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Origins of the Filipinos and Their Languages

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Abstract

This is a subject that is still controversial, both as to the area of origin and the routes between that area and the Philippines. There are two opposing hypotheses on both subjects. Both hypotheses are agreed that the differing major languages and the many different dialects spoken in the Philippines at the time of Portuguese and Spanish entry to the Philippines in the early 15th century were all of the Austronesian Super Family. That is where the agreement ends.

In the Philippines, the two best known hypotheses are those of Peter Bellwood and mine (Solheim). While my hypothesis—which will be the main subject of this presentation—started developing over 40 years ago, Bellwood's is more recently developed and has had much greater acceptance outside of the Philippines. Simply put, he believes that Proto-Austronesian originated in eastern South China opposite Taiwan and was brought from there to Taiwan by maritime Chinese bringing with them rice agriculture; this around 7000 years ago. After about 2000 years, developing several distinct Austronesian languages in Taiwan, there was movement of people speaking one unknown Austronesian language to northern Luzon, bringing rice agriculture with them. The rice agriculture led rapidly to increasing population and absorbed most of the hunter-gathering populations they came in contact with in the Philippines. They moved south through the Philippines and by about 4500 years ago had reached southern Mindanao and from there spread south and both east and west. By this time the Austronesian branch that had developed somehow between Taiwan and the Philippines was widespread and is now called the Malayo-Polynesian language family.

My hypothesis is much more complicated with no simple direct route to and through the Philippines, but with exploratory maritime movement bringing peoples in many directions over many different routes. This goes back with remote origins over 50,000 years ago from coastal present day eastern Viet Nam and South China. I hypothesize the beginning development of Pre-Austronesian in the general area of the Bismark Islands south and east of Mindanao. From this area the development of Proto-Austronesian as a trade language took place among the maritime-boat people who were sailing in all directions throughout the South China Sea, including to Japan and Korea, and throughout much of present day Island Southeast Asia. With the development of the Malayo-Polynesian Language Family (still a mystery to me) after about 4000 years ago from southern Mindanao they spread east into and throughout the Pacific islands and ultimately spread west to Madagascar around 2000 years ago. From about 6000 years ago the Philippines was central too much of this development.

Origins of the Filipinos and Their Language

Wilhelm G. Solheim II

<u>Introduction</u>

I have written two general articles, one short (Solheim 1999) and the other long (Solheim 1981), about the prehistory of the Philippines and the relationship with surrounding areas. There has been much more fieldwork and publication relevant to this paper since they were written. At the time they were written I did not feel it important to present the one major different interpretation involving the origins and spread of Austronesian languages as it had not started to develop at the time of the earlier article and was little concerned with the Philippines in the later paper.

There are two differing hypotheses on the origins of the Filipinos and their languages. Peter Bellwood includes the Philippines in his much wider scale hypothesis on the origin and spread of the Austronesian languages and the peoples speaking these different languages. He does not present an explanation for the Philippines as a specific topic. The two professional linguists whose opinions on this matter I am acquainted with—Robert Blust (1984-1985) and Lawrence Reid (1982)—"both agree[d with Bellwood] that a Pre-Austronesian form was in South China and brought by people moving by boat to Taiwan where Austronesian developed into its original form. Both agree with Peter Bellwood (1984-1985), following Shutler and Marck (1975), that Austronesian was taken south from Taiwan to the northern Philippines, spread south through the Philippines, and from southern Mindanao spread both west and east." (Solheim ND).

The opinions of all these authors have evolved since these early statements and I have been unable to keep up with their evolving interpretations. I continue quoting myself (Solheim ND):

> If I understand Bellwood correctly the main Austronesian stem apparently evolved in the Philippines into Malayo-Polynesian and then branched into many further Malayo-Polynesian languages in the Philippines and as it moved both west and east from the southern Philippines. There is no Philippine language that I know of as having been suggested as the ancestor of the Malayo-Polynesian languages of the Philippines and the rest of Island Southeast Asia, and no language that I know of in Taiwan has been considered as Pre- or Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Therefore Malayo-Polynesian, according to Bellwood's theory, must have developed directly out of one of the Taiwan Austronesian languages (i.e. Proto-Malayo-Polynesian) as soon as its speakers reached the Philippines. This seems like an impossibility to me, but I am not a linguist."

I emphasize again, as I have done in many other articles, that "Austronesian" is a linguistic term and is the name of a super language family. It should never be used as a name for a people, genetically speaking, or a culture. To refer to people who speak an Austronesian language the phrase "Austronesian speaking people" should be used. Genetically the Nusantao have become a mixture of many different peoples. .

Presenting the second hypothesis, i.e. my interpretation of the archaeological, linguistic and genetic data for the origin of the Filipinos and their languages, is the body of this report.

Where did the Filipinos Come From and How Did They Get Here

Filipinos and most of the peoples of Island and coastal Mainland Southeast Asia were a maritime oriented population. The formation of this population goes back at least 50,000 years, long before the development of Austronesian languages and took place on the Southeast Asian mainland.. This maritime development is indicated by the first people going to Australia from Southeast Asia and this happened some over 50,000 years ago as has been shown by Australian and New Guinea archaeology. At that time the sea level was much lower, but it still would have been necessary to cross water out of site of land for several days between the nearest Indonesian islands to Australia. Once this was done there must have been two-way contact for some time. This suggests that rafts with some sort of center board to provide some directional control must have been in use at that time.

There is no archaeological indication how early small boats came into use. I suspect that they were invented and first in use well up one or more of the major rivers of southeastern China and/or northern Viet Nam around 13,000 years ago or earlier. The first, crude, heavy earthenware pottery known not only in eastern Asia but in the world starts showing up in four widely separated areas in Siberia, Japan, southern China and northern Viet Nam. All of this was at about this same time, made in the same way and the same forms (Vandiver 1998a-b; Ha Van Tan ?; MacNeish et al 1998.) The knowledge of how to make this crude pottery must have been spread down and up major rivers and along sea coasts in small boats with or without single outriggers. Some of the islands of Japan were connected to the mainland at this time, as was Taiwan. For some reason these early sailor-potters did not stop in Taiwan, or at least their rare, early sites have not yet been found.

With very little archaeological evidence I hypothesize that single-outriggers for these small boats had been invented sometime between 13,000 and 10,000 years ago as contact between central, coastal Viet Nam and the Bismark Islands, northwest of the northwestern end of New Guinea by around 10,000 years ago as indicated by the spread of arboriculture and some of the plants involved. Several types of

shell artifacts have been recovered in the general Bismark area at around this time and earlier and appear to have spread to the west at a somewhat later date.

Sailing from Mainland Southeast Asia to the Bismark area and south to the Solomons would have been possible with single-outrigger canoes. Moving out into the Pacific over much wider ocean distances probably needed larger, double-outrigger canoes. It has been hypothesized that the double-outrigger was invented somewhere along the east coast of Viet Nam at an unknown date, allowing long distance travel out into the Pacific. I hypothesize that this was happening to Taiwan, the Philippines, into western Micronesia and back out to the Bismark area by 6000 years ago now using the double-outriggers , larger canoes, but without bringing the knowledge of pottery manufacture, would then have been able to extend their explorations further to the south and east into the Pacific.

What had been happening in the Philippines during this time? Palawan and Mindanao would have been in contact with coastal Viet Nam and South China, but not bringing in agriculture. It is quite possible that arboriculture was brought in to the Philippines during this time both from the west and the east. While archaeological sites in western Palawan show that there was contact with Viet Nam, and there was probably contact between coastal South China and coastal northern Luzon, the Babuyan and Batanes Islands and Taiwan. These maritime boat people I have called the Nusantao.

The Nusantao

The importance of the maritime organization of many people in Island Southeast Asia first came to me in 1963 (Solheim 1963:258). I had this to say: "The majority of the prehistoric relationships between Formosa and Southeast Asia do not appear to me to be direct, but the result of small movements from a common general source in south China and northern Indochina and possibly even more important, diffusion of specific culture elements in all directions from late neolithic times on."

My concept of the Nusantao and its associated Nusantao Maritime Trading and Communication Network (NMTCN) has evolved considerably over time since I first proposed it (Solheim 1975:158). In my book on the Nusantao (Solheim ND) I have gone into considerable detail to explain this evolution of the two terms, but this book will not be out until a month or two after this paper is presented. I leave the details for those of you who might be interested to my book and here present the latest definitions that I have made (Solheim ND).

Probably originating along the major rivers in the mountains of eastern, central Viet Nam during the late Pleistocene, "The Nusantao are a prehistoric, maritime-oriented people along with their cultural descendants who have maintained their cultural orientation until today or the recent past in many

coastal and island areas in Southeast Asia, coastal China and north to Japan and Korea, and Oceania. I believe that the concept of the Nusantao and their expansion is "useful in understanding the widespread dissemination of particular inter-related languages and items of material culture, even though none of these actually define the Nusantao." It is also of major importance for explaining the origins of the Philippines and of their languages, as I see it.

In the beginning the Nusantao were primarily fishermen and expanded their territory for fishing out of curiosity looking for new fishing areas (Solheim 1981: 33-34). Coming into contact with new people and settlements they began to add trading of materials available in one area but not in an other. "In this way, without major movements of people, a relatively informal, long-distance trade that also involved long-distance communication of ideas, knowledge, genes, and language (in the form of the trade language that people moving through this chain needed to talk to others) could have developed. This sort of trading system would help explain why, in the absence of migrations of people and in an area where there were differing cultures, so many forms of stone artifacts, ornaments, patterns found on pottery, etc., were shared over such a wide territory."

"While I was writing this article [1981] my concept of the Nusantao was shifting from an all-encompassing "Austronesian speaking people" to a maritime oriented trading people probably speaking an Austronesian language. In 1985 I changed the first definition as follows (Solheim 1984-1985:85-86): "To remove [the term Nusantao] from a direct relation to a language and to a biological entity I now define Nusantao as natives of Southeast Asia, and their descendents, with a maritime-oriented culture from their beginnings, these beginnings probably in southeastern Island Southeast Asia around 5000 B.C. or possibly somewhat earlier."

"Most of the Nusantao probably spoke a pre- or related Austronesian language, but there may well have been at times some that spoke a non-Austronesian language. At the time of this redefinition I did not consider non-maritime Austronesian speakers as Nusantao. "The Nusantao and the non-maritime-Austronesian speakers no doubt [were] constantly mixing genetically, culturally, and linguistically. Their genetic ancestry no doubt varied from time to time and place to place to include Southern Mongoloid—probably as a central core—and Melanesoid, and I would suggest that this may well have been the case from their very beginning"

Through time, as the Nusantao expanded their fishing and trading areas there was also a gradual expansion in the variety of maritime orientations. The extremes extend from whole families who lived until a generation ago, all their lives mostly on their boats to families that had permanent or relatively permanent bases on land." (Solheim ND).

The Nusantao Maritime Trading and Communication Network

I like very much what Wolters (1999) has said abut the importance of maritime communication for Southeast Asia. I quote portions from my review of his book (Solheim 2004: 101-105):

> The sea provides an obvious geographical framework for discussing possibilities of region-wide historical themes. The sea facilitates communication between peoples, and there is much of it. Indeed, Coedès characterizes the Southeast Asian seas as "a veritable Mediterranean formed by the China Sea, the Gulf of Siam and the Java Sea. This enclosed sea, in spite of its typhoons and reefs, has always been a unifying factor rather than an obstacle for the peoples along the rivers." (Coedès, 1968:3-2).

> The peoples on and near the shores of the Southeast Asian seas were certainly in communication with each other from very early times. . . .

> The sea to which I am now referring is not the Southeast Asian "Mediterranean" but what I shall describe as "the single ocean," the vast expanse of water from the coasts of eastern Africa and western Asia to the immensely long coastal line of the Indian subcontinent and on to China. The sea defined in this manner, was, I believe, a significant fact of life in earlier Southeast Asia not only because treasure from distant places always arrived but also for other reasons that I shall consider. [I would add that this should include all of the Pacific islands, except some portions of New Guinea plus Japan and Korea.] . . . .

> I conclude my comments on "the cultural matrix' by considering an alternative vision of prehistoric Southeast Asia unimaginable, I suppose, in 1982. Few developments excited me more when I prepared myself for writing this postscript. I seemed to have stumbled on a long-awaited launching pad in Southeast Asian prehistory. I refer to the concept of "heterarchy" in contradistinction to "hierarchy," the concept usually associated with this region. The concept of "heterarchy" is examined in Joyce Whites contribution [White 1995] to a volume on *Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies* ...in which she revalues evidence from some amply stocked prehistoric burial sites in northeastern and central Thailand.

> Her analysis and argument are sufficiently thorough to convince me, at least, that she has established a promising direction for future prehistoric archaeological research and also for historical studies of early Southeast Asia ... her essay provides insights in connection with continuities in southeast Asian historical experience and contributes

> towards delineating the "regional" shape of southeast Asian history ... White understands the term ["heterarchy"] to signify societies that exemplify: Cultural pluralism; indigenous economies that tend to be characterized by household-based units of production, community-based economic specialization, and competitive, multi-centered, and overlapping mechanisms for the distribution of goods rather than monopolies controlled by a single center, social status systems that tend to be flexible in practice and include personal achievement even where ascribed systems exist in theory, conflict resolution and political centralization strategies that tend to have alliance formation ... at their core, and that may be periodically renegotiated.... [White 1995:104], (122-23). . . .

