro *siopa/opa* and *sino* are used to form a question to which the expected answer is a human being.

- PNG (11) *Siopa tan a konsehal a tutukuyen mo?*  
‘Who is the councilor that you are referring to?’
- (12) *Siopay anghel a bantay to ey?*  
‘Who is her guardian angel?’
- FIL (13) *Sino ang inakusahan ni JV ng korupsiyon?*  
‘Whom did JV accuse of corruption?’
- (14) *Sino ang lumason kay Mrs. Delos Santos?*  
‘Who poisoned Mrs. Delos Santos?’



There are some instances, too, when the elicited answer to *siopa/opa* and *sino* is not a human being, but with human-like characteristics. In sentences (15) and (16), the expected answer can be both human and non-human.

PNG (15) *Siopay nanggulo diad kuarto?*  
‘Who messed up in the room?’

FIL (16) *Sino ang ngumatngat ng tsinelas ko?*  
‘Who chewed up my slippers?’

To elicit a plural answer, Pangasinan may use plural markers *iray* or *iramay* along with the interrogative pro *siopa/opa* while Filipino uses the reduplicated form *sinu-sino*.

PNG (17) *Siopa iray suspek ed impamaltog dad mayor?*  
‘Who are the suspects in the assassination of the mayor?’

FIL (18) *Sinu-sino ang mga nakasama ni Pi sa barko bago ito lumabog?*  
‘Who are with Pi before the ship sank?’

In Pangasinan, the expected answer is introduced by *si* followed by the name of the person or *imay* followed by a common noun. Plural answers are introduced by *sikara nen* followed by the names of the persons and *iramay* followed by a common noun in plural form.

Filipino, on the other hand, uses *si* or *sina* to introduce the names of the person and *ang* or *ang mga* followed by a common noun in plural form.

### 2.3.2

Pangasinan	<i>anto</i>	Filipino	<i>ano</i> (Sg) <i>anu-ano</i> (Pl)
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The interrogative pros *anto* and *ano* can be used to elicit several kinds of information. The kind of information that these markers elicit can be as short as a name of an object or longer as an elaboration and explanation of a particular subject matter.

PNG (19) *Antoy inakan mo?*  
‘What did you eat?’

(20) *No ag ka manaral, antoy gaween mo ey?*  
‘If you’re not going to study, then what are you going to do?’

(21) *Anto may agawa karuman?*  
‘What happened yesterday?’

(22) *Antoy garantiya ya aglamet naolit so pakalingo?*

‘What are the guarantees that these mistakes won’t happen again?’

- (23) *Antoy gaween kon pikakaaro ed sikara?*  
‘What can I do to befriend them?’

- FIL (24) *Anong iyang dala-dala mo?*  
‘What did you bring with you?’

- (25) *Anong ipinagawa mo sa kanya?*  
‘What did you ask him to do?’

- (26) *Ano ang pinagkakaabalahan mo ngayon?*  
‘What keeps you busy now?’

To elicit an adjective, *anto* and *ano* is used followed by a qualifier.

- (27) *Antoy taway to tay kakanen mo?*  
‘How does the food taste?’

- (28) *Anong hitsura ng girlfriend niya?*  
‘How does his girlfriend look like?’

*Ano* is very flexible that it can refer not only to what is mentioned in the proposition, but also to what is implied by the affixes used or by a particular situation.

- (29) *Naano ka ba?* ‘What happened to you?’  
(30) *Para ano pa?* ‘What for?’  
(31) *Ano ka ba?* ‘What are you?’  
(32) *Ano na?* ‘What now?’  
(33) *Eh, ano ngayon?* ‘And so, what?’

### 2.3.3

Pangasinan	<i>dinan</i>	Filipino	<i>alin</i> (Sg) <i>alin-alin</i> (Pl)
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The interrogative pro *dinan* and *alin* are used to mark a question that elicits preference or choice. In using these interrogative pros, available options and alternatives are implied in the proposition.

- PNG (34) *Dinay apilim?*  
‘Which one did you choose?’

- FIL (35) *Alin ang ginamit na panglason kay Mrs. Inglethorp?*  
‘Which was used to poison Mrs. Inglethorp?’

It is very usual to use *anto* and *ano* instead of *dinan* and *alin*. The function, however, of *anto* and *ano* cannot always be assumed by *dinan* and *alin*.

- PNG (36) *Dinay unaen tayon lutuen?* = *Antoy unaen tayon lutuen?*  
 ‘Which one are we going we cook first?’
- (37) *Antoy ngaran mo?* ≠ *Dinay ngaran mo?*  
 ‘What is your name?’
- FIL (38) *Alin sa mga ito ang gusto mong subukan?* = *Ano sa mga ito ang gusto mong subukan?*  
 ‘Which among these would you like to try?’
- (39) *Ano iyang binili mo?* ≠ *Alin iyang binili mo?*  
 ‘What is it that you bought?’

#### 2.3.4

Pangasinan	<i>iner</i>	Filipino	<i>saan</i> (Sg) <i>saan-saan</i> (Pl)
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In Pangasinan, interrogative pro *iner* is used if the question elicits direction and location complements.

- PNG (40) *Iner so nila ra?* ‘Where have they gone to?’  
 (41) *Iner so panaayaman mo?* ‘Where are you staying at?’

The answer to this type of question can be a simple demonstrative pronoun *dia*, *ditan* or *diman* or a demonstrative phrase introduced by *diad*, *ditad* and *dimad* followed by a noun phrase.

Usually, *iner* is dropped without affecting the meaning of the sentence. The information asked is already signaled by the verb used in the interrogative sentence.

- (42) *(Iner so) nilam?* ‘Where did you go?’  
 (43) *(Iner so) pantatrabahoan to?* ‘Where does he work?’

In Filipino, *saan* is the interrogative pro used to elicit direction and location complements.

- FIL (44) *Saan ka pupunta?* ‘Where are you going?’  
 (45) *Saan mo binili ang mga pagkain?* ‘Where did you buy these foods?’

Usually, direction and location complements, which are answers to an interrogative pro *iner*, are introduced by *sa*. Other answers include the simple use of Filipino demonstrative

pronouns *dito*, *diyan* and *doon*, determiners *kay* and *kina* followed by the name of a person, or a demonstrative pronoun followed by a prepositional phrase.

At surface level, *saan* appears to be useful in eliciting locative predicates. Consider the example below.

- (46) *Saan ang party?*  
 ‘Where is the party?’  
 >>*Sa bahay ang party.*

It may be assumed, however, that there may be deleted elements in the construction.

- (47) *Gaganapin ang party sa bahay.*  
 >*Saan (gaganapin) ang party?*

At a glance, the *sa* phrase in (46) appears like a locative predicate, however, if we take note of the whole construction in (47), the *sa* phrase becomes just a location complement.

### 2.3.5

Pangasinan	<i>kolaan</i>	Filipino	<i>nasaan</i>
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To mark a question to which the expected answer is a locative predicate, *kolaan* is used. It is used to determine the location of the NPs following the interrogative pro markers such as *ko*, *mo*, *to*, *mi*, *yo*, *da*, *nen* + proper name and *to imay* + common noun. The expected answer is introduced by *walad* (shortened form of *wala ed*), *walad kinen* + proper name and *walad kindi* + proper name.

- PNG (48) *Kolaan mo?*  
 ‘Where are you?’

In Filipino, *nasaan* is also used to elicit a locative predicate. The expected answer is introduced by *nasa*, *nakay* or *nakina*.

- FIL (49) *Nasaan si Elisa?* ‘Where is Elisa?’

### 2.3.6

Pangasinan	-	Filipino	<i>kanino</i> (Sg) <i>kani-kanino</i> (Pl)
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*Kanino* is used to inquire about the possessor or the recipient of the entity mentioned in the question. The expected answer for a question using *kanino* is introduced by *kay* or *kina*.

- (50) *Kanino ang bahay na ito?* ‘Whose house is this?’  
 (51) *Kanino mo ibibigay ang showcase?* ‘Whom will you give the showcase?’

There are instances, too, when *kanino* is used to elicit direction, goal and source complements.

- (52) *Kanino ka nakatingin?*  
 ‘Who are you looking at?’  
 (53) *Kanino ka lumalapit kung may kailangan ka?*  
 ‘Who will you go to when you’re in need?’  
 (54) *Kanino galing ang pera?*  
 ‘Whom did the money come from?’

A question that elicits beneficiary complement is marked by the interrogative *pro para kanino* while the expected answer is introduced by *para kay* or *para kina*.

- (55) *Para kanino ka bumabangon?*  
 ‘Whom do you wake up for?’

*Kanino* does not have a lexical counterpart in Pangasinan. To express the same meaning in Pangasinan, *siopa* is used. When direction, goal and source complements are to be elicited, the interrogative *pro iner* is used.

Using the same Filipino sentences above, we can derive the following in Pangasinan.

- (56) *Siopay sangkanengneng mo?*  
 ‘Who are you looking at?’  
 (57) *Siopay asinggeran mo no walay kailangan mo?*  
 ‘Who will you go to when you’re in need?’  
*Iner ka onasingger no walay kailangan mo?*  
 ‘Where will you go to when you’re in need?’  
 (58) *Siopay nanlapuan to tay kuarta?*  
 ‘From whom did the money come?’  
*Iner so nanlapuan to tay kuarta*  
 ‘Where did the money come from?’

### 2.3.7

<b>Pangasinan</b>	-	<b>Filipino</b>	<i>nakanino</i>
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*Nakanino* is used to elicit the location of a particular object.

- (59) *Nakanino yung susi ng bahay?*  
 ‘Who has the house key?’

The answer to this type of question always starts with *nakay* or *nakina* followed by the name of the person or *nasa* followed by common noun.

Pangasinan does not have a separate lexicon that is equivalent to *nakanino*. Instead, it uses the interrogative pro *kolaan* which is generally used to elicit the location of an entity.

