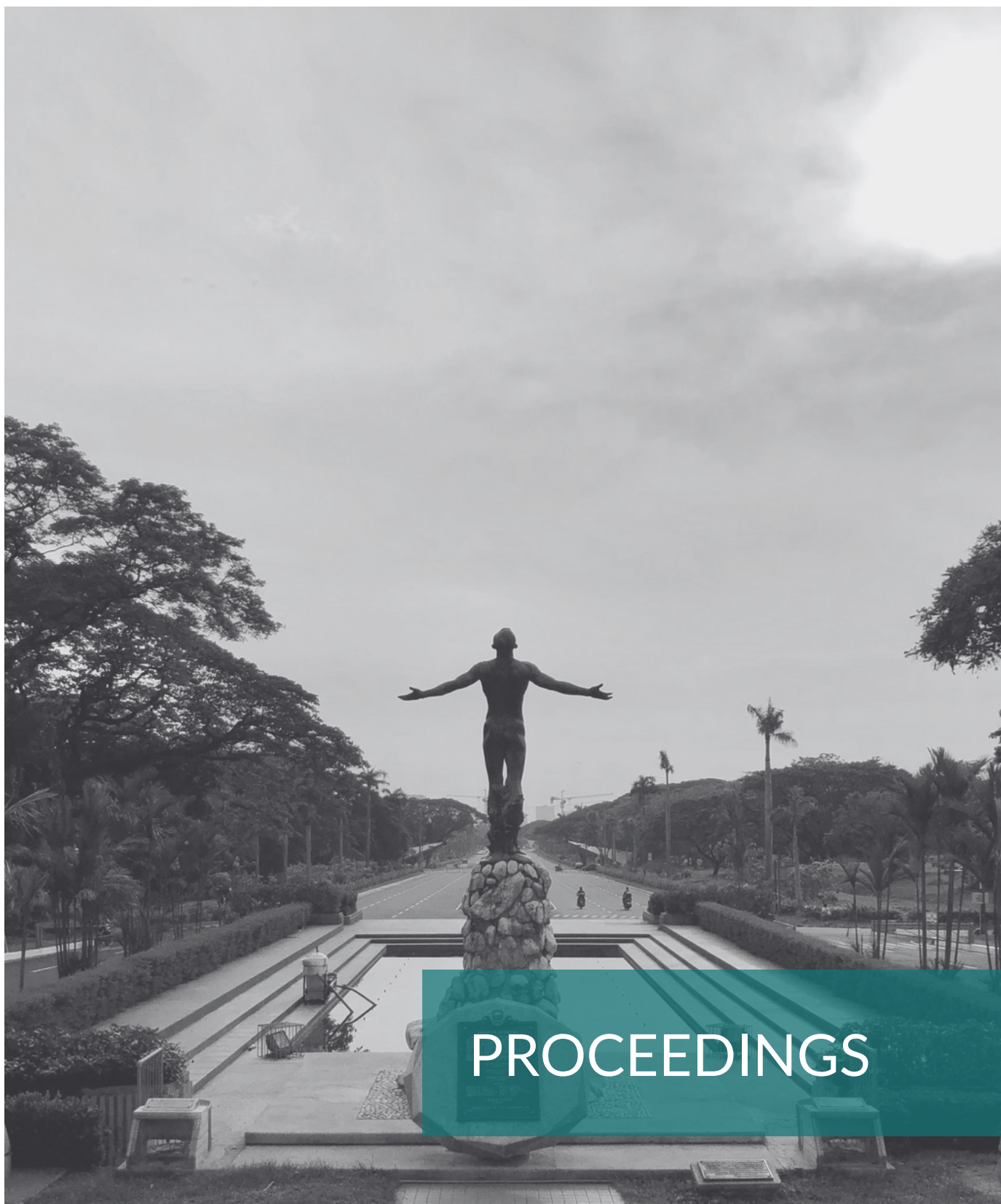


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Department of Linguistics
Palma Hall
Quirino Avenue
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City 1101
Philippines

<https://linguistics.upd.edu.ph/>

linguistics.upd@up.edu.ph

ANG HISTORIKAL NA PAG-AARAL NG MGA WIKA SA PILIPINAS

CONSUELO J. PAZ

Department of Linguistics and Asian Languages
University of the Philippines

Ang gawaing kong ito'y binubuo ng dalawang parte. Sa unang parte'y ipapakita ko ang kalagayan ng mga historikal na pag-aaral ng mga wika sa Pilipinas at kung ano o sino ang nagkaimpluwensya sa mga ganitong uri ng pag-aaral. Sa ikalawang parte'y ipriprisinta ko ang proposal ko tungkol sa pagrerekonstrak ng Proto-Philippine o ng wikang masasabing pinanggalingan ng mga wika sa Pilipinas upang mai-pakita ko ang importansya ng pagpapalit ng pananaw sa historikal na pag-aaral ng mga nasabing wika.

Kapag ineksamin ang mga historikal na pag-aaral tungkol sa mga wika sa Pilipinas, mapupuna agad na kokonti ang mga ito keysa sa mga ibang klaseng linggwistik na pag-aaral, tulad ng mga pagdidis-krayb ng wika at mga tipologikal na pagtutulad ng mga wika. Kapan-sinpansin din ang malaking impluwensya ni Otto Dempwolff at Isidore Dyen sa mga historikal na pag-aaral na ito. Buhat ng mapablis ang *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes* (VL) ni Dempwolff (1934-38) hanggang sa panahong ito, halos lahat ng mga pag-aaral tungkol sa rekonstraksyon ng wikang masasabing pinanggalingan ng mga wika rito, o di kaya, ng paggugrupogrupo ng mga wikang ito, o sabsgruping, ay nagpapalaganap o nagpapalawak ng mga proposal ni Dempwolff sa gawain niyang ito. Ang mga pag-aaral man ni Dyen, na kung tutuusin ay may malaking impluwensya din sa mga historikal na pag-aaral dito ay kumuha pa rin kay Dempwolff.

Ang isang pagpapatunay sa impluwensya ng dalawang iskolar na ito'y ang pagkakaroon ng mas maraming pag-aaral tungkol sa relasyon ng mga wika rito sa mga ibang wikang kinikilalang mga myembro ng pamilyang Malayo-Polynesian o Austronesyan keysa sa mga pag-aaral tungkol sa pagtatatag ng histori ng mga wika rito o ng pagrerekonstrak ng wikang pinanggalingan ng mga ito. Dahil sa ang interes ni Dempwolff at ni Dyen ay ang mas malaking pamilya ng

Austronesyan o mas nakakatandang wika ng Proto-Austronesyan, ganoon din ang naging direksyon ng mga iskolar na sumunod sa kanila. Sa ganoon, halos laging ipinapakita ng mga pag-aaral nila ang relasyon ng mga wika rito sa mas matandang ninuno at hindi ang relasyon sa "immediate ancestor" nila.

Bukod sa nasabing impluwensya, maaaring tignan ang katotohanang kokonting Pilipino ang nagkainteres sa mga pag-aaral na historikal kaya't kokonti rin ang mga pag-aaral tungkol sa problemang lokal o mga problemang tungkol sa mga wika sa Pilipinas lamang. Isa pang rason siguro ang pangyayaring deskriptib na pag-aaral ang nauuso noong naging popular ang linggwistiks sa Pilipinas. Bago dumating ang panahong ito, nauuso naman ang historikal na pag-aaral, kaya lang iilan lang ang mga Pilipinong interesado sa pag-aaral ng mga wika na tulad ni Pardo de Tavera at Cecilio Lopez.

Ang VL ni Dempwolff ay resulta ng pagkakakompara niya ng tatlong wika: Tagalog, Toba-Batak at Java at ang kinalabasan nito'y tinawag niyang Original Indonesian (OrIn) na naitatag niya sa paraang indaktib. Itong OrIn naman ang ginamit niyang base para maitatag niya ang Original Austronesian (OrAus). Naipakita niya na ang mga tunog sa mga wika sa Polenesya at Melanesya ay tumutugon o nagkokorespond sa mga iminungkahi niyang mga tunog ng OrIn. Kung ganoon dedektib ang paraan na ginamit niya sa pagtatag ng OrAus.

Sino mang istudyanteng interesado sa mga historikal na pag-aaral ng mga wika sa Pilipinas ay makekapagsabing napakaraming pag-aaral ang nagawa ni Dyen. Halos lahat ng sinulat ni Dyen na may kaugnayan sa mga wika rito'y batay sa VL, kaya lang meron din siyang mga pagbabagong idinagdag o iminungkahi. Ang mga pagbabagong ito'y dahil sa paniniwala niya na kailangang bumuo ng bagong korespondens set tuwing may naibang tunog na lumilitaw. Dahil dito, nagmungkahi siya ng mga bagong protoponim, gaya ng iba't ibang *D, *Z, at *R. Bukod rito, gumawa rin siya ng sabgruping ng mga wika rito sa paraang lexicostatistics na sinusunod

ng mga istudyante niya¹, atbp.

Totoo na sa pag-aaral ng mga wika sa Pilipinas mahalaga na ipakita ang relasyon nila sa Proto-Austronesyan; kaya lang, kailangan natin ang mga pag-aaral na nakapokus sa mga problemang lokal o tungkol sa mga wika natin. Halos wala tayong nalalaman tungkol sa histori ng mga wika natin at, tulad ng nasabi ko na, halos lahat ng mga pag-aaral na ito'y nagpapakita ng relasyon ng wika rito sa ibang wika ng pamilyang Austronesyan. Dahil dito, kailangan magkaroon tayo ng ibang pananaw. Kailangan natin ang isang pananaw na naiiba sa dating masyadong malawak na pananaw. Dahil sa kawalan nito, hindi natin nakikita ang mga bagay na napakalapit at napakaimportante sa atin.

Maaaring sabihin na ang mga pag-aaral nina Blake at Conant noong mga unang taon ng mga Amerikano dito ay may ganitong pananaw. Kahit isang sinkronik o tipologikal na pagtutulad ang "Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar" ni Blake (1906), sa parteng pinamagatang "Notes on Phonology" ay inilista niya ang tinawag niyang mga orihinal na tunog, na resulta ng pagkokompara niya ng mga salitang galing sa iba't ibang wika sa Pilipinas. Sa kanyang "Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar II (1907), nagbigay naman siya ng mga orihinal na porma ng mga pangalan ng mga numero na resulta rin ng pagkokompara ng mga wika rito. Ang "The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages" (1912), at ang "RGH Law in Philippine Languages" (1911) ang mga pag-aaral naman ni Conant tungkol sa histori ng mga wika sa Pilipinas. Ang mga nabanggit na pag-aaral ni Blake at Conant ay may impluwensya rin sa mga gawa ng iba, kaya lang hindi katulad ng impluwensya nina Dempwolff at Dyen. Masasabi ito dahil halos walang mga napablis na pag-aaral na pinapalawak o iniaaplay ang mga iprinopos nina Blake at Conant. Ang dahilan nito'y lokal ang interes ng mga pag-aaral nila.

May ilan sa mga linggwist ng SIL na gumawa ng historikal na pag-aaral tungkol sa ilang wika rito tulad ni Newell (1953), Elkins (1957, 1963), Healey (1959), Lindquist, Forsberg at Healey

(1959), Abrams (1963) at Reid (1974). Makikita ang impluwensya ni Dempwolff at Dyen sa mga pag-aaral nila dahil sa paggamit nila ng mga rekonstraksyon ng mga ito at ng ortograpi o mga simbol ni Dyen. Si Dyen (1965, 1973, 1974) mismo'y nagpapablis ng ilang pag-aaral tungkol sa mga wika rito, lalo na ang Tagalog. Kaylan lang, si Charles (1974) at Zorc (1975) na mga istudyante ni Dyen ay sumulat ng mga disertasyon tungkol sa mga wika rito.

Si C. Lopez at T. Llamzon naman ang mababanggit na mga Pilipinong gumawa ng historikal na pag-aaral ng mga wika sa Pilipinas. Malaking kontribusyon sa larangan ng historikal na pagkokompara ng wika rito, sa palagay ko, ang mga Word List (1974, 1976) ni C. Lopez na nagbibigay ng mga set ng mga kogneyt na salita mula sa bente-tres na wika sa Pilipinas. Bukod dito, meron din siyang nirekonstrak, kasama ni Costenoble (1970), na ilang porma ng orihinal na wika batay sa gawa ni Dempwolff sa isang pag-aaral na pinamagatang "Some New Morphemes in Philippine Languages". Ang "Proto-Philippine Phonology" naman ni Llamzon (1975) ay isang magaling na halimbawa ng impluwensya ni Dempwolff at Dyen, kaya't nasabi niya na ang resulta ng pag-aaplay ng "inventory" ni Dempwolff at Dyen ay may "gaps in the structure of the Proto-Philippine phoneme". Dahil dito, ayon sa kanya, nasa gitna lamang ng mga salita ang mga ponim na $-R_4-$, $-D-$, $-Z-$, at $-z-$ sa mga wika ng Pilipinas. Maaaring isipin tuloy na ang dahilan nito'y ang pagkakatali ng analisis niya sa analisis ng wikang nasa iba at mas mataas na lebel².

Ang direksyon ng aking natalakay na'y patungo sa pagpapahiwatig ko ng pangangailangan ng mga historikal na pag-aaral tungkol sa mga wika natin. Ngayon naman ibig kong diskasin ang sarili kong pag-aaral para maipakita ko ang bisa ng ibang pananaw sa pagdiskubre ng mga problemang historikal para sa ganoon ay malutas ang mga ito. Sa pag-aaral ko ng mga wika sa Pilipinas³ nalaman ko ang kahalagahan ng pagkokompara ng mga kontemporar-yong wika⁴ para marekonstrak ang mga tunog at ilang salita ng

masasabing wikang pinanggalingan ng mga wika rito sa Pilipinas. Ang isang resulta ng gawaing kong ito'y dalawang proposal na tinawag kong vawel-konsonant asimilasyon at sabstityusyon.

Sa unang proposal ko'y trinato kong magkakapareho ang mga katangian ng mga vawel at konsonant o, sa madaling salita, na magkakapareho ang mga katangian ng mga tunog. Sa ganoon, ang mga tunog na binibigkas sa rehyon ng labial, dental at alveolar ay pinapalagay kong paharap o front; ang mga binibigkas sa parteng palatal ay sentral; at yung mga sa parteng glottal at velar ay palikod o back. Ang mga tunog naman na binibigkas na nakataas o nakaarko ang dila'y pinapalagay kung pataas o high at yung hindi naman ay pababa o low. Samakatwid kapag may tunog na lumabag sa inaasahan tugunan ng mga tunog o korespondens ng tunog, maaaring tanggapin ang asimilasyon ng isang vawel sa isang konsonant o ng isang konsonant sa isang vawel. Nakalarawan sa sumusunod na listahan ang paggugrupo ng mga tunog⁵ ayon sa mga nasabing katangian:

Paharap	i, e, E, ae, p, b, f, t, d, l, Y, r, č, ĵ, m, n, w
Sentral	ə, a, ʌ, y, d, s, z, l, L
Palikod	u, ú, ɔ, k, ɡ, ɲ, ʔ, h, ĥ
Pataas	i, e, E, ə, ʌ, u, ú, o, ɔ, t, d, ɖ, l, ɭ, r, s, z, L, Y, č, ĵ, k, ɡ, ɲ, ʔ, y
Pababa	ae, a, p, b, f, h, ĥ

Hindi ko palalawakin pa ang pagtatalakay ng prases na ito dahil sa nagawa ko na ito sa ibang papel na naprisinta ko na⁵. Ang ipapaliwanag ko na lang rito'y ang sabstityusyon, isa ring proposal sa pagpapaliwanag ng mga lumalabag sa inaasahang paglitaw ng korespondens o sa tugunan ng mga tunog ng iba't ibang wika rito.

Ang isang dahilan kung bakit nagkakaroon ng pagkakaiba sa isang wika'y ang pagkawala ng isa o higit pa ritong tunog sa mga salita, halimbawa buwan > bwan. Ang prases ng sabstityusyon ay may kaugnayan dito. Ang sabstityusyon ay ang paglitaw ng ʔ, h, o, y sa halip ng

inaasahang regular na pagtugon ng tunog na sa paniwala ko'y pawala na. Pabayaan ninyong maipaliwanag ko ito. Sa pagkokompara ko ng mga kogneyt set ng bente-nwebeng wika sa Pilipinas, napansin ko ang paglitaw ng tatlong tunog, ang *?*, *h* at *y*, na sa unang tingin, parang mga korespondens ng ilang ibang tunog. Lumilitaw ang mga ito sa mga posisyong dapat sana'y mga regular na korespondens o mga inaasahang tunog ang naroroon. Halimbawa, panakanakang lumilitaw ang *h* imbis na *b*, *g*, *l*, at *r* sa Itw, o sa Isi lumilitaw ang *h* o *y* sa halip na *l*, o lumilitaw ang *?* sa halip na *k*, *b*, *t*, *g*, *s*, at *y* sa Tag. Mahirap tanggapin na ang *?*, *h*, *o*, *y* ay mga repleks ng tatlong iba't ibang protoponim sa isang wika, bukod sa ang mga ito'y mga regular na repleks ng **?*, **h* at **y*, o sa ibang salita regular ang pagtutugon ng mga ito sa nasabing protoponim sa mga wikang ikinompara.

May ilang wikang may mga salitang pwedeng sabihin sa dalawang paraan, tulad ng sa Tag hatsín/?atsín, o sa Itw ?iyún/?ihún 'ilong', Akl hu?áb/kúy?ab 'hikab' na nagpapakita ng pagpapalit ng *h* at *?*, o kaya *y* at *?*, o *h* at *k* sa mga wikang ito. Marami rin sa mga nag-aanalays ng mga wika rito ang naniniwala na may otomatik na *?* sa unahan ng mga unang vawel ng mga salita na resulta ng "structural pressure" ng CVC. Sa tingin ko ang dalawang katunayang ito'y nagpapatibay ng teyuri ko ng substityusyon, na ang *?*, *h* at *y* ay mga tunog na ginagamit sa halip ng mga tunog na pawala na. Dahil sa pawala na ang mga inaasahang tunog kaya't nag-aalinlangan ang mga nagsasalita sa paggamit ng salitang tinutukoy. Dahil sa pag-aalinlangan na ito'y nabibigkas tuloy ang alin man sa tatlong tunog na ito. Maaari rin sigurong sabihin na ang paggamit ng *?*, *h* at *y* ay isang transisyon sa paggamit ng regular na korespondens at sa tuluyang pagkawala ng tunog, hanggang nanatili ang *?*, *h* at *y*.

Nagrupo ko ang bente-nwebeng wikang kinompara ko sa apat, batay sa alin sa tatlong tunog ang ginagamit sa mga ito:

I	<i>?</i> , <i>h</i> , <i>y</i>	Tag, Iba, Itw, Isi, Nag, Vir, Sub,
		Yak, Bag, Buk, Buh

II	ʔ, h	War, Bla
III	ʔ, y	Kap, Png, Ilk, Tbg, Kal, Bon, Igt, Kam, Tbw, Agt
IV	ʔ	Mar

Bilang halimbawa ng phenomenon na ito, tignan natin ang kogneyt set na narekonstrak kong *dámug 'hamog': Akl hámʔug, Bah dámhug, Tag, Buk hamúg, Tau dámug, Bag dāmɔw, Sub gámug, Nag, Seb yamúg, Iba yámug, Ilk ʔámug, Igt ʔamúg, Bla ʔámuʔ, Mar námog, Buh namúg. Sa Buh, Tau at Bag may regular na pagtutugon sa *d, samantala itong sa Mar at Buh ay naging n sa impluwensya ng sumusunod na m o dahil sa asimilasyon. Ang iregular na pagtutugon sa *d dahil sa substityusyon ay makikita sa mga kogneyt ng mga wika maliban sa mga wikang kababanggit lamang. Sa pamaraang substityusyon, ang *d- ay naging h sa Akl, naging y sa Nag, Seb at Iba, at naging ʔ sa Ilk, Agt at Bla. Sa Sub, ang *d ay naging ʔ na lubusang nawala dahil sa pagkabit ng g-, na isang morpim na nagmamarka ng mga nawn sa wikang ito. Isa pang halimbawa'y ang *lunḱáb 'hikab'. Sa protomorpim na ito'y, halos lahat ng wika'y may regular na pagtutugon sa *l, maliban sa Iba ʔunáb at Tbw ʔuḱáb, Kap ʔúyab, Itb ʔahwáb, na kung saan ito'y naging ʔ, at sa Vir hágab, Seb, Akl húyʔab, Nag hákay, naging h. Sa Kap ʔúyab at Akl húyʔab nagkaroon rin ng substityusyon sa nagigitnang magkasunod na konsonant. Ito naman ay naging isa o nasimplifay sa Kap. Ang napakareming halimbawa na tulad ng mga ito sa iba't ibang wikang pinagkompara ko'y sumusuporta sa haypotesis ng substityusyon, kaya't ang ʔ, h at y ay ginagamit sa mga wika sa halip ng mga inaasahang tunog o regular na korespondens na pawala na.

Naniniwala akong hindi ko mapapansin ang mga katangiang nadiskubre ko kung nabahala pa rin ako sa pagpapakita ng relasyon ng mga wika rito sa Proto-Austronesyan o sa paghahanap ng mga tunog na magtutugon sa mga Protoponim na naitatag ni Dempwolff o Dyen. Samakatwid, naniniwala akong maaasahan ang isang kasiyasiyang resulta sa pag-aaral ng mga wika sa paraang indaktib at

malulutas tuloy ang mga problemang lokal. Sa palagay ko, maaaring maging mas mabisa lamang sa iskolar na Pilipino ang pagtatag ng relasyon ng mga wika rito sa mga kamaganakang wika ng mas malaking pamilya tulad ng Austronesyan kapag naitatag na ang pansariling histori ng mga wika rito at ang relasyon ng mga kalalabasang grupo-grupo ng mga ito. Sa mga ganitong pag-aaral na rin tayo makakapagsimula ng isang tradisyong Pilipino sa linggwistiks.

Nowts:

1. Hindi ko binigyan pansin ang mga pag-aaral tungkol sa sab-gruping sa papel kong ito. Sa palagay ko dapat mauna ang mga pag-aaral tungkol sa pagkokompara ng mga katangian ng mga wika bago ang paggugrupo ng mga ito dahil sa ang resulta ng pagkokompara ng mga katangian nila ang gagamitin sa mga pag-aaral tungkol sa paggugrupo ng mga wika.
2. Hindi ko binanggit ang lahat ng nakagawa ng mga pag-aaral na may kaugnayan sa histori ng mga wika sa Pilipinas. Maaaring malaman ang adisyonal na impormasyon tungkol rito sa "A Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonemes and Morphemes", ang diserterysyon ko para sa Ph.D. Maaari ring konsultahin ang bibliograpi ng papel na ito.
3. Binigyan ako ng reserts grant ng Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council para sa reserts kong pinamagatang Proto-Philippine Roots". Ang datang kinolekta para sa gawaing ito'y higit sa 2,000 kogneyt set na galing sa 35 na wika sa Pilipinas.
4. Ang mga wikang kinompara sa pag-aaral na ito'y ang: Tagalog (Tag), Kapangpangan (Kap), Iba Zambal (Iba), Panggasinan (Png), Ilukano (Ilk), Itbayaten (Itb), Itawis (Itw), Ibanag (Ibg), Isinai (Isi), Kalingga (Kal), Bontok (Bon), Ilongot (Igt), Naga (Nag), Virac (Vir), Kamaligon (Kam), Waray (War), Sebuano (Seb),

Aklanon (Akl), Buhi (Buh), Tagbanwa (Tbw), Agutaynen (Agt), Maranaw (Mar), Tausug (Tau), Subanon (Sub), Yakan (Yak), Blaan (Bla), Bagobo (Bag), Bukidnon (Buk), at Bahi Manobo (Bah).

5. Ang mga tunog na nakalista rito'y maririnig sa bente-nwebeng wikang kinompara ko.

6. Binasa ko ang nasabing papel noong nakaraang Febrero (1978) sa "Book launching" ng libro ni Dr. C. Lopez na pinamagatang "A Handbook in Comparative Austronesian". May mas malawak na pagpapaliwanag ng vawel-konsonant asimilasyon at ng sabstityusyon sa nabanggit kong nagawa ko sa 2.

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SIKOLINGGWISTIKANG PILIPINO:
PANANAW AT TUNGUHIN

Virgilio Enriquez
Department of Psychology
University of the Philippines

Ang pagkakabanggit ng anumang kaugnayan ng sikolohiya at ng wika wika sa kontekstong Pilipino na king nakita ay ang pagkakabanggit dito ni Aguinaldo sa kanyang "inaugural address" nang pasalamtan niya ang tinawag niyang "los sicologos del verbo Tagalog". Matapos noon, napakadalang na makita ang pagkakaugnay o pagkakasama ng dalawang kataga o larangan ---- sikolohiya at wika.