Wolters points out in several places (28, 114 footnote 30, 134, 139, and 148) the importance to the overlord of the mandala of being "up to date" and the importance of rapid information dissemination over Southeast Asia.

> "The past in Southeast Asia in general and including Vietnam would therefore be perceived for its relevance to the present and not for its own sake, It was 'now' and being 'up-to-date' that mattered (148). On the other hand, as earlier mentioned, continuity is evident in all of Southeast Asia from prehistoric times up to the present."

The NMTCN was the prehistoric and historic equivalent of the present day e-mail network. In its communication over the vast area of its coverage it provided up to date information on all subjects of interest to its members.

At this point I leave Wolters, but continue with a little of my own comment (Solheim 2004: 105-106). "My concept of the Nusantao Maritime Trade and Communicati8on Network presents a good example of many of the comments mentioned by Wolters for demonstrating the unity of 'Southeast Asia,' . . . .

"I proposed the term Nusntau in 1975 [Solheim:158; I later changed the spelling to Nusntao] to refer to 'people of the southern islands.' I said that it should apply both to the people and the culture of those who spoke Austronesian.

Difficulties soon became apparent in the use of this term. At present the term has two uses. The first is used as a general term: The Nusantao . . . refers to a maritime-oriented people who originated in eastern Island Southeast Asia and along the southern coast of the South China Sea at the end of the Pleistocene with its sea levels rising to the general level of today. Many varieties of this maritime orientation developed over time and are still found today. What I am most concerned with is my second use to refer to those who have specialized in maritime trade; for this I use the term The Nusantao

Maritime Trading and Communication Network. This network ultimately spread to wherever Austronesian languages are spoken today, including the coast of China, Korea, Japan, and probably the Americas" (Solheim ND).

I emphasize that the Nusantao who were maritime people were knowledgeable about life on the land as well as on the sea. After arboriculture, horticulture and/or agriculture were known these people expanding into the Pacific always had a base on land. They brought with them domesticated plants and animals which became important in their life after they had exhausted the fish and shellfish of the area to the extent that they did not provide sufficient food.

Prehistory of the Philippines According to Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics

I believe that we are all agreed that archaeology, genetics and linguistics do not present the same picture of prehistoric and historic development and expansion. There obviously has to be some correlation among the three as all three are developed and expanded by the same people, but each one evolves on its own through time. To my knowledge very little research has been done on the detailed genetics of the Philippine people. There has been some done with the several Negrito groups, but to my knowledge this has only shown that they are not closely related to each other, rather they are more closely related to their near neighbors over time. It is my personal supposition that the ancestors of the Negritos were the same as of the general Southeast Asian populations say 20,000 years ago and that they evolved very rapidly to their distinguishable appearance when they started living in very similar ecological situations in the rainforest. I know of no Negrito skeletons that have been excavated in archeological sites. I go no further in treating genetics.

Linguistics is an other matter. I suspect there has been more study done of the Philippine languages than of the archaeology, this, much of it, by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I do not try to examine Philippine linguistics in any detail, but rather come at it from the other direction; i.e. the relationships of the Philippine languages to the other Southeast Asian languages. As all of the local languages of the Philippines are Austronesian in origin languages are a common way of approaching the origins of the Filipinos.

Gaillard and Mallari (2004) have provided us with eight different maps showing proposed routes by different authors of Austronesian coming to the Philippines. A major portion of each route had to come by water. Wolters (179-180) mentioned that "Evidently, the boat was conventionally used in island Southeast Asia as the metaphor for emphasizing the meaning and importance of an 'ordered social group,' whether it be an organized social unit or the spatial classification of social groups within a larger social framework." For the Philippines the Barangay or *balangay* (meaning boat) was a word known by

the first Spaniards to come to the Philippines. When Antonio Pigafetta went ashore to talk with the chief of Limaswa, they met in a boat on the shore. When they arrived at Luzon they found that *balangay* was also used for the smallest political unit of Tagalog society. "The word *barangay* call[s] attention to two important characteristics of the sixteenth-century Philippines . . . dependence on boats and highly localized government" (Scott 1994: 4-5).

Itbayat, the most northerly of the Batanes Islands north of Luzon has, a number of different words for boat. Maria Mangahas has reported at a Brown Bag lunch of the Archaeological Studies Program on 1 September 2005 that an elderly informant on Itbayat told her that one of the words for boat (vanua) also means homeland. "One of the interesting parts on Dr. Mangahas' talk is the linguistic relation of the word *vanua* with other Austronesian words in the Philippines and other parts of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Its cognate words *vanua, banua, benoa,* and *fanua* all denote the concept of village, port, town, house, land, country, cosmos, and even boat" (Vitales 2005 :19).
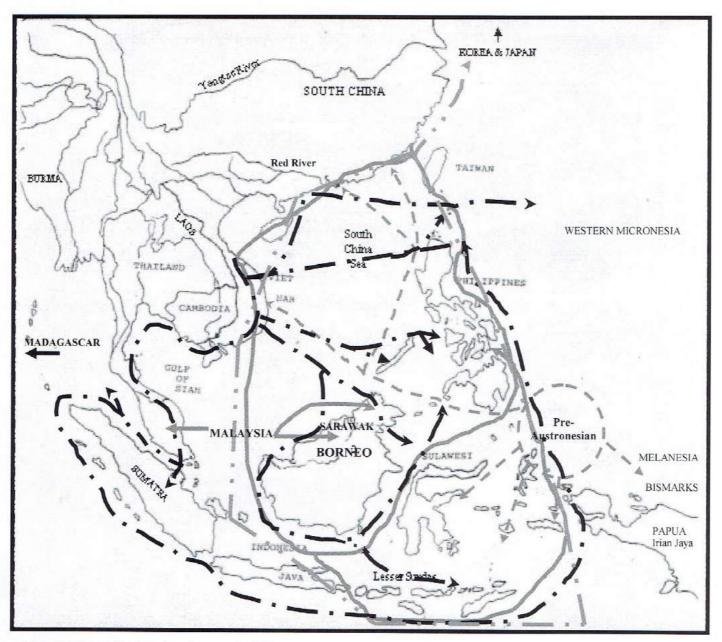
In their early movements by water before 5000 B.C. I long ago had hypothesized that the Nusantao developed a trading/ communication network between the northern Philippines, Taiwan, and the coast of South China and northern Viet Nam. I suggest that it was the trading people making up this network who helped develop Austronesian out of Pre- and Proto-Austronesian, as a *lingua franca* by which they were able to communicate among themselves and the peoples with whom they traded. in the Nusantao network

Linguists agree that a trade language **must** start with some regularly defined language that has evolved with admixtures of other languages. I would now agree with this, but say that Austronesian had its beginnings, as Pre-Austronesian, by around 12,000 B.P. and as it is impossible to take linguistic origins back this far in time there is no way that we can discover its probable single linguistic family origin. Thus I would say that at the present time this is a non-problem.

The route that I have proposed for bringing the Austronesian languages and its speakers to the Philippines is very complicated and actually is many different routes (Fig. 1). For my interpretation of how Austronesian came to the Philippines it is necessary to go back to the beginnings of Pre-Austronesian. I have proposed that the origin of Pre-Austronesian was in the Bismarcks in northwestern Melanesia (Wallacia could be considered its homeland) and then Proto-Austronesian developed among the sailors and their families of the NMTCN in their communication and trading back again to the west through much of coastal eastern Indonesia and the Philippines, and along the coast of eastern Viet Nam and South China. This resulting communication brought with it the knowledge of the *Tridacna* shell adze and other shell artifacts and ornaments. As the Nusantao came in contact with Proto-Austro-Tai speaking people along the coasts of South China and northern Viet Nam and up the major rivers of this

area Proto-Austronesian (still a trade language) further evolved. The people móving from South China to Taiwan about 7000 B.P. would still have been speaking Proto-Austronesian, and there it evolved into the several different Taiwan-Austronesian languages.

Dispersal and further development of Pre-Austronesian

Proto-Austronesian Development

Area of Development of Proto-Austronesian

Malayo-Polynesian Development

Figure 1. Suggested formation and movement of Pre-, Proto-, Austronesian and Malayo-Polynesian languages.

Pawley and Green (1973:35-36) had this to say about the cultural content of Proto-Austronesian:

"They had a mixed economy, based on agriculture and fishing, but supplemented by hunting and arboriculture. Cultivated crops included taro, yams, banana, sugarcane, breadfruit, coconut, the aroids
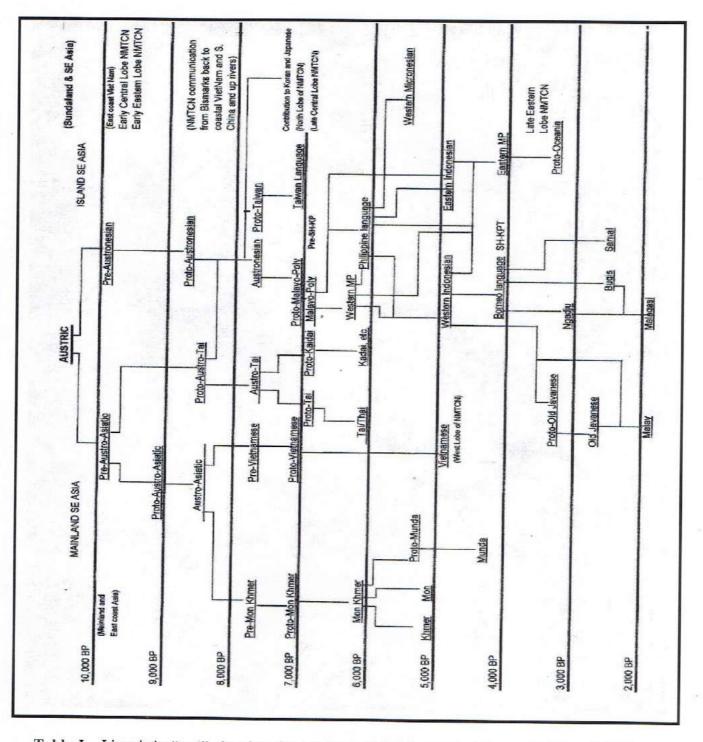
Table I. Linguistic "tree" showing the origins and development of Austronesian and Malayo-Polynesian out of Austric as proposed by Solheim.

Cytosperma and *Alacasia*, sago, and (probably) rice. . . . They sailed outrigger canoes. Their tools were of stone, wood and *shell*. . . ." (final italics mine).

The presence of shell tools was at least one element of the culture of the people speaking Proto-Austronesian that had been added as a result of their presence in the Wallacia/Bismarks area. The use of shell for tools in this area goes back before 12,000 BP.

If I understand correctly, Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian evolved out of Austric. I have proposed that Austric languages were spoken in greater Southeast Asia before the rising of sea levels to present day levels and that with the rise of the sea level the Austronesian languages developed in the newly formed islands of the east and Austro-Asiatic developed on the mainland.. I present above my Table I showing my interpretation of this development as included in my Nusantao book (ND).

Summary and Conclusions

If I am correct in my suggested formation and movements of languages as illustrated in Figure 1 it can be seen that the Philippines is within the areas of development and movement of all levels of evolution of the languages from Proto-Austronesian into Malayo-Polynesian. It could be possible that development of Pre-Austronesian could have included southeastern Mindanao. Very little archaeology has been done throughout this area in recent years. What has been done and reported by Spoehr (1973) and Solheim et al. (1979), was done long before we recognized the earliest materials recovered.

We do not really know whether Taiwan might have been involved in the development of Proto-Austronesian. All we can say is that several different Austronesian languages evolved there presumably out of Proto-Austronesian. There is no indication that Pre- or Proto Malayo-Polynesian were present there. I have mentioned (ND) the possibility that Amis may have moved north from the Philippines at a relatively early date. I do not know whether the Amis language has been compared to any of the Philippine languages, but I have felt there were indications of contact between the Amis and the Philippines that have not been seen with any of the other Taiwan ethnic groups. The only definite relationships between the Philippines and Taiwan are between Itbayat and Botel Tobago the latter being an island off the southeast coast of Taiwan. Here the people of both islands recognize that the ancestors of those living on Botel Tobago came from Itbayat (long ago). I have gone into the relationships between Taiwan and the Philippines in my Nusantao book (ND).

My interpretations of the relationships of the Philippine languages, all being western Malayo-Polynesian, all suggest that the Philippine languages are related in an ancestral way with all the other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages.

The trading relationships of the NMTCN go in every which direction. For the Malayo-Polynesian speakers this suggests to me that Filipinos were in communication directly and down the line with all coastal areas of Southeast Asia and to some extent up the major rivers to the interior and that they are a genetic mixture that would result from these contacts. From my interpretation presented in Table I it can be seen that I feel that at the earlier times of the NMTCN. the Philippines were pretty much at the center of this network.