### 2.3.8

<b>Pangasinan</b>	-	<b>Filipino</b>	<i>nino</i>
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Unlike the other interrogative pros, *nino* is not used at the beginning of the sentence. *Nino* simply replaces the agent or the possessive *ng* phrase in the sentence.

- (60) *Tinangkang lumayo papalayo nino?*  
 ‘Who attempted to run away?’
- (61) *Binili nino ang kotse?*  
 ‘Who bought the car?’
- (62) *Sinira ng bata ang laruan nino?*  
 ‘Whose toy did the kid destroy?’

The nearest equivalent of *nino* in Pangasinan is *nen* which is the non-focused agent marker. However, it does not function as an interrogative pro or similarly as *nino* because it can only be used to clarify particular information which was previously stated in the conversation.

- PNG (63) *Inter nen?*  
 ‘Given by whom?’
- (64) *Gawa nen?*  
 ‘Owned by whom?’

### 2.3.9

Pangasinan	<i>kapigan</i>	Filipino	<i>kailan/ kelan</i>
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*Kapigan* is used to form a question to which the expected answer is a temporal adverb or temporal predicate.

- PNG (65) *Kapigay ipawil nen tatay mo?*  
‘When will your father return?’
- (66) *Kapigay inkianak mo?*  
‘When is your birthday?’
- FIL (67) *Kelan ka gagraduate?*  
‘When will you graduate?’
- (68) *Tuwing kelan ang klase mga mo?*  
‘When are your classes?’

There are some instances, too, when *kapigan* and *kelan* are used to elicit temporal clauses. In Pangasinan, the clause is introduced by the conjunction *no* while *kapag* is used in Filipino.

- PNG (69) *Kapigan mo balak mangasawa?*  
‘When do you plan to get married?’
- FIL (70) *Kelan ka ba matututo?*  
‘When will you learn your lesson?’

### 2.3.10

Pangasinan	<i>akin</i>	Filipino	<i>bakit</i>
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*Akin* and *bakit* are used to form a question to which the expected answer is a reason clause. In Pangasinan, the interrogative pro *akin* is immediately followed by *et*.

- PNG (71) *Akin et tinmonda lay trabaho ed samay taytay na Calvo?*  
‘Why is it that the construction in Calvo Bridge was stopped?’
- FIL (72) *Bakit napakalaki ng inyong intelligent funds?*  
‘Why do you have that huge amount of intelligent funds?’

Pangasinan uses the conjunction *ta* to introduce the clause that corresponds to *akin* while Filipino uses *dahil* or *kasi*.

### 2.3.11

Pangasinan	<i>panon</i>	Filipino	<i>paano</i>
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The interrogative pro *panon* and *paano* are usually used to ask about the manner on how something happened or is done, as shown in the following examples.

- PNG (73) *Panon ton gamiten imay video chat ed Facebook?*  
‘How can one use video chat in Facebook?’
- FIL (74) *Paano mo ginawa ito?*  
‘How did you do this?’
- (75) *Paano kita mapapasalamatan?*  
‘How can I thank you?’
- (76) *Paano ka na ga-graduate nyan?*  
‘How will you graduate now?’

Other information can also be elicited using these interrogatives such as one’s state or condition, results and consequences, etc.

- FIL (77) *Paano nangyari ito?*  
‘How did this happen?’
- (78) *Paano kayo ngayon?*  
‘What will happen to you now?’

### 2.3.12

Pangasinan	<i>pigara</i>	Filipino	<i>ilan</i>
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The markers *pigara* and *ilan* are used to form questions that ask for how many there are of something.

- PNG (79) *Pigaray istasyoy radyo tayo dia?*  
‘How many radio stations do we have here?’
- FIL (80) *Ilang kasambahay meron kayo?*  
‘How many maids do you have?’



### 2.3.13

<b>Pangasinan</b>	-	<b>Filipino</b>	<i>ilanan</i>
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This interrogative pro marker is used to inquire about the capacity of a particular entity. It may apply to vehicles, places, etc.

- (81) *Ilanan ang inyong dining table?*  
‘How many persons can your dining table accommodate?’
- (82) *Ilanan ang jeep?*  
‘How many passengers can the jeepney accommodate?’

In Pangasinan, *pigara* is used to elicit information similar to the ones stated above.

### 2.3.14

<b>Pangasinan</b>	<i>piga/sampiga</i>	<b>Filipino</b>	<i>magkano</i>
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*Piga/sampiga* and *magkano* are used for questions that ask for the price of something.

- PNG (83) *Sampigay sakey kopya?*  
‘How much is one copy?’
- FIL (84) *Magkano ang isang kilo ng bangus?*  
‘How much is one kilo of bangus?’

### 2.3.15

<b>Pangasinan</b>	<i>sampipiga</i>	<b>Filipino</b>	<i>tig-magkano/ tig-magkakano</i>
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*Sampipiga* and *tig-magkano* are used for questions that elicit price and distributive quantification.

- PNG (85) *Sampipiga so sakey ya ulo no manu-usos tayo?*  
‘How much each if we chip-in?’
- FIL (86) *Tig-magkano yung mga cellphone na ginagamit mo?*  
‘How much each are those cellphones that you’re using?’

### 2.3.16

Pangasinan	<i>kumapiga</i>	Filipino	<i>pang-ilan</i>
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*Kumapiga* and *pang-ilan* is used to elicit sequence quantifiers.

PNG (87) *Kumapiga lan anak mo tay bolerek mo?*  
 ‘Where does your youngest child appear in the chronological order of your children?’

FIL (88) *Pang-ilan mo na yang kursong yan?*

### 2.3.17

Pangasinan	<i>amimpiga/ mamimpiga</i>	Filipino	<i>ilang (beses)</i>
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*Amimpiga/mamimpiga* is used to elicit frequency. The former is used for the number of times something happened or was done while the latter is used to ask for the number of times something is to be done. The expected answer is introduced by the affix *ami-* or *mami-* and followed by a cardinal numeral.

PNG (89) *Amimpigam lan asali so nabangon ed pegley labi?*  
 ‘How many times have you experienced waking up in the middle of the night?’

In Filipino, *ilan* is used and followed by *beses* ‘times.’

FIL (90) *Ilang beses ka maligo sa isang araw?*  
 ‘How many times do you take a bath in a day?’

### 2.3.18

Pangasinan	<i>akapigara/ makapigara</i>	Filipino	<i>naka-ilan/ makaka-ilan</i>
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*Akapigara/makapigara* is also another way of asking how many times, but contrary to *amimpiga/mamimpiga* the expected answer is marked by *aka-* or *maka-* and *naka-* or *makaka-* followed by a cardinal number.

PNG (91) *Akapigaran kurso ka la?*

‘How many courses have you already taken?’

- FIL (92) *Nakailang bote ka na?*  
‘How many bottles have you finished?’

### 2.3.19

Pangasinan	-	Filipino	<i>gaano</i>
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*Gaano* is usually used to inquire about measurement, amount or one thing’s approximate value. When used in a sentence, *gaano* is followed by *ka-* and the qualifier that is asked.

- (93) *Gaano kalayo ang Manila sa Baguio?*  
‘How far is Manila from Baguio?’
- (94) *Gaano kataas ang building na pinagtatrabahuan mo?*  
‘How high is the building where you’re working?’

In some instances, *gaano* is also used to elicit frequency.

- (95) *Gaano kadalas kayo magkita ng tatay mo?*  
‘How many times do you and your father meet?’

Pangasinan does not have a separate lexical item used. To express the meaning of *gaano* Pangasinan makes use *anto*. When frequency is asked, the interrogative pro *amimpiga/mamimpiga* can also be used.

### 2.3.20

Pangasinan	<i>kumusta/musta</i>	Filipino	<i>kumusta/kamusta/musta</i>
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*Kumusta* is a word that is Spanish in origin (*cómo está*) that is used to ask how someone or something is doing.

- PNG (96) *Kumusta ka la?*  
‘How are you?’
- FIL (97) *Kumusta na na yung prinopose kong business sa ’yo?*  
‘How’s the business that I proposed to you?’

### 3.0 Grammatical categories elicited by interrogative pro markers

#### 3.1 Predicate

The interrogative *panon* and *paano* may be used to elicit the whole predicate. Predicates can be classified into different types and different interrogative pros can be used depending on the type of answer required by the question.

Predicates can be a noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP) or adjective phrase (AP). In the following examples, we will see examples of these phrases which function as nominal predicate, verbal predicate and adjectival predicate.

##### 3.1.1 Nominal predicate

The interrogative pros *siopa* and *sino*, *anto* and *ano*, *dinan* and *alin* require NPs that function as nominal predicates.

PNG (98) *Siopay angan dia?*  
'Who ate here?'

>> *Si Jen so angan ditan.*  
'It is Jen who ate there.'

FIL (99) *Alin ang kinuha mo?*  
'Which one did you pick?'

>> *Ito ang kinuha ko.*  
'It is this that I picked.'

In the examples above, the NPs *si Jen* and *ito* are the predicates of the equational sentences.

##### 3.1.2 Verbal predicate

The interrogative pro *anto* and *ano* are used to elicit verb phrases, as well as *panon* and *paano*.

PNG (100)	<i>Antoy ginawa to?</i>	<i>Antoy agawad sikato?</i>
FIL (101)	<i>Anong ginawa niya?</i>	<i>Anong nangyari sa kanya?</i>
	'What did he do?'	'What happened to him?'

>> *Nanlutoy baaw.*                      >> *Nansakit.*

>> *Nagluto siya ng kanin.*      >> *Nagkasakit siya.*  
 ‘He cooked rice.’      ‘He got sick.’

### 3.1.3      **Adjectival predicate**

*Kumusta/kamusta/musta*, in both Pangasinan and Filipino, is used to elicit adjectival phrases. *Anto* and *ano* are also used followed by a qualifier.

PNG    (102) *Kumustay bilay?*  
                  ‘How’s life?’

>> *Maong labat.*  
                  ‘(Life is) good.’

FIL    (103) *Kumusta ang pelikula?*  
                  ‘How’s the movie?’

>> *Boring (ang pelikula).*  
                  ‘(The movie is) boring.’