Ang mga ugat ng sikolinggwistikang Pilipino sa kasaysayan ng sikolohiya sa Filipinas ay maaaring taluntunin sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay-pansin sa pagbabalik ni Agustin Alonzo noong 1925 na kung saan, ang wika ay tiningnan niya bilang limitasyon sa larangan ng sikolohikal na pagsukat. Sa aklat ni Manuel Caron na pinamagatang Philippine Studies in Mental Measurements, iniulat niya na kapansin-pansin na noon mang panahong yaon ay hindi matanggap ng mga educational psychologists ang mga tests, psychological tests, na niyari o inihanda sa wikang Ingles at sa ibang wika at kultura para sa mga Pilipino. Subalit ang ginawa nila noon ay isang napakasimpleng solusyon lamang at ito ay sa pamamagitan ng pagpapalit ng nilalaman ng mga panukat na sikolohikal na kung saan, kung nagkataong binanggit halimbawa ang mansanas, ito ay pinapalitan ng saging. Ang wika ay naging isyu noong bandang 1928 sa pag-aaral hinggil sa pagkatao at sikolohiyang pang-edukasyon sa kamay ni Isidoro Panlasigui, dating tagapangulo ng Departamento ng Sikolohiya sa Kolehiyo ng Edukasyon noong kanyang panahon. Para sa kanya, higit na naaangkop ang paggamit ng wikang Ingles bilang isang wikang internasyonal. Gayon pa man, ang interes sa wika bilang isang paksa sa sikolohiya ay hindi naging napakaigting o napakahalaga para sa mga sikolohista. Ang pinagtatalunan ay kung anong wika ang gagamitin, at hindi ang ginagawa ay pagsuri sa kahalagahan ng wika o sa gamit ng wika sa pag-unawa sa kilos at damdamin ng tao. Noong 1930 si Sinforoso Padilla ay nanguna sa pagtulong sa sikolohiya sa larangan ng pagpapayo at pamamatnubay -- kilalang higit sa ta-

wag na guidance at counseling at dito, ang ginamit na wika rin sa pagtuturo ng teoriya ay ang wikang Ingles at ang hinanda niyang panukat ng talino ay nasusulat din sa wikang Ingles. Subalit noong bandang 1950, nagkaroon ng isang tahasang interes sa mga katutubong materyal na nasusulat sa wika o mga wikang Pilipinas sa pagsuring sikolohikal. Ang thesis ni Abraham Felipe ay tungkol sa mga maikling kuwentong Tagalog na nalathala sa mga babasahing bernakular. Ang mga pananaliksik ni Fe Abasolo Domingo ay tungkol sa pagpapalaki ng bata sa barrio Krus na Ligas. Gayon pa man, kahit na nasulat ang kanyang thesis sa wikang Ingles, ang datos ay kinuha niya sa wikang Tagalog sa pakikipanayam niya sa mga tao sa Barrio Krus na Ligas at ang teksto ng kanyang materyal ay sa wikang Filipino.

Totoong naging napakahalaga ng pagbibigay pansin sa wika sapagkat kahit na noon pa man ay nagkaroon ng ilang suliranin ang mga sikolohista kaugnay ng wika bilang materyal sa sikolohiya. Unang-una, may mga teoriyang nagbibigay halaga sa pag-unawa sa pagkatao sa panaginip ng mga indibidwal. May mga panaginip na nakolekta sa wikang Tagalog at sa wikang Ilokano subalit ito ay sinusuri sa wikang Ingles. At ang ginagamit na kategorya ng pagsusuri ay mga kategoryang bunga ng pananaliksik sa konteksto ng kultura at wikang Ingles.

Noong bandang dulo o kalagitnaan ng 1950, ang sikolohiya ng wika ay naging pormal na bahagi ng kurikulum sa Departamento ng Sikolohiya; ang bawat estudyanteng magtatapos ng A.B. sa Psychology ay nagkaroon ng kurso sa sikolohiya ng wika. Ang kursong ito ay pinamahalaan ni Dr. Alfredo Lagmay, ayon sa modelo ni Skinner sa pagtuturo ng sikolohiya ng wika. Ang textbook na ginamit ay ang Verbal Behaviour at kapansin-pansin na ang pananaw ni Chomsky kahit na nasulat na ang kanyang review ay hindi gasinong nabigyang pagpapahalaga. Sa halip, noong bandang kalagitnaan ng 1960, ang pakikipag-ugnayan at pakikipagtalakayan tungkol sa wika ng mga taga sikolohiya at pilosopiya ay naganap. Hindi masinsinan o hindi masasabing mataas ang patutunguhan o madalas ang patutunguhan ng mga linggwistika at sikolohista noong panahong 'yon kayat kapansin-pansing ang mga nalathalang artikulo ay ang mga artikulo tungkol sa pagkakahawig ng pananaw, pagtatagpo ng pananaw ni V. Geinsein at ni Skinner halimbawa sa artikulo ni Acuña ng Departamenton Pilosopiya at ang paggamit ng pananalita sa artikulo ni Tuason ng Departamento ng Pilosopiya din. Gayon pa man, naging mabunga ang modelo ni Skinner sa pagtuturo ng Sikolohiya ng wika kung bibigyang pansin ang ilan sa mga masinsinang pag-aaral na isinagawa halimbawa nina Ilan tungkol sa "verbal fluency" at ni Aquino sa kanyang thesis tungkol sa "verbal rewards". Kapansin-pansin na bagamat ang wika ay isang mahalagang paksa o elemento sa pagsusuri, higit na malaking pagpapahalaga ang ibinigay sa reinforcement o reinforcement theory: kung papaano ang wika ay nagiging

daluyan ng paggagantimpala o pagbibigay ng gantimpala upang ang isang pagkilos ay tumaas ang probabilidad. Noon ding mga panahong iyon subalit nahuli ang pangyayaring ito, ang wika sa konteksto ng pagkatuto ng tao ay nagsimulang madama sa Departamento ng Sikolohiya. Ito ay sa anyo ng pagkatutong verbal sa sikolohiyang eksperimental. Nagkaroon ng higit na maraming verbal learning studies sa experimental psychology. Ito'y maaaring tawaging pagpasok ng tao sa daigdig ng mga kalapating puti sapagkat bago ito maganap ay nauubos ang buong semestre ng estudyante sa sikolohiya sa pag-aalaga ng kalapati, pagpapataba dito, pagkakait ng pagkain upang makontrol ang kanyang pagkilos. Sa bandang dulo ng semestre ay nagsasabmit ng isang pangkalahatang indibidwal na eksperimento. Mangilan-ilan ngunit napakadalang kung sakali na magkaroon ng eksperimentong napili ng estudyante mismo; kung hindi niya pipiliin hindi mangyayari tungkol sa wika. Ngunit sa bandang dulo ng 1960 nga, marahil ay sa impluwensiya ni Underwood sa textbook niyang Experimental Psychology, higit na dumami ang pag-aaral sa larangan ng verbal learning o pagkatutong berbal.

Noong bandang 1970 at noong panahon ng aktibismo, ang paggamit ng wikang Pilipino sa pagtuturo ng sikolohiya ng wika ay naging higit na malaganap at isinagawa ng higit na maraming tao. Noong 1971 ay masasabing sumibol ang sikolinggwistika bilang larangan ng sikolohiya. Noon ginanap (?) ang unang taunang seminar sa sikolohiya ng wika sa Institute of Mass Communication dito sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas. At kapansin-pansing ang sikolinggwistika na hindi tradisyunal na larangan ng sikolohiya bukod sa sikolohiyang panlipunan, sikolohiyang eksperimental, sikolohiyang pang-edukasyon at sikolohiyang pangklinika, ang sikolinggwistika ay naging pormal na bahagi ng programa ng pambansang kombensyon ng Psychological Association of the Philippines. Maaaring hindi ganap na tinanggap ng lahat ng kabahagi sa convention ang panibagong interes na ito sapagkat may mga tao na hindi gasinong sanay sa wikang Pilipino na hindi napalagay sa pagkakagamit ng Pilipino noong panahong 'yon sa pagtalakay ng sikolinggwistika. Sa kabilang dako, sapagkat ang wika ay totoong higit namang nauunawaan ng higit na maraming nakikinig, tumaas ang rapport (?) sa pagsasalita at pakikibahagi sa kombensyon. Ang katipunan ng mga papel sa sikolohiya ng wika ay noon nagsimulang magsilabas. Mapapansin na marami-rami pa ring mga papel dito ang nasusulat sa wikang Ingles subalit karamihan ay nasusulat sa wikang Pilipino. Gayon pa man, higit ang naging epekto o interaksion ng pagtuturo ng sikolohiya ng bilinggwalismo sa paaralang gradwado bilang bahagi ng sikolohiyang panlipunan. Ito ay sa kadahilanang higit na maraming estudyante na hindi sikolohiya ang pinag-aaralan kung di galing sa ibang larangan, ang kumukuha ng kursong ito. May mga estudyanteng nanggaling sa Surian ng Pagtuturo ng Wika o Institute of ^Language Teaching at dito

rin nagkaroon ng mga ilang estudyante mula sa linggwistika at antropolohiya.

Kung anumang pananaw o metodo ang maaaring matalakay sa prespektibo ng sikolohiya ay naibahagi o naging paksa ng pagtatalakayan sa mga kursong tulad nito, sa kurso sa sikolohiya ng bilinggwalismo. Gayon pa man, isang kasiyahang masasabi sa pananaw ng nagnanais na maging matibay ang paggamit ng pananaw at wikang Pilipino sa sikolohiya na ang unang master's thesis sa Pilipino sa larangan ng sikolinggwistika ay natapos nasulat at naipasa noong 1974. Noon din, nagkaroon ng thesis tungkol sa pagsasalin. Bagamat ang pinakatuon ng thesis ay ang pagsasalin ng mga panukat na sikolohikal, ilang mga prinsipyo kaugnay ng pagsasalin ang nasuri.

Sa panahong ito, masasabing ang sikolinggwistika ay naging medyo matatag nang bahagi ng sikolohiya sapagkat ito'y bahagi ng kurikulum sa sikolohiya at isang larangan ng pananaliksik.

Ngayon naman ay tatalakayin ko ang pananaw at oryentasyong nagpapakilos sa sikolohiya ng wika sa kontekstong Pilipino. Unang-una, ang pananaw na ang katutubong wika ay batayan ng sikolohiya o maaaring maging batayan ng sikolohiya -- isang pananaw na hindi marahil tatawaran ng iba subalit inaakalang pag-urong naman ng ilang naniniwalang hindi dapat ibatay ang sikolohiya sa katutubong wika o hindi dapat kumuha ng materyal mula dito. Kaakibat ng interes sa katutubong wika bilang batayan ng sikolohiya ang pagkilala, pagpansin, at pagpuna sa kolonyal na oryentasyon sa sikolohiya sa Pilipinas. Ang tawag ni Padre Mangulabnan ng Ateneo de Manila dito ay ang metodong angat-patong: aangatin sa Kanluran, ipapatong sa Pilipinas. Hindi na bale, kahit na ano 'yon, basta pagka mukhang pupwedeng isang bagong teoriya 'yon o isang bagong pananaw o isang bagong metodo lalo na kung kararating pa lang mula sa Amerika, iyon ang bagong natutuhan mo, pagdating dito, ipatong mo na sa sitwasyong Pilipino. Ito ay ititututing niyang isang kamalian at sa halip nga, isa sa mga metodong sinusubukang gamitin sa larangang ito ay ang metodong tinawag ni Carmen Santiagong metodong pakapa-kapa. Akala ko noong una ay nakakahiyang pag-usapan itong metodong pakapa-kapa. Pinag-aralan niya ang konsepto ng pagkalakilaki sa isang lalawigan (sa isang baryo sa lalawigan ng Bulacan) at sapagkat naniniwala siya na hindi pa niya alam kung ano nga ang konsepto ng pagkalakilaki ng mga tao doon hindi niya na kailangang magkaroon siya ng mga pangunang ideya at ng pangunang metodo bago pa magpunta roon. Kayat kakapa-kapa daw siya kung siya'y nandoroon. Napansin ko na ang ganito palang pangyayari ay hindi kakaiba sa Pilipinas. Ang totoo, sa isang pananaliksik ni Akiro Hoshino, isang Hapon na nanaliksik sa isang suburb ng Chicago tungkol sa mga komunidad ng Italyano, ang tawag niya sa kanyang metodo ay groping technique. Napansin ko na karaniwan, pagka ang tawag sa metodo ay Ingles tulad ng groping technique, mas

tinatanggap ng ilang estudyante kaysa kung ang tawag ay sa wikang Pilipino tulad ng pakapa-kepa. Para bang mababa ang uri ng metodo kung pakapa-kepa pero kung groping technique parang one of those methods na maaari nating angatin mula sa labas at ipatong dito sa atin. Ang sikolingwistikang Pilipino ay masasabing sa ngayon ay may oryentasyon at pananaw na bilang bahagi ng sikolohiya ng wika. Marahil ay para sa isang nananaliksik sa sikolohiya ng wika, ito ay isang bagay na 'ika nga ay taken for granted subalit malinaw na ito ay may mga implikasyon tungkol sa direksyon ng larangan. May komplekasyon ito tungkol sa metodo sapagkat bahagi ng sikolohiya ng wika ang mga metodong gagamitin, at malamang na magamit ay mga metodong kwantitatibo sa halip na metodong kwalitatibo lamang, ang metodong eksperimental, mga panukat na sikolohikal, mga metodong karaniwang ginagamit sa sikolohiya. At sapagkat bahagi ng sikolohiya ng wika, magkakaroon ng interaksion sa ibang mga paksa sa sikolohiya ng wika, kayat may epekto sa paksa in at sa lawak ng mga pinapaksa, gayon din sa implikasyon at sa paggamit. Sapagkat sa sikolohiya ng wika nababahagi ang sikolingwistikang Pilipino o mga pananaliksik dito sa ngayon ng karamihan, ang gamit ng resulta ng pananaliksik dito sa ngayon ng karamihan. Ang gamit ng resulta ng pananaliksik ay higit na nadarama sa mga larangang karaniwang pinupuntahan ng gamit ng sikolohiya. Sa klinika ay hindi gasino subalit sa pagtuturo ng wika na tradisyunal na aplikasyon ng linggwistika, ito ay nadarama rin.

Ang ika-apat at huling mababanggit na pananaw at oryentasyong nagpapakilos sa sikolohiya ng wika ay ang pagbuo ng mga sikolohikal na teoriyang angkop sa Pilipino at batay sa mga katutubong konsepto sa tulong ng mga wika sa Pilipinas mismo.

Ang mga katutubong konsepto ay mahirap tiyakin. Ang totoo pa nga sa isang pilosopikal na panakaw, maaaring sabihing walang konseptog katutubo sapagkat lahat ng konsepto ay unibersal. Ang tinutukoy dito ay yaong mga konseptong may higit na malinaw na kahulugan at tiyak na interpretasyon sa kultura. Dahil sa, kung titingnan ang mga konsepto at mga ideya, may mga ideyang malinaw na nanggaling sa labas at hiniram sa labas. Ngayon ang mga ideyang ito ay mahalaga at magagamit. Subalit ang isang batis o ugat ng mga konsepto na hindi gasinong nabibigyang pansin, na kaya naman kinakailangang bigyan ng pansin sa ngayon, ay ang mga konseptong nauunawaan at ginagamit sa pangkaraniwang buhay ng mga Pilipino sa kanilang pang-araw-araw na pakikipagtunguhan sa isa't-isa.

Ano ang hinaharap ng sikolingwistikang Pilipino? Ang aking napansin sa ngayon ay may posibilidad na harapin ng sikolingwistikang Pilipino ang isang panganib ng segmentasyon ng mga disiplinang sumusuri sa wika. Maaaring sa darating na panahon, lalo't higit kung ang bawat isa ay maniniwalang siya ay sikolinggwistika o etnolinggwista o sosyolinggwista ay magkaroon ng kami-kami at taya-tayo sa pagsusuri. Inaasa-

hang magkakaroon ng higit na mabuting pagtutunguhan ang iba't-ibang lapit o approaches ng mga disiplina ng sumusuri sa wika at nang sa gayon ay maging kooperasyon ang pinakatema at hindi kompetisyon. Kung sabagay, maaaring ang mangyari dito ay isang tunay na segmentasyon dala marahil ng pagkakaiba ng kasanayan sa metodo, na pagka-survey, ibigay mo sa sociolinguists, sociolinguistics 'iyo ; paka eksperiment, ibigay mo sa psychologist, psycholinguistics iyon. Palagay ko, ang paghihiwalay ng sosyolinggwistika at sikolinggwistika batay lamang sa aksidente ng metodo ay hindi kainamang paghihiwalay. Marahil ay dapat suriin ang isang paksa na magkasabay o nang gumagamit ng iba't-ibang metodo at iba't-ibang pananaw.

Ang pagtuklas ng sikolohikal na implikasyon ng mga teoriya at kaalamang linggwistikal ay isa sa mga dapat harapin ng sikolinggwistika ng Pilipino. Dito, ang tinutukoy ay ang higit na malaking patutunguhan ng mga sikolohista at linggwista. Masasabing sa sikolohiya, ay tinatanggap at kinikilala ang linggwistika. Tinatanggap at kinikilala sa maraming kaparaanan at isa na nga ay ang pagpasok ng mga pananaw at mga konseptong panglinggwistika sa pagtuturo ng sikolohiya mismo. Ang maitatagong sa grupong ito ay: Sa anong lawak o hanggang saan tinatanggap ng linggwistika ang sikolohiya? Kung papaanong ang konsepto ng morpema ay nadidinig pa rin sa mga klase sa sikolohiya. Ano kayang mga konsepto buhat sa sikolohiya naman ang magkakaroon ng anumang epekto sa linggwistika. Palagay ko, tungo sa higit na matibay at mayabong na sikolinggwistika, ang interaksyon ay dapat na magpatuloy.

Ikatlo, ang paglawak ng sakop ng sikolohiya ng wika, sa aking palagay, ay patuloy na mangyayari; halimbawa, sa larangan ng komunikasyong pangmadla. Sa pagwasto ng mga depekto sa pagpapahayag at mga paksang tulad nito, marahil ito ay ituturing ng iba na labas na sa larangan ng sikolinggwistika. Subalit dahil sa lawak na rin ng interes ng sikolohiya ang mga paksang ito ay hindi maiiwasan. Ang tanong lamang ay kung ano ang maaaring maging epekto nito sa mga core (?) studies ng psycholinguistics. Kinakailangan din, sa aking palagay, ang pagtiyak sa gamit ng sikolinggwistika sa kontekstong Pilipino. Ito ba ay isang libanang lamang ng mga interesadong tao o ito ba ay mayroong kabuluhan sa ating lipunan? Ano ang implikasyon at gamit nito sa mga patakarang mayroong tiyak na epekto sa buhay ng mga Pilipino? Sa edukasyon halimbawa, ang patakarang ng bilinggwalismo. Kapansin-pansin na higit na maraming pag-aaral ang naisagawa sa larangan ng bilinggwalismo matapos ng mga pag-aaral sa larangan ng pagkatutong berbal sa sikolinggwistika.

Kahulih-hulihan at hindi matatawaran ang kahalagahan, ay ang pagbuo ng mga teoriyang batay sa linggwistikang Pilipino mismo at sa sikolohiyang Pilipino. Hindi ko natitiyak kung gaano kalalim ang kaalaman ng mga masasabi kong kababawan -- ang kaalaman ng mga nag-aaral ng sikolohiyang Pi-

lipino. Sa gayon, higit na makatutulong ang mga paglalathala, pagpapalitan ng kuro at marahil kung sakaling mayroong interesadong linggwista, ay maaaring magkaroon siya ng higit na interes sa mga pag-aaral sa sikolohiya at ganoon din naman ang mga tao sa sikolohiya. Siguro, hindi nagkataon lamang ang tawag sa sikolinggwistika ay siko at sa linggwistika na ayon kay Charles Osgood (?) noon, isang sikolohista, ay kasal ng hindi handa. Sa Pilipinas, ang kasal na ito ay hindi pa idinaraos.

Marami pong salamat.

SOME UNPOPULAR ANALYSES OF SENTENCES
AND CONSTRUCTIONS WITH MISSING CONSTITUENTS*

Ernesto H. Cubar
Department of Linguistics and Asian Languages
University of the Philippines

One very obvious fact about any natural language that linguists do not generally give importance to is the disparity between the number of nameable objects and notions in the environment, consciousness and experience of its speakers and the number of readily available words for these objects and notions. At any given time the nameable objects easily outnumber the words. The main reason for the lack of designation for many objects is the fact that there is no reason for people to talk about them. In all Philippine languages that I know there is no reason to be talking about the vertical canal or depression under the nose. Naturally there is no single-word designation for it. People do not carry objects on the back of the hand. There is therefore no word for the action, since there is no need to mention the action in the first place. But there are also many entities involved in our thoughts and actions and therefore worth talking about that are nameless and have been so for centuries. These are the nouns and verbs and possibly other categories that exist only in the semantic consciousness of speakers and are never assigned lexical representation. The resulting gaps in the lexicon have some important connection with the existence of many sentences and constructions with missing surface constituents. Some of these constructions are often considered unique or near-unique characteristics of Philippine languages.

I shall survey in this paper the more important of these constructions and try to show how they can be analyzed in terms of the role played by lexical gaps. I shall dwell at some length on metacological and temporal sentences because they are most amenable to an analysis that makes use of the notion "unrealized" constituent.

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Subjectless sentences

The most common of the so-called subjectless sentences are those that are descriptive of meteorological and other related phenomena. They are of three kinds, as every student of Philippine languages very well knows: (1) those that consist of a verb phrase (Tagalog Umuulan "It is raining"), (2) those that consist of an adjective phrase (Ilocano Nalam-ok idinay Alaska "It is cold in Alaska"), and (3) those that consist of a temporal noun phrase (Tag. A las doce na "It is 12 o'clock" and Iloc. Kalgaw manon "It is dry season again"). All three kinds may occur with adverbial modifiers.

There are no universally accepted analyses of meteorological and temporal sentences. The Balarila considers nature as the performer or source of the action. Luzares (1975) simply remarks, almost in passing, that meteorological verbs do not demand obligatory case. There is no explanation why they take the same affixes as those taken by verbs that are not meteorological. Gonzales (1972) gives a more detailed analysis. According to him meteorological verbs and adjectives are ambient V's, that is, they refer to the surroundings, not to any specific nominal entity. As such they are not accompanied by any noun and therefore do not have any source for a subject phrase. Like Luzares, Gonzales seems to attach little significance to the fact that the usual affix of meteorological verbs is often the same as that which indicates some agent in non-meteorological sentences. What is criterial is that a meteorological sentence answers the question "What is happening?". Gonzales accordingly labels the verb as a process verb.

Ramos (1974) has an altogether different analysis. She claims that in a verbal meteorological sentence there is an identical nominal expression that is incorporated into the verb and is often not given linguistic expression. Thus the underlying forms of Umuulan, Umaaraw and Lumilindol are Umuulan ang ulan "The rain is raining", Umaaraw ang araw "The sun is shining", Lumilindol ang lindol "The earthquake is quaking". There is a patent reluctance to consistently recognize the integrity of surface signals. Ramos analyzes the suppressed noun phrases ulan, araw, and lindol as instrument and ignores the fact that the affix um in these verbs is the

same um in agent-focus verbs like tumakbo "ran" and umiyak "cried".

There is something fuzzy and problematic with the analysis. Ramos talks about some noun being incorporated into the verb. If in Umuulan the original verb is ulan, then it does not seem to make sense to say that the noun ulan (the "identical nominal expression") is incorporated into the verb ulan to give the surface verb ulan. If the process involved is prolexical, the analysis would probably make some sense. But Ramos seems to have in mind an actual lexical expression when when she talks about some "identical nominal expression" being suppressed. In effect Ramos seems to be claiming that there is actually a verb ulan, a verb araw, a verb lindel, etc. existing side by side with a noun ulan, a noun araw, and a noun lindel. Since there is also a very productive process of verbalization of non-meteorological nouns (magkape, magsapatos, magbeer), the lexicon would be full of pairs of nouns and verbs sharing the same phonological form. The list, in fact, would be an open one. I believe it should fall on the grammar, not on the lexicon, to account for the productivity of the process.

The analysis proposed here is that a verbal meteorological sentence contains in deep structure a verb and an agent noun. The verb is some incompletely specified or indefinite action for which Philippine languages do not have a word or expression. To fill the lexically empty position for the predicate verb, the agentive noun is incorporated, in the true sense of the term, into the lexically unexpressed verb. The incorporated or transferred noun serves as the surface verb stem and carries the appropriate affix intended for the original verb. The position for the subject phrase is consequently empty. The sentence Umuulan is generated roughly as follows (irrelevant details are omitted):

	S		S
V (unspecified)	agent N	VP	NP
um_____	ulan	Um-ulan	_____

A question may be raised here concerning the case assigned to ulan. Why agent and not object or instrument, as in Ramon's analysis? The reason is that the original definition of agentive as the animate instigator or

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deed of the action is deemed inadequate. Many inanimate objects in the objective or scientific world are often viewed through language as animate. For instance, we all know that the earth rotates on its axis and that the sun does not move from the eastern horizon up into the sky. Yet the sentence that is descriptive of the situation is Sumisikat ang araw "The sun is rising", indicating that the sun is perceived as an agent or doer of an action. The surface signals support this view. The affixes are um- in Tagalog and ag- (sometimes um-) in Ilocano, the same affixes that reflect the agentive status of the chosen subject in non-meteorological sentences. It is important that we do not forget that the object of our study is language, not objective reality.

What then is the action that is being attributed to meteorological nouns like rain, lightning, earthquake, thunder, sun, wind, typhoon and drought? It is difficult to find a word in Philippine languages to express it. In the case of ulan, it comes very close to the meaning of the English verb fall; but it is not quite the same. The Tagalog word hulog does not accurately express it, that is why Humulog ang ulan or Nahulog ang ulan is not natural and certainly does not have the same meaning as Umulan. However, if the intention of the speaker is to describe a more specific act or process, a specific verb is used and the incorporation of the agent does not take place. The sentence that results has a full predicate-plus-subject structure. Thus if the falling is sudden, the natural sentence is Bumagsak ang ulan. If the rain falls in big sparse drops, the sentence is Pumatak ang ulan. If the rain literally pours, the sentence is Bumuhos ang ulan. If we symbolize the incompletely specified act of the rain as FALL, the meaning of the three specific verbs bagsak, patak, and buhos may be described very roughly as FALL + SUDDEN, FALL + SPARSE DROPS, and FALL + CONTINUOUS.. A similar analysis can be applied to the other meteorological nouns, except that for some of them there may not even be an acceptable specific verb that is decomposable into an abstract incompletely specified verb and some added meaning.