Until much more archaeological excavation has been done and final reports published in all areas of Southeast Asia the details of these relationships can only be hazily recognized. The one thing I feel confident in saying is that all native Southeast Asians are closely related culturally, genetically and to a lesser degree linguistically.

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What Intonation Units Can Tell Us about Cebuano Grammar[*]

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1. Introduction

The Intonation Unit reflects language-in-use through which a more realistic account of the grammatical units in a spoken language can be provided. It is a prosodic unit in natural discourse consisting of a speech segment that falls into a single coherent intonation contour (Chafe 1987, Du Bois et al. 1992). Not only the physiological make-up of the speech organs, but non-physiological factors, such as memory, the cognitive capacity of the mind, conceptual patterns, and linguistic conditions, also affect speech production, and so it has been shown to be crucial for analysis of language and useful in discourse analysis in general (Tao 1991).

Although Cebuano is considered to be a well-researched language, this study aims to re-examine the grammar through the investigation of narrative data, consisting of seven adult narrations of the Frog Story, totaling 30 minutes and 33 seconds and transcribed into Intonation Units, which will serve as the main basis for our analyses in this study. The identification of these intonation units is discussed in section 2. Excerpts showing how they are identified are also provided in that section.

Sections 3 and 4 discuss the Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois 1987), and its connection to intonation units and clauses, which has been explored in English, Japanese, and Mandarin (Iwasaki and Tao 1993; Matsumoto 1997, 2000, 2003; Tao 1991, 1996). These studies have successfully provided a more accurate and clear account of the grammar of these languages, as they are mainly based on spoken discourse. In these sections, we will, in a similar way, analyze our data quantitatively with a view to describing the language in a way that conforms more closely to how it is being used by Cebuano native speakers, who make up the largest linguistic group in the Philippines, and show that the Preferred Argument Structure holds in this language.

The following sections will investigate other related issues: functions of noun phrases that form an intonation unit (section 5), word order (section 6), and grammatical constituents in the language (section 7). We will also discuss how the findings of previous studies on motion events (S. Huang and Tanangkingsing 2005) and repair (H. Huang and Tanangkingsing 2005) in Cebuano correlate with the results of our present investigation of intonation units in the said language.

In this study, we hope to show that the Preferred Clause Structure in Cebuano is

a one-argument low-transitive clause with one lexical argument, which is either the lone argument in intransitive clauses and the P argument in transitive clauses. This result conforms to the Preferred Argument Structure proposed by Du Bois, namely, the One (New) Argument Constraint and the Non-lexical A Constraint. We will also show that the nominal IUs in Cebuano discourse serve to identify referents, that transitive clauses in Cebuano display a tendency of changing the order between the verb and the pronominal A, and that the results of our study on Cebuano grammar based on IUs match the previous studies based on repair. Finally, as this investigation is preliminary, it is recommended that further study on conversation data and data from other Philippine and Formosan Austronesian languages be conducted, with the hope that they will be able to clarify or confirm our findings in this study.

2. Identification of IUs

Instrumental analysis is ideally needed in determining the intonation pattern in natural speech. However, without any appropriate technology to assist the linguist, one's ears can be trained to transcribe data. As indicated by Tao (1991, 1996), IUs have some properties that are fairly obvious. First, they are usually identified by pauses (1) and final element lengthening (2), and they do not have to conform to any specific type of grammatical structure (3). In (1) below, the figures in parentheses represent the length of pauses in seconds. Dots that are accompanied by figures usually indicate pauses longer than 0.3 seconds; pauses shorter than that are represented by two dots. Therefore, there is a 1.2 and a 0.8 second pause before and after the utterance of *iyang gipangita*, respectively.

(1) Frog 2:18-19[1]

18 ...(1.2) *iya-ng*   *gi-pangita*
            3S-LNK   PFV-find

19 ...(0.8) *sa*   *iya-ng=*   *boots*
            LOC 3S-LNK   boots

"He looked for (it) inside his boots."

Intonation units can also be separated by lengthening as in line #40 and line #42 below. However, not all pauses mark the termination of an intonation unit; they may

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[1] The glossing abbreviations are: 3P: third-person plural; 3S: third-person singular; ABIL: Abilitatve; AF: Actor focus; CLASS: Classifier; DM: Discourse marker; EMPH: Emphatic marker; EVID: Evidential marker; EXIST: Existential verb; FIL: Filler; FS: False start; FUT: Future tense marker; GEN: Genitive case marker; INTERJ: Interjection; LF: Locative focus; LK: Linker; LOC: Locative case marker; NEG: Negative verb; NMZ: Nominalizer; NON-FUT: Non-Future tense marker; OBL: Oblique case marker; PF: Patient focus; PFV: Perfective aspect marker; PL: Plural marker; POSS: Possessive case marker; PROG: Progressive aspect marker; REL: Relativizer.

also occur within a prosodic contour, as in IU #43. They are an indication of word search.

(2) Frog 6:39-43

39	...(3.7)	*ug*	*ni-*		
		and	AF.PAST		
40	..	*ni=*			
		AF.PAST			
41	...	*gawas=sila*		*sa*	*sapa'*
		move.out=3S.NOM		LOC	river
42	...	*ngadto*	*sa=*		
		toward	LOC		
43	...(1.3)	*a=*	*yuta'*		
		FIL	ground		

"And they emerged from the river into the ground."

Intonation units do not necessarily correspond to a grammatical unit, although grammatical units may be contained in a single prosodic contour. Intonation units may end with a case marker or a verbal prefix, with the head word uttered in a following intonation unit, as shown in (3). These are also an indication of word search.

(3) Frog 1:63-66

63	...	*dayon*	*na-*	
		DM	FS	
64	...	*naka-sakay=siya*		*sa=-*
		ABIL.AF-ride=3S.NOM		LOC
65		*ulo*	*sa-*	
		head	SA	
66		*deer*		
		deer		

"Then he was seated on top of the deer's head."

After the data have been transcribed into intonation units, we tried to see if there is a range in the number of words that an intonation unit can contain. We came up with Table 1 below. The number of words per Intonation Unit (IU) in our data range from truncated morphemes (less than one word) to 15 words, with a mean of 3.9 words. Modal length is 4 words and median is 3 words. In fact, the proportion of IUs with two, three, and four words is more or less the same, each making up around

17 percent of the total number of IUs. The figures are very similar to the result obtained for Mandarin, which is 3 to 4 words per IU. This figure is reasonable, as we can only produce that much speech at a time. Longer than that and we will be out of breath, unless one is a fast talker.

Table 1. Length of Intonation Unit.

no. of words	no. of IUs	percentage (%)
truncated morphemes	20	2.7
1	98	13.4
2	125	17.1
3	124	17.0
4	127	17.4
5	79	10.8
6	47	6.4
7	46	6.3
8	25	3.4
9	18	2.5
10	7	0.9
11	7	0.9
12	3	0.4
13	2	0.3
14	1	0.1
15	1	0.1
Total	730	

Mean: 3.9 words   Mode: 4 words   Median: 3 words

Excerpts 4 and 5 below show why more than half of the IUs in Cebuano range from 2 to 4 words. This is the approximate length of the grammatical constituents found in the language. Noun phrases, for example, may consist of a case marker and a head noun (2 words), or there may be an additional connector (IU #27 in excerpt 4) or a determiner (3 words). Verbs may be followed by various clitics (if they are counted as words at all), as in IU #28 of excerpt 5.

(4) Frog 3:26-30

26 ...(0.9) *wala'*   *sila-y*   *na-himo'*

        NEG   3P.NOM-LNK   PAST-do

"(They looked for the frog even inside the shoes, but) they had no choice."

4

27 ...(1.1)   *ug   ang   iro'*
              and ANG dog

28 ...(1.6)   *naman   a=*
              PAR   FIL

29 ...(1.8)   *gi-tan'aw=niya   ang=*
              PFV-see=3S.GEN   ANG

30   *sudlan-an   sa   ma'o-ng   baki'*
        put-LF-NMZ SA aforementioned-LNK   frog

"And the dog looked inside the container where the frog had been placed."

(5) Frog 5:24-29

24 ...(2.6)   *hangtud diri na wa'-*
              until   here PFV NEG

25 ...   *na- na-naog-*
              FS AF-move.down

26   *ni-'ambak   ang   iro'*
        AF-jump   ANG   dog

"The dog jumped."

27 ...(3.5)   *iya-ng   gi-kanaog   ang   iro'*
              3S.POSS-LK PFV-move.down   ANG   dog

28 ...   *gi-dakop=na=lang=niya*
              PFV-catch=PFV=only=3S.GEN

"The child carried the dog down."

29 ...(2.5)   *unya   nang-lakaw=sila*
              then   AF.PROG-walk=3S.NOM

"Then they went away."

3. Preferred Clause Types

English and Japanese display varying preferences in terms of clause types. Iwasaki and Tao (1993) have shown that English, an SVO language with a rigid word order, has more clausal IUs than Mandarin and Japanese (see Table 2 below). In a separate study, Fox, Hayashi, and Jasperson (1996) also show that English orients to the clause in the organization of repair. Therefore, English grammar orients to the clause. In his earlier investigation of Japanese conversation IUs, Matsumoto (2000) proposed the one IU one clause for Japanese since clausal IUs account for 68 percent of total number of IUs, and therefore, Japanese may not be considered "highly fragmented." However, he did make a slight revision of this claim in a later study

(Matsumoto 2003) where he stated that speakers of Japanese are more likely to "fragment" the clause than English speakers. This is reflected in the organization of repair in Japanese (loosely-organized syntax) (Fox, Hayashi, and Jasperson 1996), wherein clausal repair is practically rare since Japanese allows for abundant use of zero anaphora (Iwasaki and Tao 1993). This results in the predominance of semi-clauses in Japanese, as well as in Mandarin (Tao 1996). Although Cebuano is like Japanese and Mandarin in that it also allows for a fairly high amount of zero anaphora, the proportion of full clauses vs. semi-clauses is much higher, as shown in Table 2 below. The probable reason for this is the predominance of VS intransitive clauses in Cebuano (especially when the subject is a pronominal clitic), which requires a lighter cognitive effort in both production and comprehension, the subject being topical.

Table 2. Frequency of full clauses vs. semi-clauses (Iwasaki and Tao 1993)

	Total clauses	Full Clause (%)	Semi-Clause (%)
English	589	486 (82.5%)	103 (17.5%)
Japanese	343	83 (24.2%)	260 (75.8%)
Mandarin	463	170 (36.7%)	293 (63.3%)
Cebuano	428	270 (63.1%)	158 (36.9%)

(Figures for Cebuano are mine.)

Although full clauses account for approximately over a third (270/712, 37.9 percent) of the total number of IUs in this study, they actually consist of different clause types. We will note first that 85 percent of the clauses are intransitives, of which over 70 percent (167/230, 72.6 percent) are V-S constructions. As shown in the following excerpt, an argument is most likely to be expressed as pronominal once it has become topical (lines 56 and 57 below in bold). Due to the nature of the elicitation of the data (asking a subject to tell the story by looking at a picture book), several of these topical S's are realized as full NPs. This, however, does not affect our analyses in this study. Moreover, the story about the search of a lost frog was originally utilized to study motion events, and this must have also resulted in the high frequency of intransitive motion clauses.