(104) *Anong hitsura ng boyfriend niya?*  
                  ‘How does her boyfriend look like?’

>> *Pangit siya.*  
                  ‘He is ugly.’

### 3.1.4      **Locative predicate**

Locative predicates are elicited using *kolaan*, *nasaan* and *nakanino*.

PNG    (105) *Kolaan nen Isko?*  
                  ‘Where is Isko?’

>> *Walad abong (si Isko).*  
                  ‘Isko is at home.’

FIL    (106) *Nasaan ang bag ko?*  
                  ‘Where is my bag?’

>> *Nasa kuwarto ko (ang bag mo).*  
                  ‘Your bag is in my room.’

(107) *Nakanino ang susi ng kotse?*  
                  ‘Who has the car key?’

>> *Nakay Ana (ang susi ng kotse).*

‘The car key is with Ana.’

### 3.1.5 Temporal predicate

As shown in the example below, interrogative pros *kapigan/pigan* or *kailan/kelan* can also be used to elicit a temporal predicates.

PNG (109) *Pigay inkianak mo?*  
‘When is your birthday?’

>> *Agosto 21, 1985 so inkianak ko.*  
‘My birthday is August 21, 1985.’

FIL (110) *Tuwing kailan ang klase niyo?*  
‘When are your classes?’

>> *Tuwing Martes ang klase namin.*  
‘Our class is every Tuesday.’

### 3.2 Prepositional phrase

*Siopa/opa*, *iner*, *saan*, *kanino* and *para kanino* are used to elicit answers classified as prepositional phrases signifying the location and direction where an action or event is performed, as well as the source, recipient and beneficiary of an entity.

PNG (111) *Iner so anganan nen Mel?*  
‘Where did Mel eat?’

>> *Diad canteen (so anganan nen Mel).*  
‘Mel ate at the canteen.’

In Pangasinan, *dia ed/diad* is usually used to introduce the answer to *iner*. The interrogative pro *siopa/opa* may also be used to elicit a prepositional phrase; however, it is the verbal affixes *an-...-an* and *nan-...-an*, not the interrogative pro, which requires the answer to be introduced by a prepositional phrase. If the denoted location is [+ human], the whole prepositional phrase is composed of *dia ed/diad* + *kinen* (Sg) or *kindi* (Pl) + name of the person/s or *dia ed/diad* + *samay* (Sg) or *saray* (Pl) + common noun.

PNG (112) *Siopay angiteran moy kuwarta?*  
‘Whom did you give the money to?’

>> *Diad kinen Mark (so angiteran koy kuwarta).*  
‘It is Mark whom I gave the money.’

(113) *Siopay nanlapuan to tay pondo?*

‘From where/whom did the funding come?’

>> *Diad saray totoo (so nanlapuan to tay pondo).*

‘The funding was from the people.’

In Filipino, the prepositions *sa* and *kay* or *kina* are used to introduce answers that signify location.

FIL (114) *Saan bumili ng kanyang computer si Ryan?*

‘Where did Ryan buy his computer?’

>> *Sa SM (bumili ng kanyang computer si Ryan).*

‘Ryan bought his computer at SM.’

(115) *Kanino mo ibibigay ang regalo?*

‘To whom will you give the gift?’

>> *Kay Rico (ko ibibigay ang regalo).*

‘I will give the gift to Rico.’

(116) *Kanino galing ang banta?*

‘Where did the threat come from?’

>> *Kina Clarissa (galing ang banta).*

‘The threat came from Clarissa.’

*Kapigan/pigan* and *kailan/kelan* are used to elicit prepositional phrases signifying the time when an action or event took place. In Pangasinan, the preposition *no* is used to introduce the elicited temporal phrase while Filipino uses the preposition *sa*.

PNG (117) *Kapigay isempet mod Pangasian?*

‘When will you go home in Pangasinan?’

>> *No Simba so isempet kod Pangasinan.*

‘I will go home in Pangasinan on Sunday.’

FIL (118) *Kailan magbabakasyon si Celia?*

‘When will Celia have her vacation?’

>> *Sa susunod na buwan magbabakasyon si Celia.*

‘Celia will have her vacation next week.’

### 3.3 Numeral phrase

To elicit a numeral phrase, the following quantifier interrogatives *pigara*, *ilan*, *ilanan*, *piga/sampiga*, *magkano*, *sampipiga*, *tig-magkano/tig-magkakano*, *kumapiga*, *pang-ilan*,

*amimpiga/mamimpiga, ilang (beses), akapigara/makapigara, naka-ilan/makaka-ilan, gaano + ka-*.

#### **4.0 The syntax of interrogatives in Pangasinan and Filipino**

##### **4.1 The position of *ta* in the sentence**

Benton (1971) mentioned that there are three interrogative adverbs in Pangasinan – *ta*, *kasi* and *ey*. He explains that

*ta*, which simply indicates that the sentence in which it appears is a question; *kasi*, which may sometimes be translated as ‘is it?’ or ‘is it that...’; and *ey*, which covers the range of such English expressions as ‘*eh*,’ ‘what about...’ ‘... then?’ *ey* usually occurs at the end of a sentence but usually follows the word or phrase which the speaker wishes to direct attention towards, and thus may occur at almost any point in the sentence except initially. *Kasi* usually occurs at the end of the comment of an equational sentence, or immediately following the phrase denoting attribution of action in passive or other non-verbal active sentences. (p. 70)

Among these particles, it is only *ta* that really transforms a declarative sentence into an interrogative sentence. Although *kasi* appears in a Pangasinan interrogative sentence, there are instances, too, where it appears in a declarative. In fact, it is the intonation pattern that determines whether it is interrogative or declarative - a rising intonation makes the sentence interrogative.

*Ey*, on the other hand, occurs only in sentences which already are interrogative. Adding *ey* at the end of a declarative sentence does not make it interrogative.

- PNG (119a) *Pinmasyar si Mark ed Luneta.*  
(119b) > *\*Pinmasyar si Mark ed Luneta ey?*  
(119c) > *Iner pinmasyar si Mark?*  
(119d) > *Iner pinmasyar si Mark ey?*

It is *ta* that functions as an interrogative marker. Unlike *ey*, the addition of *ta* in the sentence makes it interrogative. It does not change meaning whether the intonation is falling or rising, unlike *kasi*.

*Ta* is relatively flexible when it comes to its position in the sentence. Depending on the intention of the speaker, *ta* is placed after the constituent of the sentence that the speaker wanted to emphasize in his question.

- (120a) *Linmay Mark ed Baguio.*  
(120b) > *Linma tay Mark ed Baguio?*  
(120c) > *Linmay Mark ta ed Baguio?*  
(120d) > *Linmay Mark ed Baguio ta?*  
‘Did Mark go to Baguio?’



In sentence (120b), the emphasis is on *linma* ‘went.’ Based on this, it can be assumed whether Mark went to Baguio or not. In (120c), it could be Mark or somebody else who went to Baguio while (120d) asks whether it is in Baguio where Mark went to. It can also be interpreted whether the whole proposition is true or false.

## 4.2 The position of *ba* in the sentence

Aside from its use as a yes-no question marker, the interrogative particle *ba* can be used along with the interrogative pro markers.

- FIL (121) *Sino ba ang bibigyan mo ng regalo?*  
 ‘Whom are you going to give the gift?’
- (122) *Ano ba ang gusto mong dalihin ko?*  
 ‘What do you want me to bring?’
- (123) *Kailan ba aakyat ng Baguio si Lisa?*  
 ‘When will Lisa go to Baguio?’
- (124) *Saan niyo ba dadalhin ang mga paninda?*  
 ‘Where will you bring the goods?’
- (125) *Paano mo ba gustong sabihin sa kanya?*  
 ‘How do you want to tell her?’

However, in the sentences above, *ba* does not function as a yes-no question-forming interrogative particle compared to what was shown earlier in the discussion. *Ba* can be omitted without losing the interrogative sense of the sentences.

It is best then to assume that we have *ba*<sub>1</sub> and *ba*<sub>2</sub>, where the first *ba* functions as an interrogative particle used in forming yes-no questions and the second *ba* functions merely as interrogative adverb. As an interrogative adverb, it goes along with the Filipino interrogative pros.

Meanwhile, the sentences below show that the interrogative particle *ba* is placed after the element that is being asked, usually after the predicate. These elements can be NPs, VPs, Aps and PPs that function as predicate.

- (126) *Abogado ang kaibigan ko.*  
 ‘My friend is a lawyer.’  
 >*Abogado ba ang kaibigan ko?* ‘Is my friend a lawyer?’  
 \**Abogado ang kaibigan ko ba?*
- (127) *Siya ang nagpadala ng mga bulaklak.*

‘He sent the flowers.’  
> *Siya ba ang nagpadala ng mga bulaklak?*  
‘Is he the one who sent the flowers?’  
\* *Siya ang nagpadala ng mga bulaklak ba?*

- (128) *Natutulog ang bata.*  
‘The child slept.’  
> *Natutulog ba ang bata?*  
‘Did the child sleep?’  
\* *Natutulog ang bata ba?*
- (129) *Matangkad na bata si Nene.*  
‘Nene is a tall kid.’  
> *Matangkad na bata ba si Maria?*  
‘Is Nene a tall kid?’  
\* *Matangkad na bata si Nene ba?*

- (130) *Malinis kumanta si Juan.*  
‘Juan sings flawlessly.’  
*Malinis bang kumanta si Juan?*  
‘Does Juan sing flawlessly?’  
\* *Malinis kumanta si Juan ba?*

- (131) *Sa susunod na linggo ang party.*  
‘Next week will be the party.’  
> *Sa susunod na linggo ba ang party?*  
‘Will the party be next week?’  
\* *Sa susunod na linggo ang party ba?*

- (132) *Nasa bahay ang kotse.*  
‘The car is at home.’  
> *Nasa bahay ba ang kotse?*  
‘Is the car at home?’  
\* *Nasa bahay ang kotse ba?*

- (133) *Mayroong Diyos.*  
‘God exists.’  
> *Mayroon bang Diyos?*  
‘Does God exist?’  
\* *Mayroong Diyos ba?*

In the case of the *may* and *mayroon/meron*, the interrogative particle *ba* can only be inserted after a content word after *may* and immediately after *meron*.