Adjectival meteorological sentences are different from verbal ones. Here it is the entity described by the adjective predicate that is not

given a single-word designation. What, for instance, is being described as cold in Maginaw sa labas "It is cold outside" and in Maginaw sa Baguio "It is cold in Baguio"? It is not labas or Baguio, as the sentences Maginaw ang labas and Maginaw ang Baguio are either ungrammatical or not the same in meaning as the subjectless version. Clearly, it is the totality of the enveloping space and surroundings, which is indefinite in extent and size, that is being described. There is no incorporation in ^{an} adjectival meteorological sentence; the subject is missing because the language lacks an appropriate word for it.

It is sometimes possible to actualize the subject of an adjectival meteorological sentence. In Ilocano and presumably in some other Philippine languages, when the accompanying locative phrase refers to a relatively small and well-defined space, the same phrase may be used to designate the missing subject. Thus we may say Nalamiis iti uneg ti refrigerator "It is cold inside the refrigerator" or Nalamiis ti uneg ti refrigerator "The inside of the refrigerator is cold."

A temporal sentence is similar to an adjectival meteorological sentence. It is also the lack of designation for the entity that is logically the subject that accounts for the empty subject position. Consider the following sentences:

- (1) Tag. Gabi na.

It is getting late/It is nighttime.

- (2) Iloc. Kalgaw manen.

It is dry season again

- (3) Tag. Pasko na naman.

It is Christmas again.

Some span of time without a name is being equated to the predicate words gabi, kalgaw and Pasko. Other temporal predicates in Ilocano are panagani "rice harvest time", panaglipon "season for catching ipon (a tiny fish)", sibabasa "wet season", and panagsasana "time for salt-making".

There is another group of temporal sentences where the subject may surface optionally. Consider the following pairs of sentences:

- (4) Iloc. Alas dosen.

It is twelve o'clock.

Cf. Alas dose ti oras idi simmangpet ni Juan.

The hour when Juan arrived was twelve o'clock.

- (5) Iloc. Trenta ti mayo idi kalman.

It was May 30 yesterday.

Cf. Trenta ti Mayo ti mabilang/pecha idi kalman.

The date yesterday was May 30.

- (6) Tag. Biyernes sa makalawa.

It will be Friday day after tomorrow.

Cf. Biernes ang araw ng aking pagkapanganak.

The day of my birth is Friday.

- (7) Tag. Hunyo na mula bukas.

It will be June beginning tomorrow.

Cf. Hunyo na ang buwan mula bukas.

The month will be June beginning tomorrow.

- (8) Iloc. 1941 idi agbettak ti gubat.

It was 1941 when the war broke out.

Cf. 1941 ti tawen idi agbettak ti gubat.

The year when the war broke out was 1941.

The entities to which the temporal predicate nouns are equated are specific and well-defined segments of time, unlike those in (1)-(3). They are borrowed concepts from Spanish where they are given lexical representation.

Sentences with pseudo-verbs

Schachter and Otnes (1972) list some eight words which are incapable of inflection to show variation in aspect and which they call pseudo-verbs. They are ayaw "does not want to", kailangan "needs to", damat "ought to", gusto "likes to", ibig "likes to", magari "can", nais "likes to", and puwede "can." In many of the constructions in which pseudo-verbs may occur, there is no overt ang phrase, as in

(9) Tag. Gusto ko ng lapis.

I want a pencil.

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Sometimes an ang phrase occurs, as in the following:

(10) Tag. Gusto ko ang libro

I want the book.

Schachter and Otnes fail to note that the contrast in definiteness between the object lapis in (9) and the object libro in (10) may have some connection with a possible missing verb in both sentences. These objects are objects of some unrealized verb rather/ ^{than} of the pseudo-verbs gusto and ayaw. There seems to be a strong semantic basis for this analysis. It is felt by most informants that one just does not want a thing, one wants to VERB it. Thus the underlying structures of (9) and (10) may be something like (11) and (12):

(11) Gusto kong VERB ng lapis.

(12) Gusto kong VERB ang lapis.

where the verb in (11) is actor focus and that in (12) is goal focus.

The exact identity of the missing verb is not easy to determine. The verb may in fact be one of those verbs that do not have lexical representation.

Not even the context can be of much help in recovering the missing verb.

Thus Ayaw ko na sa iyo, when said by one child to another in the context of a play situation, most probably would mean Ayaw ko nang makipaglaro sa iyo.

But it could also mean Ayaw ko nang makipagbatian sa iyo or Ayaw ko nang makipagbiruan sa iyo.

Exclamatory sentence

This section is limited to the discussion of the nominal type of exclamatory sentence like ang ganda ng dalaga, kay ganda ng dalaga, and anong ganda ng dalaga. Nominal expressions like these are considered by some linguists as one type of a subjectless sentence. Bloomfield (1917), as a matter of fact, considers them as completely lacking a subject-predicate structure. Some have noted that the main nominal elements correspond to the predicate adjective and the subject noun phrase of an adjectival sentence. The pair of sentences below show the correspondence:

(13) Ang ganda / ng dalaga.

Maganda / ang dalaga.

Schachter and Otanes believe that there is a systematic transformational relationship between the two. They state the relationship this way:

"Any statement that includes a ma- adjective as predicate (in normal initial position) is convertible into an exclamation through a replacement of the prefix ma- by ang, kay, ka-, or ano plus the linker -ng and a change of the topic ang phrase into a ng phrase" (p. 280). From a purely formal point of view the operation is indeed simple and straightforward. The only problem is that the resulting expression bears a completely different message from the message of the adjectival sentence. Maganda ang dalaga is about a particular woman, while Ang ganda ng dalaga is about the beauty of a particular woman. I believe that a case can be made for the analysis that ang ganda ng dalaga is the subject phrase of a sentence with a missing surface predicate. The speaker is reporting his reaction or judgment concerning the beauty of the woman. The judgment is that it is superlative or unusual or unexpected or worthy of notice, and it comes not in the usual lexical form but in the form of some characteristic combination of pitch, tone and stress and other modifications of the voice. Omitting irrelevant details, the full form of the sentence may be diagrammed as follows:

SUPERLATIVE

N

Tone, Pitch
Stress

ang ganda ng dalaga

where SUPERLATIVE, in capital letters, is a crude representation of the semantic item that the speaker would like to express about the woman's beauty. If the speaker has something more specific to say, there are available words: Masyado ang ganda ng dalaga, Nakakaakit ang ganda ng dalaga, etc. Masyado and nakakaakit, however, are not the same as the predicate SUPERLATIVE.

Pseudo-predicates

There are sentences presumably in all Philippine languages consisting of an adverbial phrase, usually a temporal or a locative like kahapon "yesterday" and sa amin "at our place", and an event noun or a nominalization like savawan "dance" and dating or pagdating "arrival". The adverbial phrase is called pseudo-predicate for two reasons. The more relevant of the two reasons is that a sentence with a pseudo-predicate is

understood as "implying a deleted verbal predicate" (Schachter and Otnes, p. 449). Sentences like

(15) Kahapon ang election.

(16) Sa min ang prayer meeting.

are felt to have a deleted verb like nangyari "happened" or ginanap "was held", or some other similar verb (E.g. Kahapon ginanap ang prayer meeting) Schachter and Otnes correctly observe that "a construction involving a time adverb in predicate position opposite a nominalized verb alternates freely with a construction involving an emphatic initial adverb plus an inflected form of a verb" (p. 449). Thus (17) and (18) may be said to be synonymous.

(17) Kahapon ang dating/pagdating ni Pedro.

(18) Kahapon dumating si Pedro.

Assuming ~~that~~ there is a missing verb in (15) and (16), all the four sentences from (15) to (18) all have the same underlying pattern: fronted emphatic adverb plus a verb plus a noun. The postulated transformation deriving (17) from (18) should be easy to accept, since the same verb root is involved. But in (15) and (16) there is nothing in the surface structure that suggests what the specific verb is. There is in fact no way of recovering it. All that is recoverable is the sense that it is a verb of occurrence. This is one more of the abstract verbs that must be postulated for Tagalog and other Philippine languages. According to convention it will be written in capital letters.

The verbs that come to mind that are possible candidates for the deleted verbs in occurrence sentences do not give sentences with the same meaning as the verbless sentence.

The so-called headless noun phrases

The markers ang, sa, and ng in Tagalog and their equivalents in other Philippine languages always give the phrase they introduce a nominal reading. The referent is usually made clear by the presence of a head word. But there is a class of phrases introduced by these markers where the referent is not expressed by a noun head. The following are typical examples:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (19) | ang unliyak | the (one who is) crying' |
| | sa tabi ng matangkad | by the side of the (one who is) tall |

Nawala <u>ang para sa iyo</u>	the (one that is) reserved for you
Sumama siya <u>sa isang mayaman</u>	with one(one who is) rich
<u>Ang tumatawa ang may kasalanan</u>	the (one who is) laughing
	the (one who is) with fault

These phrases are as nominal as ang bata, ang aso, ang taxi. They clearly refer to some nominal entity. They may be analyzed as consisting of an unspecified or indefinite noun and a relative clause:

ang N na umiiyak
sa tabi ng N na matangkad
ang N na para sa iyo
sa isang N na mayaman
ang N na tumatawa
ang N na may kasalanan

Like all abstract or unspecified entities, the N is not given any lexical representation.

The absence of a name for incompletely specified entities is not the only reason why a noun head fails to surface. If there is already a word for a particular noun in the language, the speaker may not be in a position to apply it. Either the word is not yet part of his vocabulary or he may not have the perceptual basis for applying it. For instance, if one does not know the term for a paper puncher, he may refer to it as ang pinaglalaruan ng bata or some other apt definite expression. If something is moving or making some sound in a closed box, one is likely to refer to it as ang gumagalaw or ang umuugong sa loob ng karton. A second reason is that the speaker may deliberately omit the noun head because the context already makes it unmistakable. At a cockfight, for instance, ang pula would be sufficient and ang pulang tandang would be redundant.

The use of headless noun phrases is a very convenient device for designating nameless and newly introduced objects and notions in Philippine languages. All one has to do is to attach the appropriate marker to any descriptive word or phrase that is sufficient to identify a nameless object and he will have a referring expression.

Noun plus complement clause

There is a closely related construction to the one just discussed. It consists of a noun plus a complement clause like

- (21) ang balita na nagtanan sina Jose at Carla
ang tsismis na nakunan si Emilia
ang hinala na siya ang kumain ng durian

The noun head is often missing as in

- (22) Nabasa ko na nagtanan sina Jose at Carla.

Narinig ko na nakunan si Emilia.

Since there is a very clear and regular structural relation between a complement clause with a noun head and a clause without a noun head, it is probably correct to postulate a noun head even none occurs in the surface structure. This noun head must be abstract. It is the semantic component common to such words as balita, ulat, hinala, tsismis, paniniwala, bulungbulungan, sumbong, patalastas, pahayag, kuwento, and many other similar words that pertain to the content of a statement rather than to the text as a physical object. The language does not have a single-word designation for such a nominal entity. Unless it is further specified, it will not surface as an actual lexical item. It must be observed however that when the noun head does not imply a fact its omission will give the resulting headless noun clause the interpretation that it is a fact. Thus when the third item in (21) occurs without a head, as in May nagsabi sa akin na siya ang kumain ng durian, the strong nonfactual interpretation of the clause is lost.

Verbalizations (non-meteorological)

As mentioned earlier the use of nouns as verbs is a very productive process in Philippine languages. The easiest way to account for this phenomenon would be to assign it to the lexicon: simply label all verbalizable nouns also as verbs. Some linguists have in effect suggested such a solution in their claim that the fuller form of Umaaraw is Umaaraw ang araw. Such notions like incorporation and lexicalization are potentially useful but there is need to reexamine the implied claim that the suppressed items are actual lexical items.

Two other notions connected with the widespread verbalization in Philippine languages have gained popularity with some linguists. The

first notion—that of abstract verb—has been partly discussed. The other is the notion of replaceable verb. Abstract verbs exist only in the semantic consciousness of the speaker and never surface as actual lexical items. They are very limited in number. Luzares (1975), for instance, lists only four out of 1,400 Cebuano words she studied. They are BEAR, as in nangahak "bore a child", mamunga "to bear fruit", manahun "bear leaves"; CONSIDER, as in gigwapahan "to consider gwapa", gigamyan "consider little"; FEEL, as in gisakitan "feel sick", gihapdusan "feel pain"; and OFFER, as in nagsirmun "give a sermon" and magmisa "offer a mass". If the notion of abstract verb is now well established, the individual verbs that are postulated as abstract are by no means universally acceptable to linguists.

A replaceable verb, unlike an abstract verb, is a fully specified verb that allows itself to be replaced by one of the role-marked nouns accompanying it. Luzares in the same work cited lists 12 of them: ADTU "go" as in mainpyirnu "to go to hell", APLAY "apply" as in magplurwaks "to apply floorwax", BUTANG "put" as in bitsini! "put some bitsin", DULAQ "play" as in magbowling "to bowl", GAMIT "use" as in guntingun "to cut with scissors", HIMUQ "make" as in magbalay "to build a house". Other so-called replaceable verbs are KUHAC "to remove", MAHIMUQ "to become", MANGAYUD "to ask", PUNUQ "to be full of", SAKAY "ride", and USAR "use". The trouble with replaceable verbs is that there are often two or more possible verbs for a single verbalized noun. For instance, is the replaced verb in magradio in Tagalog MAKINIG, GUMAMIT, MAGPADALA NG MESSAGE BY MEANS OF? Is the replaced verb in magkatre GAMIT, HIGA? How about magtenidor? Is it the verb that means to use, to pierce or stab with, to eat with, to pick up food with? There must be several of them.

The difficulty of recovering the correct verb with certainty is a major weakness of the analysis using the notion of replaceable verb. The solution I would like to propose is to extract common semantic components among related replaceable verbs and posit them as abstract or atomic verbs. Such posited abstract verbs must match some broad categories of action as perceived by human beings. Eliminating replaceable verbs should increase the number of abstract verbs.

Take for example the noun-based verbs magsinangag, magkape, magkutsara, mageroplano, magsapatos, magsigarilyo and magkatre. One would say at first glance that the fuller forms are kumain ng sinangag, uminum ng kape, gumamit ng kutsara, sumakay sa eroplano, magsuot ng sapatos, humitit ng sigarilyo and humiga sa katre. It is suggested that there is a single underlying abstract verb for these verbalizations. I suggest that it is USE. The specific interpretation as "eat", "drink", "ride", "wear", etc. are not part of the interpretation of the original or "replaced" verb but are contributed by the noun that is verbalized; that is, part of the meaning of sinangag is that it is eatable, part of the meaning of coffee is that it is to be drunk, part of the meaning of shoes is that they are to be worn, etc. But they are all used (for eating, for drinking, for riding, etc.).

Other abstract verbs, all underlying seemingly different instances of verbalization, are the following:

HAVE	magbulaklak	
Iloc.	aganak	to bear a child
Iloc.	agtrangkaso	to have the flu
	mag-ugat	
	magbahay	
MAKE INTO (factitive,	Iloc. pandilingen	to make into a skirt
	Iloc. sumanen	to make into suman
	Iloc. manongon	to figuratively make someone one's elder brother by calling him "manong"
	adubuhin	
BECOME	magabogado	
	magnars	
	magsonador	

For magsonador and other similar words like mag-alkalde, magkonsol and maggubernador, the replaceable verb would be silbi. This specific meaning, however, is derived from the verbalized nouns, which are all public offices. BECOME as used here is a deliberate purposive act and must be distinguished from the actual lexical verb maging, which is non-purposive or accidental.

CAUSE partially realized on the surface as the prefix pa-

in many Philippine languages: magpaiyak, paraanin

It includes at least two more specific verbs: active causation (magpaiyak) and allowing (paraanin).

REMOVE magbalat
(away from a
source) magbalbas

Iloc. agiit "to remove the midribs"

PUT/PLACE
(towards a destination)

magatip
magtakip
mag-asin
magsabon
ibolsa
isaulo

A single higher abstract verb may even be postulated to include both REMOVE and PUT. MOVE might do. The movement "away from" and "toward" are predictable.

DO magswimming
 magmountain-climbing
 maghiking

These are not accurately translated by the existing verbs langoy, akyat ng bundok, and lakad. They are borrowed concepts which include the idea of leisure. The idea of leisure is lacking in the native words. Possibly all nouns referring to sports (magbowling, magskating, magbasketball, etc.) should be included here. The verb laro whose Cebuano equivalent is listed by Luzares as a replaceable verb is obviously part of the meaning of the noun. The abstract DO can enter into many combinations: DO something by means of, DO something at a specific time, DO something at a particular place. In Ilocano parbangonen means "Do something at dawn", aldawon means "Do something in broad daylight; balconien means "to do something to someone in the balcony".

Those few abstract verbs can account for most of the types of verbalizations that have been listed down for Ilocano. A few more are probably needed and some important refinements have to be made in order to eliminate

most if not all the so-called replaceable verbs and to avoid having to list or label in the dictionary so many entries as both nouns and verbs.

As it has been shown in some of the more recent works on Philippine languages, not all role-marked nouns can be verbalized. There is some general agreement that at least three are verbalizable: agent, object (both neutral and object of motion), and instrument. The list of abstract verbs shows that in Ilocano certain locative and temporal adverbs may also be verbalized.

I hope I have given some indication of how some unique and near-unique syntactic structures in Philippine languages may be more adequately analyzed if unrealized constituents are posited as part of them. These constituents are not arbitrarily set up, for they pattern exactly like the constituents in sentences without missing constituents.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BRIEF REVIEW OF WORK DONE ON THE GRAMMARS OF PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Fe T. Otañes
Language Study Center
Philippine Normal College

I see as my main task in this talk that of highlighting certain trends and issues in the grammatical analysis of Philippine languages, as well as to give an overview of work done so far along this line. I have tried to accomplish the latter task through a bibliography of grammatical works. I make no claim to exhaustiveness in this bibliography, since I have had to rely on works and citations that I have been able to find in the all-too-little time that I have been able to devote to the preparation of this paper. In spite of its deficiencies, I hope that the bibliography will be helpful at least in indicating the types, if not the extent or depth, of research studies that have been done on the grammars of Philippine languages. Included are works that are either full descriptions of particular languages or limited to particular topics in grammar, but not those that appear to me to be mainly or exclusively concerned with areas such as phonology, lexicography, and the like. I have also limited the scope to the period 1950 through 1975, again because of time limitations in the preparation of this paper; however, it seems to me that it was during this period that there was a great increase in the interest in describing Philippine languages within some theoretical framework, hence a time period of considerable significance to the history of Philippine linguistics. Within the limits described, I have exercised no further selectivity, leaving it to the user to decide the value of each work to his own needs.

Observations on the extent of work done. Jack Ward, in his article "Philippine Linguistic Studies, a Bibliographic Survey of the Coverage in the Literature (see bibliography below, no. 94), reports findings in an extensive bibliographic research that he is doing on Philippine linguistics. He indicates that his research has yielded more than 2,900 published works and more than 700 manuscripts. He lists 107 languages covered, alphabetically listed from Aeta to Unirey, and, following the typology he has developed, further categorizes the works on each language into kinds of studies, such as those on grammar, morphology and syntax, which are separately listed, and those on lexicography, phonology, and so on. Ward points out the difficulties in this type of research at this time, arising from a lack of consistency in the naming of speech varieties in the Philippines, and which in turn

can be partly traced to a more basic theoretical difficulty of distinguishing between dialect and language as well as the inadequacy of information on the linguistic geography of the Philippines.

Ward's count is perhaps a better basis of gauging the extent of work done on the grammar of Philippine languages than the bibliography presented below, since it is based on a much wider coverage of the literature. The data reported by Ward is reproduced below in a slightly different format:

type	No. of works
I. Grammar	
0. General, all-inclusive or unspecified -	317
1. Specific grammatical categories	1
2. Grammatical notes	57
3. Prescriptive grammatical works	12
II. Syntax	
0. General	166
1. Phrase structure	49
2. Transformational treatments	8
III. Morphology	
0. General	261
1. Word classes and parts of speech	48
2. Affixes and affixation processes, Base/root classifications	105

The impression that is gained from this survey of grammatical work is that of a great amount of work already done on just these three areas, grammar, syntax, and morphology, not to mention other aspects of Philippine linguistics. However, as anyone will attest who has ever attempted to get a more or less complete picture of the grammar of any particular language, what one really gets, with almost no exception, are accounts of particular points of investigation, with large gaps in between. The gaps have to be filled if a total picture of the Philippine linguistic situation is to be obtained. The end to the job of data gathering and analysis of data is not yet in sight, and needs the attention and interest of researchers. Of course, the results of the research have to be made available, if not always through publication -- a very expensive undertaking these days -- at least through their storage in accessible repositories. It is quite possible that some gaps have already been filled, but the sources of information repose in some private, hence largely inaccessible, collections. Retrieval of such works, however, fragmentary, should be considered major contributions to our knowledge of Philippine languages and should receive as much encouragement and funding support as possible.

Some topics in the analysis of verb systems.

The verb systems of Tagalog and other Philippine languages still remain the most challenging and the most intractable areas of investigation in grammatical research. This is perhaps the reason why for almost every theoretical framework that has reached the attention of linguists working on Philippine languages, there is an exemplar of the application of the theory to the verb system, whether of Tagalog or some other Philippine language. We thus have examples of various forms of structural and generative treatments of Philippine verb systems.

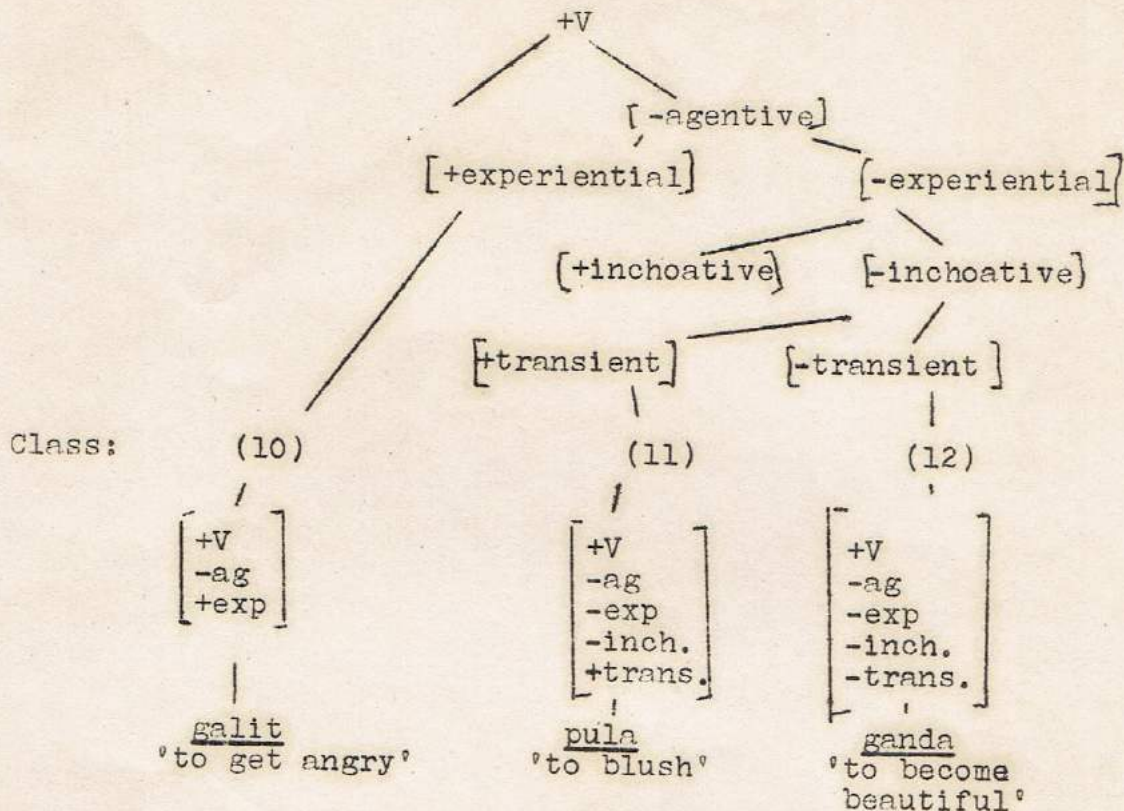
What calls for a theoretical explanation is how, in spite of the great wealth of affixation possibilities and the consequently great variations in the meanings of single verb roots, and in spite of the poverty of surface markers to signal case relations between verbs and associated noun phrases, a condition resulting in potential ambiguities in the interpretation of utterances, the Philippine languages are acquired in the usual human fashion; that is, a child by the age of five or six has sorted out most of the potential confusions in using his language and is rarely guilty of such confusions. There must be an underlying regularity through all the complexity -- a greater regularity than has been uncovered so far by diligent research.

A contribution to the semantics of Tagalog verbs, the study by Terestia V. Ramos reported in her article, "The Role of Verbal Features in the Subcategorization of Tagalog Verbs" (no. 74 below) approaches the problem of selection and assignment of case roles to nouns associated with the Tagalog verb through the use of semantic features. Features assigned to the verb determine, for example, whether the sentence will contain an agent noun, an object noun, and other nouns in particular case relationship to the verb. In the author's words, "The verb is described as composed of a bundle of specified semantic features. These features restrict or dictate the types of case-marked nouns that may co-occur with it. The noun is marked for potential case roles that it can perform."

Ramos has identified eleven features as being necessary for verb classification. These are: 1) [\pm agentive]; 2) [\pm external]; 3) [\pm centrifugal] (i.e., whether the action is away from or toward the agent; 4) [\pm terminal] (i.e., whether the verb will allow only an object or will additionally allow a directional argument); 5) [\pm change of state]; 6) [\pm direction]; 7) [\pm experiential]; 8) [\pm total]; 9) [\pm inclusive]; 10) [\pm transient]; 11) [\pm meteorological].