(6) Frog 3:55-61

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55      ...(2.2)  sa    sunod   nga adlaw    ni'ana'
                  SA    next    REL  day     that.way
56   →...(2.6) ni-gawas=sila             sa    balay
                  AF.PAST-move.out=3P.NOM  LOC   house
```

6

     aronpag-pangita' sa baki'   *ni-'abot-*

     so   PAG-look.for OBL frog   AF.PAST-arrive

"The next day they went out of the house to look for the frog."

57   → ...***ni-'abot=sila***   *sa= kagubatan*

      AF.PAST-arrive=3P.NOM LOC forest

58   ...(1.0) *pamasin lamang ug*

      think   only   COMP

59   ... *ma-kita'=nila   ang   baki'*

      AF.FUT-see=3P.GEN ANG   frog

"They reached the forest to see if they would find the frog there."

60   ...(2.1) ***ni-singgit   ang   bata'***

      AF.PAST-shout ANG   child

61   ...(1.4) *parama-dungog ang=   tingog*

      so   AF.FUT -hear ANG   sound

"The child shouted, so that (the frog) could hear him."

Of the 270 intonation units composed of full clauses in our data, an overwhelming 85 percent are intransitive. They may be motion clauses, presentative or existential clauses, or equivalent clauses. The rest are divided between low transitive (8 percent) and high transitive clauses (7 percent). Nevertheless, it is safe to say that intransitive clauses are preferred in Cebuano discourse. As for transitive clauses, the trend should be clearer when we look at more data, especially conversational data.

4. Preferred Argument Structure

In his IU-based analysis of Pear Story narratives in Sacapultek Maya, Du Bois (1987) proposes that newly-mentioned NPs follow a significant pattern. His data do not show any clause containing two new-argument mentions. This he terms the "One New Argument Constraint:" speakers avoid more than one new argument per clause. Regarding this, Chafe (1987) also hypothesized that the amount of new information that speakers can activate in every intonation unit is limited to only one. This new referent is further found to typically appear in the S or O roles, and to avoid the A-role argument position: the "Given A Constraint." These pragmatic constraints, together with the grammatical constraints: "One Lexical Argument Constraint" (Avoid more than one lexical argument per clause) and "Non-Lexical A Constraint" (Avoid lexical A's), constitute the Preferred Argument Structure.

In Saisiyat, a Formosan Austronesian language spoken in central Taiwan, the One New/Lexical Argument Constraint and the Given A/Non-Lexical A Constraint

are found to apply (Huang et al 2004), as shown in Table 3 below; the Preferred Argument Structure also holds true in Cebuano. As shown in Table 3 and Table 4 below, the One Lexical Argument per IU is preferred. Clauses containing one lexical argument make up the largest proportion (63 percent); those with no lexical argument and two lexical arguments account for only 36 percent and 1 percent, respectively. The proportion of one argument clauses is much higher than that of zero argument clauses, which is probably due to the nature of the stimulus in the elicitation of narrative data. In telling the Frog Story, the subject is made to look at a picture book at the same time, which may have caused them to repeatedly mention the topical main characters of the story. In ordinary storytelling and daily conversation especially, such topical NPs are usually omitted or referred to by using pronouns. Moreover, due to the predominance of intransitive clauses, these arguments occupy the S slot, as in Table 4. Nevertheless, the data show conformity to the Non-Lexical A Constraint.

Table 3. Number of lexical argument in IUs[2]

	0 Lex. Arg.		1 Lex. Arg.		2 Lex. Arg.		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Sakapultek	211	(46)	240	(53)	5	(1)	456
Saisiyat	97	(46)	101	(48)	12	(6)	210
Kavalan	63	(37)	86	(51)	21	(12)	170
Cebuano	96	(36)	170	(63)	4	(1)	270

Table 4. Lexical argument role: Syntactic role of lexical core arguments[3]

Role	A		S		O		Total
Language	N	%	N	%	N	%	(N)
Hebrew	18	(8)	103	(44)	111	(48)	232
Sakapultek	11	(5)	126	(58)	81	(37)	218
Papago	37	(10)	169	(47)	152	(42)	358
Spanish	35	(6)	215	(36)	341	(58)	591
French	32	(5)	290	(45)	324	(50)	646
Japanese	48	(7)	320	(48)	293	(44)	661
Kavalan	30	(15)	96	(50)	67	(35)	193
Cebuano	8	(4)	136	(79)	29	(17)	173

[2] Sources for the languages cited are as follows: Sakapultek (Du Bois 1987); Saisiyat (Huang et al. 2003); Kavalan (Shuping Huang, p.c.). Cebuano data are mine.
[3] Sources for the languages cited are as follows: Hebrew (Smith 1996); Sakapultek (Du Bois 1987); Papago (Payne 1987); Spanish and French (Ashby and Bentivoglio 1993); Japanese (Matsumoto 1997); 2003); Kavalan (Shuping Huang, p.c.). Cebuano data are mine.

Matsumoto (2000) initially proposed no more than three NPs per IU and no more than two new NPs per IU for Japanese. This seemed to violate Du Bois' "One New Argument Constraint." However, upon closer inspection of the data, it was shown that only one of the New Arguments was a core argument, and none of the instances accounting for only 0.7 percent of the total number of IUs consisted of two New Core Arguments. This was later termed as the "one new NP per IU constraint," which means that speakers avoided introducing more than one new NP per IU (Matsumoto 2003).

Like Japanese, Cebuano speakers tend to avoid introducing more than two new arguments per IU and to avoid new arguments in A positions, as shown in Table 5 and Table 6, respectively. The predominance of new arguments occupying the S role is probably due to the relatively high frequency of intransitive verbs in our data. Nevertheless, our results conform to Du Bois' view that "the absolutive category (S, O) can be seen as reserving a structural locus for the cognitively demanding processing task of presenting new information" (2003:46).

Table 5. New argument quantity[4]

Quantity	0		1		2		Total
Language	N	%	N	%	N	%	(N)
Sakapultek	336	(73)	122	(27)	0	(0)	458
Saisiyat	223	(84)	42	(15)	1	(<1)	265
Cebuano	240	(88)	30	(11)	0	(0)	270

Table 6. New argument role: Syntactic role of new core arguments[5]

Role	A		S		O		Total
Language	N	%	N	%	N	%	(N)
Hebrew	6	(6)	40	(43)	47	(51)	93
Sakapultek	6	(6)	58	(55)	42	(40)	106
Spanish	2	(1)	56	(28)	142	(71)	200
French	0	(0)	75	(34)	143	(66)	218
Japanese	11	(4)	141	(53)	114	(43)	266
Saisiyat	4	(11)	15	(42)	17	(47)	36
Cebuano	0	(0)	23	(77)	7	(23)	30

[4] Sources for the languages cited are as follows: Sakapultek (Du Bois 1987);; Saisiyat (Huang et al 2003). Cebuano data are mine.
[5] Sources for the languages cited are as follows: Hebrew (Smith 1996); Sakapultek (Du Bois 1987); Spanish and French (Ashby and Bentivoglio 1993); Japanese (Matsumoto 1997, 2003); Saisiyat (Huang et al. 2003). Cebuano data are mine.

In this section, we have shown that the Preferred Argument Structure holds in Cebuano. One lexical argument per IU and one new lexical argument are preferred. These arguments are distributed in S and O slots, and are avoided in A slots. However, due to the predominance of intransitive clauses in our data, a much higher proportion of these lexical arguments are more located in S role position than in O role position.

Combined with the results of the previous section and following Tao (1996), we can say that the preferred clause structure in Cebuano discourse is:

    i) clauses exhibit the form V X (One [New] Argument Constraint), where

    ii) V is a verb on the lower extreme of the transitivity scale, and

    iii) X is the only lexical argument in intransitive clauses and usually the lexical argument occupying the O role in transitive clauses (Non-Lexical A Constraint).

5. Nominal IUs

Iwasaki and Tao (1993) observe that the frequency of NP intonation units in Mandarin and Japanese is nearly double that in English (see Table 7). This structural difference is mainly brought about by the occurrence of clustering NPs in both Japanese and Mandarin, which serve certain functions. In Japanese, they are to code non-referential, interactional information, and consist of NPs and interactional particles. In Mandarin, they convey various types of information for the establishment of the same referent.

Table 7. Frequency of nominal intonation units (Iwasaki and Tao 1993)

	Total IU	NP IU	% of NP IU
English	1099	128	11.6%
Japanese	756	168	21.6%
Mandarin	1163	272	23.4%
Cebuano	703	169	24.0%

(Figures for Cebuano are mine.)

As shown in the table, the Cebuano data have about the same proportion of NP IUs (24.0 percent) as Mandarin and Japanese. If the number of locative nominals, i.e., *sa*-marked NPs, is counted, then the proportion would even be much higher (27.3 percent). With such a high proportion of NP IUs, clustering NPs must also be present in Cebuano. Like Mandarin, they are used for the establishment of a referent, as in the IUs in bold in the following three excerpts.

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(7) Frog 2:103-107

103	...(1.8)	*sus*	*na'a*	*di'ay*	*didto*	*sa*	*likod*	*sa*	*kahoy*
		INTERJ	EXIST	EVID	there	LOC	behind	SA	wood

104	...(1.1)	*ka'uban*	*ang*	*iya-ng-*
		together	ANG	3S.POSS-LNK

105 →	*siguro*	**girlfriend**	*or*	**boyfriend**	*niya*
	maybe	girlfriend	or	boyfriend	3S.GEN

106 →..	*or @* **iya-ng**	**husband**
	or 3 S.POSS-LNK	husband

107 →..	*or*	**whatever**
	or	whatever

"Behind that piece of log was the frog together with his lover or with his family."

(8) Frog 3:82-87

82	...	*pero=*	*ang*	*mao-ng*	*kahoy*
		but	ANG	aforementioned-LNK	tree

83	...(0.9)	*may*	*bangag*
		EXIST	hole

"But the tree had a hole."

84 →	...(0.8)	**ang**	**sulod**
		ANG	inside

85 →	...	**usa ka**	**bukaw**
		one LNK	owl

86 →	...	**ang**	**langgam nga dako-g**	**mata**
		ANG	bird	REL big-LNK	eye

87	*nga sa*	*gabi'i*	*lang mu-lopad*	*maka-kita'*	*ma'ayo*
	REL LOC	night	only AF.FUT-fly	AF.ABIL-see	well

"Inside (the tree hole) was an owl with large eyes and can only fly and see well at night."

The NP clusters in (7) and (8) above show how succeeding NPs establish a referent. In fact, the study of S. Huang and Tanangkingsing on motion events (2005) reveals that not only NP IUs serve to establish a referent. Clauses with manner verbs of motion also provide identifying information, as in *sa gabi'i lang mu-lopad* in IU#87 in (8) above. We can therefore say that clustering NPs along with manner-of-motion verbs provide additional information on a particular NP and are uttered in chunks in separate IUs, to enable the hearer to successfully identify the intended referent.

(9) Frog 3:133-140

133 …(2.2)   *ug*   *sa*   *wala'*   *ma-dugay=*
             CONN   SA   NEG   AF.FUT-long.time

134 …   *naka-kita'-*
         AF.ABIL-see

135 …(0.8) **sila**   *ug*
          3P.NOM   OBL

136 …(0.9) **duha**   **ka**   **baki'**
          two   LNK   frog
          "Before long they saw two frogs."

137 →…   *siguro=* **mga ginikanan**   **kito**
          maybe   PL   parents   these

138..   *sa*   *ila-ng*   *gi-pangita'*   *nga baki'*
               SA   3rdPl-Lnk PF-find   Rel   frog
          "Maybe they were the parents of the frog they were looking for."

139 →..   **duha**   **ka**   **bu'ok**
          two   LNK   CLASS

140 →…   **babayi-g**   **lalaki**
          female-CONN   male
          "There were two: a male and a female."

In (9), aside from the four IUs in the NP cluster (in bold) spent identifying the referent, there are two other NP IUs: one (IU#138) is part of a larger NP unit also including IU#137. The other one, IU#135, is a pronominal clitic, which is supposed to be in the same IU as the main predicate *naka-kita'* in IU#134. Why this is located in another IU apart from the main predicate will be discussed further in section 7 below.

6. Word Order Change

In comparison with pre-verbal Ss which account for only around 23 percent of the number of intransitive clauses, pre-verbal As account for a little over a third of the total number of transitive clauses. This tells us that the transitive clauses are displaying the tendency of word order change, which Table 8 below shows. Further below, we illustrate this with an excerpt from our data.

Table 8. Word Order variation

	word order	N	%
AF	VS	177	(77)
	SV	53	(23)
NAF	VA	42	(66)
	AV	22	(34)

(10) Frog 4:40-43

40 ...(0.8) *ang iro' ni-ambak   sa   bintana'*
  ANG dog AF-jump   LOC window
  'The dog jumped out of the window.'

41 ...(2.2) *tapos   giku-   gi-kugos sa=*
  DM   FS   PF-carry OBL

42 ...   *gi-kugos sa= bata'   ang iro'*
  PF-carry SA child   ANG dog
  "Then the child carried the dog."

43 →...(1.0) *iya-ng   gi-kuha' ug iya-ng   gi-kugos*
  3S.POSS PF-take and 3S.POSS PF-carry