It can also be observed that if *ba* is used along with other particles like *raw*, *rin*, *na*, *ba* should immediately follow after these particles.

- (134) *May maganda raw na maidudulot ang regular na pag-eehersisyo.*  
>*May maganda raw bang maidudulot ang regular na pag-eehersisyo?*  
\**May ba maganda raw maidudulot ang regular na pag-eehersisyo?*  
\**May maganda raw maidudulot ba ang regular na pag-eehersisyo?*
- (135) *May itinira rin kami para sa kanya.*  
>*May itinira rin ba kami para sa kanya?*  
\**May ba itinira kami para sa kanya?*  
\**May itinira rin kami ba para sa kanya?*
- (136) *May bahay na sila sa Tandang Sora.*  
>*May bahay na ba sila sa Tandang Sora?*  
\**May ba bahay na sila sa Tandang Sora?*  
\**May bahay na sila ba sa Tandang Sora?*

#### 4.3 The position of confirmation question markers in Pangasinan

It is mentioned earlier that *anto*, *awa* and *di ba* are the confirmation question markers used in Pangasinan. *Anto* and *awa* are placed only at the end of the sentence while *di ba* can be both at the beginning and end of the sentence.

- PNG (137) *Masamit yan kakanen awa?*  
\**Awa masamit yan kakanen?*  
'This food tastes good, right?'
- (138) *Umpisaan ti la yan proyekto anto?*  
\**Anto umpisaan ti la yan proyekto?*  
'We're going to start this project right'
- (139) *Ongagana ya di ba?*  
*Di ba ongagana ya?*  
'This one's working right?'

#### 4.4 The position of confirmation question markers in Filipino

Filipino confirmation question marker *noh* appears only at the end of the sentence while *di ba* can be both at the beginning and end of the sentence.

- FIL (140) *Nagkakaintindihan tayo noh?*  
'We' understand each other right?'

- (141) *Magkikita pa naman tayo di ba?*  
*Di ba magkikita pa naman tayo?*  
 ‘We’re still going to see each other right?’

#### 4.5 The structure of interrogative pro questions in Filipino

Transforming a declarative sentence to an interrogative pro question involves substitution and movement. In the sentence below, we substitute the interrogative pro *saan* and *kailan* to *sa Cebu* and *noong nakaraang buwan*, respectively.

- FIL (142a) *Naglibot-libot si Isko sa Cebu noong nakaraang buwan.*  
 (142b) *Naglibot-libot si Isko saan noong nakaraang buwan?*  
 (142c) *Naglibot-libot si Isko sa Cebu kailan?*

After the substituting the interrogative pro, we proceed by moving it to the initial position of the sentence.

- (142d) *Saan naglibot-libot si Isko noong nakaraang buwan?*  
 (142e) *Kailan naglibot-libot si Isko sa Cebu?*

The substitution of the interrogative pro in the sentence is accepted sometimes, as seen in sentences (142b) and (142c). However, placing the interrogative pro at the beginning of the sentence, as seen in sentences (142d) and (142e), is more natural and acceptable.

Speech acts theory explains that the interrogative marker makes the signal more explicit to the interlocutor that a speech act has been performed, and that it requires an answer to fulfill its condition of satisfaction.

This process of transforming declarative into an interrogative sentence is consistent with wh-movement. The transformation moves the wh-XP to the [Spec, CP] position.

On the other hand, if we are going to transform sentences (143a) and (144a) to derive their interrogative counterparts without changing the form of the verb, we can have (143b) or (143c) and (1442b) or (144c).

- (143a) *Tumakbo si Julio.*  
 (143b) *>Tumakbo sino?*  
 (143c) *>\*Sino tumakbo?*  
 (143d) *>Sino ang tumakbo?*
- (144a) *Sinuspinde ng DepEd ang klase kahapon.*  
 (144b) *>\*Sinuspinde ng DepEd ano kahapon?*  
 (144c) *>\*Ano sinuspinde ng DepEd kahapon?*  
 (144d) *>Ano ang sinuspinde ng DepEd kahapon?*

The transformation to interrogative, as shown in (143c) and (144c), results in ungrammaticality. However, if we look at (143d) and (144d), the transformation to interrogative becomes grammatical.

Notice also that after the movement, the subject marker *ang* appeared. The absence of the marker *ang* results in an ungrammaticality of the sentence.

We can say that these sentences do not follow the simple process of wh-movement compared with the sentences given earlier. The transformation resembles that of cleft constructions.

(145a) *Nanood ng pekikula si Lito.*

(145b) *Si Lito ang nanood ng pekikula.*

(146a) *Pinitas ni Julia ang mga rosas.*

(146b) *Ang mga rosas ang pinitas ni Julia.*

Let us identify now the difference between those sentences which are consistent with the wh-movement and those which are not.

Before the movement, the interrogative *pro* in the former sentences are adjuncts while the latter are the grammatical subjects. Moving the adjuncts in the initial position does not affect their function as adjuncts.

On the contrary, grammatical subjects, when moved to the initial position due to clefting become the predicate while the other sentence constituent becomes the “subject” or the headless relative clause.

If we allow the adjuncts take the same process and form cleft constructions, we encounter ungrammaticality. Let us consider the following sentences.

(147a) *Pumunta sa Maynila si Magda.*

(147b) *Saan ang pumunta si Magda?*

(148a) *Sinuspinde ng DepEd ang klase kahapon.*

(148b) *Kailan ang sinuspinde ng DepEd ang klase?*

In the case of the adjuncts, the problem on ungrammaticality is solved when wh-movement is applied.

(149a) *Pumunta sa Maynila si Magda.*

(149b) *Saan pumunta si Magda?*

(150a) *Sinuspinde ng DepEd ang klase kahapon.*

(150b) *Kailan sinuspinde ng DepEd ang klase?*

Based on our discussion, it shows that interrogatives involving grammatical subjects and objects undergo interrogative pro substitution. The interrogative pro is then moved to the initial position of the sentence. This is required to explicitly signal an illocutionary act. However, this movement is not the same movement that adjuncts undergo because a cleft construction is formed, and the subject marker *ang* appears immediately after interrogative pro.

- (151) *Sino ang nag-grocery sa SM noong isang linggo?*  
 >>*Si Rina (ang nag-grocery sa SM noong isang lingo).*
- (152) *Ano ang pinuntahan nina Jaime at Tina kahapon sa city hall?*  
 >>*Ang hearing ng kanilang annulment case (ang pinuntahan nina Jaime at Tina kahapon sa city hall).*
- (153) *Ano ang ginawa ni Thelma?*  
 >>*Tumakbo (ang ginawa ni Thelma).*
- (154) *Ano ang nangyari sa dalaga?*  
 >>*Biglang hinimatay (ang nangyari dalaga).*

#### 4.6 The structure of interrogative pro questions in Pangasinan

Our findings in Filipino also match the structure of interrogative pro questions in Pangasinan. We, basically, have identified three ways of transforming a declarative sentence into an interrogative pro question – substitution, clefting and wh-movement.

- PNG (155a) *Inmakis imay ogaw.* ‘The child cried.’  
 (155b) *Inmakis imay siopa?* > substitution  
 (155c) *Siopay inmakis?* > Wh-movement and clefting  
 ‘Who cried?’
- (156a) *Imbantak nen Tinoy basura ed ilog.* ‘Tino threw the garbage in the river.’  
 (156b) *Imbantak nen Tinoy anto ed ilog?* > substitution  
 (156c) *Antoy imbantak nen Tino ed ilog?* > Wh-movement and clefting  
 ‘What did Tino throw in the river?’

In the sentences above, transforming a declarative into an interrogative sentence involves clefting. As already mentioned, cleft constructions raise the subject of a simple declarative sentence to the initial position making the other constituent the “subject” or the headless relative clause after the movement. The appearance of the subject marker *so* or *imay/may* is also necessary after the movement.

On the other hand, through wh-movement, the interrogative pro that substitutes for the adjunct can be moved to the initial position of the sentence without affecting its grammatical function.

- (157a) *Kinmalab kamid Mt. Pulag nen bakasyon.*

‘We climbed Mt. Pulag last vacation.’

(157b) *Kapigan kami kinmalab ed Mt. Pulag?*

‘When did we climb Mt. Pulag?’

#### 4.7 Pronouns in Pangasinan and Filipino interrogative pro questions

Pronouns really have distinct behavior. NPs (other than pronouns, of course) maintain their position in the sentence even after the *wh*-movement. Pronouns, however, tends to move in a position immediately following the interrogative *pro*. Consider the sentences below.

PNG (158a) *Akila si Jen tan si Mel ed fieldwork.*

(158b) *Iner akila si Jen tan si Mel?*

(158c) *\*Iner akila ira?*

(158d) *Iner ira akila?*

FIL (159a) *Bumili ng mga laruan sina Abel at Sophia sa Trinoma.*

(159b) *Saan bumili ng mga laruan sina Abel at Sophia?*

(159c) *\*Saan bumili sila ng mga laruan?*

(159d) *Saan sila bumili ng mga laruan?*

It is obvious that in both Pangasinan and Filipino, if a pronoun is used, it does not remain in the position of the NP that it replaces. It has to be in a position immediately following the interrogative *pro*.

#### 5.0 Summary and conclusion

This paper presented the differences, as well as the similarities, of the interrogatives in Pangasinan and Filipino. The discussion on yes-no questions showed that aside from the usual interrogative markers used, changing the intonation pattern of the sentence from falling to rising can be the most convenient and easiest way to transform a simple declarative to interrogative. The paper also presented confirmation question markers appear both at the beginning and end of the sentence.

The discussion on interrogative *pro* questions identified the interrogative *pros* used in forming this type of question. It is observed that in terms of the number of interrogative *pros* used, Filipino has more than the number of interrogative *pros* used in Pangasinan.