Based on these features and their various combinations, the author has identified fifteen classes of Tagalog verbs. I

reproduce below part of the tree diagram that show how these features are used in the classification:



This approach to the semantic description of verbs and the sentences that they form can only be successful, it seems to me, if it can deal adequately with the problem of specifying the semantic change that the verb base undergoes in the process of affixation. This is particularly difficult to capture in a rigorous linguistic description because in most cases, the affixes that form the simplest verbs, i.e., those consisting of one affix and the verb root, typically have a range of meanings that they can add to those of the verb roots, the selection of meanings being determined by particular selections of affix and verb root. To illustrate, pula has the meaning 'to blush' only in the formation mamula, with the affix mang-, but with -um-, pumula, it means 'to become red'. Hence, pula is either plus or minus transient depending on the affix. However, mang- has a different effect on the verb root bili, since mamili means 'buy in quantity', as compared with bumili 'buy' and magbili 'sell'. Thus, with reference to the root bili, mang- carried the meaning of plurality. Further, mag- which gives the meaning that would be characterized in the Ramos framework as [+centrifugal], as in magbili 'sell', does

not have the same meaning in maghinanakit 'feel resentful'. The meaning oppositions between mag- and -um- will be illustrated further below in the discussion of Pittman's work, but the two sentences below illustrate the need to have a mechanism that would characterize not only the role relationships between the verb and individual noun phrases or noun arguments but also among the noun arguments themselves. -Um- and mag- form verb pairs that would have to be characterized by some such feature as [\pm mutual] with respect to object and directional goal, as shown in the following examples:

- A. +mutual: Maghalo ka ng asukal at kape.
 'Mix some sugar and coffee together.'
- mutual: Maghalo ka ng asukal sa kape.
 'Mix some sugar with the coffee.'
- B. +mutual: Naghalo ang asukal at kape.
 'The sugar and the coffee got mixed.'
- mutual: Humalo ang asukal sa kape.
 'The sugar got mixed with the coffee.'
- C. +mutual: Nagkamay si Pedro at si Juan.
 (var.: Nagkamayan si Pedro at si Juan.)
 'Pedro and Juan shook hands.'
- mutual: Kumamay si Pedro kay Juan.
 (var.: Nakipagkamay si Pedro kay Juan.)
 'Pedro shook hands with Juan.'

Some consideration of the world view of a particular culture or subculture also has to be made if an adequate assignment of features is to be achieved. How is one, for example, to interpret such a Tagalog utterance as:

Nauuhaw ang ugat ng mga halaman (/ang mga halaman).
'The roots of the plants (/the plants) are thirsty.'

which is a commonplace way of saying reproachfully or regretfully that the plants need to be watered? It is easy to say that a figure of speech is present here, but that would be true only from the point of view of an outsider whose own culture would not allow such objects as plants and roots to be spoken of in human terms as being thirsty. It is difficult to say definitely that the Tagalog farmer considers this as a figure of speech -- as opposed to the reaction of a city person whose experience with plants or whose participation in the subculture of those who care for plants is nil. We compare the above utterance with one like the following:

Nauuhaw sa pagmamahal ang bata.

'The child craves ('is thirsty for') love.

which is clearly recognized as a bulaklak ng dila or figure of speech (literally, 'flower of the tongue') by any Tagalog speaker and would not be said in any commonplace verbal interaction without embarrassment.

In sum, Ramos's attempt to classify Tagalog verbs in terms of semantic features can serve as a springboard for further investigations on the general question of how Tagalog utterances are interpreted semantically. Such further investigations, it is hoped, will eventually lead to the production of definitive works (or, hopefully, a single integrated work) on the structure and semantics of the Tagalog sentence. It is increasingly becoming clear, however, that the domains of the research will have to expand beyond the linguistic code into the non-linguistic context -- another door, so to speak, that will have to be opened before the territory of the Tagalog verb is fully explored.

An example of research done on the same topic as the Ramos study but using a structural or taxonomic framework is the one reported by Richard Pittman in his article, "Tagalog -um- and mag-, An Interim Report" (no. 71 below). This research shows in greater detail the kinds of meaning oppositions that -um- and mag- verbs have with different groups of verb roots. Their classification is reproduced below in a different format:

I. -um- and mag- on identical stems

- 1.1. Non-reflexive (umaliw)
- 1.2. Reflexive (mag-aliw)
- 2.1. Non-causative (pumanhik)
- 2.2. Causative (magpanhik)
- 3.1. Centripetal (bumili)
- 3.2. Centrifugal (magbili)
- 4.1. Non-dual and non-reciprocal (kumamay)
- 4.2. Dual or reciprocal (magkamay)
- 5.1. Non-repetitive (kumain)
- 5.2. Repetitive (magkain)
- 6.1. Intrinsic color change (dumilaw)
- 6.2. External color application (magdilaw, 'to wear yellow')

II. -um- and mag- on different stems

Source

- 7.1. Impersonal actions (gumabi)
- 7.2. Personal and occupational actions (mag-artista)

Manner

- 8.1. Gestural (dumilat)
- 8.2. Verbal (magbalita)
- 9.1. Physical (tumangis)
- 9.2. Emotional and intensive (magdusa)

Quality

- 10.1. Impulsive (tumulong)
- 10.2. Deliberate (volitional) (mag-aral)

Rank

- 11. Creative (bumuo)
- 12.1. Elementary (dumilim)
- 12.2. Secondary (maglaman)
- 13.1. Regressive (dumalang)
- 13.2. Progressive (magbunga)
- 14. Multiplicational and inversive (tumapang)
- 15.1. Destructive (dumurog)
- 15.2. Constructive (magpunla)

Adjunct

- 16.1. Locational (dumito)
- 16.2. Instrumental (magbakya)

Quantity

- 17. Numeral (magdalawa)
- 18.1. Partitive (pumunit)
- 18.2. Distributive (mag-abuloy)

III. Mag- plus -um- in tandem

- 19. Augmentative (maghumiyaw)

From the inventory above, we can get an idea of the number of meaning variations that a single pair of affixes, mag- and -um- can effect on verb roots, and why it is premature to assume or claim that a small number of features can account for a classification of Tagalog verbs on a semantic basis.

The need for integrative studies.

While individual topics should continue to be pursued in grammatical research on Philippine languages, there is a need to bring together the various disparate treatments of single topics, first, to consolidate whatever data has been gathered so far, and second, to try to arrive at an integrated presentation, whether in highly technical style ("for linguists only") or reference grammar style, for both linguists and laymen, the latter perhaps being more demanding in the sense that there will be a need to state technical concepts in laymen's language, hence possibly belonging to a later phase. I can only state the need at this point, and would rather not prescribe the means. I would like to suggest, however, that there is room in the Philippine linguistic scene for the kind of activity known as "restatement linguistics" -- i.e., taking someone else's data and restating it in terms of one's own theoretical orientation (with proper acknowledgments, of course) with one of two objectives--

integration of information and testing of a particular model of linguistic description. Either way, I believe that Philippine linguistics will be the beneficiary.

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BEYOND LINGUISTICS: A HUMANISTIC
APPROACH TO LANGUAGE TEACHING

by Nelia G. Casambre

For the last three decades, much of the practical considerations in language learning as well as language instruction were based on the mechanistic and distributional analyses of linguistics. Language behavior was no more than a structurally patterned behavior that could be acquired through a habit-formation process. Language learning was thus to many a somewhat dull process of meaningless repetitions and rote memorization. This was the audio-lingual or structural approach, an approach based on the assumption that the learner could be conditioned to learn a language by going through a hierarchical structuring of language learning activities leading toward the acquisition of a new set of language habits.

Epithets such as "teach the language not about the language," "pattern practice" and "drill up to the point of automaticity" became popular pedagogy in our schools. However, as is true with most movements, over-emphasis became the order of implementation so that the learner learned to produce utterances in the classroom which could hardly if ever be useful outside. Parrot-like learners became the product of the day thus it was not uncommon to

come up with transactions of "I like to buy it's a ball" a direct carry over of classroom patterns. Severely criticized, the audio-lingual approach with its repeat-after-me method has slowly given way to a more integrated and rationalistic approach that aims at mastery of internal rules rather than at formation of habits. This other approach under the name of generative grammar (later called transformational grammar) points to competence in the language as the ability to generate infinite number of correct sentences and to assign a linguistic explanation to them. The linguist's function is to examine, in the words of de Pietro(2) "... a fictionalized speaker-hearer who lives in a homogenous speech community." This person is ageless, sexless and devoid of personality traits. Highly theoretical, even Chomsky, author of generative-transformational grammar, himself had expressed grave reservations as to its applicability to classroom situation. However, this theory has extended the concern not only to the boundaries of actual utterances heard but also to the cognitive processes involved in the learner's internalization of the grammatical rules of the language.

With transformational grammar the emphasis in language learning shifted from habit formation to cognition. Pedagogically, stress in language learning was no longer in drills to establish habits in the language but in understanding and application of the rules of the language.

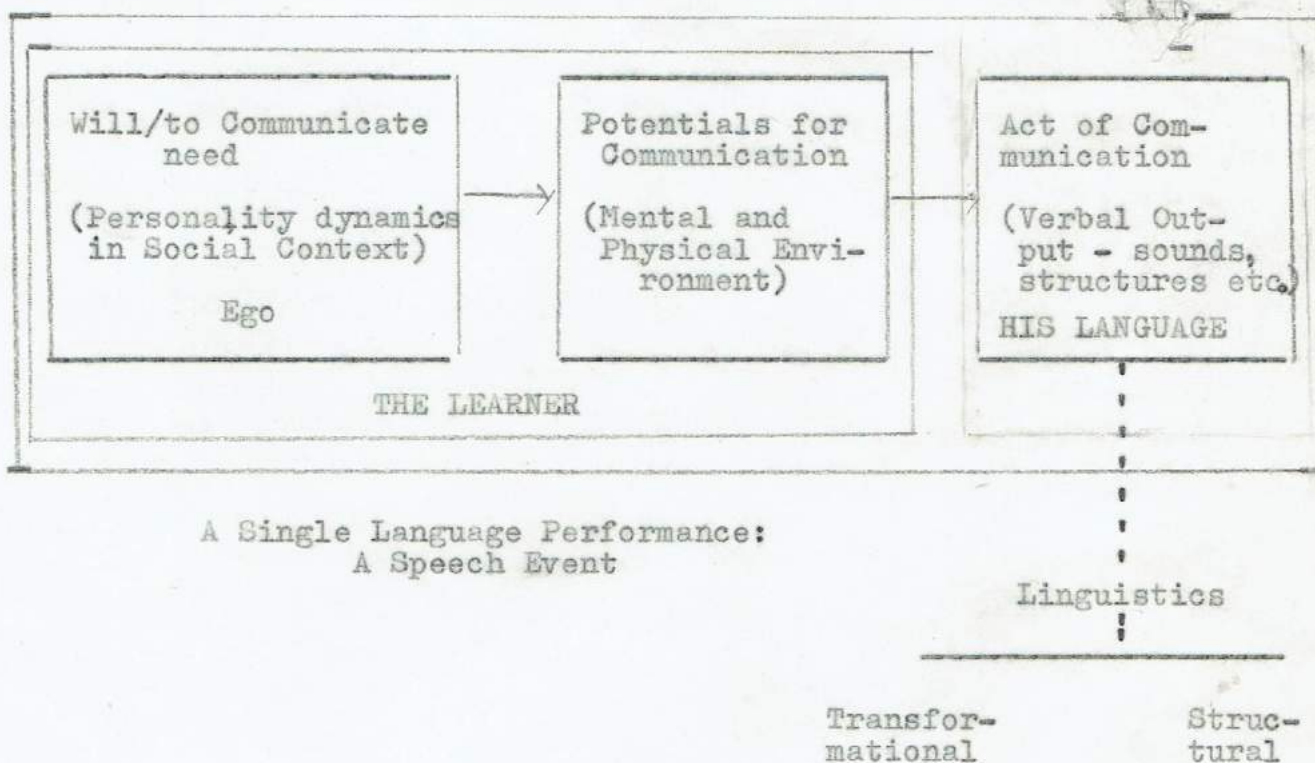
What came out of this approach was an increasing wave of experiments and investigations that tried to determine the methods and strategies that could best carry out the so-called "conscious meaningful effort to learn." The classroom teemed with activities that called for such acts as disentangling a complex sentence by kernelization, integration of some statements and transformation of others. But whether it was structural or transformation in approach, focus was more on the language itself rather than on the learner. Where was then the learner in the scheme of language learning? He was always there, a confused creature who could not make out what he wanted to do, who felt threatened whenever whenever he attempted to say or write something for fear of making mistakes.

The advent of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics seemed to have augured well for language specialists. The former views language as a personal behavior which affects the user; the latter looks at language as communication in a social context. The focus now has expanded from the language itself to its use and to the environment where this language is used. While both areas shed light on the pedagogical aspects of language, the experts, however, remained engrossed in their own disciplines and left the drawing of implications to the practitioners, to the teachers who become overwhelmed, confused with all the

language theories advocated. In the process of applying these theories to the classroom, these teachers become frustrated because despite all these theories advocated, despite all their efforts to put into practice the pedagogical aspects of the theories, the products of their instruction can hardly be considered proficient in the language.

To help solve this situation, this paper postulates a unified theory of language behavior and language learning and a suggested language learning approach.

A UNIFIED THEORY OF LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR



A single language performance is composed of three variables namely: (a) the act of communication which is the verbal output, the concrete verbal performance, composed of sounds, structures, lexicon, (b) the ability to communicate -- the mental and physical potentials for communication, and (c) the will/need to communicate which is an expression of personality dynamics in social context. A language act is realized thru the coexistence, cooperation and integration of these three variables.

Before an act of communication can be realized there must be the ability to communicate, i.e. there must be the human mechanisms, physical as well as mental processes (not directly observable) which are responsible for the meaningfulness and grammaticalness of the speech act. Yet all psychological and linguistic activities stem from and return to the self, the Ego, as a communicating person (the subject of responsibility, the center of accountability of the human behavior). Thru its motivations and affects, it is this variable that spells out the will and/or the need to communicate. This self, this Ego is influenced by and a product of the systematic interlacing of the individual's psychophysical potentials and his environment. While it is true that communication involves sounds, structures of the language, the verbal performance is subject to social and

ritual constraints. This is even more complicated in communicative transactions between and among people. Even the simple recognition of no for instance, is not only dependent on the proper form-function relationship; it depends on the setting and social structure which dictates how and when a "no" may be said. Linguistically the form no has for its function an expression of the negative yet it can function as "yes" or "maybe" in certain social or cultural setting.

"Will you marry me?" asked of our young Filipina, possibly circa the early 40's, will elicit silence or even a "No." A Filipino suitor dictated by his culture would insist on his suit because he understood the cues, verbal and non-verbal that the young girl manifested. A foreign suitor on the other hand, an American for instance, may react differently to such Filipino no much to the dismay of our young girl.

Gusto mong kumain? an invitation for meal for one who happens to drop by at meal time, would elicit a Hindi na, busog ako or Kakakain ko lang whether these are facts or not is immaterial; nevertheless, they are social conventions employed in the transactions. But when asked 3 times the "Hindi" becomes "Sige na nga." The no becomes just preliminaries to acceptance of the invitation.

The person, the learner therefore is a potent variable in the language learning process. So that to reduce the analysis of language and language learning to a mere system of habits or of cognitive processes as is the case in linguistics would be tantamount to admitting the possibility of "speaking" without "a speaker" or "hearing" without "a hearer"; to present a model of a language act without the learner is to posit an encephalous organism - a beheaded body. In language learning therefore the focus should be beyond linguistics to include the learner (source of the language act) and his environment (the social force that offers constraints to his behavior including his linguistic behavior).

The Humanistic Approach to Language Learning

With the theory of language behavior and language learning given earlier, I am suggesting here an approach which would include the learner in the scheme of language learning. I call it the humanistic approach to language learning. It also comes under the name of "affective education" or "affective learning". Humanistic approach is one that focuses concern on the learner as a person, a human being with his potentialities, his weaknesses, his anxieties, his fears, his joys as he interacts with his environment.

Allow me to invite you to look at our learner and what we can do as teachers in the whole scheme of language learning. Who is the learner? What is he?

He is a human being who feels himself great and important in his own universe yet one who wants to belong and be part of those around him. In the process of being himself and in his social encounters, he experiences alienation in certain boundaries. "Alienation" is adapted from Stevick's term for anxieties, threats and fears of the learner in the process of learning.

One such boundary is alienation between himself and the teacher. The learner is threatened when he feels or is made to feel ignorant, powerless and evaluated before the all-knowing powerful, evaluating teacher.

The second boundary is alienation between himself and his fellow learners. They compete with him for the attention and approval of the all-knowing powerful evaluator - the teacher. However, he also wants approval from his fellow learners. In his effort to please both, he sometimes suffers conflict within himself.

He also sees this alienation in his encounters with himself, between his performing self and his critical self the latter observing and scolding the performing self for the lapses. Conflict sometimes arises between the self that strives to be adequate and the self that has internalized other people's ideas of what adequacy is.

To protect himself against these alienation he employs some defense strategies. He either withdraws or becomes aggressive. He manifests withdrawal for instance thru cutting classes, through avoiding the teachers eye or saying nothing (or very little) in the classroom. In being aggressive he engages in antisocial behavior like annoying his classmates or the teacher. Another type, a very subtle one, is to study hard, come up with the right answers and get an excellent grade in the course. This type of defense is much less annoying to the teacher yet a kind of defensive learning which oftentimes produces psuedo-mastery only to evaporate soon after the final examination.

To present a clearer picture of this type of defensive learning I am quoting Stevick(8) who says:

"Defensive learning sees the . . . language as a set of sounds, and words and rules and patterns that are to be transfered from the teacher or the textbook into the mind of the student. In this view the teacher . . . is seen as hurling darts at the student. If a dart strikes an unprotected area (that is if the student makes a mistake), the experience is painful. What the learner tries to do therefore is to see to it that there are as few chunks as possible in his armor. Learning thus becomes a way of adapting to academic requirements . . . but like a suit of armor it is a burden, to be worn as little as possible and cast off entirely (i.e. forgotten) at the first safe opportunity.

Having this analysis of our learner, what can we do as teachers to make this learning less defensive and the results more permanent?

As language teachers it is our responsibility to reduce as much as we can our learner's alienation and make it less necessary for him to defend himself and thus leaving him with an increased feeling of wholeness and worth.

The humanistic approach to language learning advocates the following principles:

1. Other things equal, one learns more and learns better when one feels relatively secure. Language learning as skills development can best be learned in a secure atmosphere.

2. The second principle states: One learns better when what one studies is something he can commit himself to.

Commitment here means one's own choice to do a thing because one likes it not because one is forced to do it. The learner is physically as well as emotionally involved in the task. Learner-generated materials or materials within the interest, aptitude of the learner can help elicit this commitment.

3. The third principle is: One learns better from oneself than from anyone else: that one learns better from ones peers than from one above him. This principle subordinates teaching to learning. "No one can make a horse drink if it doesn't want to drink" so the saying goes.

With the above principles in mind how can we as teachers manage a humanistic classroom? A few suggestions are here given:

1. A humanistic classroom is an arena for communication, for genuine communication is going on continuously, whenever two or more people are together. The classroom must be a place where the learner has the freedom to express himself with the rules of behavior set by the class.

As one author puts it, communication is "... a fifth skill in addition to but transcending the 4 skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing." (4) One essential characteristic of communication is that what the student says or writes comes from himself not from the teacher or the text, from his needs and feelings of facts that he alone knows and would like to share. Communication is characterized by spontaneity because one is eager to communicate his experiences, his thoughts, his feelings. If communication becomes the center of classroom activities it will as in the words of Stevick heal the "... schizophrenia between the malleable self that tries to produce correct sentences and the self that has things that it wants to say to other people." The teacher in a communication classroom must be re-oriented in his attitude towards errors. He must be more tolerant of the learner's errors for errors are but an indication that the learning task is not complete; that making errors is an inevitable and necessary part of the learning process.

2. A humanistic classroom believes in optimum participation of the learner. To specifically show how this

works I would like to present here some classroom procedures even in the so-called drill class:

- a. The class (with the teacher) selects a point (say in grammar) to be practiced.
- b. The class (with the teacher) suggests a sentence to illustrate the point to be practiced.
- c. A student acting as secretary writes the sentence on the board.
- d. The students check the sentence for accuracy. If necessary, the teacher then provides additional information bearing on the suitability of the sentence: "I know what you mean but what I would say is . . ." and so on.
- e. In the same way the students suggest additional sentences which become the remaining lines of the drill and then practice them. The teacher participates only as needed.

In this type of classroom management the teacher remains to one side physically as well as verbally. The first few times the teacher may need to explain the procedure and to provide the format for the drill. Soon the students will be able to take over. Here the teacher's role has changed. From the sole source of all these sentences, he now merely

verifies the sentences after the class had a chance to correct them before they are included in the drill. By verifying the sentences, the teacher has provided one ingredient necessary to the students security, "control". By keeping to one side, verbally as well as physically the teacher is leaving initiative in the hands of the students. This gives them the opportunity not only to make the maximum number of choices but also gives them the chance to help one another. In the process, each student is more likely to understand exactly what he is doing. The drill therefore has become the class response to the need for practicing a point rather than just one more hurdle which the teacher or textbook writer has placed before the student to drill.

In this way, the reward is greater for the teacher too because the student learns more with less frustration or boredom and his improved morale makes him more pleasant in the classroom.

3. A humanistic classroom must have the balance between control and initiative. By "control" I mean the process of establishing and maintaining rules of classroom behavior including learner's deportment as well as the learning procedures. In arriving at such rules I may even involve the learner in their formulation so that he becomes committed to them. I must make these rules clear and precise. According to Holt(5), a psychologist and advocate of affective

education, "the worst form of tyranny is one under which the power structure and laws are unclear." He admonished that "class rules be stated with enough precision so that students know what they mean." Certainly students want to know what limits there are to their behavior and what they must do to get along well in the classroom. Specifying rules do not mean restructuring of student choices; rather it clarifies the conditions under which choices are made.

By initiative, on the other hand, I mean choice of who is going to say what, to whom and when. Initiative has to do with what happens inside the student's learning space. In most of our classes we seem to have exerted a near monopoly not only of control but also of initiative. "Repeat this word after me"; "Give the next line"; "Write a paragraph on this topic." In all of these ways, the teacher is saying to the student, "Now try to do this that I may tell you and how you did." We not only invade the learner's space, we also evaluate his every move within it.

When we invade the learner's space and evaluate what he does in this space we are surely contributing to the alienation (anxiety) between student and teacher; we are even supporting the type of alienation between the performing and the critical self of the learner. We even stifle the growth of cooperation and camaraderie among them. If on the other hand we maintain control and at the same time allow them to

have their own initiative, we can hope to leave the students feeling better about themselves, about each other and about us their teachers.

4. A humanistic classroom has trust and confidence in the learners. Solnit(7) recommends that adults respect the rebellious criticisms and assertions of the learners; that the teacher should treat confrontation as opportunities for the learners to function in actual social encounters. Studies have shown that there is a positive relationship between the accepting supportive teachers and the achievements and positive attitudes of the language learners. One such study is the 1973 Northeast Conference Report (Dodge 3) which claims that research data showed that student behavior such as thinking, creativity, development of group processes and anxiety level can be influenced by the climate of the class.

The Language Teacher in a Humanistic Classroom

What kind of teacher is a humanistic language teacher? Teacher characteristics given here are drawn from results of various studies quoted in appropriate sections.

1. She is understanding; she possesses empathy and sensitivity to the needs of learners. Researches have shown that the teacher's understanding of the learner and his needs go a long way in language learning.

Hogan and Henley(4) for instance have validated experimentally that interpersonal communication is enhanced by mutual understanding.

Baldwin and Garvey(1) found that an important component of successful communication is ability to empathize.

2. Another characteristic is self-acceptance. He is a figure at peace with himself, stable, dependable and not erratic.

Trowbridge(9) indicated that teachers with positive self concept generate greater sense of self worth in students they teach.

3. Another one is genuineness in communication. According to Carl Rogers(6) this includes sharing both ones negative as well as positive feelings; it does not include destructive criticisms but the teacher's expression of personal annoyance if appropriate. He accepts, cares for and trusts students.

Under the above conditions the student comes to feel that he can afford to relax both physically and emotionally. He can afford to take chances with what he says both in content or in its linguistic correctness. He is able to see events as they actually are; that is, he does not feel compelled at all times to compare events with what he feels they ought to be.

As language teachers, we are not just concerned with the teaching of language - its sounds, structures and lexicon; we are interested in teaching persons, active, receptive, responsible human beings to use the language in appropriate communication context. Language learning therefore is learning beyond linguistics and the approach, humanistic.

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Abstract

WHERE IS SOCIOLINGUISTICS NOW IN THE PHILIPPINES AND WHAT IS ITS DIRECTION

Emy M. Pascasio
Department of Language and Linguistics
Ateneo de Manila University

What are the Major Concerns of Sociolinguistics?

Modern sociolinguistics of the past 10 years is viewed as a by-product of very recent and still on-going developments in its two parent-disciplines, linguistics and sociology. However, it would be but fair to say that more interest and greater attention have come from linguistics as a result of its recently more sophisticated synchronic concerns as well as its growing response to applied demands.

Among those who consider themselves as sociolinguists there is considerable conviction that their field is now making and will continue to make significant contributions to both parent fields. But then the true promise of the field will be realized only if a truly interdisciplinary work and thought will be fostered.

The shift from a major concern with the ways in which language determines culture and that language constrains world view as pointed out in the Whorfian hypothesis in the fifties, to the examination of ways in which language varieties reflect, are constrained by, and are changed by social, cultural, and individual determinants has proven very productive.