In (10), IU#40 shows an SV clause. The NP in S role, *ang iro*, has been topicalized in a position before the verb. It is topicalized because the following IUs will also be talking about it. On the other hand, IU#43 is not topicalization but is merely a rephrasing of IU#42 slightly changing the word order from V-A to A-V, also because it is not the nominative NP being preposed (it is already being preposed in IU#40~IU#42). The form of the A transforms from genitive case, i.e., genitive clitic or *sa* + lexical NP, to possessive case. As we can see, the form of the S in intransitive clauses does not and cannot undergo the same transformation, i.e., the nominative case clitic remains in the nominative case through topicalization. It is therefore not surprising that transitive clauses can easily change word order because there is another alternative that is available for use, that is, the possessive form of the pronoun.[6]

7. Grammatical Constituents in Cebuano

The Intonation Unit in Cebuano also reflects the grammatical constituents in the language, and conforms to the findings in an earlier investigation on repair in

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[6] This process is actually taken from the two forms of genitive NPs with different word orders. The genitive case noun follows the head noun, while the possessive noun precedes the head noun. For example, *ang amigo niya* vs. *ang iyang amigo* 'his friend.' The dependent third-person singular pronoun takes a different form depending on its position relative to the head noun.

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Cebuano (H. Huang and Tanangkingsing 2005). Cebuano verbs, which are made up of the root verb and the focus affix, are mostly uttered in a single IU. If a repair occurs, the initial morpheme, usually the focus affix, or, in some cases, the affix denoting tense or aspect, is recycled. In (11) below, IU#8 recycles the focus/tense affix. In IU#10, the verb is nominalized, but the integrity of the entire verb, root plus affix(es), is preserved.

(11) Frog 5:5-10 Verb constituent

5 ...(4.3) *unya'   na-tu=g na   ang bata'*
          DM   AF-sleep PFV ANG child
          "Then the child went to sleep."

6 ...(1.1) *ang- ang baki'*
           FS   ANG frog

7 ...(0.8) *ni-takas-   nila-*
           AF-escape   FS

8 → **ni-layas**
     AF-escape

9 ...(1.4) *ni-gawas   sa   iyang= gitago-*
           AF-move.out SA   3S.POSS FS

10 →.. **gi-butang-an**
        PFV-put-NMZ
        'The frog left the container where it had been kept.'

The verb complex constituent, composed of the main verb or the main predicate and all the particles that precede it, is also shown in (12) below (IU#12) to be uttered in a single IU. The initial particle is always recycled when a repair occurs.

(12) Frog 6:11-13 Verb complex constituent

11 ...(1.8) *wala'   siy- wa' siy-*
           NEG   FS   NEG FS

12 .. **wa' siya   kahibao** *nga ang baki'*
       NEG 3S.NOM   aware   REL ANG frog

13 ...(0.8) *ni-gawas   sa   garapon*
           AF-move.out LOC container
           "He did not know that the frog escaped from the container."

It is also noteworthy that a predicate and the clitic that attaches to it, which may be part of a verb complex constituent, is itself a constituent in Cebuano. However,

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pronominal clitics are topical, so there could be no "word search" that will happen for a pronoun (reflected by pausing or lengthening) as in noun phrases or verb phrases. Both predicate/verb and clitic occur in the same IU most of the time. There could be exceptions though, as we found an instance, as in (9), where a third-person plural pronominal clitic is uttered in a separate IU. Third-person plural referents involve a group of persons which could be unknown or unfamiliar, and therefore would impose a heavier cognitive burden on the speaker. Nevertheless, even in clauses where word order is changed, as have been discussed in the previous section, the constituent seems to be preserved, as in the following extract, where the preposed pronominal A is recycled with the verb.

(13) Frog 2:22-23

22	...(1.2)	*wala'*	*gyud*	*=nila*	*na-kit-'an*	*ang=*	*...frog*
		NEG	EMPHAT	3P.GEN	PAST-see-LF	ANG	frog

'But they didn't find the frog.'

23 →	...(1.7)	*iya-ng*	*gi-ow-*	*iyang*	*gi-*	*gi-'abrih-an*	*ang window*
		3S.POSS	FS	3S.POSS	FS	PAST-open-LF	ANG window

'And he opened the window.'

The proportion of NP IUs in the language likewise conforms to another finding that NPs form a constituent in Cebuano. Below we provide two more extracts of NP IUs.

(14) Frog 6:89-90 NP constituent

89	...(1.2)	*na-kit-'an*	*na*	*nila*	*ang ku'an*
		PAST-see-LF	PFV	3P.GEN	ANG KUAN

90 →	...(1.0)	*ang mga baki'*
		ANG PL frog

"Then they saw the frogs."

(15) Frog 1:85-87 NP constituent

85	...(1.0)	*daghan*	*na*	*diay*	*kaayo-g anak*
		many	PFV	EVID	very-OBL offspring

'Then (they) had many children.'

86 →	...(1.5)	*ku'an*	*ka*	*bu'ok*	*anak*
		KUAN	LK	CLASS	offspring

87 →	...(3.0)	*seven*	*ka*	*bu'ok*	*anak*
		seven	LK	CLASS	offspring

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'(There were) seven children.'

English (Fox, Hayashi, and Jasperson 1996) and Indonesian (Wouk 2004) are found to have a verb clause constituent, which is composed of a verb and its subject. The earlier research on repair in Cebuano was not able to identify any verb clause constituent, which matches the observation in this study. We tried to pick out the transitive clauses where both A and P are overtly expressed. Aside from two instances where the P argument is obviously more topical (and human) than the A argument, e.g., owl; deer, in all the other cases, the A is more integrated to the verb (being pronominal clitics) while the P is usually uttered in a separate IU. Finnish also shows a remoteness of its P roles (Tao 1991), but it is so for a different reason. In Finnish, obliques are associated with the P role, but in Cebuano transitive clauses, the P is the argument that takes the nominative case. This suggests that in the promotion of the P argument to the subject role, the A, being more topical than the P,[7] has grammaticized as a clitic to assert its status as superior (in topicality) to the subject noun phrase. It is therefore not surprising at all that Cebuano has a constituent composed of a predicate/verb and its pronominal clitic (the A role), but lacks a constituent composed of the transitive verb and its subject (the P role).

8. Summary

In this study, we have made the following observations:

a. The Preferred Clause Structure in Cebuano is

  i) a clause exhibiting the form V X (One [New] Argument Constraint), where

  ii) V is a verb on the lower extreme of the transitivity scale, and

  iii) X is the only lexical argument in intransitive clauses and usually the lexical argument occupying the O role in transitive clauses (Non-Lexical A Constraint).

b. Nominal IUs in Cebuano discourse, like manner verbs, serve to identify referents.

c. Transitive clauses in Cebuano show a tendency of changing the order of the verb and the pronominal A.

d. Our study on Cebuano grammar based on IUs matches the previous study based on repair in Cebuano.

It has also been observed in this study that there is a predominance of intransitive clauses (mostly motion verbs) and that the number of clauses with only one argument is unusually higher than clauses with no argument. The reasons for this have been discussed in the previous sections. The narrative data for this study have been

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[7] Studies in Seediq, Tsou (Huang 2002:686), and Saisiyat (Huang et al 2004) have provided statistical evidence proving that Patient focus clauses to be active, where the A remains more topical than P, even when P has been promoted to subject position.

obtained from subjects who were asked to look at a picture book at the same time that they were telling the Frog Story, which must have influenced the narrators' use of lexical arguments, pronouns, and anaphora. It is therefore our goal to conduct further study using conversational data to validate our present findings.

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Surviving without Focus?: The Case of Bahra

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1. Introduction

Great interests in Philippines Creole Spanish (PCS) have recently been shown by many linguistics, especially by Forman, Whinnom & Nolasco. Studies regarding PCS majorly concerns grammar & morphosyntax. Just recently, Nolasco (2005) came to the conclusion that the ergative analysis in Philippine languages is not applicable to PCS in general. However, Nolasco maintains that the semantic & pragmatic factors of transitivity in Philippine languages motivation PCS in accusative template.

Despite that analysis, questions regarding voice and focus, and the existence of tense (probably manifested by particles a/ya, ta, di) were not yet answered by neither Forman nor Nolasco. Whinnom (1956) even thought it almost absurd to attempt to write a grammar of PCS, because there are few rules...which admit of no exemptions' (from Nolasco, 2005).

Complexities is PCS might be one reason why Whinnon resulted to that statement. Despite that claimed 'absurdity', however, have attempted in this research to rekindle the search for rules, particularly in the verbal morphology of one of the variants of PCS, which is Ternateño Chavacano, otherwise known as Bahra. Aside from convenience, the fast decline of speakers is also one of the non-linguistic reasons why I chose this variant. Last 2003, I have written in the paper 'Linggwistik na Sarbey ng Ternate, Cavite' that there is an estimated 47% of the population of Ternate or, the most 5,000 people who can speak Ternateño. After a year, I made observations and found out that 47% is an overestimate, as children in the barangays where Bahra is spoken, speaks Tagalog. As told by some people, only a few people there mostly from ages 45 and above can actually speak Bahra.

Going back, I dealt with 3 specific points in the verbal morphology of Bahra: (1) aspect & tense, (2) case & transitivity & (3) focus. Much of the emphasis in this work will be placed on the latter. Data will come from 5 stories and i got 2 informants, backed there data up in the persons of Ricardo Huerto, 52 & Evangelino Nigoza, 59.

2. In Bahra's Time: Tense & Aspect

Aspect, as defined roughly by Comrie (1976: 3) citing Holt (1943: 6), 'aspects are different ways of viewing

the internal temporal constituency of the situation' (i.e. the completion of another action is the reference of the temporal location of the action. With that, one thing was clear for Bahra --- that adverbs such as ya, ma & pa were the ones determining aspect & not the makers a/ya, ta & di. Take a close look at this example sentence:

1. que ya hace eli   a   nada-nada   eli.....(EADF)
   so   have 3PNOM +PST SWIM (REDUP) 3PNOM
            So he had to swim.

Taking away the obligatory marking 'hace', the existence of the two seemingly related particles makes a question: Why a need for another a or ya?

That ambiguity will be dispelled by this one:

2. Ta asa-asa   ya duma eli   quel   pescao...(EADF)
   tR roast (redup) ASP place 3PNom demo-far fish
            He was already somewhat roasting fish.

The existence of 'ya' alongside 'ta' makes it clear that the action is actually completed, in that given time context. However, in all of the stories, all alleged tense markers were present whereas a certain time frame is already given in the first part of the story, which was in the past. This is shown by some excerpts from the second paragraph of EL Alamat di Isla Frayle' (The Legend of Frayle Island):

3. Bagu yega   aqui   nah Bahra   quel   manga Mardicas, tiene
   before arrive demo-ref. Obl Bahra Demo-part pl.   Mardicans have
            Before the Mardicans arrived here in Bahra, there

   ta queda nah   questi   isla ung viejo Americano...
   tR live. Obl demo-ref. Island one old American
            lived in this island, an old American...

   A   yega   eli   aqui   por   medio   ung balsa chiquito
   +Pst arrive 3PNom demo-ref. by medium/mean one raft   small
            arrived here by a small raft...

As we see here, an 'inconsistency' with the use of tense particles will be observable, It would however show in the next parts of the stories given in the appendix that ta & ya/a are the ones being used as time markers. It would also be shown however, in the above example that the reference point of being past of 'a yega' is the act of living in the island, as established by 'ta queda'. The marking of 'ta' itself gives the signal as to where in the time line is the 'present', in that context. Thus, Bahra makes use of a relative tense system, i.e. the reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context (Comrie, 1985). As for the story the time line is shown below:

2

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←———————[+PST]─[tR]─[-PST]————————|————[0]————————→
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It is clear, therefore, that relative tense is the one existent in Bahra & not Absolute Tense, which Spanish has or the absence of it in PL.

(I would like to note, however, that there are some constructions as these:

    4. Como   mucho ponu y   cosa-cosa siembra a ya no eli   a   pasa   trabajo
       Because many tree and thing (redup) plant (?) neg 3PNom +PST problematize work
       Because there were many trees & many kinds of plants

       nah barca su   comida...   (EADF)
       Obl save 3Poss food
       he did'nt have to worry about food.
       And

    5. Cuando ta ya quel   inda nah quel   escuro parti di   quel cueva...
       when tR ? demo-far. Go Obl demo-far dark   part Poss demo-far cave
       When he was already at the dark part of the cave...

One should be able to distinguish the rel. past marker 'a/ya', the completed aspect marker (already) 'ya' & the demonstrative 'a ya' (coming from 'alla'). Regarding that extra 'ya' in the last example, I do believe that it is a construction of the location deictic marker 'a ya')

3. The Case of Bahra

According to Nolasco (2005), 'The ergative account which works well for the prototypical PL does not hold for chabacano...' because 'Chabacano has not grammaticalized into its morphosyntax the voice & case-marking systems of Phil. Type languages.'

However, to test this, I needed to test another important aspect of verbal morphology in order to measure accusativity or ergativity, which is to determine transitivity. For this case, I aligned my thinking with Nolasco' (2003 & 2005) measures of transitivity, as shown below

	Mataas	Mababa
kilos	tiyak	di tiyak
Bilang ng arg	2 (A at P)	1 (S)
kasadyaan	sadya	kusa

epekto sa P	ganap ang epekto	bahagya ang epekto
tagal	daglian	matagalan
katukuyan ng P	tukoy na P	di-tukoy na P
Uri ng kilos	kilos	estado
sikap	masikap	walang-sikap
katapusan	tapos	di-tapos
patunguhan	paiba	pasarili

This can be illustrated by these examples in Tagalog

6. Humiram ako   ng itak   sa kapitbahay para sa nanay   ko.
   Borrow 1PAbs Erg bolo Obl neighbor   for Obl mother Enc-1pPoss
   I borrowed a large knife from my neighbor for my mother.

7. Inihiram   ko   ng itak sa kapitbahay ang nanay   ko
   borrow   ERG1PS-Enc   ERG bolo Obl neighbor ABS mother POSS1PS-Enc
   I borrowed (for) my mother a large knife from my neighbor   [from Nolasco, 2005]

It can be observed here some contrasts regarding the transitivity/intransitivity of 'hiram' in Tagalog as used in these sentences. One, the action in (7) is completed (tapos) and compact (daglian), whereas (6), action may just have happened or is 'nearer to present' (di-tapos) relative to (7). Two, the act of borrowing in (7) seems to be definite, effortful (masikap) and 'deliberate' (sadya), whereas in (6), the action seems to be casual, volitional (kusa) and effortless (walang sikap). It can be seen here that the most agentive entity (incidentally, the first 'ko' in (7)) went out of his/her way to borrow the bolo, so the act of borrowing in (7) seems to be more of an action (kilos), whereas (6) is more of a state (estado). More discussions about this can be seen in Nolasco (200-, 2005).

As said earlier (citing Nolasco, 2005), the transitivity criteria of PL apply to PCS (in general) as well. With these examples:

8. a   sali eli
    +PST leave 3PNom
    He/she left

9. a   pusila yo   cung eli
   +PST shoot 1P Nom   Acc 3P

10. a   pusila eli   cungmigo
    +PST shoot 3PNom Acc -1P

The same criteria are indeed applicable to Bahra, having the same observations in the pragmatic nature of transitivity that can be examined in the stories located in the appendix part of this paper. It can be

observed here that (9) and (10) has two arguments, the unmarked one is the most agentive entity (A), while the marked one is the most affected entity (P), while (8) has only one, which is (S). We can see here in first glance that aside from having two arguments, (9) and (10)'s P both are highly individuated and highly affected, whereas (8), having only one argument, has no affected P, except for the S. Having that, the direction of the action is external (paiba) in (9) and (10) while (8)'s is internal (pasarili). The action is also noticeably compact in both (9) and (10), while the act of leaving in (8) seems to be not so sudden, or that there were no actual implications that the act of leaving was immediate.

We could see here that the Philippine transitivity criteria apply to Bahra, somehow. Given that, let me use those transitivity criteria in order to test accusativity or ergativity (or the tripartite system, if such applies) in Bahra.

As defined by Nolasco (200-), an intransitive verb takes only one argument (S). Rephrasing that, we can define S as the only argument of an intransitive sentence. The A was referred to earlier as the most agentive entity while P, the most affected entity in a transitive sentence. Dixon (1994) and Nolasco (2005) also defines these terminologies in the same manner. PLs are commonly analyzed as ergative while Bahra's probable Iberian parents (Portuguese and Spanish) are having nominative case systems. Shibatani (1988) notes that there are languages with a tripartite system (i.e. treatment of S, A and P are different from each other) however, this system is said to be rare.

The accusative system is defined as a phenomenon, where S has the same treatment as A, while P is alienated. The ergative system on the other hand differs by having S and P having the same treatment while A is alienated. The accusative system can be depicted as in Spanish:

12. yo   bailo
    1PNom dance-[-PST]
    I dance

13. yo   te   amo
    1P Nom 2PAcc love-[-PST]
    I love you

14. tu   me   amas
    2PNom 1PAcc love-[-PST]

You love me.

Ergativity is meanwhile shown by Tagalog, according to Nolasco (2003). I can provide the following sentences in Tagalog as example:

15. lumakad   **ako**
    walk-[CPL]   1PErg
    I have walked/ I walked

16. sinipa   **ko**   siya
    kick-[CPL] 1PAbs 3PErg
    I have kicked him/I kicked him

17. sinipa   niya **ako**
    kick- [CPL] 3PAbs 1P Erg
    He has kicked me/ He kicked me

Now let us examine sentences (8), (9) and (10). It is obvious that both S and A are unmarked whereas P is always marked by 'cung'. This can be more illustrated by their pronominal table:

	S	A	P
1st Person, Singular	yo	yo	cungmigo
2nd Person, Singular	boh	boh	cung boh
3rd Person, Singular	eli	eli	cung eli
1st Person, Plural	mijotro/motru	mijotro/motru	cung mijotro/motru
2nd Person, Plural	ustedi/tedi	ustedi/tedi	cung ustedi/tedi
3rd Person, Plural	lojotro/lotru	lojotro/lotru	cung lojotro/lotru

Can we now conclude therefore that Bahra, like its other co-variants, take the accusative system? Not quite. According to Dixon (1994), another type of ergativity, the inter-clausal or syntactic ergativity is existent in some languages such as Dyirbal. Let's take a counter- example in Tagalog:

18. sinipa   ni Juan si Pedro at   umalis   x

kick-[CPL]   Abs Juan Erg Peter and   leave-[CPL]   x

If Tagalog was a syntactically- ergative language, x's reference point will be [si Pedro]. It should be noted that ergative languages (PL in particular) are regarded as 'goal' or 'patient'- centric. However, Shibatani notes that it is not the case in Tagalog (and Cebuano as well), since the reference to x is 'ni Juan'. (I personally affirm this, being a Tagalog speaker). Dixon (1994) maintains that no ergative language is both morphologically and syntactically ergative. Thus, there might still be hope for ergativity in Bahra.

Well, I can see that there is. Looking at these examples:

19. ta pregunta esti   manga jente   donde mismo nah lamar ta coje x mucho pescao.
    tR ask   demo pl   person   where exactly Obl sea   tR get x   many   fish
    The people were asking where exactly in the sea do they catch so many fishes.

In this story, the Mardicans' catch were so plentiful and they were so happy. They even had to sell the excess catch to the nearby towns so that the remaining catch will not be wasted. And so, the Mardicans were the ones being asked, and can probably be the P of the sentence. I should however disclaim that in my data, this was the only sentence of this construction that I have seen.

4. Surviving without Focus?

Reechoing the words of Semorlan (1983): '*Gaya n wikang Filipino, ang wikang Chabacano ay may pokus din… Ipinakikilala ang kaugnayan ng bahaging napag-uusapan sa pandiwa at ipinakikita rin ang paraan ng pagganap sa pamamagitan ng pokus. Ang naturang kaugnayan ay itinuturing na siyang paksa ng pangungusap*' 'Like other Philippine languages, Chavacano has focus too… (Focus) establishes the relationship between what is bein talked about and the predicate. Focus also indicates the modality of the action. This relationship is referred to as the topic of the sentence' (translation from Nolasco, 2005). I still think there is a possibility, however, I had one question in mind: 'Which focus?'.

Two definitions of focus are intact. One is that of Naylor (1975), who defines focus as 'the syntactic relationship between the verb and the surface subject, signaled by the verb's focus affix in conjunction with the subject form of the NPs and the pronouns'. Another is that of Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:202) quoting Lambrecht (1994:213), who says that focus (or focus of the assertion) is 'the semantic component

of the pragmatically-structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition.' To illustrate this, let us use Tagalog for example. Focus as defined by Naylor will look like something like this:

20. kinain   ng   bata ang   saging
    eat-[CPL] Erg/O child Abs/Foc banana
    The child ate the banana

21. kumain   ang   bata ng   saging
    eat-CPL Abs/Foc child Erg/O banana
    The child ate the banana

(20) allegedly highlights 'saging' in focus while in (21) it is 'bata'. Thus, (20) allegedly is in actor-focus, and has the actor as the topic, while (21) is in goal-focus, and the goal is the topic of the construction. Nolasco (p.c.) has a different notion of this, in relation to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). Take this for example:

22. A: E di, ang babae ang kumain ng saging?
    B: Hindi, **ang bata ang kumain ng saging**

From the construction in (21), it can be observed that the focused argument was clefted (i.e. placed at the left of the verb) The presupposition is signaled by the question where 'babae' (woman) and not the 'bata' was initially known as the one instigating the action, which therefore, satisfies Lambrecht, and Van Valin and LaPolla's definition.

Now which one does Bahra have? Among the sentences I have surveyed, none of them fitted Naylor's condition, as all verbs are uninflected with anything (except for aspect and tense, which are merely particles, not affix). Therefore, there will be no signal from the verb.

This construction meanwhile shows up in the 2[nd] paragraph of El Alamat di Isla Frayle:

23. ta plateca cayao esti   viejo ta habla, 'I like fried fish'. Tiene vez, **otro palabra ta vaya nah**
    tR speak silent demo old tR say   ----   Have time other word tR come Obl
    The old man silently croed and said, 'I like fried fish'.   *There was a time when other words came out*

    su   voca, 'Fry for me, please'
    3Poss mouth ----

his mouth: 'Fry for me please'.

This sentence was from that story where the old man (the main character) was said to like fried fish. After being stranded in the island (which was later named Frayle Island), he just roasted fish so that he could eat, but he insisted on what he really likes, unfortunately though, he can't fry because there was no frying pan. Going back to the topic, the highlighted sentence has 'palabra' (word), its sole argument, clefted. Some sentences in 'Como Yema Esti Punta Gordo' are also seen with the similar construction:

24. Manga pescao grande aqui   ta   coje (el Mardicas)
      Pl   fish   big   demo-prox   tR catch
      Big fishes are being caught here.

This time, even without the most agentive argument, the most affected entity, i.e. the ones being caught, which are the fishes, is clefted. Thus, 'manga pescao' and 'otro palabra' are considered to be focused pragmatically and is made overt by the process of clefting.