For example, we have seen that Pangasinan do not have a separate lexical items that is equivalent to Filipino’s *kanino*, *nakanino*, *nino*, *ilanan* and *gaano*. Interrogative *pros* such as *siopa*, *kolaan*, *pigara*, *amimpiga/mamimpiga* may be used instead with the help of other elements in the sentence such as verbal affixes and some qualifiers to form the interrogative sentence with a sense similar to those in Filipino.

In terms of the structure of the interrogative pro questions, we have seen the process of substitution, clefting and wh-movement in both Pangasinan and Filipino. This paper aligned its discussion on the analysis of Aldridge (2002) and Mercado (2004) on Tagalog wh-questions. The paper suggests that interrogative pros replace specific constituents in the sentence. Wh-movement and clefting are involved depending on the type of interrogative pro question.

This paper observes that wh-movement is used when an adjunct is involved. On the other hand, in the process where the grammatical subjects and objects are involved, clefting helps in explaining the process.

Lastly, the concept from the theory of speech acts explains the need to move the interrogative pros to the initial position of the sentence. Since the interrogative pros bear an illocutionary force, the movement just makes the speech act more explicit. It gives the interlocutor a signal and helps him interpret the speech act that has just been performed.

## **6.0 References**

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**PINOY-PHRASED:  
A Study on Philippine Audiovisual Translation Shifts and Norms**

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**ABSTRACT**

Shifts are the deviations from the original text that are treated as results of the constraints imposed or the allowances afforded by both the text and the recipient culture. The shifts reveal the regular choices made in the translation and in turn, reveal the norms of the translation process. Norms are translation trends which are reflective of the recipient culture's own norms and general values, which are, in this case, Filipino.

This paper presents a roster of these shifts and norms. It sheds light on the treatment of audiovisual materials as voiced-over, subtitled and dubbed translations in the Philippine context. This paper also introduces the terms used to label these occurrences. For instance, the term *Filtering* is introduced to refer to the norm which necessitates the shift involved in the translation of the English expletive "*Son of a bitch!*" to the harmless and acceptable expression "*Naku naman!*" (trans. '*Oh, come on*'). The term *Zero Transeme Shift* is introduced to refer to a shift that occurs when a concept or idea, which has been left out or added, does not have a linguistic realization at the level of the transeme.

The inter-disciplinary nature of translation could not be understated. Its practice does not only encompass linguistics and ethnology (Hymes, 1964) but also communication studies and philosophy (Munday, 2001), and even film and art studies. The term *text* is no longer synonymous with written material, but has broadened to include in its definition, audiovisual (AV) material—both *bigscreen* and *smallscreen* productions, cybermedia productions and stage productions.

The shifts and norms presented in this paper are a product of the translation study of three AV texts. The selection of the AV texts had been guided by the choice to explore each mode of audiovisual translation. The film *Dekada '70* was chosen to represent English-subtitled Filipino films, an episode from the American TV series *24* to represent Filipino-dubbed foreign audiovisual materials and *March of the Penguins* to represent voiced-over audiovisual translations from English to Filipino. When the transcripts of these films were ready, the utterances of interest in each analysis were identified and isolated. For *Dekada '70*, this constituted all the utterances of informal speech in the film. For *March of*

*the Penguins* and 24, the data was composed of all culture-specific elements and all the linguistic instances of humor, irony, poignancy.

The shift analysis in this study was plotted in a three-column chart with a middle column marking the number of the ST-TT (source text-translated text) pair. The left column presents the SL utterance and its segmentation while the right column presents the equivalent TL utterance and its segmentation. The lower row of a shift analysis chart identifies the shifts. The following chart from *March of the Penguins* exemplifies the plotting of the transemes:

<i>And they will march, just as they have done for centuries, ever since the emperor penguin decided to stay, to live and love...</i>		<i>Tulad ng nakagawian na ng libong henerasyon, maglalakbay ang mga emperor penguin, mabubuhay, magbibigay buhay at magmamahal.</i>
and	1137	
just as they have done for centuries	1138	tulad ng nakagawian na ng libong henerasyon
they	1139	ang mga emperor penguin
will march	1140	ay maglalakbay
ever since the emperor penguin decided to		
stay	1141	
to live	1142	mabubuhay
	1143	magbibigay buhay
and love	1144	at magmamahal
1137. No shift. 1138. Lexical shift (centuries => henerasyon) 1139. Class shift 1140. Lexical Shift 1141. Zero Transeme Shift 1142. No shift 1143. Zero Transeme Shift 1144. No Shift		

There are several factors that motivate the shifts in the AV text. One of these is the mode of an AV translation, which refers to any of the three manners by which a film is translated: subtitling, dubbing and voice-over. Mode influences the options that are available for the translator and the decisions regarding these options. For voice-over, for example, which is the least constrained of the three AV translation modes, the options for the translator are more than those available for subtitling and dubbing. Since the only visual synchrony requirement is that of the image and the background voice, the translation is therefore freer. Subtitling, on the other hand, is the most constrained of the three modes because it observes space and time restrictions. The most space a subtitle occupies is two lines, with the lower line having thirty-five characters at the most and the upper line having less. The longest time it can stay onscreen is seven seconds. These constraints affect the translation, since more restrictions, rather than options, are available for the translator.

The translation shift analyses of the films yielded a total of 2,140 translation units that comprised the corpora of this study. These units were paired and numbered (as seen in the following examples) and analyzed according to the translation processes each pair underwent. The identification of these processes yielded a preliminary roster of audiovisual translation shifts. For the purpose of labeling, the following terms are suggested:

## 1. Zero Transeme Shift

This refers to the kind of shift that occurs usually in non-paired translation units (*transemes*), i.e. units that do not have counterparts, such as those produced from translation processes like Omission and Addition. These processes delete or add concepts and the shifts from these processes, although understood in the utterance level, occur without linguistic realization in the level of the transeme.

<b>Ano 'ka mo? Ano ba'ng trabaho ang sinasabi mo?</b>		<i>What did you say? What kind of work?</i>
ano 'ka mo?	52	what did you say?
ano ba'ng trabaho	53	what kind of work
ang sinasabi mo	54	
52. Stylistic Shift (through Equivalence) 53. Stylistic Shift (through Equivalence) <b>54. Zero Transeme Shift (through Omission)</b> ( <i>trans. 'are you talking about'</i> )		

## 2. Modulation Shift

This refers to the shift that occurs after Modulation, which is a process that changes the semantics and point of view of the SL transeme (Munday, 2001). Modulation shifts occur vis-à-vis *syntactic shifts*. At the level of the message, the following modulation shifts occur.

- a. *Shift in Number*. This refers to a change from plural to singular and vice versa.

<i>Moons come and go in the soon-to-be-endless night.</i>		<i>Darating at maglalaho ang buwan.</i>
moons	358	ang buwan
come and go	359	darating at maglalaho
in the soon-to-be endless night	360	
358. <b>Shift in Number</b> ( <i>ang buwan = 'the moon'</i> ) 359. Metaphoric Shift 360. Zero Transeme Shift (through Omission)		

- b. *Shift in Tense*. This refers to a change in the verb form of the SL transeme.

<i>Eh, di naintindihan nyo na rin, Dad, kung hindi man kami magbalikan ni Evelyn.</i>		<i>So you would understand if Evelyn and I don't get back together?</i>
naintindihan nyo na rin	396	you would understand
Dad	397	
kung hindi man [kami] magbalikan	398	don't get back together
[kami] ni Evelyn	399	Evelyn and I
<b>396. Shift in Tense through Modulation</b> <i>(naintindihan nyo na rin = 'you have understood then')</i> 397. Zero Transeme Shift (through Omission) 398. Metaphoric Shift 399. No shift (Literal Translation)		

- c. *Shift in POV (Point of View)*. This refers to a change in the focus of the utterance in relation to the speaker.

<b>Nagkabanggitan</b> lang naman kami		<i>I just mentioned it in passing.</i>
nagkabanggitan	55	mentioned in passing
lang	56	just
naman	57	
kami	58	I
55. Metaphoric shift 56. No shift (Literal Translation) 57. Zero Transeme Shift (through Omission) <b>58. Shift in POV through Modulation</b> ( <i>kami = 'we'</i> )		

- d. *Shift in Voice*. This refers to change in the construction of sentences from the active to the passive and vice versa.

<i>Allan Melliken was having an affair with Sherry. Julia found out and she killed them both.</i>		<i>Si Allan Melliken at si Sherry ay nagkarelasyon. Nalaman yun ni Julia kaya pareho silang pinatay.</i>
Allan Melliken was having an affair with Sherry	208	Si Allan Melliken at si Sherry ay nagkarelasyon
Julia found out	209	nalaman yun ni Julia
and she killed them both	210	kaya pareho silang pinatay
208 Metaphoric shift (having an affair => nagkarelasyon) 209 No shift (Literal Translation) <b>210 Shift in Voice (active =&gt; passive)</b> <i>(kaya pareho silang pinatay = 'so they were both killed')</i>		

- e. *Shift in Specificity*. This refers to a change in the rendering of abstract and general concepts in the SL to concrete and specific ones in the TL (or vice versa).

And occasionally the new family can actually spend some time together.		At parang tayo rin ha. Kung may libreng oras, aba nag-gugoodtime din ang bagong buong pamilya.
	1031	at parang tayo rin ha
occasionally	1032	kung may libreng oras
the new family	1033	ang bagong [buong] pamilya
	1034	buong
can actually	1035	
spend some time together	1036	nag-gugoodtime din
1031. Zero Transeme Shift through Addition <b>1032. Shift in Specificity (abstract =&gt; concrete)</b> (kung may libreng oras = 'if there is free time') 1033. No shift (Literal Translation) 1034. Zero Transeme Shift through Addition 1035. Zero Transeme Shift through Omission 1036. Stylistic Shift (informal)		

- f. *Shift in Relationship*. This is a change in part-whole/whole-part, cause-effect, space/time relationships.