A central problem in sociolinguistics is the concern with understanding the kinds of speech communities; the types of varieties in a community and the distribution of varieties within this community; the functional allocation among the components of these varieties; the values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with the varieties (and their components) within a speech repertoire; and the ways in which these varieties within a repertoire are patterned and changed by sociocultural and individual determinants.

Where is Sociolinguistics Now in the Philippines?

In the sixties there has been an increased attention and interest on language in relation to culture to improve language teaching in the Philippines, to explain communication breakdowns, and to foster cross-cultural understanding and cooperation. The McCarron-Pascasio context of situation model was evolved to explain the use of language within a cultural context. It is primarily concerned with the interrelationship of language in culture, the implications of which bear directly on the problems of language learning and language teaching in the Philippines. The elements of the model consists of language, topic, speaker and listener role relationship, values and attitudes, and implied social institutions.

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These elements are interdependent whenever a Filipino finds himself in a context of situation like when he is making a request, giving information, or greeting others. There is a difference if the request is made between 2 persons of equal socio-economic status from that of unequal status. A difference in value judgment also changes the request pattern. If the cultural value predominant in a particular request is reciprocity, it will be different from that made if the request has SIR as the predominant value.

In the teaching of English the context of situation model shows three possible methods depending upon the objectives namely: (Pascasio, 1967)

1. teaching only the linguistic code of English
2. teaching the linguistic code of English in relation to Philippine reality
3. teaching the linguistic code of English in relation to non-Philippine cultural reality (American, British, etc.)

In the seventies it was no longer realistic to maintain English as the only medium of instruction in the Philippine schools. It was strongly felt that Pilipino rather than English can better serve as a medium to express Philippine cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and national aspirations.

In response to this need the government adopted a bilingual policy where English and Filipino are the media of instruction in all the schools. The implementing guidelines of this bilingual policy was stated in Dept. Order No. 25, series 1974. A number of studies on the Filipino bilingual's proficiency, use of his languages, his attitudes and motivations have been conducted in institutions such as the Ateneo, De La Salle, PNC and U.P. Surveys have also been undertaken such as the Otanes and Sibayan, "Language Policy Survey", and Gonzalez, "Manpower and Materials Resources Survey in Bilingual Education".

Directions for Sociolinguistics in the Philippines

An important subject for sociolinguistic research in bilingual education is the relationship between language use and language change. To help our schools produce Filipino bilinguals competent in both Filipino and English we should conduct more studies on who speaks what languages to whom, in what situation, and for what purposes.

Sociolinguistics can also make significant contributions to more knowledge and understanding of the Filipino bilingual hence the following studies are needed:

1. Measurement and description of role-repertoire range
2. Refinement of field methods for interlanguage - performance measures paralleling the in-depth intralanguage measures that are now available.
3. Direct application of sociolinguistic description to language learning and language acquisition; and
4. An encompassing description of a full-range speech community instead of a delimited sample-range neighborhood.

In order to succeed in our national language development there should be systematic language planning. We must take into serious consideration the sociolinguistic factors such as the: (1) demands of the situation depending upon the user/learner's capacity, speaker's ability as well as cultivation of the language; (2) the factors of social identification, language here serving as a label for status, prestige and fashion. It is therefore important to have language planning within the framework of an on-going socio-cultural interaction patterns and needs.

Austronesyan o mas nakakatandang wika ng Proto-Austronesyan, ganoon din ang naging direksyon ng mga iskolar na sumunod sa kanila. Sa ganoon, halos laging ipinapakita ng mga pag-aaral nila ang relasyon ng mga wika rito sa mas matandang ninuno at hindi ang relasyon sa "immediate ancestor" nila.

Bukod sa nasabing impluwensya, maaaring tignan ang katotohanang kokonting Pilipino ang nagkainteres sa mga pag-aaral na historikal kaya't kokonti rin ang mga pag-aaral tungkol sa problemang lokal o mga problemang tungkol sa mga wika sa Pilipinas lamang. Isa pang rason siguro ang pangyayaring deskriptib na pag-aaral ang nauuso noong naging popular ang linggwistiks sa Pilipinas. Bago dumating ang panahong ito, nauuso naman ang historikal na pag-aaral, kaya lang iilan lang ang mga Pilipinong interesado sa pag-aaral ng mga wika na tulad ni Pardo de Tavera at Cecilio Lopez.

Ang VL ni Dempwolff ay resulta ng pagkakakompara niya ng tatlong wika: Tagalog, Toba-Batak at Java at ang kinalabasan nito'y tinawag niyang Original Indonesian (OrIn) na naitatag niya sa paraang indaktib. Itong OrIn naman ang ginamit niyang base para maitatag niya ang Original Austronesian (OrAus). Naipakita niya na ang mga tunog sa mga wika sa Polenesya at Melanesya ay tumutugon o nagkokorespond sa mga iminungkahi niyang mga tunog ng OrIn. Kung ganoon dedektib ang paraan na ginamit niya sa pagtatag ng OrAus.

Sino mang istudyanteng interesado sa mga historikal na pag-aaral ng mga wika sa Pilipinas ay makekapagsabing napakaraming pag-aaral ang nagawa ni Dyen. Halos lahat ng sinulat ni Dyen na may kaugnayan sa mga wika rito'y batay sa VL, kaya lang meron din siyang mga pagbabagong idinagdag o iminungkahi. Ang mga pagbabagong ito'y dahil sa paniniwala niya na kailangang bumuo ng bagong korespondens set tuwing may naibang tunog na lumilitaw. Dahil dito, nagmungkahi siya ng mga bagong protoponim, gaya ng iba't ibang *D, *Z, at *R. Bukod rito, gumawa rin siya ng sabgruping ng mga wika rito sa paraang lexicostatistics na sinusunod

ng mga istudyante niya¹, atbp.

Totoo na sa pag-aaral ng mga wika sa Pilipinas mahalaga na ipakita ang relasyon nila sa Proto-Austronesyan; kaya lang, kailangan natin ang mga pag-aaral na nakapokus sa mga problemang lokal o tungkol sa mga wika natin. Halos wala tayong nalalaman tungkol sa histori ng mga wika natin at, tulad ng nasabi ko na, halos lahat ng mga pag-aaral na ito'y nagpapakita ng relasyon ng wika rito sa ibang wika ng pamilyang Austronesyan. Dahil dito, kailangan magkaroon tayo ng ibang pananaw. Kailangan natin ang isang pananaw na naiiba sa dating masyadong malawak na pananaw. Dahil sa kawalan nito, hindi natin nakikita ang mga bagay na napakalapit at napakaimportante sa atin.

Maaaring sabihin na ang mga pag-aaral nina Blake at Conant noong mga unang taon ng mga Amerikano dito ay may ganitong pananaw. Kahit isang sinkronik o tipologikal na pagtutulad ang "Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar" ni Blake (1906), sa parteng pinamagatang "Notes on Phonology" ay inilista niya ang tinawag niyang mga orihinal na tunog, na resulta ng pagkokompara niya ng mga salitang galing sa iba't ibang wika sa Pilipinas. Sa kanyang "Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar II (1907), nagbigay naman siya ng mga orihinal na porma ng mga pangalan ng mga numero na resulta rin ng pagkokompara ng mga wika rito. Ang "The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages" (1912), at ang "RGH Law in Philippine Languages" (1911) ang mga pag-aaral naman ni Conant tungkol sa histori ng mga wika sa Pilipinas. Ang mga nabanggit na pag-aaral ni Blake at Conant ay may impluwensya rin sa mga gawa ng iba, kaya lang hindi katulad ng impluwensya nina Dempwolff at Dyen. Masasabi ito dahil halos walang mga napablis na pag-aaral na pinapalawak o iniaaplay ang mga iprinopos nina Blake at Conant. Ang dahilan nito'y lokal ang interes ng mga pag-aaral nila.

May ilan sa mga linggwist ng SIL na gumawa ng historikal na pag-aaral tungkol sa ilang wika rito tulad ni Newell (1953), Elkins (1957, 1963), Healey (1959), Lindquist, Forsberg at Healey

(1959), Abrams (1963) at Reid (1974). Makikita ang impluwensya ni Dempwolff at Dyen sa mga pag-aaral nila dahil sa paggamit nila ng mga rekonstraksyon ng mga ito at ng ortograpi o mga simbol ni Dyen. Si Dyen (1965, 1973, 1974) mismo'y nagpapablis ng ilang pag-aaral tungkol sa mga wika rito, lalo na ang Tagalog. Kaylan lang, si Charles (1974) at Zorc (1975) na mga istudyante ni Dyen ay sumulat ng mga disertasyon tungkol sa mga wika rito.

Si C. Lopez at T. Llamzon naman ang mababanggit na mga Pilipinong gumawa ng historikal na pag-aaral ng mga wika sa Pilipinas. Malaking kontribusyon sa larangan ng historikal na pagkokompara ng wika rito, sa palagay ko, ang mga Word List (1974, 1976) ni C. Lopez na nagbibigay ng mga set ng mga kogneyt na salita mula sa bente-tres na wika sa Pilipinas. Bukod dito, meron din siyang nirekonstrak, kasama ni Costenoble (1970), na ilang porma ng orihinal na wika batay sa gawa ni Dempwolff sa isang pag-aaral na pinamagatang "Some New Morphemes in Philippine Languages". Ang "Proto-Philippine Phonology" naman ni Llamzon (1975) ay isang magaling na halimbawa ng impluwensya ni Dempwolff at Dyen, kaya't nasabi niya na ang resulta ng pag-aaplay ng "inventory" ni Dempwolff at Dyen ay may "gaps in the structure of the Proto-Philippine phoneme". Dahil dito, ayon sa kanya, nasa gitna lamang ng mga salita ang mga ponim na -R_h-, -D-, -Z-, at -z- sa mga wika ng Pilipinas. Maaaring isipin tuloy na ang dahilan nito'y ang pagkakatali ng analisis niya sa analisis ng wikang nasa iba at mas mataas na lebel².

Ang direksyon ng aking natalakay na'y patungo sa pagpapa-hiwatig ko ng pangangailangan ng mga historikal na pag-aaral tungkol sa mga wika natin. Ngayon naman ibig kong diskasin ang sarili kong pag-aaral para maipakita ko ang bisa ng ibang pananaw sa pagdiskubre ng mga problemang historikal para sa ganoon ay malutas ang mga ito. Sa pag-aaral ko ng mga wika sa Pilipinas³ nalaman ko ang kahalagahan ng pagkokompara ng mga kontemporar-yong wika⁴ para marekonstrak ang mga tunog at ilang salita ng

masasabing wikang pinanggalingan ng mga wika rito sa Pilipinas. Ang isang resulta ng gawaing kong ito'y dalawang proposal na tinawag kong vawel-konsonant asimilasyon at sabstityusyon.

Sa unang proposal ko'y trinato kong magkakapareho ang mga katangian ng mga vawel at konsonant o, sa madaling salita, na magkakapareho ang mga katangian ng mga tunog. Sa ganoon, ang mga tunog na binibigkas sa rehyon ng labial, dental at alveolar ay pinapalagay kong paharap o front; ang mga binibigkas sa parteng palatal ay sentral; at yung mga sa parteng glottal at velar ay palikod o back. Ang mga tunog naman na binibigkas na nakataas o nakaarko ang dila'y pinapalagay kung pataas o high at yung hindi naman ay pababa o low. Samakatwid kapag may tunog na lumabag sa inaasahan tugunan ng mga tunog o korespondens ng tunog, maaaring tanggapin ang asimilasyon ng isang vawel sa isang konsonant o ng isang konsonant sa isang vawel. Nakalarawan sa sumusunod na listahan ang paggugrupo ng mga tunog⁵ ayon sa mga nasabing katangian:

Paharap	i, e, E, ae, p, b, f, t, d, l, Y, r, č, ĵ, m, n, w
Sentral	ə, a, ʌ, y, d, s, z, l, L
Palikod	u, ú, ɔ, k, ɡ, ɲ, ʔ, h, ĥ
Pataas	i, e, E, ə, ʌ, u, ú, o, ɔ, t, d, ɖ, l, ɭ, r, s, z, L, Y, č, ĵ, k, ɡ, ɲ, ʔ, y
Pababa	ae, a, p, b, f, h, ĥ

Hindi ko palalawakin pa ang pagtatalakay ng prases na ito dahil sa nagawa ko na ito sa ibang papel na naprisinta ko na⁵. Ang ipapaliwanag ko na lang rito'y ang sabstityusyon, isa ring proposal sa pagpapaliwanag ng mga lumalabag sa inaasahang paglitaw ng korespondens o sa tugunan ng mga tunog ng iba't ibang wika rito.

Ang isang dahilan kung bakit nagkakaroon ng pagkakaiba sa isang wika'y ang pagkawala ng isa o higit pa ritong tunog sa mga salita, halimbawa buwan > bwan. Ang prases ng sabstityusyon ay may kaugnayan dito. Ang sabstityusyon ay ang paglitaw ng ʔ, h, o, y sa halip ng

inaasahang regular na pagtugon ng tunog na sa paniwala ko'y pawala na. Pabayaan ninyong maipaliwanag ko ito. Sa pagkokompara ko ng mga kogneyt set ng bente-nwebeng wika sa Pilipinas, napansin ko ang paglitaw ng tatlong tunog, ang *?*, *h* at *y*, na sa unang tingin, parang mga korespondens ng ilang ibang tunog. Lumilitaw ang mga ito sa mga posisyong dapat sana'y mga regular na korespondens o mga inaasahang tunog ang naroroon. Halimbawa, panakanakang lumilitaw ang *h* imbis na *b*, *g*, *l*, at *r* sa Itw, o sa Isi lumilitaw ang *h* o *y* sa halip na *l*, o lumilitaw ang *?* sa halip na *k*, *b*, *t*, *g*, *s*, at *y* sa Tag. Mahirap tanggapin na ang *?*, *h*, *o*, *y* ay mga repleks ng tatlong iba't ibang protoponim sa isang wika, bukod sa ang mga ito'y mga regular na repleks ng **?*, **h* at **y*, o sa ibang salita regular ang pagtutugon ng mga ito sa nasabing protoponim sa mga wikang ikinompara.

May ilang wikang may mga salitang pwedeng sabihin sa dalawang paraan, tulad ng sa Tag hatsín/?atsín, o sa Itw ?iyún/?ihún 'ilong', Akl hu?áb/kúy?ab 'hikab' na nagpapakita ng pagpapalit ng *h* at *?*, o kaya *y* at *?*, o *h* at *k* sa mga wikang ito. Marami rin sa mga nag-aanalays ng mga wika rito ang naniniwala na may otomatik na *?* sa unahan ng mga unang vawel ng mga salita na resulta ng "structural pressure" ng CVC. Sa tingin ko ang dalawang katunayang ito'y nagpapatibay ng teyuri ko ng substityusyon, na ang *?*, *h* at *y* ay mga tunog na ginagamit sa halip ng mga tunog na pawala na. Dahil sa pawala na ang mga inaasahang tunog kaya't nag-aalinlangan ang mga nagsasalita sa paggamit ng salitang tinutukoy. Dahil sa pag-aalinlangan na ito'y nabibigkas tuloy ang alin man sa tatlong tunog na ito. Maaari rin sigurong sabihin na ang paggamit ng *?*, *h* at *y* ay isang transisyon sa paggamit ng regular na korespondens at sa tuluyang pagkawala ng tunog, hanggang nanatili ang *?*, *h* at *y*.

Nagrupo ko ang bente-nwebeng wikang kinompara ko sa apat, batay sa alin sa tatlong tunog ang ginagamit sa mga ito:

I	<i>?</i> , <i>h</i> , <i>y</i>	Tag, Iba, Itw, Isi, Nag, Vir, Sub,
		Yak, Bag, Buk, Buh

II	ʔ, h	War, Bla
III	ʔ, y	Kap, Png, Ilk, Tbg, Kal, Bon, Igt, Kam, Tbw, Agt
IV	ʔ	Mar

Bilang halimbawa ng phenomenon na ito, tignan natin ang kogneyt set na narekonstrak kong *dámug 'hamog': Akl hámʔug, Bah dámhug, Tag, Buk hamúg, Tau dámug, Bag dāmɔw, Sub gámug, Nag, Seb yamúg, Iba yámug, Ilk ʔámug, Igt ʔamúg, Bla ʔamuʔ, Mar námog, Buh namúg. Sa Buh, Tau at Bag may regular na pagtutugon sa *d, samantala itong sa Mar at Buh ay naging n sa impluwensya ng sumusunod na m o dahil sa asimilasyon. Ang iregular na pagtutugon sa *d dahil sa substityusyon ay makikita sa mga kogneyt ng mga wika maliban sa mga wikang kababanggit lamang. Sa pamaraang substityusyon, ang *d- ay naging h sa Akl, naging y sa Nag, Seb at Iba, at naging ʔ sa Ilk, Agt at Bla. Sa Sub, ang *d ay naging ʔ na lubusang nawala dahil sa pagkabit ng g-, na isang morpim na nagmamarka ng mga nawn sa wikang ito. Isa pang halimbawa'y ang *lunḱáb 'hikab'. Sa protomorpim na ito'y, halos lahat ng wika'y may regular na pagtutugon sa *l, maliban sa Iba ʔunḱáb at Tbw ʔuḱáb, Kap ʔúyab, Itb ʔahwáb, na kung saan ito'y naging ʔ, at sa Vir hágab, Seb, Akl húyʔab, Nag hákay, naging h. Sa Kap ʔúyab at Akl húyʔab nagkaroon rin ng substityusyon sa nagigitnang magkasunod na konsonant. Ito naman ay naging isa o nasimplifay sa Kap. Ang napakareming halimbawa na tulad ng mga ito sa iba't ibang wikang pinagkompara ko'y sumusuporta sa haypotesis ng substityusyon, kaya't ang ʔ, h at y ay ginagamit sa mga wika sa halip ng mga inaasahang tunog o regular na korespondens na pawala na.

Naniniwala akong hindi ko mapapansin ang mga katangiang nadiskubre ko kung nabahala pa rin ako sa pagpapakita ng relasyon ng mga wika rito sa Proto-Austronesyan o sa paghahanap ng mga tunog na magtutugon sa mga Protoponim na naitatag ni Dempwolff o Dyen. Samakatwid, naniniwala akong maaasahan ang isang kasiyasiyang resulta sa pag-aaral ng mga wika sa paraang indaktib at

malulutas tuloy ang mga problemang lokal. Sa palagay ko, maaaring maging mas mabisa lamang sa iskolar na Pilipino ang pagtatag ng relasyon ng mga wika rito sa mga kamaganakang wika ng mas malaking pamilya tulad ng Austronesyan kapag naitatag na ang pansariling histori ng mga wika rito at ang relasyon ng mga kalalabasang grupo-grupo ng mga ito. Sa mga ganitong pag-aaral na rin tayo makakapagsimula ng isang tradisyong Pilipino sa linggwistiks.

Nowts:

1. Hindi ko binigyan pansin ang mga pag-aaral tungkol sa sab-gruping sa papel kong ito. Sa palagay ko dapat mauna ang mga pag-aaral tungkol sa pagkokompara ng mga katangian ng mga wika bago ang paggugrupo ng mga ito dahil sa ang resulta ng pagkokompara ng mga katangian nila ang gagamitin sa mga pag-aaral tungkol sa paggugrupo ng mga wika.
2. Hindi ko binanggit ang lahat ng nakagawa ng mga pag-aaral na may kaugnayan sa histori ng mga wika sa Pilipinas. Maaaring malaman ang adisyonal na impormasyon tungkol rito sa "A Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonemes and Morphemes", ang diserterysyon ko para sa Ph.D. Maaari ring konsultahin ang bibliograpi ng papel na ito.
3. Binigyan ako ng reserts grant ng Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council para sa reserts kong pinamagatang Proto-Philippine Roots". Ang datang kinolekta para sa gawaing ito'y higit sa 2,000 kogneyt set na galing sa 35 na wika sa Pilipinas.
4. Ang mga wikang kinompara sa pag-aaral na ito'y ang: Tagalog (Tag), Kapangpangan (Kap), Iba Zambal (Iba), Panggasinan (Png), Ilukano (Ilk), Itbayaten (Itb), Itawis (Itw), Ibanag (Ibg), Isinai (Isi), Kalingga (Kal), Bontok (Bon), Ilongot (Igt), Naga (Nag), Virac (Vir), Kamaligonon (Kam), Waray (War), Sebuano (Seb),

Aklanon (Akl), Buhi (Buh), Tagbanwa (Tbw), Agutaynen (Agt), Maranaw (Mar), Tausug (Tau), Subanon (Sub), Yakan (Yak), Blaan (Bla), Bagobo (Bag), Bukidnon (Buk), at Bahi Manobo (Bah).

5. Ang mga tunog na nakalista rito'y maririnig sa bente-nwebeng wikang kinompara ko.

6. Binasa ko ang nasabing papel noong nakaraang Febrero (1978) sa "Book launching" ng libro ni Dr. C. Lopez na pinamagatang "A Handbook in Comparative Austronesian". May mas malawak na pagpapaliwanag ng vawel-konsonant asimilasyon at ng sabstityusyon sa nabanggit kong nagawa ko sa 2.

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SIKOLINGGWISTIKANG PILIPINO:
PANANAW AT TUNGUHIN

Virgilio Enriquez
Department of Psychology
University of the Philippines

Ang pagkakabanggit ng anumang kaugnayan ng sikolohiya at ng wika wika sa kontekstong Pilipino na king nakita ay ang pagkakabanggit dito ni Aguinaldo sa kanyang "inaugural address" nang pasalamtan niya ang tinawag niyang "los sicologos del verbo Tagalog". Matapos noon, napakadalang na makita ang pagkakaugnay o pagkakasama ng dalawang kataga o larangan ---- sikolohiya at wika.

Ang mga ugat ng sikolinggwistikang Pilipino sa kasaysayan ng sikolohiya sa Filipinas ay maaaring taluntunin sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay-pansin sa pagbabalik ni Agustin Alonzo noong 1925 na kung saan, ang wika ay tiningnan niya bilang limitasyon sa larangan ng sikolohikal na pagsukat. Sa aklat ni Manuel Caron na pinamagatang Philippine Studies in Mental Measurements, iniulat niya na kapansin-pansin na noon mang panahong yaon ay hindi matanggap ng mga educational psychologists ang mga tests, psychological tests, na niyari o inihanda sa wikang Ingles at sa ibang wika at kultura para sa mga Pilipino. Subalit ang ginawa nila noon ay isang napakasimpleng solusyon lamang at ito ay sa pamamagitan ng pagpapalit ng nilalaman ng mga panukat na sikolohikal na kung saan, kung nagkataong binanggit halimbawa ang mansanas, ito ay pinapalitan ng saging. Ang wika ay naging isyu noong bandang 1928 sa pag-aaral hinggil sa pagkatao at sikolohiyang pang-edukasyon sa kamay ni Isidoro Panlasigui, dating tagapangulo ng Departamento ng Sikolohiya sa Kolehiyo ng Edukasyon noong kanyang panahon. Para sa kanya, higit na naaangkop ang paggamit ng wikang Ingles bilang isang wikang internasyonal. Gayon pa man, ang interes sa wika bilang isang paksa sa sikolohiya ay hindi naging napakaigting o napakahalaga para sa mga sikolohista. Ang pinagtatalunan ay kung anong wika ang gagamitin, at hindi ang ginagawa ay pagsuri sa kahalagahan ng wika o sa gamit ng wika sa pag-unawa sa kilos at damdamin ng tao. Noong 1930 si Sinforoso Padilla ay nanguna sa pagtulong sa sikolohiya sa larangan ng pagpapayo at pamamatnubay -- kilalang higit sa ta-

wag na guidance at counseling at dito, ang ginamit na wika rin sa pagtuturo ng teoriya ay ang wikang Ingles at ang hinanda niyang panukat ng talino ay nasusulat din sa wikang Ingles. Subalit noong bandang 1950, nagkaroon ng isang tahasang interes sa mga katutubong materyal na nasusulat sa wika o mga wikang Pilipinas sa pagsuring sikolohikal. Ang thesis ni Abraham Felipe ay tungkol sa mga maikling kuwentong Tagalog na nalathala sa mga babasahing bernakular. Ang mga pananaliksik ni Fe Abasolo Domingo ay tungkol sa pagpapalaki ng bata sa barrio Krus na Ligas. Gayon pa man, kahit na nasulat ang kanyang thesis sa wikang Ingles, ang datos ay kinuha niya sa wikang Tagalog sa pakikipanayam niya sa mga tao sa Barrio Krus na Ligas at ang teksto ng kanyang materyal ay sa wikang Filipino.

Totoong naging napakahalaga ng pagbibigay pansin sa wika sapagkat kahit na noon pa man ay nagkaroon ng ilang suliranin ang mga sikolohista kaugnay ng wika bilang materyal sa sikolohiya. Unang-una, may mga teoriyang nagbibigay halaga sa pag-unawa sa pagkatao sa panaginip ng mga indibidwal. May mga panaginip na nakolekta sa wikang Tagalog at sa wikang Ilokano subalit ito ay sinusuri sa wikang Ingles. At ang ginagamit na kategorya ng pagsusuri ay mga kategoryang bunga ng pananaliksik sa konteksto ng kultura at wikang Ingles.