There are some parts in Nolasco (2005) that might affect focus or, probably, voice. Serial verbs like *hace*, *manda*, and *dale*. These serial verbs are said to change the transitivity, and even focus (in Naylor's terms). However, this only applies to Zamboangueño, as Bahra only has *hace* which is a noun- incorporating serial verb.

5. Conclusions and Recommendation

Yes, we can say that Bahra has focus, to affirm Semorlan and Valles- Akil's claim. However, it was not that focus that Semorlan was talking about, nor was it of Naylor. The focus in Bahra is basically pragmatic. It is triggered by the context and is manifested by clefting. Naylor's definition of focus can not fit Bahra since verbs in Bahra do not inflect tense or aspect.

Hopes for finding Naylor's focus could be put into reality by serial verbs, which is most known of the PCS. Thing is, those serial verbs were virtually inexistent. The function of *hace* in Bahra is completely deviating from its counterpart's in Zamboangueño, as discussed by Nolasco (2005).

We can then say, that Bahra still has that touch of PL in the light of pragmatics, not so much in its morphosyntactic detail. Naylor's focus may apply to the rest of PL but the Bahra verb's restrictions does

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not allow this phenomenon to be existent in that language, thing that is not existent in its Iberian parents, nor did Bahra get it from PL's womb. Where did Bahra get this kind of restriction? The answer might be explained by theories regarding language contact on creoles. Yes, this phenomenon is existent in all creoles and pidgins, and so we might find out that it is the fusion, not the languages which is the source of this phenomenon.

Moreover, Bahra does survive with focus, on contrary to the claims of Forman (1972). And yes, Bahra lives happily, though not so, ever after, due to its condition of existence. The language is near extinction, and so I would like to encourage more studies on this variant due to its speaker's population's fast decline. I also would like to add that there might still be more kinds of construction that can be found in Bahra that are absent in my texts.

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cartas > c a r a t a s (pagsisingit ng patinig sa pagitan ng dalawang katinig, dahil noong araw hindi tinatanggap ng Filipino ang padron na kpkk; laging kp o pk lamang.)

C A R A T A S
    ↓   ↓
    K   L > KALATAS

c. asikaso

hace caso > ace caso

A C E C A S O
  ↓ ↓ ↓
  S I K > ASIKASO

d. kumusta / kamusta

cómo esta [kómosta] (walang glotal sa mga wikang romance)

[kómosta] > kumusta / kamusta

Ang "kumusta" ay masasabing *forma culta,* ibig sabihin, iyon ang narinig ng marurunong at isa pa'y normal na padron na ang "o" ng español ay nagiging "u" sa Filipino. Samantala, ang "kamusta" ay masasabing *forma coloquial,* ibig sabihi'y ginagamit ng mga karaniwan tao.

2.3. antas morpolohiko

2.3.1. kasarian

Ang kasariang *masculino* at *femenino* ng español ay di gaanong nakapasok sa ating wika. Iyong mga nakapasok, ibig sabihi'y kinikilala natin kung pambabae o panlalaki tulad sa

doktor > doktora
nobyo > nobya

Subalit may mga pangngalang español na di kilala dito ang pormang pambabae tulad sa

presidente > presidenta   alcalde > alcaldesa

At mayroon naman na kilala natin ang pambabae at panlalake pero iwinawaksi ang pormang pambabae para daw sa simplipikasyon tulad sa

decano - decana > dekano

2.3.2. Bilang (isahan / maramihan)

Nanatili ang ating morpemang "mga" para sa anyong maramihan at hindi nakapasok ang morpemang "-s" ng español.

2.3.3. Apócope

Ito ang pagkawala ng huling pantig sa salita na naganap sa

baratón / batona > barat

nawala ang huling pantig na -on at -na.

2.3.4. Dobletes

Ito ang mga salita na dalawa ang porma subalit iisa ang kahulugan tulad sa

muñeca > manyika / manika

2.3.5. Pagbaligtad ng salita

Kakanyahan linggwistiko ng Filipino na baligtarin ang salita. Hindi nakaligtas dito ang mga hispanismo.

manco > komang   guapo > pogua > pogi

2.3.6. Morpemang español na ikinabit sa katutubong salita

binata > binatilyo (-illo)

$$\begin{array}{lll} \text{tsino} & > & \text{tsin\underline{ito}} & \text{(-ito)} \\ \text{dalaga} & > & \text{dalagind\underline{ing}} & \text{(-in [iŋ])} \end{array}$$

2.4. antas semantiko

2.4.1. Isang kahulugan

Mayroong mga salitang español na dalawa o higit pa ang kahulugan, subalit iisa lamang ang kahulugang pumasok sa ating wika. Hal:

$$\text{pie} \quad > \quad \text{piyé} \quad - \quad \text{pangsukat ng haba}$$

$$* \quad \text{paa}$$

$$\text{crudo} \quad > \quad \text{krudo} \quad - \quad \text{petrolyo na hindi repinado}$$

$$* \quad \text{hilaw}$$

ang dahilan sa pangyayaring ito ayon kay Bloomfield (1958: 431) : " ... if a speaker has heard a form only in an occasional meaning or in a series of occasional meanings, he will utter the form only in similar situations".

2.4.2. Maraming kahulugan

Bagama't may mga salitang español na nabawasan ng kahulugan sa pagpasok sa ating wika, mayroon naming mga nakapasok na nadala nito ang buong kahulugang taglay tulad sa salitang :

$$\text{clase} \quad > \quad \text{klase} \quad \begin{array}{l} - \text{ a. pangkat ng mag-aaral na tumatanggap} \\ \quad \text{ng leksiyon sa loob ng silid-aralan.} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{b. uri} \\ \text{c. kategorya} \end{array}$$

2.4.3. Lumagô

Ito'y mga hispanismo na pagkapasok sa ating wika ay mga nadagdagan ng kahulugan.

Halimbawa :

> caballo > kabayo = a. hayop o animal
>
> b. "palantsahan"

2.4.4. Nagbago ng kahulugan

Mayroon namang mga hispanismo na sa pagpasok sa ating wika ay nag-iba ng kahulugan at nawala ang taglay na kahulugan nito sa español tulad sa:

> madre > madre * *ina*
>
> "babaing naka-abito at naglilingkod sa Diyos"
>
> palenque > palengke * *entablado na nasa labas at wala sa loob ng gusali*
>
> "pamilihan"

2.5. <u>antas lexiko</u>

Sa makabagong panahon, hindi kailan man naging wikang pambansa ang español sa Filipinas pero, bumawi ito sa pamamagitan ng pagpasok ng libu-libong hispanismo sa ating wika. Ayon kay Sapir (1921: 205) "the simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the borrowing of words". Ang ilang halimbawa ng mga salitang español na pumasok sa ating wika ay may anyong *payak na salita* at *parirala*.

2.5.1. payak na salita

May dalawang uri ng payak na salita ang pumasok sa atin: a) hindi nagbago ng baybay o anyo; b) nagbago ng baybay o anyo :

a) hindi nagbago:

> altar   bandera   debate   goma

b) nagbago :

demasiado	>	masyado	globo	>	lobo
limosna	>	limos	juez	>	huwes

2.5.2. Parirala

Katulad ng mga payak na salitam dalawa ring tipong parirala ang pumasok sa atin, a) hindi nagbago at b) nagbago.

a) hindi nagbago :

flores de mayo   palabra de honor   menor de edad

b) nagbago :

agencia privada   >   ahensiyang pribado

las once menos diez   >   menos dyis para a las onse

2.5.3. Pagpasok ng *anglicismo* sa pamamagitan ng hispanismo

Anglicismo ang tawag sa mga salitang inglés na pumapasok sa ibang wika. Dahil sa pamamayani ng wika ni Tiyo Samuel sa Filipinas mula noon hanggang sa ngayon, walang patumangga ang pagpasok ng mga anglicismo sa atin. Sa kabilang dako, minalas ang inglès dahil sadyang walang-wala itong anumang pagkakatulad sa ating wika kayat hirap itong umangkop sa filipino. Dahil dito, ginamit nito bilang "tulay" ang mga hispanismo. Ang proseso, mula sa inglès dumaraan muna sa español at tapos ay saka nagiging filipino:

tank   >   tanque   >   tangké

traffic   >   tráfico   >   trapiko

2.5.4. Pagbuo ng mga bagong salita

Isa pang paraan ng pagpasok na ginawa ng mga anglicismo ay ang paggamit ng mga morpemang español para makabuo ng bagong salita. Hal:

basketball	>	basketbol	=	basketbol + *ista*	>	basketbolista
boxing	>	boksing	=	boksing + *ero*	>	boksingero

Iyan ang mga prosesong linggwistiko na pinagdaan ng mga hispanismo para makapasok sa ating wika. Samantala, sa kasalukuyang makabagong Filipino, may napapansin akong mga pagbabagong nagaganap sa mga hispanismong ito na ginagamit natin at kaakibat nito ang paglinang ng ating wika pambansa.

3. Mga problema o depekto ng makabagong Filipino.

3.1. antas fonolohiko

3.1.1.   Ayon kay Gonzales (1992: 13) ang makabagong alpabeto ay binibigkas na "[ei], [bi], [si], [di]" etc.. Dahil dito, nagkakaroon ngayon ng pagbabago (o kalituhan ba ?) sa bigkas ng ilan sa ating mga ponema. Mapapansin ito, di lamang sa mga salitang galing sa español, kundi maging sa mga katawagang katutubo rin. Hal.

$$\text{lugar} \quad [\text{lugár}] \quad > \quad [\text{lugáwr}]$$

Dapat ito ay pakatal na panggilagid, subalit naimpluwensiyahan ng ingles na / r /.

3.1.2.   Ang ponemang glotal sa mga salitang *uniporme* at *unibersidad* ay pinapalitan ng ponemang /y/.

uniporme	[?unipórme]	>	[yunipórme]
unibersidad	[?unibersidád]	>	[yunibersidád].

3.1.3.   Ang ponemang /y/ ay pinapalitan din ng ingles na /dž / :

proyekto	[proyékto]	>	[prodžékto]

3.1.4.　Ang ponemang /u / pa rin ay binibigkas sa paraang ingles na wari'y may ponemang / y / sa unahan tulad sa :

　　　edukasyon　　[?edukasyón]　　>　　[?edyukasyón]

3.1.5.　Ang letrang z na binibigkas natin sa ponemang / s / ay binibigkas ngayon sa paraang ingles, kahit ito'y pangngalang pantangi na galing sa español :

　　　Corazón　　[korasón]　　>　　[korazón]

3.1.6.　Sa isang kaso naman, ang katinig ay napalitan ng ponemang glotal.

　　　imahen　　[?imáhen]　　>　　[?imáhe?]

3.1.7.　Mayroong binabago ng bigkas

　　　parte　(part)　　[párte]　　>　　[parté]

　　　baka　(may be)　[baká]　　>　　[báka]

Alam natin na ang a "partè" ay nangangahulugang "share" samantalang ang "báka" ay "cow", kayat sa pagbabago ng bigkas, nababago din ang kahulugan.

3.1.8.　"muletilla"

Sa español, literalmente ang ibig sabihin nito ay "maliit na saklay". Sa pagsasalita, ito'y "alalay" o pantulong na parang "saklay". Sa makabagong Filipino, mapapansin ngayon ang paggamit ng ating mga kababayan ng tunog **ah...** sa pagitan ng mga salita o pangungusap, bilang senyal ng paghahanap ng isusunod na salita. Karaniwan ito doon sa mga tao na nag-iisip sa ingles pero nagsasalita sa Filipino. Hal. sa programang "24 Oras", kinapanayam ang aktor na si Richard Gutierrez hinggil sa kanyang pelikulang "Mulawin". Tinanong siya hinggil sa pagtatanghal nito sa iba-ibang sinehan kaugnay ng Metro Manila Film Festival. Ang sagot niya:

"Nagpapasalamat ako at ah…tinangkilik nila ang "Mulawin" at ah…."
(24 Oras - GMA – 7, Dis. 27, 2005)

ang "muletilla" na ito ay hindi sariling atin. Galing ito sa ingles. Walang katutubong wika sa ating bansa na gumagamit nito.

3.2. antas ortograpiko

Noong araw, sinasabi na ang Filipino raw "kung ano ang bigkas, siyang baybay". Sa makabagong Filipino, totoo pa ba ito ? Dahil din sa pagbabago ng bigkas ng ating alpabeto, malaking kalituhan din ang nangyari sa pagbabaybay. Nabuo ang iba-ibang pangkat na nagsigawa ng kani-kanyang tuntunin hinggil sa bagay na ito. Ang naging pangunahing problema dito ay yaong mga bagong salita na hiniram lalo na sa ingles. Halimbawa, pananatilihin ba ang orihinal na baybay o "bibihisan" ito sa Filipino tulad sa :

speaker   (vs.)   ispiker

Alin ba ang tama o marapat ?

3.3   antas morpolohiko

3.3.1.   Ang salitang "alkalde" sa mga balita sa radyo at telebisyon ay pinapalitan ngayon ng salitang "mayor" ng ingles, pero binibigkas na [mayòr]. Dati'y [mèyor] ang bigkas nito sa Pilipino at "meyor" din ang baybay. Sa babaing alkalde naman "mayora" ang tawag nila. Mapapansin na, ingles na "mayor" ito at dinagdagan ng morpemang pambabae na "a" ng español. Sa panayam kay Chairman BF ng DZRH, sabi ni Ruth Abao : "Regards po Chairman kay "Mayora Marides" (Hataw, Dis. 19, 2005). Ang tinutukoy niya'y si Mrs. BF (Marides Carlos Fernando), na alkalde namin sa Marikina.

3.3.2. Ang pangalan ng ating bansa ay nagkaroon ng "apócope" o pag-iikli. Sa radyo at telebisyon, tinatawag ito na *Pinás,* sa halip na Filipinas. Para sa aking, ito ay paglapastangan sa ating inang bayan.

3.3.3 Nagkakaroon din ng kalituhan sa gamit ng ating morpemang pamparami. Nalilimutan ng ilang kababayan na ang morpemang pampadami sa atin ay **mga** at hindi ang **–s** tulad sa español o ingles. Sa ilang anunsiyo sa radyo, minsan maririnig ang "**Mga** Mommies gumamit kayo ng ...." Nagkakaroon ng tinatawag na "redundancia".

3.4. <u>antas semantiko</u>

3.4.1. pagkawala ng salita at pagdaragdag ng kahulugan

Napakadalas narinig ngayon sa radyo at telebisyon ang salitang **maliban** at nawawala ang salitang **bukod sa**. Para yatang marami sa ating mga mamamahayag ang hindi nakaaalam na ang "maliban" ay "except" sa ingles at ang "bukod sa" ay "aside from". Ngayon maging "except" o "aside from", iisa lang ang sinasabi nila, puro "maliban", na kung minsan ay nakalilito, minsan naman ay nakaiinis na.