The newborn will have died from cold or hunger or at the hands of some predator.		Pwedeng namatay ito sa ginaw, o sa gutom, o sa kuko ng mga ibang ibon.
the newborn will have died	1002	pwedeng namatay ito
from cold	1003	sa ginaw
or hunger	1004	o gutom
at the hands	1005	sa kuko
of some predator	1006	ng mga ibang ibon
1002. Shift in Tense 1003. Literal Translation 1004. Literal Translation <b>1005. Shift in Relationship through Modulation (whole =&gt; part)</b> (sa kuko = 'in the talons') 1006. Shift in Specificity		

### 3. Lexical Shift

This occurs when there is an existing correspondent word or word equivalent for the SL word in the TL system, but the translation involves the selection of another word in the lexicon of the TL system. Lexical shifts are referred to as *intra-system shifts* in Catford's classification, and occur as products of Modulation.

Eventually, one of them will pick up the trail. And the journey continues.		Asahan niyo na may isa na makakatukoy ng tamang direksiyon at tuloy pa rin ang kanilang marcha.
eventually	166	
	167	asahan ninyo
one of them	168	may isa
will pick up the trail	169	na makakatukoy ng tamang direksiyon
and the journey continues	170	at tuloy pa rin ang [kanilang] marcha
	171	kanilang [marha]
166. Zero Transeme Shift 167. Zero Transeme Shift 168. Syntactic Shift (Class Shift: noun => pron) 169. No Shift <b>170. Lexical Shift (journey = paglalakbay =&gt; marcha 'march')</b> 171. Zero Transeme Shift		

#### 4. Syntactic Shift

This is a shift in the grammatical structure that occurs when the SL transeme is rendered to the TL in a different syntactic or lexical category, without having undergone a shift in the original message. For purposes of hierarchical classification, syntactic shifts fall under two divisions: category shifts and class shifts.

- a. *Category Shift*. This involves a structural change that occurs at the level of phrases and clauses. Shifts in this division involve the following:

Clause => phrase and vice versa

Clause => word and vice versa

Phrase => word and vice versa

Phrase => phrase (e.g. NP => VP)

The following are examples of category shifts taken from the Shift Analysis done on the films.

*Lies beneath their feet* => *ang tinutungtungan nilang yelo*  
(VP + PP functioning as Adv) (NP functioning as Adj)

as they move about => sa kanilang pagkilos  
(clause) (phrase)

- b. *Class Shift*. This occurs at the level of the lexicon, i.e. word classes. Class shifts are the result of Transposition. This is especially evident in the affixation of borrowed words from the SL system. The following are examples of class shifts:

sa *kahihintay* sa isang ngiti => *waiting* for a smile (N => V)

at mapansin ng mga *lalake* => or be noticed by *us* (N => P)

patuloy na *makipagsabwatan* => continue the *connivance* (V => N)

hindi *magma-Martial Law* => wouldn't impose *Martial Law* (V => N)

for *those who started late* => sa *mga penguin na nahuli* (P=> N)

## 5. Semantic Shift

This is a kind of shift that occurs at the level of the message, without prejudice to whether a syntactic shift co-occurs.

- a. *Absolute Semantic Shift*. This occurs due to Adaptation, a process that changes the referent of the SL transeme because of the lack of one in the TL culture.

As they move about the fathers will balance their eggs like tightrope walkers.		Sa kanilang pagkilos, ingat na ingat ang mga Tatay Penguin sa kanilang paglakad na parang tumutulay sa misua.
as they move about	549	sa kanilang pagkilos
the fathers	550	ang mga Tatay Penguin
will balance their eggs	551	
	552	ingat na ingat
	553	sa kanilang paglakad
like tightrope walkers	554	na parang tumutulay sa misua
549. Category Shift (clause => prepositional phrase) 550. Lexical Shift 551. Zero Transeme Shift (Omission) 552. Zero Transeme Shift (Addition) 553. Zero Transeme Shift (Addition) <b>554. Absolute Semantic Shift</b> (parang tumutulay sa misua = 'like crossing a noodle strand')		

- b. *Partial Semantic Shift*. This refers to semantic shifts that involve the rendering of the SL utterance using the closest related concept in the TL system. Partial Semantic Shifts are also produced due to the amplification (the exaggeration of a concept) and understatement.

Now it is dark almost all the time And the mother of all blizzards is about to arrive.		Napakadilim na. Parating na ang pinakamalalang bagyo.
now it is dark	645	napakadilim na
almost all the time	646	
and the mother of all blizzards	647	pinakamalalang bagyo
is [about] to arrive	648	paring na
about	649	
645. Partial Semantic Shift 646. Zero Transeme Shift (Omission) <b>647. Partial Semantic Shift (blizzard =&gt; bagyo 'storm')</b> 648. No shift (Literal Translation) 649. Zero Transeme Shift (Omission)		

- c. *Metaphoric Shift*. This is for the translation of set phrases from the SL which have parallel constructions (i.e. set phrases in the TL) that are equivalents or non-parallel constructions that deliver an equivalent effect.

<i>Emperor penguins are monogamous. Sort of. They mate with only one partner per year, which means every new season, all bets are off.</i>		<i>Aba, ang mga emperor penguin ay monogamous. Ibig sabihin, iisa lang ang kapartner nila. Pero sa loob ng isang taon lang yun ha. Pagkatapos ng isang taon, aba, ibang usapan na yun.</i>
	243	aba
emperor penguins	244	ang mga emperor penguins
are monogamous	245	ay monogamous
sort of	246	
	247	ibig sabihin
they mate with only one partner	248	isa lang ang kapartner nila
	249	pero
per year	250	sa loob ng isang taon
	251	lang yun
which means	252	
every new season	253	pagkatapos ng isang taon
all bets are off	254	ibang usapan na yun
243. Zero Transeme Shift (Addition) 244. Borrowing 245. Borrowing 246. Zero Transeme Shift (Omission) 247. Zero Transeme Shift (Addition) 248. Stylistic Shift 249. Zero Transeme Shift (Addition) 250. Category Shift (AdvP => PP) 251. Zero Transeme Shift (Addition) 252. Zero Transeme Shift (Omission) 253. Partial Semantic Shift <b>254. Metaphoric Shift</b> ( <i>ibang usapan na yun</i> = 'that's a different story')		

## 6. Stylistic Shift

This occurs when the change from the SL to the TL involves a change in style (formal or informal) and register, in otherwise semantically equivalent constructions.

<i>There is usually a graceful parade. But not always.</i>		<i>Magandang parade ang kalalabasan. Masarap panoorin. Pero syempre, laging may mga pasaway.</i>
there is usually a graceful parade	180	Magandang parade ang kalalabasan
	181	masarap panoorin
but	182	pero
	183	syempre
not always	184	laging may mga pasaway



- 180. Equivalence
- 181. Zero Transeme Shift
- 182. No shift (Literal Translation)
- 183. Zero Transeme Shift
- 184. Stylistic Shift** (*laging may mga pasaway* = 'there are always errant [participants]')

The shifts identified in this study reveal the regular choices made in the translation and in turn, reveal the norms which have been in operation during the translation process. *Norms are translation trends that are reflective of the recipient culture's own norms and general values, which are, in this case, Filipino.* The paper sheds light on the treatment of voiced-over, subtitled and dubbed audiovisual materials in the Philippine context, and provides insights on the relationship between translation norms and the recipient culture.

The AV translation norms may be optional or obligatory. Obligatory norms are seen to perform a prescriptive function; they are the first considerations that influence a translation. Universal translation requirements, such as naturalness, and primary sociocultural considerations are the concerns of these norms. In this study, two obligatory norms are identified: *naturalization* and *filtering*.

**Naturalization.** A good translation is one that is both faithful to the message and natural-sounding to the TL (target language) receptors. Syntactic shifts—those that involve a change in the grammatical structure of the TL segment— occur because of the need to tailor the message to the TL linguistic system. The result is a TL-like utterance. The following pairs illustrate the shift that occurs in the observance of this norm:

- I screwed up earlier. (S-V-Adv)*    ⇔    *Sumabit ako kanina (V-S-Adv)*  
*I need a twenty on Tony Almeda. (S-TV-O-PP)*    ⇔    *Kailangankong twenty ni Tony Almeda (V-S-O-PP)*  
*Shut up! (S-V)*    ⇔    *Tumahimik ka! (V-S)*

The English segments on the right are in the *subject-predicate* structure, which is the usual English sentence structure. The Filipino segments on the left show that a change has been imposed by the TL, where the usual sentence structure is *predicate-subject*. Alongside these linguistic considerations, in an AV text, the need for naturalness is also imposed on the synchrony of the visuals and sounds. In dubbing, for example, naturalness is observed when the dubbed voice corresponds to or reinforces the visuals onscreen. In close-up shots, lip synchrony becomes an added constraint. Lexical and/or syntactic shifts are inevitable in the search of the TL utterance that would achieve this synchrony requirement.

**Filtering.** As an ethical norm operating in the sociocultural system of the TL, *filtering* requires shifts when the source language (SL) transeme is unacceptable in the TL system. The following examples are taken from the Shift Analysis done in the study:

*Dammit!* ⇒ *Malas! (trans. 'How unfortunate!')*  
*You're a son of a bitch, Tony.* ⇒ *Hayopka, Tony. (trans. You're an animal, Tony.)*  
*Shit! Exit security!* ⇒ *Si Tony. Exit security! (zero-translation)*

Filtering is also seen in non-linguistic renderings of certain scenes, where a shift in the vocal tone of the speaker/dubber is employed in order to create a dissimilar effect. Such is the case in the translation of the documentary "March of the Penguins". In this case, filtering is employed to produce an acceptable translation for children.

There are also optional AV translation norms. These are those that are motivated by either the constraints of or the options afforded by the AV translation mode. The following are the optional norms found in the translations:

**Modification.** The translation of modifiers (phrases or words that specify or describe) in the AV texts examined is a usual occurrence. Modification is a norm observed in the translation, where modifiers are added to the TL utterance.