Noong bandang dulo o kalagitnaan ng 1950, ang sikolohiya ng wika ay naging pormal na bahagi ng kurikulum sa Departamento ng Sikolohiya; ang bawat estudyanteng magtatapos ng A.B. sa Psychology ay nagkaroon ng kurso sa sikolohiya ng wika. Ang kursong ito ay pinamahalaan ni Dr. Alfredo Lagmay, ayon sa modelo ni Skinner sa pagtuturo ng sikolohiya ng wika. Ang textbook na ginamit ay ang Verbal Behaviour at kapansin-pansin na ang pananaw ni Chomsky kahit na nasulat na ang kanyang review ay hindi gasinong nabigyang pagpapahalaga. Sa halip, noong bandang kalagitnaan ng 1960, ang pakikipag-ugnayan at pakikipagtalakayan tungkol sa wika ng mga taga sikolohiya at pilosopiya ay naganap. Hindi masinsinan o hindi masasabing mataas ang patutunguhan o madalas ang patutunguhan ng mga linggwistika at sikolohista noong panahong 'yon kayat kapansin-pansing ang mga nalathalang artikulo ay ang mga artikulo tungkol sa pagkakahawig ng pananaw, pagtatagpo ng pananaw ni V. Geinsein at ni Skinner halimbawa sa artikulo ni Acuña ng Departamenton Pilosopiya at ang paggamit ng pananalita sa artikulo ni Tuason ng Departamento ng Pilosopiya din. Gayon pa man, naging mabunga ang modelo ni Skinner sa pagtuturo ng Sikolohiya ng wika kung bibigyang pansin ang ilan sa mga masinsinang pag-aaral na isinagawa halimbawa nina Ilan tungkol sa "verbal fluency" at ni Aquino sa kanyang thesis tungkol sa "verbal rewards". Kapansin-pansin na bagamat ang wika ay isang mahalagang paksa o elemento sa pagsusuri, higit na malaking pagpapahalaga ang ibinigay sa reinforcement o reinforcement theory: kung papaano ang wika ay nagiging

daluyan ng paggagantimpala o pagbibigay ng gantimpala upang ang isang pagkilos ay tumaas ang probabilidad. Noon ding mga panahong iyon subalit nahuli ang pangyayaring ito, ang wika sa konteksto ng pagkatuto ng tao ay nagsimulang madama sa Departamento ng Sikolohiya. Ito ay sa anyo ng pagkatutong verbal sa sikolohiyang eksperimental. Nagkaroon ng higit na maraming verbal learning studies sa experimental psychology. Ito'y maaaring tawaging pagpasok ng tao sa daigdig ng mga kalapating puti sapagkat bago ito maganap ay nauubos ang buong semestre ng estudyante sa sikolohiya sa pag-aalaga ng kalapati, pagpapataba dito, pagkakait ng pagkain upang makontrol ang kanyang pagkilos. Sa bandang dulo ng semestre ay nagsasabmit ng isang pangkalahatang indibidwal na eksperimento. Mangilan-ilan ngunit napakadalang kung sakali na magkaroon ng eksperimentong napili ng estudyante mismo; kung hindi niya pipiliin hindi mangyayari tungkol sa wika. Ngunit sa bandang dulo ng 1960 nga, marahil ay sa impluwensiya ni Underwood sa textbook niyang Experimental Psychology, higit na dumami ang pag-aaral sa larangan ng verbal learning o pagkatutong berbal.

Noong bandang 1970 at noong panahon ng aktibismo, ang paggamit ng wikang Pilipino sa pagtuturo ng sikolohiya ng wika ay naging higit na malaganap at isinagawa ng higit na maraming tao. Noong 1971 ay masasabing sumibol ang sikolinggwistika bilang larangan ng sikolohiya. Noon ginanap (?) ang unang taunang seminar sa sikolohiya ng wika sa Institute of Mass Communication dito sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas. At kapansin-pansing ang sikolinggwistika na hindi tradisyunal na larangan ng sikolohiya bukod sa sikolohiyang panlipunan, sikolohiyang eksperimental, sikolohiyang pang-edukasyon at sikolohiyang pangklinika, ang sikolinggwistika ay naging pormal na bahagi ng programa ng pambansang kombensyon ng Psychological Association of the Philippines. Maaaring hindi ganap na tinanggap ng lahat ng kabahagi sa convention ang panibagong interes na ito sapagkat may mga tao na hindi gasinong sanay sa wikang Pilipino na hindi napalagay sa pagkakagamit ng Pilipino noong panahong 'yon sa pagtalakay ng sikolinggwistika. Sa kabilang dako, sapagkat ang wika ay totoong higit namang nauunawaan ng higit na maraming nakikinig, tumaas ang rapport (?) sa pagsasalita at pakikibahagi sa kombensyon. Ang katipunan ng mga papel sa sikolohiya ng wika ay noon nagsimulang magsilabas. Mapapansin na marami-rami pa ring mga papel dito ang nasusulat sa wikang Ingles subalit karamihan ay nasusulat sa wikang Pilipino. Gayon pa man, higit ang naging epekto o interaksion ng pagtuturo ng sikolohiya ng bilinggwalismo sa paaralang gradwado bilang bahagi ng sikolohiyang panlipunan. Ito ay sa kadahilanang higit na maraming estudyante na hindi sikolohiya ang pinag-aaralan kung di galing sa ibang larangan, ang kumukuha ng kursong ito. May mga estudyanteng nanggaling sa Surian ng Pagtuturo ng Wika o Institute of ^Language Teaching at dito

rin nagkaroon ng mga ilang estudyante mula sa linggwistika at antropolohiya.

Kung anumang pananaw o metodo ang maaaring matalakay sa prespektibo ng sikolohiya ay naibahagi o naging paksa ng pagtatalakayan sa mga kursong tulad nito, sa kurso sa sikolohiya ng bilinggwalismo. Gayon pa man, isang kasiyahang masasabi sa pananaw ng nagnanais na maging matibay ang paggamit ng pananaw at wikang Pilipino sa sikolohiya na ang unang master's thesis sa Pilipino sa larangan ng sikolinggwistika ay natapos nasulat at naipasa noong 1974. Noon din, nagkaroon ng thesis tungkol sa pagsasalin. Bagamat ang pinakatuon ng thesis ay ang pagsasalin ng mga panukat na sikolohikal, ilang mga prinsipyo kaugnay ng pagsasalin ang nasuri.

Sa panahong ito, masasabing ang sikolinggwistika ay naging medyo matatag nang bahagi ng sikolohiya sapagkat ito'y bahagi ng kurikulum sa sikolohiya at isang larangan ng pananaliksik.

Ngayon naman ay tatalakayin ko ang pananaw at oryentasyong nagpapakilos sa sikolohiya ng wika sa kontekstong Pilipino. Unang-una, ang pananaw na ang katutubong wika ay batayan ng sikolohiya o maaaring maging batayan ng sikolohiya -- isang pananaw na hindi marahil tatawaran ng iba subalit inaakalang pag-urong naman ng ilang naniniwalang hindi dapat ibatay ang sikolohiya sa katutubong wika o hindi dapat kumuha ng materyal mula dito. Kaakibat ng interes sa katutubong wika bilang batayan ng sikolohiya ang pagkilala, pagpansin, at pagpuna sa kolonyal na oryentasyon sa sikolohiya sa Pilipinas. Ang tawag ni Padre Mangulabnan ng Ateneo de Manila dito ay ang metodong angat-patong: aangatin sa Kanluran, ipapatong sa Pilipinas. Hindi na bale, kahit na ano 'yon, basta pagka mukhang pupwedeng isang bagong teoriya 'yon o isang bagong pananaw o isang bagong metodo lalo na kung kararating pa lang mula sa Amerika, iyon ang bagong natutuhan mo, pagdating dito, ipatong mo na sa sitwasyong Pilipino. Ito ay ititututing niyang isang kamalian at sa halip nga, isa sa mga metodong sinusubukang gamitin sa larangang ito ay ang metodong tinawag ni Carmen Santiagong metodong pakapa-kapa. Akala ko noong una ay nakakahiyang pag-usapan itong metodong pakapa-kapa. Pinag-aralan niya ang konsepto ng pagkalakilaki sa isang lalawigan (sa isang baryo sa lalawigan ng Bulacan) at sapagkat naniniwala siya na hindi pa niya alam kung ano nga ang konsepto ng pagkalakilaki ng mga tao doon hindi niya na kailangang magkaroon siya ng mga pangunang ideya at ng pangunang metodo bago pa magpunta roon. Kayat kakapa-kapa daw siya kung siya'y nandoroon. Napansin ko na ang ganito palang pangyayari ay hindi kakaiba sa Pilipinas. Ang totoo, sa isang pananaliksik ni Akiro Hoshino, isang Hapon na nanaliksik sa isang suburb ng Chicago tungkol sa mga komunidad ng Italyano, ang tawag niya sa kanyang metodo ay groping technique. Napansin ko na karaniwan, pagka ang tawag sa metodo ay Ingles tulad ng groping technique, mas

tinatanggap ng ilang estudyante kaysa kung ang tawag ay sa wikang Pilipino tulad ng pakapa-kepa. Para bang mababa ang uri ng metodo kung pakapa-kepa pero kung groping technique parang one of those methods na maaari nating angatin mula sa labas at ipatong dito sa atin. Ang sikolingwistikang Pilipino ay masasabing sa ngayon ay may oryentasyon at pananaw na bilang bahagi ng sikolohiya ng wika. Marahil ay para sa isang nananaliksik sa sikolohiya ng wika, ito ay isang bagay na 'ika nga ay taken for granted subalit malinaw na ito ay may mga implikasyon tungkol sa direksyon ng larangan. May kompleksyon ito tungkol sa metodo sapagkat bahagi ng sikolohiya ng wika ang mga metodong gagamitin, at malamang na magamit ay mga metodong kwantitatibo sa halip na metodong kwalitatibo lamang, ang metodong eksperimental, mga panukat na sikolohikal, mga metodong karaniwang ginagamit sa sikolohiya. At sapagkat bahagi ng sikolohiya ng wika, magkakaroon ng interaksion sa ibang mga paksa sa sikolohiya ng wika, kayat may epekto sa paksa in at sa lawak ng mga pinapaksa, gayon din sa implikasyon at sa paggamit. Sapagkat sa sikolohiya ng wika nababahagi ang sikolingwistikang Pilipino o mga pananaliksik dito sa ngayon ng karamihan, ang gamit ng resulta ng pananaliksik dito sa ngayon ng karamihan. Ang gamit ng resulta ng pananaliksik ay higit na nadarama sa mga larangang karaniwang pinupuntahan ng gamit ng sikolohiya. Sa klinika ay hindi gasino subalit sa pagtuturo ng wika na tradisyunal na aplikasyon ng linggwistika, ito ay nadarama rin.

Ang ika-apat at huling mababanggit na pananaw at oryentasyong nagpapakilos sa sikolohiya ng wika ay ang pagbuo ng mga sikolohikal na teoriyang angkop sa Pilipino at batay sa mga katutubong konsepto sa tulong ng mga wika sa Pilipinas mismo.

Ang mga katutubong konsepto ay mahirap tiyakin. Ang totoo pa nga sa isang pilosopikal na panakaw, maaaring sabihing walang konseptog katutubo sapagkat lahat ng konsepto ay unibersal. Ang tinutukoy dito ay yaong mga konseptong may higit na malinaw na kahulugan at tiyak na interpretasyon sa kultura. Dahil sa, kung titingnan ang mga konsepto at mga ideya, may mga ideyang malinaw na nanggaling sa labas at hiniram sa labas. Ngayon ang mga ideyang ito ay mahalaga at magagamit. Subalit ang isang batis o ugat ng mga konsepto na hindi gasinong nabibigyang pansin, na kaya naman kinakailangang bigyan ng pansin sa ngayon, ay ang mga konseptong nauunawaan at ginagamit sa pangkaraniwang buhay ng mga Pilipino sa kanilang pang-araw-araw na pakikipagtunguhan sa isa't-isa.

Ano ang hinaharap ng sikolingwistikang Pilipino? Ang aking napansin sa ngayon ay may posibilidad na harapin ng sikolingwistikang Pilipino ang isang panganib ng segmentasyon ng mga disiplinang sumusuri sa wika. Maaaring sa darating na panahon, lalo't higit kung ang bawat isa ay maniniwalang siya ay sikolinggwistika o etnolinggwista o sosyolinggwista ay magkaroon ng kami-kami at taya-tayo sa pagsusuri. Inaasa-

hang magkakaroon ng higit na mabuting pagtutunguhan ang iba't-ibang lapit o approaches ng mga disiplinaryang sumusuri sa wika at nang sa gayon ay maging kooperasyon ang pinakatema at hindi kompetisyon. Kung sabagay, maaaring ang mangyari dito ay isang tunay na segmentasyon dala marahil ng pagkakaiba ng kasanayan sa metodo, na pagka-survey, ibigay mo sa sociolinguists, sociolinguistics 'iyo ; paka eksperiment, ibigay mo sa psychologist, psycholinguistics iyon. Palagay ko, ang paghihiwalay ng sosyolinggwistika at sikolinggwistika batay lamang sa aksidente ng metodo ay hindi kainamang paghihiwalay. Marahil ay dapat suriin ang isang paksa na magkasabay o nang gumagamit ng iba't-ibang metodo at iba't-ibang pananaw.

Ang pagtuklas ng sikolohikal na implikasyon ng mga teoriya at kaalamang linggwistikal ay isa sa mga dapat harapin ng sikolinggwistika kang Pilipino. Dito, ang tinutukoy ay ang higit na malaking patutunguhan ng mga sikolohista at linggwista. Masasabing sa sikolohiya, ay tinatanggap at kinikilala ang linggwistika. Tinatanggap at kinikilala sa maraming kaparaanan at isa na nga ay ang pagpasok ng mga pananaw at mga konseptong panglinggwistika sa pagtuturo ng sikolohiya mismo. Ang maitatanong sa grupong ito ay: Sa anong lawak o hanggang saan tinatanggap ng linggwistika ang sikolohiya? Kung papaanong ang konsepto ng morpema ay nadidinig pa rin sa mga klase sa sikolohiya. Ano kayang mga konsepto buhat sa sikolohiya naman ang magkakaroon ng anumang epekto sa linggwistika. Palagay ko, tungo sa higit na matibay at mayabong na sikolinggwistika, ang interaksyon ay dapat na magpatuloy.

Ikatlo, ang paglawak ng sakop ng sikolohiya ng wika, sa aking palagay, ay patuloy na mangyayari; halimbawa, sa larangan ng komunikasyong pangmadla. Sa pagwasto ng mga depekto sa pagpapahayag at mga paksang tulad nito, marahil ito ay ituturing ng iba na labas na sa larangan ng sikolinggwistika. Subalit dahil sa lawak na rin ng interes ng sikolohiya ang mga paksang ito ay hindi maiiwasan. Ang tanong lamang ay kung ano ang maaaring maging epekto nito sa mga core (?) studies ng psycholinguistics. Kinakailangan din, sa aking palagay, ang pagtiyak sa gamit ng sikolinggwistika sa kontekstong Pilipino. Ito ba ay isang libanngan lamang ng mga interesadong tao o ito ba ay mayroong kabuluhan sa ating lipunan? Ano ang implikasyon at gamit nito sa mga patakarang mayroong tiyak na epekto sa buhay ng mga Pilipino? Sa edukasyon halimbawa, ang patakarang ng bilinggwalismo. Kapansin-pansin na higit na maraming pag-aaral ang naisagawa sa larangan ng bilinggwalismo matapos ng mga pag-aaral sa larangan ng pagkatutong berbal sa sikolinggwistika.

Kahulih-hulihan at hindi matatawaran ang kahalagahan, ay ang pagbuo ng mga teoriyang batay sa linggwistikang Pilipino mismo at sa sikolohiyang Pilipino. Hindi ko natitiyak kung gaano kalalim ang kaalaman ng mga masasabi kong kababawan -- ang kaalaman ng mga nag-aaral ng sikolohiyang Pi-

lipino. Sa gayon, higit na makatutulong ang mga paglalathala, pagpapalitan ng kuro at marahil kung sakaling mayroong interesadong linggwista, ay maaaring magkaroon siya ng higit na interes sa mga pag-aaral sa sikolohiya at ganoon din naman ang mga tao sa sikolohiya. Siguro, hindi nagkataon lamang ang tawag sa sikolinggwistika ay siko at sa linggwistika na ayon kay Charles Osgood (?) noon, isang sikolohista, ay kasal ng hindi handa. Sa Pilipinas, ang kasal na ito ay hindi pa idinaraos.

Marami pong salamat.

SOME UNPOPULAR ANALYSES OF SENTENCES
AND CONSTRUCTIONS WITH MISSING CONSTITUENTS*

Ernesto H. Cubar
Department of Linguistics and Asian Languages
University of the Philippines

One very obvious fact about any natural language that linguists do not generally give importance to is the disparity between the number of nameable objects and notions in the environment, consciousness and experience of its speakers and the number of readily available words for these objects and notions. At any given time the nameable objects easily outnumber the words. The main reason for the lack of designation for many objects is the fact that there is no reason for people to talk about them. In all Philippine languages that I know there is no reason to be talking about the vertical canal or depression under the nose. Naturally there is no single-word designation for it. People do not carry objects on the back of the hand. There is therefore no word for the action, since there is no need to mention the action in the first place. But there are also many entities involved in our thoughts and actions and therefore worth talking about that are nameless and have been so for centuries. These are the nouns and verbs and possibly other categories that exist only in the semantic consciousness of speakers and are never assigned lexical representation. The resulting gaps in the lexicon have some important connection with the existence of many sentences and constructions with missing surface constituents. Some of these constructions are often considered unique or near-unique characteristics of Philippine languages.

I shall survey in this paper the more important of these constructions and try to show how they can be analyzed in terms of the role played by lexical gaps. I shall dwell at some length on metacological and temporal sentences because they are most amenable to an analysis that makes use of the notion "unrealized" constituent.

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Subjectless sentences

The most common of the so-called subjectless sentences are those that are descriptive of meteorological and other related phenomena. They are of three kinds, as every student of Philippine languages very well knows: (1) those that consist of a verb phrase (Tagalog Umuulan "It is raining"), (2) those that consist of an adjective phrase (Ilocano Nalam-ok idinay Alaska "It is cold in Alaska"), and (3) those that consist of a temporal noun phrase (Tag. A las doce na "It is 12 o'clock" and Iloc. Kalgaw manon "It is dry season again"). All three kinds may occur with adverbial modifiers.

There are no universally accepted analyses of meteorological and temporal sentences. The Balarila considers nature as the performer or source of the action. Luzares (1975) simply remarks, almost in passing, that meteorological verbs do not demand obligatory case. There is no explanation why they take the same affixes as those taken by verbs that are not meteorological. Gonzales (1972) gives a more detailed analysis. According to him meteorological verbs and adjectives are ambient V's, that is, they refer to the surroundings, not to any specific nominal entity. As such they are not accompanied by any noun and therefore do not have any source for a subject phrase. Like Luzares, Gonzales seems to attach little significance to the fact that the usual affix of meteorological verbs is often the same as that which indicates some agent in non-meteorological sentences. What is criterial is that a meteorological sentence answers the question "What is happening?". Gonzales accordingly labels the verb as a process verb.

Ramos (1974) has an altogether different analysis. She claims that in a verbal meteorological sentence there is an identical nominal expression that is incorporated into the verb and is often not given linguistic expression. Thus the underlying forms of Umuulan, Umaaraw and Lumilindol are Umuulan ang ulan "The rain is raining", Umaaraw ang araw "The sun is shining", Lumilindol ang lindol "The earthquake is quaking". There is a patent reluctance to consistently recognize the integrity of surface signals. Ramos analyzes the suppressed noun phrases ulan, araw, and lindol as instrument and ignores the fact that the affix um in these verbs is the

same um in agent-focus verbs like tumakbo "ran" and umiyak "cried".

There is something fuzzy and problematic with the analysis. Ramos talks about some noun being incorporated into the verb. If in Umuulan the original verb is ulan, then it does not seem to make sense to say that the noun ulan (the "identical nominal expression") is incorporated into the verb ulan to give the surface verb ulan. If the process involved is prolexical, the analysis would probably make some sense. But Ramos seems to have in mind an actual lexical expression when when she talks about some "identical nominal expression" being suppressed. In effect Ramos seems to be claiming that there is actually a verb ulan, a verb araw, a verb lindel, etc. existing side by side with a noun ulan, a noun araw, and a noun lindel. Since there is also a very productive process of verbalization of non-meteorological nouns (magkape, magsapatos, magbeer), the lexicon would be full of pairs of nouns and verbs sharing the same phonological form. The list, in fact, would be an open one. I believe it should fall on the grammar, not on the lexicon, to account for the productivity of the process.

The analysis proposed here is that a verbal meteorological sentence contains in deep structure a verb and an agent noun. The verb is some incompletely specified or indefinite action for which Philippine languages do not have a word or expression. To fill the lexically empty position for the predicate verb, the agentive noun is incorporated, in the true sense of the term, into the lexically unexpressed verb. The incorporated or transferred noun serves as the surface verb stem and carries the appropriate affix intended for the original verb. The position for the subject phrase is consequently empty. The sentence Umuulan is generated roughly as follows (irrelevant details are omitted):

	S		S
V (unspecified)	agent N	VP	NP
um_____	ulan	Um-ulan	_____

A question may be raised here concerning the case assigned to ulan. Why agent and not object or instrument, as in Ramcs's analysis? The reason is that the original definition of agentive as the animate instigator or

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deor of the action is deemed inadequate. Many inanimate objects in the objective or scientific world are often viewed through language as animate. For instance, we all know that the earth rotates on its axis and that the sun does not move from the eastern horizon up into the sky. Yet the sentence that is descriptive of the situation is Sumisikat ang araw "The sun is rising", indicating that the sun is perceived as an agent or deor of an action. The surface signals support this view. The affixes are um- in Tagalog and ag- (sometimes um-) in Illocano, the same affixes that reflect the agentive status of the chosen subject in non-meteorological sentences. It is important that we do not forget that the object of our study is language, not objective reality.

What then is the action that is being attributed to meteorological nouns like rain, lightning, earthquake, thunder, sun, wind, typhoon and drought? It is difficult to find a word in Philippine languages to express it. In the case of ulan, it comes very close to the meaning of the English verb fall; but it is not quite the same. The Tagalog word hulog does not accurately express it, that is why Humulog ang ulan or Nahulog ang ulan is not natural and certainly does not have the same meaning as Umulan. However, if the intention of the speaker is to describe a more specific act or process, a specific verb is used and the incorporation of the agent does not take place. The sentence that results has a full predicate-plus-subject structure. Thus if the falling is sudden, the natural sentence is Bumagsak ang ulan. If the rain falls in big sparse drops, the sentence is Pumatak ang ulan. If the rain literally pours, the sentence is Bumuhos ang ulan. If we symbolize the incompletely specified act of the rain as FALL, the meaning of the three specific verbs bagsak, patak, and buhos may be described very roughly as FALL + SUDDEN, FALL + SPARSE DROPS, and FALL + CONTINUOUS.. A similar analysis can be applied to the other meteorological nouns, except that for some of them there may not even be an acceptable specific verb that is decomposable into an abstract incompletely specified verb and some added meaning.

Adjectival meteorological sentences are different from verbal ones. Here it is the entity described by the adjective predicate that is not

given a single-word designation. What, for instance, is being described as cold in Maginaw sa labas "It is cold outside" and in Maginaw sa Baguio "It is cold in Baguio"? It is not labas or Baguio, as the sentences Maginaw ang labas and Maginaw ang Baguio are either ungrammatical or not the same in meaning as the subjectless version. Clearly, it is the totality of the enveloping space and surroundings, which is indefinite in extent and size, that is being described. There is no incorporation in/^{an}adjectival meteorological sentence; the subject is missing because the language lacks an appropriate word for it.

It is sometimes possible to actualize the subject of an adjectival meteorological sentence. In Ilocano and presumably in some other Philippine languages, when the accompanying locative phrase refers to a relatively small and well-defined space, the same phrase may be used to designate the missing subject. Thus we may say Nalamiis iti uneg ti refrigerator "It is cold inside the refrigerator" or Nalamiis ti uneg ti refrigerator "The inside of the refrigerator is cold."

A temporal sentence is similar to an adjectival meteorological sentence. It is also the lack of designation for the entity that is logically the subject that accounts for the empty subject position. Consider the following sentences:

- (1) Tag. Gabi na.

It is getting late/It is nighttime.

- (2) Iloc. Kalgaw manen.

It is dry season again

- (3) Tag. Pasko na naman.

It is Christmas again.

Some span of time without a name is being equated to the predicate words gabi, kalgaw and Pasko. Other temporal predicates in Ilocano are panagani "rice harvest time", panagiipon "season for catching ipon (a tiny fish)", sibabasa "wet season", and panagsasana "time for salt-making".

There is another group of temporal sentences where the subject may surface optionally. Consider the following pairs of sentences:

- (4) Iloc. Alas dosen.

It is twelve o'clock.

Cf. Alas dose ti oras idi simmangpet ni Juan.

The hour when Juan arrived was twelve o'clock.

- (5) Iloc. Trenta ti mayo idi kalman.

It was May 30 yesterday.

Cf. Trenta ti Mayo ti mabilang/pecha idi kalman.

The date yesterday was May 30.

- (6) Tag. Biyernes sa makalawa.

It will be Friday day after tomorrow.

Cf. Biernes ang araw ng aking pagkapanganak.

The day of my birth is Friday.

- (7) Tag. Hunyo na mula bukas.

It will be June beginning tomorrow.

Cf. Hunyo na ang buwan mula bukas.

The month will be June beginning tomorrow.

- (8) Iloc. 1941 idi agbettak ti gubat.

It was 1941 when the war broke out.

Cf. 1941 ti tawen idi agbettak ti gubat.

The year when the war broke out was 1941.

The entities to which the temporal predicate nouns are equated are specific and well-defined segments of time, unlike those in (1)-(3). They are borrowed concepts from Spanish where they are given lexical representation.

Sentences with pseudo-verbs

Schachter and Otnes (1972) list some eight words which are incapable of inflection to show variation in aspect and which they call pseudo-verbs. They are ayaw "does not want to", kailangan "needs to", damat "ought to", gusto "likes to", ibig "likes to", magari "can", nais "likes to", and puwede "can." In many of the constructions in which pseudo-verbs may occur, there is no overt ang phrase, as in

(9) Tag. Gusto ko ng lapis.