<i>You committed treason. You facilitated the escape of the man who's responsible for the death of Ryan Chapel and also of thousand of civilians</i>		<i>Treason ang ginawa mo. Tinulungan mo'ng makatakas ang isang taong responsible sa pagkamatay si Ryan Chapel at ilang pang libong sibilyan</i>
you committed treason.	23	treason ang ginawamo
you facilitated the escape	24	Tinulungan mo'ng makatakas
of the man	25	ang isang taong
responsible for the death	26	responsible sa pagkamatay
	27	Sa kasamahan natin
of Ryan Chapel	28	si Ryan Chapel
and also of thousands of civilians	29	at ilang libo pang sibilyan

The example above shows how the translation hosted an additional concept, '*sa kasamahan natin*', which translates to '*our colleague*'. The function of the inserted phrase is adjectival.

**Specification.** This norm operates in instances where the SL utterance is made more explicit in the TL rendition, especially in the translation of metaphors and idioms. This norm accounts for abstract or general concepts in the SL being rendered in the TL using concepts that are concrete and specific. The example below illustrates the operation of this norm, when the translation of the SL transeme '*occasionally*' is the specific '*kung may libreng oras*' (trans. '*if there is free time*').

<i>And occasionally the new family can actually spend some time together.</i>		<i>At parangtayorin ha. Kung may libreng oras, aba nag-gugoodtime din ang bagong buong pamilya.</i>
	1031	at parangtayorin ha
occasionally	1032	kung may libreng oras
the new family	1033	ang bagong [buong] pamilya
	1034	buong

can actually	1035	
spend some time together	1036	nag-gugoodtime din

**Adaptation.** This norm operates in the translation of concepts that are non-existent in the TL system and culture. These concepts are usually geographic referents (including flora and fauna), field jargon and culture-specific elements, such as metaphors and other figurative language. In the following example, the ST transeme *'the large ice walls'* is rendered in the TL as *'mga nakapaligid na bundok'*, which literally translates to *'the surrounding mountains'*. Snow-related concepts are absent in the TL system; as a result, the translation required an adaptation, which still retains the sense of the original.

<i>And the large ice walls will offer some protection from the harshest winds.</i>		<i>OK narinang temperature ditodahilsamganakapaligidnabundoknahumah arangsamalamignahangin.</i>
	209	OK narin
and	210	
the large ice walls	211	Mga nakapaligid na bundok
offer some protection	212	humaharang
from the [harshest] winds	213	sa [malamig] nahangin
harshest	214	malamig

**Style Variation.** There are instances when the translation is influenced by constraints imposed by the AV translation mode. In these cases, discernible shifts from the original are observed. Such is the case of the example below, where the non-translation of the final utterance *"...ang sinasabi mo"* (trans. *'...are you talking about'*), yielded a shift in style and tone, from the informal and colloquial to the formal and impersonal. Style variation may also be the result of the shift in the translation's purpose and audience.

<b>Ano 'kamo?</b> <i>Anoba'ngtrabahoangsinasabimo?</i>		<i>What did you say? What kind of work?</i>
ano 'kamo?	52	what did you say?
anoba'ngtrabaho	53	what kind of work
angsinasabimo	54	
52. Stylistic Shift (through Equivalence) 53. Stylistic Shift (through Equivalence) <b>54. Zero Transeme Shift (through Omission)</b> (trans. <i>'are you talking about'</i> )		

**Amplification.** This norm is observed in some transems when the sense in the original is amplified, or exaggerated to some degree in the translation. This norm is the least observed in the corpora of this study. In the example below, the TL transeme *'gutom na gutom na'* does not translate only to 'hungry' but to 'famished', illustrating a shift from the original.

<i>But this chick is hungry. He needs the food in his mother's belly.</i>		<i>Perogutomnagutomnaangmga baby penguin. Kailangannilangpagkainnadalasanangmganaray.</i>
but	723	pero
this chick	724	ang baby penguin
is hungry	725	gutomnagutomna
he	726	nila
needs	727	kailangan
the food	728	ngpagkain
in his mother's belly	729	nadalasanangmganaray

**Reduction.** There are also shifts that are results of constraints in space (subtitling) and synchrony (dubbing). In these cases, a noticeable change in utterance length is observed. When reduction is structural, the norm in operation is *economy*; when it is conceptual, the norm in operation is *understatement*.

<i>Every time namatunugannilanamagkakaronng military operations, kami angunanilangitinatakas.</i>		<i>Whenever they hear of a military operation, they lead us to safety.</i>
every time	269	whenever
namatunugannila	270	they hear
namagkakaronng military operations	271	of a military operation
kami	272	us
ang [una] [nilang] itinatakas	273	they lead [us] to safety

**Retention.** This is the norm in operation in non-shift-yielding processes such as Borrowing and Literal Translation. In cases where this norm is in operation, shifts do not occur. Non-culture-specific elements are always literally translated, and jargon, especially, is always borrowed.

<i>We need Saunders to make an ID. I want you to move Saunders to Chloe's station. We're setting up a live feed. We should have it in a few minutes.</i>		<i>Kailangansi Saunders mismoang mag-ID. Gusto kongdalhinmosiyasa station ni Chloe. Magsi-set up kami ng live feed saloobngisangminuto.</i>
we need Saunders	80	kailangansi Saunders
	81	mismo
to make an ID	82	ang mag-ID
I want you to move Saunders	83	dalhinmosiya
to Chloe' station	84	sa station ni Chloe
we're setting up a live feed	85	magsi-set up kami ng live feed
we should have it in a few minutes	86	saloobngisangminuto

The three audiovisual translations analyzed in this study reveal several things about the Filipino people as a community. The borrowings that are made in the translations and the affixation of borrowed words with Filipino affixes, imply that the Filipino community is comfortable with translations. The adaptations of non-existing concepts and the care that is observed in the employment of equivalent effect imply that adequate message transfer is always prioritized. On the other hand, the adaptation—the filtering—of tabooed concepts and expletives imply that the Filipino culture places supreme

importance on social values even when these expressions are uttered by non-Filipinos in a non-Filipino context.

Like other translations, audiovisual translations reveal the things that are deemed important in a culture. The things that are prioritized, or allowed, or restricted in a translation allude to the predisposition of a receiving culture. How does the receiving culture perceive translations? Do linguistic rules restrict literal translation, or do they allow it? Does geographical location account for “unfaithful” translations? Do social values admonish “faithful” translations of specific concepts? These questions arise in the process of translating and they are given importance in the decisions concerning the translation. The translated audiovisual text, therefore, aside from conveying its own creative purpose, also conveys the sociocultural identity of the recipient culture that shapes its translation. The translations of the films examined in the study reveal that the Filipino TL system shapes the AV text, producing translations that are truly *Pinoy*-phrased.

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# Speech Corpus and Applications Development for Philippine Languages

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## ABSTRACT

This paper presents five speech corpora at the UP Digital Signal Processing Laboratory (UP DSP Lab) including the design and recording specifications. In the last ten years, the UP DSP Lab had developed several speech corpora based on the projected needs in applications development. Starting with speech recognition, the Filipino Speech Corpus (FSC) was developed. A second FSC for speech synthesis was later developed. Simulated call center emotions were recorded for an emotion detector based on audio properties of speech. Currently a speech database with 10 Philippine languages is being recorded for various speech applications. The use of these databases in several research projects will be highlighted in this paper including the performance of completed systems that use the databases. Smaller databases for specific purposes such as children speech recognition are also being developed in the laboratory.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The most natural mode of communication for human beings is speech. From as early as the 70s, speech recognition tools have been developed for several languages such as English, German and Japanese. The task of a speech recognition system is to accept speech audio input and to produce the text of the speech. The first requirement for the development of such a system is speech and text data in the target language. Since there was not speech database for Filipino, the UP Digital Signal Processing Laboratory embarked on the development of the Filipino Speech Corpus (FSC).

In 2001, when the FSC was being designed, it has already been 14 years since Filipino was designated as the national language in the Constitution. Finding the standard spelling for Filipino words was problematic since there was no Filipino dictionary at that time. It was only later that the UP Diksiyonaryong Filipino was published. Thus the FSC was

designed from an engineer's point of view for the primary purpose of developing a speech recognizer [7].

Work on speech synthesis started in 2002, at the word concatenation level using the FSC [15]. By the time smaller units such as phones and diphones, were needed for new speech synthesis systems, a second FSC had to be designed and recorded. Other speech corpus development were undertaken as the need arise as will be detailed in Section 2 of this paper. Work on Filipino speech recognition and synthesis continues at the UP DSP Lab as will be discussed in Section 3 of this paper.

Despite the government's efforts to create a language policy based on Filipino, the Philippine society continues to be multilingual. Filipino may the national language, but English is used in most societal interactions [14]. Even our Constitution and the conduct of legal procedures are in English. We are also confronted with opportunities in a booming call center business that contributes significantly to our economy. It was in recognition of the importance of call centers in the Philippines that the call center speech data was designed and developed at the UP DSP Lab to address emotion detection based on speech features.

In education, literacy in children's formative years is done usually through the vernacular or the mother-tongue. The latest K-12 plans of the Department of Education calls for specific speech applications that will address educational objectives. It is towards this end that a Filipino Children Speech Corpus was designed and recorded at the UP DSP Lab to address reading fluency in Grades 1 to 3.

Advances in technology allow the development and use of software applications that were difficult to imagine 10 years ago. The sophistication of hand-held devices such as cellular phones and tablet PCs has opened speech- and language-based applications that may also be used for education, conducting business, and other purposes that are driven by communications. Towards this end, the UP DSP Lab is currently developing a Philippine languages database that was designed to be a parallel corpus to allow translation among the languages.