I want a pencil.

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Sometimes an ang phrase occurs, as in the following:

(10) Tag. Gusto ko ang libro

I want the book.

Schachter and Otnes fail to note that the contrast in definiteness between the object lapis in (9) and the object libro in (10) may have some connection with a possible missing verb in both sentences. These objects are objects of some unrealized verb rather/^{than}of the pseudo-verbs gusto and ayaw. There seems to be a strong semantic basis for this analysis. It is felt by most informants that one just does not want a thing, one wants to VERB it. Thus the underlying structures of (9) and (10) may be something like (11) and (12):

(11) Gusto kong VERB ng lapis.

(12) Gusto kong VERB ang lapis.

where the verb in (11) is actor focus and that in (12) is goal focus.

The exact identity of the missing verb is not easy to determine. The verb may in fact be one of those verbs that do not have lexical representation.

Not even the context can be of much help in recovering the missing verb.

Thus Ayaw ko na sa iyo, when said by one child to another in the context of a play situation, most probably would mean Ayaw ko nang makipaglaro sa iyo.

But it could also mean Ayaw ko nang makipagbatian sa iyo or Ayaw ko nang makipagbiruan sa iyo.

Exclamatory sentence

This section is limited to the discussion of the nominal type of exclamatory sentence like ang ganda ng dalaga, kay ganda ng dalaga, and anong ganda ng dalaga. Nominal expressions like these are considered by some linguists as one type of a subjectless sentence. Bloomfield (1917), as a matter of fact, considers them as completely lacking a subject-predicate structure. Some have noted that the main nominal elements correspond to the predicate adjective and the subject noun phrase of an adjectival sentence. The pair of sentences below show the correspondence:

(13) Ang ganda / ng dalaga.

Maganda / ang dalaga.

Schachter and Otanes believe that there is a systematic transformational relationship between the two. They state the relationship this way:

"Any statement that includes a ma- adjective as predicate (in normal initial position) is convertible into an exclamation through a replacement of the prefix ma- by ang, kay, ka-, or ano plus the linker -ng and a change of the topic ang phrase into a ng phrase" (p. 280). From a purely formal point of view the operation is indeed simple and straightforward. The only problem is that the resulting expression bears a completely different message from the message of the adjectival sentence. Maganda ang dalaga is about a particular woman, while Ang ganda ng dalaga is about the beauty of a particular woman. I believe that a case can be made for the analysis that ang ganda ng dalaga is the subject phrase of a sentence with a missing surface predicate. The speaker is reporting his reaction or judgment concerning the beauty of the woman. The judgment is that it is superlative or unusual or unexpected or worthy of notice, and it comes not in the usual lexical form but in the form of some characteristic combination of pitch, tone and stress and other modifications of the voice. Omitting irrelevant details, the full form of the sentence may be diagrammed as follows:

SUPERLATIVE

N

Tone, Pitch
Stress

ang ganda ng dalaga

where SUPERLATIVE, in capital letters, is a crude representation of the semantic item that the speaker would like to express about the woman's beauty. If the speaker has something more specific to say, there are available words: Masyado ang ganda ng dalaga, Nakakaakit ang ganda ng dalaga, etc. Masyado and nakakaakit, however, are not the same as the predicate SUPERLATIVE.

Pseudo-predicates

There are sentences presumably in all Philippine languages consisting of an adverbial phrase, usually a temporal or a locative like kahapon "yesterday" and sa amin "at our place", and an event noun or a nominalization like savawan "dance" and dating or pagdating "arrival". The adverbial phrase is called pseudo-predicate for two reasons. The more relevant of the two reasons is that a sentence with a pseudo-predicate is

understood as "implying a deleted verbal predicate" (Schachter and Otnes, p. 449). Sentences like

(15) Kahapon ang election.

(16) Sa min ang prayer meeting.

are felt to have a deleted verb like nangyari "happened" or ginanap "was held", or some other similar verb (E.g. Kahapon ginanap ang prayer meeting) Schachter and Otnes correctly observe that "a construction involving a time adverb in predicate position opposite a nominalized verb alternates freely with a construction involving an emphatic initial adverb plus an inflected form of a verb" (p. 449). Thus (17) and (18) may be said to be synonymous.

(17) Kahapon ang dating/pagdating ni Pedro.

(18) Kahapon dumating si Pedro.

Assuming ~~that~~ there is a missing verb in (15) and (16), all the four sentences from (15) to (18) all have the same underlying pattern: fronted emphatic adverb plus a verb plus a noun. The postulated transformation deriving (17) from (18) should be easy to accept, since the same verb root is involved. But in (15) and (16) there is nothing in the surface structure that suggests what the specific verb is. There is in fact no way of recovering it. All that is recoverable is the sense that it is a verb of occurrence. This is one more of the abstract verbs that must be postulated for Tagalog and other Philippine languages. According to convention it will be written in capital letters.

The verbs that come to mind that are possible candidates for the deleted verbs in occurrence sentences do not give sentences with the same meaning as the verbless sentence.

The so-called headless noun phrases

The markers ang, sa, and ng in Tagalog and their equivalents in other Philippine languages always give the phrase they introduce a nominal reading. The referent is usually made clear by the presence of a head word. But there is a class of phrases introduced by these markers where the referent is not expressed by a noun head. The following are typical examples:

- | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------------------|
| (19) | <u>ang</u> <u>umiiyak</u> | the (one who is) crying' |
| | <u>sa</u> <u>tabi</u> <u>ng</u> <u>matangkad</u> | by the side of the (one who is) tall |

Nawala <u>ang para sa iyo</u>	the (one that is) reserved for you
Sumama siya <u>sa isang mayaman</u>	with one(one who is) rich
<u>Ang tumatawa ang may kasalanan</u>	the (one who is) laughing
	the (one who is) with fault

These phrases are as nominal as ang bata, ang aso, ang taxi. They clearly refer to some nominal entity. They may be analyzed as consisting of an unspecified or indefinite noun and a relative clause:

ang N na umiiyak
sa tabi ng N na matangkad
ang N na para sa iyo
sa isang N na mayaman
ang N na tumatawa
ang N na may kasalanan

Like all abstract or unspecified entities, the N is not given any lexical representation.

The absence of a name for incompletely specified entities is not the only reason why a noun head fails to surface. If there is already a word for a particular noun in the language, the speaker may not be in a position to apply it. Either the word is not yet part of his vocabulary or he may not have the perceptual basis for applying it. For instance, if one does not know the term for a paper puncher, he may refer to it as ang pinaglalaruan ng bata or some other apt definite expression. If something is moving or making some sound in a closed box, one is likely to refer to it as ang gumagalaw or ang umuugong sa loob ng karton. A second reason is that the speaker may deliberately omit the noun head because the context already makes it unmistakable. At a cockfight, for instance, ang pula would be sufficient and ang pulang tandang would be redundant.

The use of headless noun phrases is a very convenient device for designating nameless and newly introduced objects and notions in Philippine languages. All one has to do is to attach the appropriate marker to any descriptive word or phrase that is sufficient to identify a nameless object and he will have a referring expression.

Noun plus complement clause

There is a closely related construction to the one just discussed. It consists of a noun plus a complement clause like

- (21) ang balita na nagtanan sina Jose at Carla
ang tsismis na nakunan si Emilia
ang hinala na siya ang kumain ng durian

The noun head is often missing as in

- (22) Nabasa ko na nagtanan sina Jose at Carla.

Narinig ko na nakunan si Emilia.

Since there is a very clear and regular structural relation between a complement clause with a noun head and a clause without a noun head, it is probably correct to postulate a noun head even none occurs in the surface structure. This noun head must be abstract. It is the semantic component common to such words as balita, ulat, hinala, tsismis, paniniwala, bulungbulungan, sumbong, patalastas, pahayag, kuwento, and many other similar words that pertain to the content of a statement rather than to the text as a physical object. The language does not have a single-word designation for such a nominal entity. Unless it is further specified, it will not surface as an actual lexical item. It must be observed however that when the noun head does not imply a fact its omission will give the resulting headless noun clause the interpretation that it is a fact. Thus when the third item in (21) occurs without a head, as in May nagsabi sa akin na siya ang kumain ng durian, the strong nonfactual interpretation of the clause is lost.

Verbalizations (non-meteorological)

As mentioned earlier the use of nouns as verbs is a very productive process in Philippine languages. The easiest way to account for this phenomenon would be to assign it to the lexicon: simply label all verbalizable nouns also as verbs. Some linguists have in effect suggested such a solution in their claim that the fuller form of Umaaraw is Umaaraw ang araw. Such notions like incorporation and lexicalization are potentially useful but there is need to reexamine the implied claim that the suppressed items are actual lexical items.

Two other notions connected with the widespread verbalization in Philippine languages have gained popularity with some linguists. The

first notion—that of abstract verb—has been partly discussed. The other is the notion of replaceable verb. Abstract verbs exist only in the semantic consciousness of the speaker and never surface as actual lexical items. They are very limited in number. Luzares (1975), for instance, lists only four out of 1,400 Cebuano words she studied. They are BEAR, as in nangahak "bore a child", mamunga "to bear fruit", manahun "bear leaves"; CONSIDER, as in gigwapahan "to consider gwapa", gigamyan "consider little"; FEEL, as in gisakitan "feel sick", gihapdusan "feel pain"; and OFFER, as in nagsirmun "give a sermon" and magmisa "offer a mass". If the notion of abstract verb is now well established, the individual verbs that are postulated as abstract are by no means universally acceptable to linguists.

A replaceable verb, unlike an abstract verb, is a fully specified verb that allows itself to be replaced by one of the role-marked nouns accompanying it. Luzares in the same work cited lists 12 of them: ADTU "go" as in mainpyirnu "to go to hell", APLAY "apply" as in magplurwaks "to apply floorwax", BUTANG "put" as in bitsini! "put some bitsin", DULAQ "play" as in magbowling "to bowl", GAMIT "use" as in guntingun "to cut with scissors", HIMUQ "make" as in magbalay "to build a house". Other so-called replaceable verbs are KUHAC "to remove", MAHIMUQ "to become", MANGAYUD "to ask", PUNUQ "to be full of", SAKAY "ride", and USAR "use". The trouble with replaceable verbs is that there are often two or more possible verbs for a single verbalized noun. For instance, is the replaced verb in magradio in Tagalog MAKINIG, GUMAMIT, MAGPADALA NG MESSAGE BY MEANS OF? Is the replaced verb in magkatre GAMIT, HIGA? How about magtenidor? Is it the verb that means to use, to pierce or stab with, to eat with, to pick up food with? There must be several of them.

The difficulty of recovering the correct verb with certainty is a major weakness of the analysis using the notion of replaceable verb. The solution I would like to propose is to extract common semantic components among related replaceable verbs and posit them as abstract or atomic verbs. Such posited abstract verbs must match some broad categories of action as perceived by human beings. Eliminating replaceable verbs should increase the number of abstract verbs.

Take for example the noun-based verbs magsinangag, magkape, magkutsara, mageroplano, magsapatos, magsigarilyo and magkatre. One would say at first glance that the fuller forms are kumain ng sinangag, uminum ng kape, gumamit ng kutsara, sumakay sa eroplano, magsuot ng sapatos, humitit ng sigarilyo and humiga sa katre. It is suggested that there is a single underlying abstract verb for these verbalizations. I suggest that it is USE. The specific interpretation as "eat", "drink", "ride", "wear", etc. are not part of the interpretation of the original or "replaced" verb but are contributed by the noun that is verbalized; that is, part of the meaning of sinangag is that it is eatable, part of the meaning of coffee is that it is to be drunk, part of the meaning of shoes is that they are to be worn, etc. But they are all used (for eating, for drinking, for riding, etc.).

Other abstract verbs, all underlying seemingly different instances of verbalization, are the following:

HAVE	magbulaklak	
Iloc.	aganak	to bear a child
Iloc.	agtrangkaso	to have the flu
	mag-ugat	
	magbahay	
MAKE INTO (factitive,	Iloc. pandilingen	to make into a skirt
	Iloc. sumanen	to make into suman
	Iloc. manongon	to figuratively make someone one's elder brother by calling him "manong"
	adubuhin	
BECOME	magabogado	
	magnars	
	magsonador	

For magsonador and other similar words like mag-alkalde, magkonsolal and maggubernador, the replaceable verb would be silbi. This specific meaning, however, is derived from the verbalized nouns, which are all public offices. BECOME as used here is a deliberate purposive act and must be distinguished from the actual lexical verb maging, which is non-purposive or accidental.

CAUSE partially realized on the surface as the prefix pa-

in many Philippine languages: magpaiyak, paraanin

It includes at least two more specific verbs: active causation (magpaiyak) and allowing (paraanin).

REMOVE magbalat
(away from a
source) magbalbas

Iloc. agiit "to remove the midribs"

PUT/PLACE
(towards a destination)

magatip
magtakip
mag-asin
magsabon
ibolsa
isaulo

A single higher abstract verb may even be postulated to include both REMOVE and PUT. MOVE might do. The movement "away from" and "toward" are predictable.

DO magswimming
 magmountain-climbing
 maghiking

These are not accurately translated by the existing verbs langoy, akyat ng bundok, and lakad. They are borrowed concepts which include the idea of leisure. The idea of leisure is lacking in the native words. Possibly all nouns referring to sports (magbowling, magskating, magbasketball, etc.) should be included here. The verb laro whose Cebuano equivalent is listed by Luzares as a replaceable verb is obviously part of the meaning of the noun. The abstract DO can enter into many combinations: DO something by means of, DO something at a specific time, DO something at a particular place. In Ilocano parbangonen means "Do something at dawn", aldawon means "Do something in broad daylight; balconien means "to do something to someone in the balcony".

Those few abstract verbs can account for most of the types of verbalizations that have been listed down for Ilocano. A few more are probably needed and some important refinements have to be made in order to eliminate

most if not all the so-called replaceable verbs and to avoid having to list or label in the dictionary so many entries as both nouns and verbs.

As it has been shown in some of the more recent works on Philippine languages, not all role-marked nouns can be verbalized. There is some general agreement that at least three are verbalizable: agent, object (both neutral and object of motion), and instrument. The list of abstract verbs shows that in Ilocano certain locative and temporal adverbs may also be verbalized.

I hope I have given some indication of how some unique and near-unique syntactic structures in Philippine languages may be more adequately analyzed if unrealized constituents are posited as part of them. These constituents are not arbitrarily set up, for they pattern exactly like the constituents in sentences without missing constituents.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BRIEF REVIEW OF WORK DONE ON THE GRAMMARS OF PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Fe T. Otanes
Language Study Center
Philippine Normal College

I see as my main task in this talk that of highlighting certain trends and issues in the grammatical analysis of Philippine languages, as well as to give an overview of work done so far along this line. I have tried to accomplish the latter task through a bibliography of grammatical works. I make no claim to exhaustiveness in this bibliography, since I have had to rely on works and citations that I have been able to find in the all-too-little time that I have been able to devote to the preparation of this paper. In spite of its deficiencies, I hope that the bibliography will be helpful at least in indicating the types, if not the extent or depth, of research studies that have been done on the grammars of Philippine languages. Included are works that are either full descriptions of particular languages or limited to particular topics in grammar, but not those that appear to me to be mainly or exclusively concerned with areas such as phonology, lexicography, and the like. I have also limited the scope to the period 1950 through 1975, again because of time limitations in the preparation of this paper; however, it seems to me that it was during this period that there was a great increase in the interest in describing Philippine languages within some theoretical framework, hence a time period of considerable significance to the history of Philippine linguistics. Within the limits described, I have exercised no further selectivity, leaving it to the user to decide the value of each work to his own needs.

Observations on the extent of work done. Jack Ward, in his article "Philippine Linguistic Studies, a Bibliographic Survey of the Coverage in the Literature (see bibliography below, no. 94), reports findings in an extensive bibliographic research that he is doing on Philippine linguistics. He indicates that his research has yielded more than 2,900 published works and more than 700 manuscripts. He lists 107 languages covered, alphabetically listed from Aeta to Unirey, and, following the typology he has developed, further categorizes the works on each language into kinds of studies, such as those on grammar, morphology and syntax, which are separately listed, and those on lexicography, phonology, and so on. Ward points out the difficulties in this type of research at this time, arising from a lack of consistency in the naming of speech varieties in the Philippines, and which in turn

can be partly traced to a more basic theoretical difficulty of distinguishing between dialect and language as well as the inadequacy of information on the linguistic geography of the Philippines.

Ward's count is perhaps a better basis of gauging the extent of work done on the grammar of Philippine languages than the bibliography presented below, since it is based on a much wider coverage of the literature. The data reported by Ward is reproduced below in a slightly different format:

type	No. of works
I. Grammar	
0. General, all-inclusive or unspecified -	317
1. Specific grammatical categories	1
2. Grammatical notes	57
3. Prescriptive grammatical works	12
II. Syntax	
0. General	166
1. Phrase structure	49
2. Transformational treatments	8
III. Morphology	
0. General	261
1. Word classes and parts of speech	48
2. Affixes and affixation processes, Base/root classifications	105

The impression that is gained from this survey of grammatical work is that of a great amount of work already done on just these three areas, grammar, syntax, and morphology, not to mention other aspects of Philippine linguistics. However, as anyone will attest who has ever attempted to get a more or less complete picture of the grammar of any particular language, what one really gets, with almost no exception, are accounts of particular points of investigation, with large gaps in between. The gaps have to be filled if a total picture of the Philippine linguistic situation is to be obtained. The end to the job of data gathering and analysis of data is not yet in sight, and needs the attention and interest of researchers. Of course, the results of the research have to be made available, if not always through publication -- a very expensive undertaking these days -- at least through their storage in accessible repositories. It is quite possible that some gaps have already been filled, but the sources of information repose in some private, hence largely inaccessible, collections. Retrieval of such works, however, fragmentary, should be considered major contributions to our knowledge of Philippine languages and should receive as much encouragement and funding support as possible.

Some topics in the analysis of verb systems.

The verb systems of Tagalog and other Philippine languages still remain the most challenging and the most intractable areas of investigation in grammatical research. This is perhaps the reason why for almost every theoretical framework that has reached the attention of linguists working on Philippine languages, there is an exemplar of the application of the theory to the verb system, whether of Tagalog or some other Philippine language. We thus have examples of various forms of structural and generative treatments of Philippine verb systems.

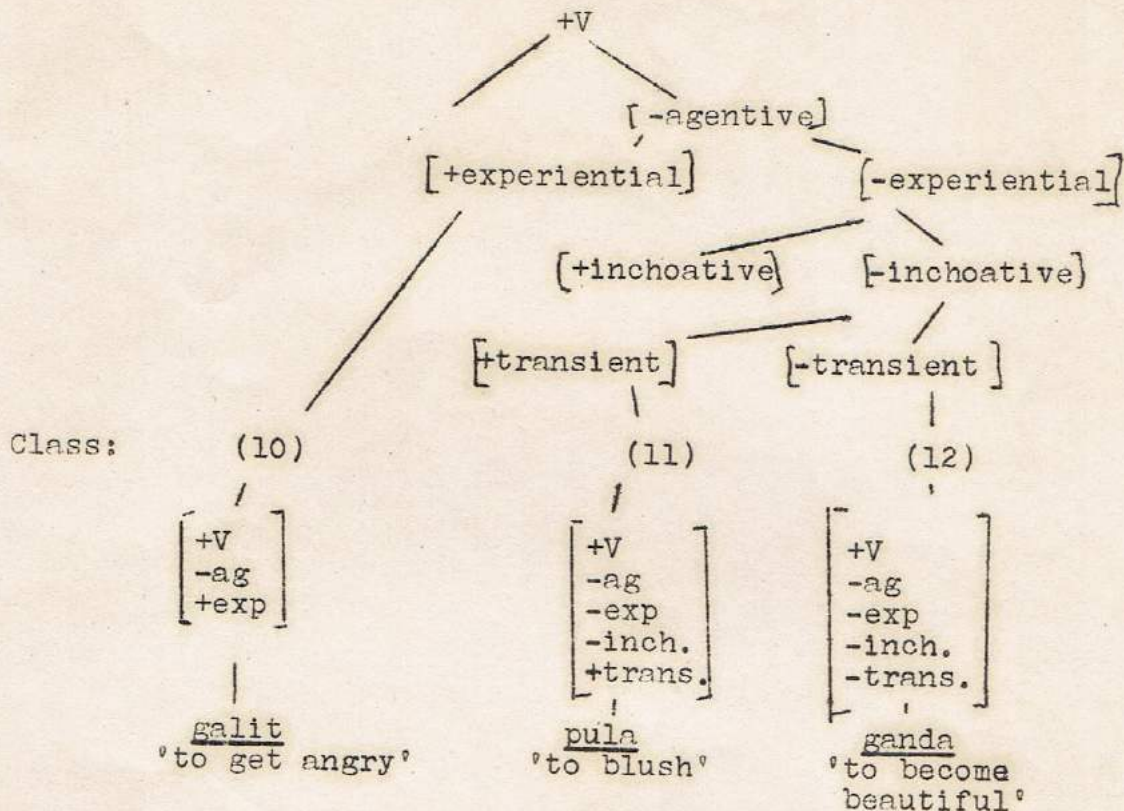
What calls for a theoretical explanation is how, in spite of the great wealth of affixation possibilities and the consequently great variations in the meanings of single verb roots, and in spite of the poverty of surface markers to signal case relations between verbs and associated noun phrases, a condition resulting in potential ambiguities in the interpretation of utterances, the Philippine languages are acquired in the usual human fashion; that is, a child by the age of five or six has sorted out most of the potential confusions in using his language and is rarely guilty of such confusions. There must be an underlying regularity through all the complexity -- a greater regularity than has been uncovered so far by diligent research.

A contribution to the semantics of Tagalog verbs, the study by Terestfa V. Ramos reported in her article, "The Role of Verbal Features in the Subcategorization of Tagalog Verbs" (no. 74 below) approaches the problem of selection and assignment of case roles to nouns associated with the Tagalog verb through the use of semantic features. Features assigned to the verb determine, for example, whether the sentence will contain an agent noun, an object noun, and other nouns in particular case relationship to the verb. In the author's words, "The verb is described as composed of a bundle of specified semantic features. These features restrict or dictate the types of case-marked nouns that may co-occur with it. The noun is marked for potential case roles that it can perform."

Ramos has identified eleven features as being necessary for verb classification. These are: 1) [\pm agentive]; 2) [\pm external]; 3) [\pm centrifugal] (i.e., whether the action is away from or toward the agent; 4) [\pm terminal] (i.e., whether the verb will allow only an object or will additionally allow a directional argument); 5) [\pm change of state]; 6) [\pm direction]; 7) [\pm experiential]; 8) [\pm total]; 9) [\pm inclusive]; 10) [\pm transient]; 11) [\pm meteorological].

Based on these features and their various combinations, the author has identified fifteen classes of Tagalog verbs. I

reproduce below part of the tree diagram that show how these features are used in the classification:



This approach to the semantic description of verbs and the sentences that they form can only be successful, it seems to me, if it can deal adequately with the problem of specifying the semantic change that the verb base undergoes in the process of affixation. This is particularly difficult to capture in a rigorous linguistic description because in most cases, the affixes that form the simplest verbs, i.e., those consisting of one affix and the verb root, typically have a range of meanings that they can add to those of the verb roots, the selection of meanings being determined by particular selections of affix and verb root. To illustrate, pula has the meaning 'to blush' only in the formation mamula, with the affix mang-, but with -um-, pumula, it means 'to become red'. Hence, pula is either plus or minus transient depending on the affix. However, mang- has a different effect on the verb root bili, since mamili means 'buy in quantity', as compared with bumili 'buy' and magbili 'sell'. Thus, with reference to the root bili, mang- carried the meaning of plurality. Further, mag- which gives the meaning that would be characterized in the Ramos framework as [+centrifugal], as in magbili 'sell', does

not have the same meaning in maghinanakit 'feel resentful'. The meaning oppositions between mag- and -um- will be illustrated further below in the discussion of Pittman's work, but the two sentences below illustrate the need to have a mechanism that would characterize not only the role relationships between the verb and individual noun phrases or noun arguments but also among the noun arguments themselves. -Um- and mag- form verb pairs that would have to be characterized by some such feature as [\pm mutual] with respect to object and directional goal, as shown in the following examples:

- A. +mutual: Maghalo ka ng asukal at kape.
 'Mix some sugar and coffee together.'
- mutual: Maghalo ka ng asukal sa kape.
 'Mix some sugar with the coffee.'
- B. +mutual: Naghalo ang asukal at kape.
 'The sugar and the coffee got mixed.'
- mutual: Humalo ang asukal sa kape.
 'The sugar got mixed with the coffee.'
- C. +mutual: Nagkamay si Pedro at si Juan.
 (var.: Nagkamayan si Pedro at si Juan.)
 'Pedro and Juan shook hands.'
- mutual: Kumamay si Pedro kay Juan.
 (var.: Nakipagkamay si Pedro kay Juan.)
 'Pedro shook hands with Juan.'

Some consideration of the world view of a particular culture or subculture also has to be made if an adequate assignment of features is to be achieved. How is one, for example, to interpret such a Tagalog utterance as:

Nauuhaw ang ugat ng mga halaman (/ang mga halaman).
'The roots of the plants (/the plants) are thirsty.'

which is a commonplace way of saying reproachfully or regretfully that the plants need to be watered? It is easy to say that a figure of speech is present here, but that would be true only from the point of view of an outsider whose own culture would not allow such objects as plants and roots to be spoken of in human terms as being thirsty. It is difficult to say definitely that the Tagalog farmer considers this as a figure of speech -- as opposed to the reaction of a city person whose experience with plants or whose participation in the subculture of those who care for plants is nil. We compare the above utterance with one like the following:

Nauuhaw sa pagmamahal ang bata.

'The child craves ('is thirsty for') love.

which is clearly recognized as a bulaklak ng dila or figure of speech (literally, 'flower of the tongue') by any Tagalog speaker and would not be said in any commonplace verbal interaction without embarrassment.

In sum, Ramos's attempt to classify Tagalog verbs in terms of semantic features can serve as a springboard for further investigations on the general question of how Tagalog utterances are interpreted semantically. Such further investigations, it is hoped, will eventually lead to the production of definitive works (or, hopefully, a single integrated work) on the structure and semantics of the Tagalog sentence. It is increasingly becoming clear, however, that the domains of the research will have to expand beyond the linguistic code into the non-linguistic context -- another door, so to speak, that will have to be opened before the territory of the Tagalog verb is fully explored.

An example of research done on the same topic as the Ramos study but using a structural or taxonomic framework is the one reported by Richard Pittman in his article, "Tagalog -um- and mag-, An Interim Report" (no. 71 below). This research shows in greater detail the kinds of meaning oppositions that -um- and mag- verbs have with different groups of verb roots. Their classification is reproduced below in a different format:

I. -um- and mag- on identical stems

- 1.1. Non-reflexive (umaliw)
- 1.2. Reflexive (mag-aliw)
- 2.1. Non-causative (pumanhik)
- 2.2. Causative (magpanhik)
- 3.1. Centripetal (bumili)
- 3.2. Centrifugal (magbili)
- 4.1. Non-dual and non-reciprocal (kumamay)
- 4.2. Dual or reciprocal (magkamay)
- 5.1. Non-repetitive (kumain)
- 5.2. Repetitive (magkain)
- 6.1. Intrinsic color change (dumilaw)
- 6.2. External color application (magdilaw, 'to wear yellow')

II. -um- and mag- on different stems

Source

- 7.1. Impersonal actions (gumabi)
- 7.2. Personal and occupational actions (mag-artista)

Manner

- 8.1. Gestural (dumilat)
- 8.2. Verbal (magbalita)
- 9.1. Physical (tumangis)
- 9.2. Emotional and intensive (magdusa)

Quality

- 10.1. Impulsive (tumulong)
- 10.2. Deliberate (volitional) (mag-aral)

Rank

- 11. Creative (bumuo)
- 12.1. Elementary (dumilim)
- 12.2. Secondary (maglaman)
- 13.1. Regressive (dumalang)
- 13.2. Progressive (magbunga)
- 14. Multiplicational and inversive (tumapang)
- 15.1. Destructive (dumurog)
- 15.2. Constructive (magpunla)

Adjunct

- 16.1. Locational (dumito)
- 16.2. Instrumental (magbakya)

Quantity

- 17. Numeral (magdalawa)
- 18.1. Partitive (pumunit)
- 18.2. Distributive (mag-abuloy)

III. Mag- plus -um- in tandem

- 19. Augmentative (maghumiyaw)

From the inventory above, we can get an idea of the number of meaning variations that a single pair of affixes, mag- and -um- can effect on verb roots, and why it is premature to assume or claim that a small number of features can account for a classification of Tagalog verbs on a semantic basis.

The need for integrative studies.

While individual topics should continue to be pursued in grammatical research on Philippine languages, there is a need to bring together the various disparate treatments of single topics, first, to consolidate whatever data has been gathered so far, and second, to try to arrive at an integrated presentation, whether in highly technical style ("for linguists only") or reference grammar style, for both linguists and laymen, the latter perhaps being more demanding in the sense that there will be a need to state technical concepts in laymen's language, hence possibly belonging to a later phase. I can only state the need at this point, and would rather not prescribe the means. I would like to suggest, however, that there is room in the Philippine linguistic scene for the kind of activity known as "restatement linguistics" -- i.e., taking someone else's data and restating it in terms of one's own theoretical orientation (with proper acknowledgments, of course) with one of two objectives--

integration of information and testing of a particular model of linguistic description. Either way, I believe that Philippine linguistics will be the beneficiary.

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BEYOND LINGUISTICS: A HUMANISTIC
APPROACH TO LANGUAGE TEACHING

by Nelia G. Casambre

For the last three decades, much of the practical considerations in language learning as well as language instruction were based on the mechanistic and distributional analyses of linguistics. Language behavior was no more than a structurally patterned behavior that could be acquired through a habit-formation process. Language learning was thus to many a somewhat dull process of meaningless repetitions and rote memorization. This was the audio-lingual or structural approach, an approach based on the assumption that the learner could be conditioned to learn a language by going through a hierarchical structuring of language learning activities leading toward the acquisition of a new set of language habits.

Epithets such as "teach the language not about the language," "pattern practice" and "drill up to the point of automaticity" became popular pedagogy in our schools. However, as is true with most movements, over-emphasis became the order of implementation so that the learner learned to produce utterances in the classroom which could hardly if ever be useful outside. Parrot-like learners became the product of the day thus it was not uncommon to

come up with transactions of "I like to buy it's a ball" a direct carry over of classroom patterns. Severely criticized, the audio-lingual approach with its repeat-after-me method has slowly given way to a more integrated and rationalistic approach that aims at mastery of internal rules rather than at formation of habits. This other approach under the name of generative grammar (later called transformational grammar) points to competence in the language as the ability to generate infinite number of correct sentences and to assign a linguistic explanation to them. The linguist's function is to examine, in the words of de Pietro(2) "... a fictionalized speaker-hearer who lives in a homogenous speech community." This person is ageless, sexless and devoid of personality traits. Highly theoretical, even Chomsky, author of generative-transformational grammar, himself had expressed grave reservations as to its applicability to classroom situation. However, this theory has extended the concern not only to the boundaries of actual utterances heard but also to the cognitive processes involved in the learner's internalization of the grammatical rules of the language.

With transformational grammar the emphasis in language learning shifted from habit formation to cognition. Pedagogically, stress in language learning was no longer in drills to establish habits in the language but in understanding and application of the rules of the language.

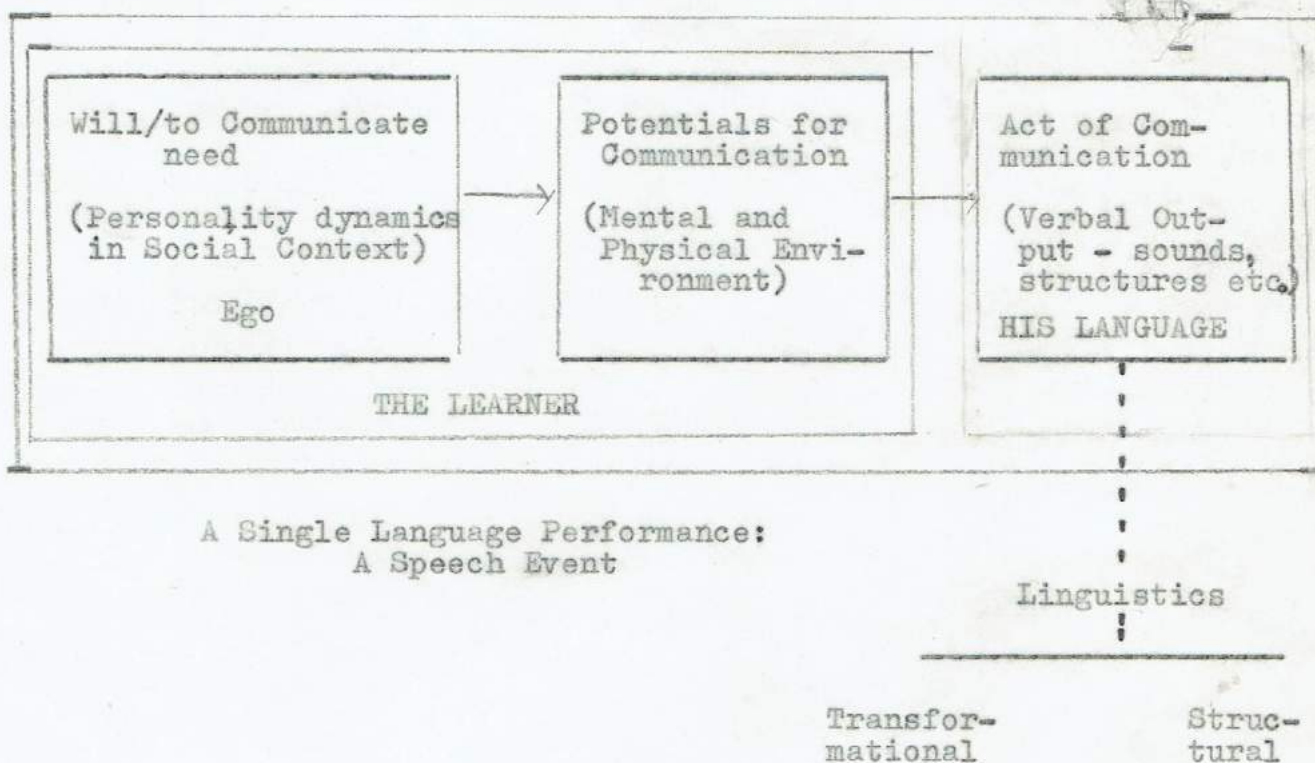
What came out of this approach was an increasing wave of experiments and investigations that tried to determine the methods and strategies that could best carry out the so-called "conscious meaningful effort to learn." The classroom teemed with activities that called for such acts as disentangling a complex sentence by kernelization, integration of some statements and transformation of others. But whether it was structural or transformation in approach, focus was more on the language itself rather than on the learner. Where was then the learner in the scheme of language learning? He was always there, a confused creature who could not make out what he wanted to do, who felt threatened whenever whenever he attempted to say or write something for fear of making mistakes.

The advent of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics seemed to have augured well for language specialists. The former views language as a personal behavior which affects the user; the latter looks at language as communication in a social context. The focus now has expanded from the language itself to its use and to the environment where this language is used. While both areas shed light on the pedagogical aspects of language, the experts, however, remained engrossed in their own disciplines and left the drawing of implications to the practitioners, to the teachers who become overwhelmed, confused with all the

language theories advocated. In the process of applying these theories to the classroom, these teachers become frustrated because despite all these theories advocated, despite all their efforts to put into practice the pedagogical aspects of the theories, the products of their instruction can hardly be considered proficient in the language.

To help solve this situation, this paper postulates a unified theory of language behavior and language learning and a suggested language learning approach.

A UNIFIED THEORY OF LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR



A single language performance is composed of three variables namely: (a) the act of communication which is the verbal output, the concrete verbal performance, composed of sounds, structures, lexicon, (b) the ability to communicate -- the mental and physical potentials for communication, and (c) the will/need to communicate which is an expression of personality dynamics in social context. A language act is realized thru the coexistence, cooperation and integration of these three variables.

Before an act of communication can be realized there must be the ability to communicate, i.e. there must be the human mechanisms, physical as well as mental processes (not directly observable) which are responsible for the meaningfulness and grammaticalness of the speech act. Yet all psychological and linguistic activities stem from and return to the self, the Ego, as a communicating person (the subject of responsibility, the center of accountability of the human behavior). Thru its motivations and affects, it is this variable that spells out the will and/or the need to communicate. This self, this Ego is influenced by and a product of the systematic interlacing of the individual's psychophysical potentials and his environment. While it is true that communication involves sounds, structures of the language, the verbal performance is subject to social and

ritual constraints. This is even more complicated in communicative transactions between and among people. Even the simple recognition of no for instance, is not only dependent on the proper form-function relationship; it depends on the setting and social structure which dictates how and when a "no" may be said. Linguistically the form no has for its function an expression of the negative yet it can function as "yes" or "maybe" in certain social or cultural setting.

"Will you marry me?" asked of our young Filipina, possibly circa the early 40's, will elicit silence or even a "No." A Filipino suitor dictated by his culture would insist on his suit because he understood the cues, verbal and non-verbal that the young girl manifested. A foreign suitor on the other hand, an American for instance, may react differently to such Filipino no much to the dismay of our young girl.

Gusto mong kumain? an invitation for meal for one who happens to drop by at meal time, would elicit a Hindi na, busog ako or Kakakain ko lang whether these are facts or not is immaterial; nevertheless, they are social conventions employed in the transactions. But when asked 3 times the "Hindi" becomes "Sige na nga." The no becomes just preliminaries to acceptance of the invitation.

The person, the learner therefore is a potent variable in the language learning process. So that to reduce the analysis of language and language learning to a mere system of habits or of cognitive processes as is the case in linguistics would be tantamount to admitting the possibility of "speaking" without "a speaker" or "hearing" without "a hearer"; to present a model of a language act without the learner is to posit an encephalous organism - a beheaded body. In language learning therefore the focus should be beyond linguistics to include the learner (source of the language act) and his environment (the social force that offers constraints to his behavior including his linguistic behavior).

The Humanistic Approach to Language Learning

With the theory of language behavior and language learning given earlier, I am suggesting here an approach which would include the learner in the scheme of language learning. I call it the humanistic approach to language learning. It also comes under the name of "affective education" or "affective learning". Humanistic approach is one that focuses concern on the learner as a person, a human being with his potentialities, his weaknesses, his anxieties, his fears, his joys as he interacts with his environment.

Allow me to invite you to look at our learner and what we can do as teachers in the whole scheme of language learning. Who is the learner? What is he?

He is a human being who feels himself great and important in his own universe yet one who wants to belong and be part of those around him. In the process of being himself and in his social encounters, he experiences alienation in certain boundaries. "Alienation" is adapted from Stevick's term for anxieties, threats and fears of the learner in the process of learning.

One such boundary is alienation between himself and the teacher. The learner is threatened when he feels or is made to feel ignorant, powerless and evaluated before the all-knowing powerful, evaluating teacher.

The second boundary is alienation between himself and his fellow learners. They compete with him for the attention and approval of the all-knowing powerful evaluator - the teacher. However, he also wants approval from his fellow learners. In his effort to please both, he sometimes suffers conflict within himself.

He also sees this alienation in his encounters with himself, between his performing self and his critical self the latter observing and scolding the performing self for the lapses. Conflict sometimes arises between the self that strives to be adequate and the self that has internalized other people's ideas of what adequacy is.

To protect himself against these alienation he employs some defense strategies. He either withdraws or becomes aggressive. He manifests withdrawal for instance thru cutting classes, through avoiding the teachers eye or saying nothing (or very little) in the classroom. In being aggressive he engages in antisocial behavior like annoying his classmates or the teacher. Another type, a very subtle one, is to study hard, come up with the right answers and get an excellent grade in the course. This type of defense is much less annoying to the teacher yet a kind of defensive learning which oftentimes produces psuedo-mastery only to evaporate soon after the final examination.

To present a clearer picture of this type of defensive learning I am quoting Stevick(8) who says:

"Defensive learning sees the . . . language as a set of sounds, and words and rules and patterns that are to be transfered from the teacher or the textbook into the mind of the student. In this view the teacher . . . is seen as hurling darts at the student. If a dart strikes an unprotected area (that is if the student makes a mistake), the experience is painful. What the learner tries to do therefore is to see to it that there are as few chunks as possible in his armor. Learning thus becomes a way of adapting to academic requirements . . . but like a suit of armor it is a burden, to be worn as little as possible and cast off entirely (i.e. forgotten) at the first safe opportunity.

Having this analysis of our learner, what can we do as teachers to make this learning less defensive and the results more permanent?

As language teachers it is our responsibility to reduce as much as we can our learner's alienation and make it less necessary for him to defend himself and thus leaving him with an increased feeling of wholeness and worth.

The humanistic approach to language learning advocates the following principles:

1. Other things equal, one learns more and learns better when one feels relatively secure. Language learning as skills development can best be learned in a secure atmosphere.

2. The second principle states: One learns better when what one studies is something he can commit himself to.

Commitment here means one's own choice to do a thing because one likes it not because one is forced to do it. The learner is physically as well as emotionally involved in the task. Learner-generated materials or materials within the interest, aptitude of the learner can help elicit this commitment.

3. The third principle is: One learns better from oneself than from anyone else: that one learns better from ones peers than from one above him. This principle subordinates teaching to learning. "No one can make a horse drink if it doesn't want to drink" so the saying goes.

With the above principles in mind how can we as teachers manage a humanistic classroom? A few suggestions are here given:

1. A humanistic classroom is an arena for communication, for genuine communication is going on continuously, whenever two or more people are together. The classroom must be a place where the learner has the freedom to express himself with the rules of behavior set by the class.

As one author puts it, communication is ". . . a fifth skill in addition to but transcending the 4 skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing."(4) One essential characteristic of communication is that what the student says or writes comes from himself not from the teacher or the text, from his needs and feelings of facts that he alone knows and would like to share. Communication is characterized by spontaneity because one is eager to communicate his experiences, his thoughts, his feelings. If communication becomes the center of classroom activities it will as in the words of Stevick heal the ". . . schizophrenia between the malleable self that tries to produce correct sentences and the self that has things that it wants to say to other people." The teacher in a communication classroom must be re-oriented in his attitude towards errors. He must be more tolerant of the learner's errors for errors are but an indication that the learning task is not complete; that making errors is an inevitable and necessary part of the learning process.

2. A humanistic classroom believes in optimum participation of the learner. To specifically show how this

works I would like to present here some classroom procedures even in the so-called drill class:

- a. The class (with the teacher) selects a point (say in grammar) to be practiced.
- b. The class (with the teacher) suggests a sentence to illustrate the point to be practiced.
- c. A student acting as secretary writes the sentence on the board.
- d. The students check the sentence for accuracy. If necessary, the teacher then provides additional information bearing on the suitability of the sentence: "I know what you mean but what I would say is . . ." and so on.
- e. In the same way the students suggest additional sentences which become the remaining lines of the drill and then practice them. The teacher participates only as needed.

In this type of classroom management the teacher remains to one side physically as well as verbally. The first few times the teacher may need to explain the procedure and to provide the format for the drill. Soon the students will be able to take over. Here the teacher's role has changed. From the sole source of all these sentences, he now merely

verifies the sentences after the class had a chance to correct them before they are included in the drill. By verifying the sentences, the teacher has provided one ingredient necessary to the students security, "control". By keeping to one side, verbally as well as physically the teacher is leaving initiative in the hands of the students. This gives them the opportunity not only to make the maximum number of choices but also gives them the chance to help one another. In the process, each student is more likely to understand exactly what he is doing. The drill therefore has become the class response to the need for practicing a point rather than just one more hurdle which the teacher or textbook writer has placed before the student to drill.

In this way, the reward is greater for the teacher too because the student learns more with less frustration or boredom and his improved morale makes him more pleasant in the classroom.

3. A humanistic classroom must have the balance between control and initiative. By "control" I mean the process of establishing and maintaining rules of classroom behavior including learner's deportment as well as the learning procedures. In arriving at such rules I may even involve the learner in their formulation so that he becomes committed to them. I must make these rules clear and precise. According to Holt(5), a psychologist and advocate of affective

education, "the worst form of tyranny is one under which the power structure and laws are unclear." He admonished that "class rules be stated with enough precision so that students know what they mean." Certainly students want to know what limits there are to their behavior and what they must do to get along well in the classroom. Specifying rules do not mean restructuring of student choices; rather it clarifies the conditions under which choices are made.

By initiative, on the other hand, I mean choice of who is going to say what, to whom and when. Initiative has to do with what happens inside the student's learning space. In most of our classes we seem to have exerted a near monopoly not only of control but also of initiative. "Repeat this word after me"; "Give the next line"; "Write a paragraph on this topic." In all of these ways, the teacher is saying to the student, "Now try to do this that I may tell you and how you did." We not only invade the learner's space, we also evaluate his every move within it.

When we invade the learner's space and evaluate what he does in this space we are surely contributing to the alienation (anxiety) between student and teacher; we are even supporting the type of alienation between the performing and the critical self of the learner. We even stifle the growth of cooperation and camaraderie among them. If on the other hand we maintain control and at the same time allow them to

have their own initiative, we can hope to leave the students feeling better about themselves, about each other and about us their teachers.

4. A humanistic classroom has trust and confidence in the learners. Solnit(7) recommends that adults respect the rebellious criticisms and assertions of the learners; that the teacher should treat confrontation as opportunities for the learners to function in actual social encounters. Studies have shown that there is a positive relationship between the accepting supportive teachers and the achievements and positive attitudes of the language learners. One such study is the 1973 Northeast Conference Report (Dodge 3) which claims that research data showed that student behavior such as thinking, creativity, development of group processes and anxiety level can be influenced by the climate of the class.

The Language Teacher in a Humanistic Classroom

What kind of teacher is a humanistic language teacher? Teacher characteristics given here are drawn from results of various studies quoted in appropriate sections.

1. She is understanding; she possesses empathy and sensitivity to the needs of learners. Researches have shown that the teacher's understanding of the learner and his needs go a long way in language learning.

Hogan and Henley(4) for instance have validated experimentally that interpersonal communication is enhanced by mutual understanding.

Baldwin and Garvey(1) found that an important component of successful communication is ability to empathize.

2. Another characteristic is self-acceptance. He is a figure at peace with himself, stable, dependable and not erratic.

Trowbridge(9) indicated that teachers with positive self concept generate greater sense of self worth in students they teach.

3. Another one is genuineness in communication. According to Carl Rogers(6) this includes sharing both ones negative as well as positive feelings; it does not include destructive criticisms but the teacher's expression of personal annoyance if appropriate. He accepts, cares for and trusts students.

Under the above conditions the student comes to feel that he can afford to relax both physically and emotionally. He can afford to take chances with what he says both in content or in its linguistic correctness. He is able to see events as they actually are; that is, he does not feel compelled at all times to compare events with what he feels they ought to be.

As language teachers, we are not just concerned with the teaching of language - its sounds, structures and lexicon; we are interested in teaching persons, active, receptive, responsible human beings to use the language in appropriate communication context. Language learning therefore is learning beyond linguistics and the approach, humanistic.

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Abstract

WHERE IS SOCIOLINGUISTICS NOW IN THE PHILIPPINES AND WHAT IS ITS DIRECTION

Emy M. Pascasio
Department of Language and Linguistics
Ateneo de Manila University

What are the Major Concerns of Sociolinguistics?

Modern sociolinguistics of the past 10 years is viewed as a by-product of very recent and still on-going developments in its two parent-disciplines, linguistics and sociology. However, it would be but fair to say that more interest and greater attention have come from linguistics as a result of its recently more sophisticated synchronic concerns as well as its growing response to applied demands.

Among those who consider themselves as sociolinguists there is considerable conviction that their field is now making and will continue to make significant contributions to both parent fields. But then the true promise of the field will be realized only if a truly interdisciplinary work and thought will be fostered.

The shift from a major concern with the ways in which language determines culture and that language constrains world view as pointed out in the Whorfian hypothesis in the fifties, to the examination of ways in which language varieties reflect, are constrained by, and are changed by social, cultural, and individual determinants has proven very productive.

A central problem in sociolinguistics is the concern with understanding the kinds of speech communities; the types of varieties in a community and the distribution of varieties within this community; the functional allocation among the components of these varieties; the values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with the varieties (and their components) within a speech repertoire; and the ways in which these varieties within a repertoire are patterned and changed by sociocultural and individual determinants.

Where is Sociolinguistics Now in the Philippines?

In the sixties there has been an increased attention and interest on language in relation to culture to improve language teaching in the Philippines, to explain communication breakdowns, and to foster cross-cultural understanding and cooperation. The McCarron-Pascasio context of situation model was evolved to explain the use of language within a cultural context. It is primarily concerned with the interrelationship of language in culture, the implications of which bear directly on the problems of language learning and language teaching in the Philippines. The elements of the model consists of language, topic, speaker and listener role relationship, values and attitudes, and implied social institutions.

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These elements are interdependent whenever a Filipino finds himself in a context of situation like when he is making a request, giving information, or greeting others. There is a difference if the request is made between 2 persons of equal socio-economic status from that of unequal status. A difference in value judgment also changes the request pattern. If the cultural value predominant in a particular request is reciprocity, it will be different from that made if the request has SIR as the predominant value.

In the teaching of English the context of situation model shows three possible methods depending upon the objectives namely: (Pascasio, 1967)

1. teaching only the linguistic code of English
2. teaching the linguistic code of English in relation to Philippine reality
3. teaching the linguistic code of English in relation to non-Philippine cultural reality (American, British, etc.)

In the seventies it was no longer realistic to maintain English as the only medium of instruction in the Philippine schools. It was strongly felt that Pilipino rather than English can better serve as a medium to express Philippine cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and national aspirations.

In response to this need the government adopted a bilingual policy where English and Filipino are the media of instruction in all the schools. The implementing guidelines of this bilingual policy was stated in Dept. Order No. 25, series 1974. A number of studies on the Filipino bilingual's proficiency, use of his languages, his attitudes and motivations have been conducted in institutions such as the Ateneo, De La Salle, PNC and U.P. Surveys have also been undertaken such as the Otañes and Sibayan, "Language Policy Survey", and Gonzalez, "Manpower and Materials Resources Survey in Bilingual Education".

Directions for Sociolinguistics in the Philippines

An important subject for sociolinguistic research in bilingual education is the relationship between language use and language change. To help our schools produce Filipino bilinguals competent in both Filipino and English we should conduct more studies on who speaks what languages to whom, in what situation, and for what purposes.

Sociolinguistics can also make significant contributions to more knowledge and understanding of the Filipino bilingual hence the following studies are needed:

1. Measurement and description of role-repertoire range
2. Refinement of field methods for interlanguage - performance measures paralleling the in-depth intralanguage measures that are now available.
3. Direct application of sociolinguistic description to language learning and language acquisition; and
4. An encompassing description of a full-range speech community instead of a delimited sample-range neighborhood.

In order to succeed in our national language development there should be systematic language planning. We must take into serious consideration the sociolinguistic factors such as the: (1) demands of the situation depending upon the user/learner's capacity, speaker's ability as well as cultivation of the language; (2) the factors of social identification, language here serving as a label for status, prestige and fashion. It is therefore important to have language planning within the framework of an on-going socio-cultural interaction patterns and needs.