## **2. DATABASES**

### **2.1 Filipino Speech Corpus**

The FSC contains more than one hundred hours of read Filipino text and spontaneous Filipino speech recorded from 50 female and 50 male speakers from various regions of the country. The recording was done in a relatively quiet room with 50 dB SNR, and has the following specifications: 16-bit, 44.1 kHz, mono. It includes 42 paragraphs, 120 short sentences, 1503 words and 431 syllables in the read speech; the spontaneous speech lasts for an average of 5 minutes. The data has been transcribed in XML format on an utterance level and 25 of the files have been manually transcribed on a phoneme level. Automated segmentation techniques were also developed to transcribe the FSC [4].

Several speech recognition systems were developed in the last 10 years using the FSC as the source of speech data. Language models for these speech recognition systems were developed from text data gathered from the Internet.

The FSC was used in the development of several Filipino speech synthesis systems [2, 3, 8]. The isolated words in the FSC were used in [3] as concatenation units, and the paragraphs and sentences in the corpus were used for prosodic models. However, only few sentences can be produced by the speech synthesis systems since words are used as concatenation units and prosody generation is dependent on the sentences present in the corpus. Thus the design and development of a second speech corpus, for the purpose of speech synthesis was built.

### **2.2 Filipino Speech Corpus 2**

FSC 2 consists of phrases from novels, news, and conversational Filipino speech recorded from 2 male and 2 female speakers. There were a total of 1,121 phrases for each speaker, recorded in an anechoic chamber and sampling specifications of 16-bit, 44.1 kHz, mono. The data was transcribed at the diphone level to be used in a speech synthesis system that employs unit selection [9].

### **2.3 Simulated Call Center Speech Database (SCCSD)**

A database of simulated call center speech was developed for the purpose of classifying the emotions of call center agents and clients based on audio parameters. Faculty members and students of the UP Department of Speech Communications and Theater Arts wrote call center conversation scripts that were acted out by a pair of actors,

with one actor portraying an agent and the other acts as a client. Each pair of actors read the script seven times with different combination of emotions of anger, happiness, neutral and bored. The call center speech corpus was recorded in 24-bit, 44.1 kHz, \*.wav format with the voice of the agent and the client recorded on the left and right channel, respectively [5].

A voice activation detector (VAD) [13] was used to determine the speech and non-speech parts of the data. The resulting transcription file was manually checked to adjust segmentations that were erroneously identified by the VAD. Each utterance is then labeled as one of the four emotions, depending on the acted out emotion of the agent and client.

### **2.4 Philippine Languages Database**

While several Filipino speech recognition and Filipino speech synthesis systems have been developed at the UP DSP Lab, there are no such systems for Philippine languages other than Filipino. In order to develop similar systems for other Philippine languages, there is a need to design and develop a database of ten (10) spoken languages in the Philippines. The languages with the most number of speakers were chosen. These are Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilokano, Hiligaynon or Ilonggo, Waray-Waray, Kapampangan, Northern Bicolano, Pangasinense, Tausug and Filipino English.

The language databases would consist of 200 hours each of speech from reading materials that have been translated in the 10 languages. The reading materials cover several domains suitable for use with different applications: airline names, body parts, cities, colors, pronouns, company names, female names, hotels, kinship, landmarks, local cuisine, male names, minimal pairs, ordinal terms, surnames, countries, time, weather, common expressions, terms used in school, greetings, interrogatives, medical terms, news report, and poems with shibboleths.

To date, more than 100 Tagalog speakers have been recorded. By July 2012 the Tagalog and Cebuano speech corpora will be finished. The other 8 languages will be recorded from July 2012 to June 2014.

### **2.5 Filipino Children Speech Corpus**

The FSC and FSC2 involved adult Filipino speakers and thus cannot be used for systems that are designed and built for children's use. Thus, the Filipino Children Speech Corpus (FCSC) was designed and is currently being. Children from Grades 2 to 5 were recorded while reading age-appropriate children's books and essays. Each child read 2 of the given materials. A small percentage of the

database will be hand-transcribed by linguists at phoneme-level.

### 3. APPLICATIONS DEVELOPMENT USING THE SPEECH CORPORA

#### 3.1 Speech Recognition

##### *3.1.1 Real-time Implementation of a Low Bit Rate Filipino Speech Codec Using Hidden Markov Model-based Speech Recognition/ Synthesis*

A speech coder and decoder, or codec, is one of the most important feature of communications devices such as cellular phones and tablet PCs. The use of codecs allows the efficient transmission of communication signals. The FSC was used to create a low bit rate Filipino speech codec which was ported to a DSP hardware for real-time implementation [6]. This study proved that it is possible to encode Filipino speech at very low rates and still produce intelligible synthesized speech.

##### *3.1.2 Implementation of a Smartphone-based Automatic Speech Recognition System for the Filipino Speech Corpus*

The cellular phone penetration in the Philippines is one of the highest in the Asian region. A mobile phone-based speech-to-text application was designed and developed using the FSC. The mobile phone receives voice input and computes the speech features needed for speech recognition. The speech features are sent via Bluetooth to a personal computer that decodes the speech features into text. The computer sends the generated text back to the mobile phone for display [1]. This application development is proof is currently being improved to the point where all the computations will be done on a smartphone.

##### *3.1.3 Development of an Emotion Detector for Call Center Speech*

Several pitch, duration and amplitude features were extracted from the Simulated Call Center Speech Database (SCCSD) to determine the best features that can discriminate among the following emotions: anger, happiness, neutral and boredom. A combination of these features yielded an accuracy of about 70% in classifying the emotion of an utterance in the SCCSD [5].

#### 3.2 Speech Synthesis

##### *3.2.1 Prosody Development for Filipino TTS System*

Prosody is a characteristic of speech which separates natural speech from synthesized speech in terms of rhythm, stress and intonation. A text-to-speech system (TTS) is designed to be

natural-sounding speech through the control of prosodic variation. The FSC was used to characterize Filipino prosody in phrases, sentences and interrogatives. Prosody-varying algorithms were designed in [3] to improve the naturalness of the synthesized Filipino speech using words as building blocks.

##### *3.2.2 Unit-selection TTS System*

To improve the naturalness of synthesized Filipino speech, prosody algorithms were developed to control intonation and duration models [8] using FSC2. These models were integrated in the design, implementation and evaluation of two Filipino TTS: the Hidden-Markov Modeling-based system and the unit-selection-based system [9]. The unit selection synthesis reached a Mean Opinion Score (MOS) of 3.27 for listening effort and 2.67 for naturalness while HTS reached an MOS of 3.13 for listening effort and 2.29 for naturalness. Thus, unit selection synthesis is better than HTS in generating natural sounding synthesized speech. Currently, in the Blizzard Challenge for Speech Synthesis, the best MOS is about 3.2. The TTS developed at the UP DSP Lab is the only Filipino speech synthesizer that has a respectable MOS. In the next two years, work will be done to improve its naturalness to the point where it can be used for practical applications such as book reader, speech translator and assistance for the visually-impaired.

#### 3.3 Other Applications

##### *3.3.1 Standardization of the Filipino Language: Focus on the Vowels of English Loan Words*

Most Filipinos code-switch between English and Filipino to the point where some English words have become loan words that are re-spelled in Filipino. For example, the English word 'variety' is re-spelled as 'varayti'. There is little or no change in the pronunciation of the loan word, but the spelling is changed. Thus, one of the challenges of this practice is establishing a rule for spelling the vowels of loan words. Three approaches were taken: (1) original spelling; (2) spelling based on the mapping between the FSC vowels and the TIMIT (an English speech database) vowels; and (3) spelling based on how the word is spoken. These spellings were presented to students while they listen to the words and they were asked to choose the best spelling. It was observed that the original spelling was the first choice, followed by the spelling based on how the word is spoken [10, 16].

##### *3.3.2 Filipino Speech Rhythm*

One of the characteristic of speech is rhythm based on the temporal relationship of sounds and the strictness to the consonant-vowel (CV) likeness in the language's syllable inventory. Languages are classified as either *syllable-timed* or *stress-timed*. English is stress-timed while Japanese is syllable-timed. In this study, Multivariate Discriminant Analysis (MDA) and perceptual methods were used to



classify the rhythm of English, Japanese and Filipino. A data-stripping technique called *flat sasasa resynthesis* was employed to isolate rhythm from speech. In this method the consonants were replaced with /s/ and the vowels were replaced with /a/, producing a resynthesized alternating “sasasa” sounds at a constant pitch (F0). The study showed that Filipino sentences tend to be labeled as Japanese 67% of the time using MDA, and listeners perceive Filipino to be more similar to Japanese. Thus Filipino belongs to the same group as the syllable-timed Japanese.

### 3.3.3 Educational Applications

A possible use of the corpora described in Section 2 are in computer-supplemented learning. Virtual Filipino dictionaries can be uploaded to the Internet to be a resource for language learners. Automated reading tutors that use a speech recognition engine can be made for the major Philippine languages to assist teachers in assessing and instructing young readers. Translators between Philippine languages can be created and made available as online resource or applications that can be ported to hand-held devices.

The possible applications in education are only limited by the imagination of developers and collaborators from the various disciplines such as Linguistics, Education, Language and Computer Science.

## 4. CONCLUSION

To date, the FSC has been used by several researchers in the US and Europe. The research groups in several universities in the Philippines have recently started requesting for copies of the FSC. The design of the Philippine Languages Database was a collaborative undertaking of the Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, College of Education, Linguistics Department and College of Engineering at the University of the Philippines Diliman, and the Komisyon ng Wikang Filipino. The collective effort of these groups is an indication of widespread use of the database in the future. These are the beginnings of computational linguistics in other universities and it can only be hoped that the same will happen in the Philippines.

## 5. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The development of the speech corpora in this paper would not have been possible without the enthusiasm, effort and dedication of the students, researchers and faculty members of the UP Digital Signal Processing; the support of the Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Research and Development, Office of the Vice-President for Academic Affairs and the Department of Science and Technology; and the cooperation of Dr. Galileo Zafra and Dr. Jovy Peregrino from the UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, Dr. Belen Calingacion from the UP Department of Speech Communications and Theater Arts, Dr. Dina Ocampo from the UP College of Education and Dr. Ricardo Nolasco from the UP Department of Linguistics.

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