3.4.2. pagbabago (o pagpapalit ?) ng kahulugan ng isang salita

Sa pagkaalam ko, kapag sinabing **kasangkot**, ibig sabihi'y kasama sa isang gawaing masamâ. Ngayon kahit sa mabuting bagay, sinasabi'y "kasangkot". Halimbawa ng narinig ko sa radyo , "Ang mga *kasangkot* sa parangal na ito ...." Di ba dapat ay "Ang mga *kasama* o kaya'y ang mga punong-abalà".

Doon naman sa aking klase ng Pagsasaling-wika, isang estudyante ang nagsabi: "Ang **batis** ko sa impormasyong ito ..." Sabi ko: "Ano ibig mong sabihin sa "batis" ? Sagot niya :"Source po". Tugon ko naman, "Hanguan ang tawag namin, kayat puwede kong sabihin : Saan mo hinango iyan ? Pero kung "batis" ang gamit, puwede ko bang sabihin : Saan mo binatis yan ?" Sagot muli niya: "Batis po ang turo ng titser namin at iyan po ang gamit namin".

Sa mga text message, pinapalitan ang panghalip na **ko** ng ingles na **me,** samantalang pareho lang naman na dalawang letra 'yon. . Hal.

"Darating na **me** riyan" sa halip na "Darating na **ko** riyan".

3.4.3. pagbabawas ng kahulugan

Mayroon tayong mga salita na dati namang ginagamit natin ang lahat ng kahulugan nito, pero ngayon, "pinapatay" ng ilang kababayan ang ibang kahulugan na taglay noon. Hal.

carrera > karera = a) race
b) career, college course (-)

3.4.4. "pagpatay" sa katawagan

Ang kolehiyo na kinabibilangan ko dito sa UP ay tinatawag na "College of Arts& Letters. Nang isalin ito sa Filipino, naging "Kolehiyo ng Arte at Literatura". Kapag sinabing "Literatura", nawawala ang wika. Paano na kaming mga nagtuturo ng Wikang Europeo, Ingles at Filipino ? Puede bang magkaroon ng Literatura ng walang wika ? Di ba ang Literatura ay produkto ng wika ? Kayat dapat na salin ay "Kolehiyo ng Artes at Letras", para makita na magkasama ang wika at panitikan sa salitang "letras". Pero dahil sa inalis

nila ang –s sa salitang "artes", naging "arte" ito. Kung gagamitin ang "letra" (sa anyong singular para bumagay sa "arte"), baká raw isipin ng iba na tumutukoy ito sa letra na ibig sabihin ay "titik", kaya pinalitan ng "Literatura".

3.4.4. pagdaragdag ng kahulugan

Ang ating panghalip na **siya**, dati ay sa tao lamang tumutukoy, ngayon maging tao, maging bagay, ginagamitan na ng panghalip na "siya". Halimbawa sabi ng isang doctor sa radyo : "Gumamit kayo ng VCO, magaling *siya* sa katawan". Galit na galit si Tiya Dely sa paggamit ng "siya" para sa mga bagay.

Isa pang panghalip na nababago o nadaragdagan ng kahulugan ay ang panghalip na **atin.** Maririnig na ngayon ang bating "Magandang umaga sa *ating* lahat", sa halip na "…sa *inyong* lahat". Naalala ko ang liham ni Alfredo Hidalgo sa kanyang tiyuhin na si Dr. Jose Rizal. Isinulat niya sa dakilang bayani ang: "Yo y mis amigos...", at siya'y tinugon ng kanyang Tiyo Pepe na "…siempre hay que ponerte al final" (Laurel:1985, 88), ibig sabihin, huwag mo daw isisingit ang sarili mo bilang tanda ng pagpapakumbabâ. Sa bagong estilo ng pagbati ngayon, di ko malaman kung isinasama ng bumabati ang kanyang sarili (na ayon kay Rizal kay labag sa kagandahang asal) o kaya'y nababago ang kahulugan ng panghalip na "atin".

3.4.5. pagpapalit ng terminong ingles sa terminong Filipino

Maririnig ngayon kahit saan ang salitang "Hindi ko **ma-get**" na ipinapalit nila sa salitang "Hindi ko *maintindihan*".

3.4.6. pagpipilit ng katawagang ingles sa Filipino.

Noong nasa ospital pa ang yumaong Direktor Wycoco ng NBI, isang reporter ng DZRH ang nag-ulat: "Narito ang <u>pinakahuling ulat</u> hinggil kay Gen Wycoco." Sabi ni Joe Taruc, "Mali ka, pag sinabi mong "pinakahuli", ibig sabihin "huling balita" na yon at patay na siya". Sagot ng reporter, "Hindi, ito yong *latest* o pinakahuli". "O siya, (tugon ni Mr. Taruc), *pinaka-latest* at hindi *pinakahuli*. Dahil si JT ang "Station manager", nagpatalo ang reporter kahit siya ang tama.

3.5. <u>antas lexiko</u>

3.5.1. pagpapalit ng ingles sa katawagang español

Mapapansin sa mga balita ngayon na kapag tumutukoy sa mga bansang dayuhan ang balita, ingles ang ginagamit nila na pangalan ng bansa, sa halip na katawagang Filipino na galing sa español at binabaybay sa Filipino. Wari bang wala silang alam tungkol dito Hal.:

Francia	>	Pransya	>	France
España	>	Espanya	>	Spain
Italia	>	Italya	>	Italy
Japòn	>	Hapon	>	Japan

3.5.2. mga lexiko na nawawala na

Ang mga katawagan ng paggalang na pambabae at panlalake ay nawawala na. Ito ay ang mga sumusunod:

<u>pambabae</u>	<u>panlalake</u>
ale	mama

ite	diko
ditse	sangkó
sansé	
inso	siyaho
tiyá	tiyó

Dati-rati, kapag hindi kilala ang babae, ang tawag sa kanya ay "ale". Ngayon ang tawag na ay "Ate" o kaya'y "Nanay" o kaya'y "Lola". Sa lalake naman, sa halip na "mama", ang tawag na ngayon ay "Manong" o kaya'y "Kuya" o "Tatay". Marahil ay hindi alam ng ating mga kababayan na ang mga katawagang "Ale" at "Mama" ay mga katutubong termino na katumbas ng español na "tío" at "tía".

Sa mga kapatid naman, mayroon tayong mga termino ng paggalang ayon sa pagkakasunod-sunod ng magkakapatid. Ngayon lahat ng matandang kapatid ay puro "Ate" at "Kuya" na lamang at nawawala na ang mga katawagang "ite, ditse, sansè" para sa iba pang matandang kapatid na babae at "diko" at "sangkó" naman para sa mga kapatid na lalake.

Wala na rin ang mga katawagang "siyaho" at "inso" para sa asawa ng matandang kapatid na babae at lalake. Puro "Ate" at "Kuya" na rin ang tawag sa kanila.

Ang "tiyó" at "tiyá" na galing sa español na "tío" at "tía" ay sa mga may edad na lamang naririnig. Ngayon lalo na sa mga kabataan, puro "Tito" at "Tita" na ang maririnig.

3.5.3. lexiko na maaaring mawala

May posibilidad na maglaho rin ang mga katawangang "Tatay" at "Nanay". Mabilis na kumakalat ngayon ang paggamit ng mga terminong "Daddy, Mommy, Papa, Mama". Dati-rati, tanging mga mayaman lamang ang gumagamit ng mga ito. Pero ngayon, kahit na

nasa pinakamababang antas ng lipunan, puro "Daddy at Mommy" o "Papa at Mama" ang gamit. Tiyak na marami sa atin ang hindi nakaaalam na ang mga terminong "Tatay" at "Nanay" ay hindi katutubong Filipino. Ito'y galing din sa español na *tata* at *nana*, at dinagdagan na lamang sa ating wika ng morpemang –y, na morpema ng pagmamahal sa Filipino.

3.6. antas sintaktiko

Ano na ba talaga ang kayarian ng ating pangungusap. Ito ba'y "pangngalan + pang-uri" o "pang-uri + pangngalan". Sa mga balita, maging pasulat o pasalita, ang estruktura ay karaniwang ganito:

"Sinabi ni Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines, newly elected President Bishop Angel Lagdameo na …." (DZRH : 1-8-06, 6:30 a.m.).

di ba dapat ay ganito:

"Sinabi ni Bishop Angel Lagdameo, ang bagong halal na president ng Catholoic Bishops Conference of the Philippines na ..."

Sa ganitong paraan ay alam na agad ng nakikinig ang taong tinutukoy.

4. **Mga Mungkahi**

4.1. antas ortograpiko:

4.1.1.1.1. Nakita natin na maluwag na nakapasok ang mga Hispanismo sa ating wika, dahil mayroong tuntunin ng pagbabaybay na sinunod. Sa makabagong Filipino, dapat tumawag ng pulong ng lahat ng awtoridad sa wika, at bumuo ng isang Lupòn na magsasagawa ng isa o dalawang taong pag-aaral, pagtatalakayan, mga pagsangguni, pananaliksik at sarbey hinggil sa mga tuntunin ng pagbabaybay na tatanggapin ng ating mamamayan.

4.1.2. Huwag mag-atubiling paraanin sa español ang katawagang ingles bago "bihisan" sa Filipino, gaya ng ginagawa noong dati. Hal.:

administration > administración > administrasyon

4.2. antas fonolohiko

Pag-isipan nating mabuti kung tama na ba ang pagbasa na *ei, bi, si, di* sa ating alpabeto. Laging sinasabi ni Tiya Dely na "kailangan marunong ka ng ingles, para matuto ng makabagong Filipino" (Tiya Dely Show: dzrh, 7:30-8:30 p.m.). Sa ganang akin, isang pahiwatig ito na hindi gaanong tinatanggap ng ating mga kababayan ang ganoong bigkas ng ating alpabeto. Dati dito, nag-eksperimento ako ng dalawang paraan ng pagbasa noon. Ang una ay yaong pinananatili ang bigkas ng abakada sa mga titik na dati na, at bigkas ingles naman doon sa mga titik na hiniram, tulad ng sumusunod:

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
a	*ba*	*si*	*da*	*e*	*ef*	*ga*	*ha*	*i*	*diey*	*ka*	*la*	*ma*	*na*

ng	ñ	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
nga	*enye*	*o*	*pa*	*kyu*	*ra*	*sa*	*ta*	*u*	*vi*	*wa*	*eks*	*ya*	*zei.*

Ang ikalawang paraan ay tulad din sa una na bigkas abakada ang mga katutubong titik, samantalang bigkas español naman ang mga hiram.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
a	*ba*	*se*	*da*	*e*	*efe*	*ga*	*ha*	*i*	*hota*	*ka*	*la*	*ma*	*na*

ng	ñ	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
nga	*enye*	*o*	*pa*	*ku*	*ra*	*sa*	*ta*	*u*	*ube*	*wa*	*ekis*	*ya*	*seta.*

Ang isa pang alternatibo ay basahin ito sa paraang español na *a, be, se, de* kung matatanggap ng ating sambayanan. Nasa inyong lahat ang pagpapasiya.

4.3. antas morpolohiko

   a. Idaan sa español ang pagbuo ng mga salita. Higit na makinis umangkop ang
      español sa Filipino dahil magkahawig ito di tulad ng ingles.

   b. Panatilihin ang paggamit ng mga morpemang español na pumasok na sa ating
      wika. Pampayaman iyon ng bokabularyo.

   c. Katutubo sa Filipino (lalo na sa Tagalog) ang pag-uulit ng pantig. Gawin ito at
      huwag katamaran at alisin ang pagwawalang bahala na "O! basta
      nagkakaintindihan puwede na kahit mali". Mahalaga ang pag-uulit ng salita o
      pantig. Ayon kay Robert Hall (1966:65):

      *Reduplication serves various semantic purposes, indicating
      for instance, superlative quality, (...), or repetition or continua
      tion (...), or intensification (...), or diminution.*

4.4. antas semantiko

   a. Ating alamin at igalang ang kakanyahan ng wikang pambansa.

   b. Alalahanin na ang batayan nito ay ang wikang Tagalog at hindi ang wikang
      ingles. Huwag piliting iyakap ito sa wika ni Tiyo Samuel. Halimbawa : noong
      nakaburol si Cardenal Jaime Sin, dinalaw ito ni Gng. Cecile Guidote Alvarez.
      Pagdating sa radyo, sabi ni Gng. Alvarez, "Nagdasal ako kay Cardinal Sin na
      hilingin niya sa Diyos na **sementuhan** tayong lahat para magkaisa na". (Radyo
      Balintataw, 2005) Maliwanag na sa ingles ito "...request the Lord to **cement** us in
      order to be united." Ang gamit ng "cement" sa ingles sa pagkakataong yaon ay

patalinghaga kayat di dapat na isalin ng buong-buo. Dapat na sinabi niya ay "…
hilingin sa Diyos na **pagbuklurin** tayong lahat …".

4.5. <u>antas lexiko</u>

    a. Kumunsulta sa mga Dikyonaryong Ingles-Español para sa mga bagong termino. Higit na mapalad tayo pagdating sa wika, kaysa mga kalapit-bansa natin dito sa Asya, dahil dalawa ang wika na maaari nating mahiraman ng mga katawagan.

    b. Mag-ingat sa paggamit ng mga salitang naririnig sa kalye. Ang español ay sinasalita ng halos kalahati ng mundo, pero ang itinuturing nilang español estandar ay ang español na sinasalita sa Madrid, lalo na ang ginagamit sa mga Unibersidad . Ibig sabihin, tayong mga nasa dalubhasaan ang dapat na maging modelo ng wastong wika, lalo na sa ating mga klase. Ang mga salitang *hindi ma-gets, ASAP, jologs, tsikahan*, atbp, sana ay iwanan na sa labas ng kampus.

4.6. <u>antas sintaktiko</u>

    Panatilihin ang estruktura ng Filipino, alamin itong mabuti, igalang at huwag piliting igapos sa wikang ingles.

4.7. <u>mga dagdag na mungkahi</u>

    a. Palaganapin at palakasin ang pag-aaral ng Linggwistikang Filipino. Sa ngayon ito ay isang larangan na di pa gaanong popular dito sa atin. Wala pa tayong mga prominenteng Propesor na kilalang fonologo, morfologo, semantista, lexikograpo at sintaksista na katulad sa ibang bansa.

    b. Bumuo ng isang Surian ng Wikang Pambansa na susubaybay at magpapaalala

El español ya es cosa nuestra, propia, sangre de nuestra sangre y carne de nuestra carne, porque asi lo quisieron nuestros màrtires, hèroes y estadistas del pasado, y sin èl, serà tronco el inventario de nuestro patrimonio cultural.

Ang Español daw ay sa atin na, sariling atin, dugo ng ating dugo at laman ng ating laman, dahil iyon ang ninais ng ating mga martir, mga bayani at mga estadista ng nakaraang panahon, at kung wala ito, magkukulang ang imbentaryo ng ating pamanang kultural.

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         Enero '06

sa mamamayan kung ang isang salita, bigkas o parirala ay mali, tulad ng ginagawa ng *Real Academia Española de la Lengua*, na tinitingala ng lahat, pagdating sa wika.

c. Magsagawa ng mga bukod na pag-aaral hinggil sa wikang pasalita at sa wikang pasulat. Maaring maging informal ang pasalita, subalit pagdating sa pasulat, ito ay formal na at dapat sundin ang lahat ng formalidad na taglay nito.

d. Ang mga nag-eespesyalisá sa Español ay pinag-aaral ng wikang Latin dahil sa ang Español ay nagmula sa Latin. Sa mga nag-eespesyalisá sa Filipino, marapat na mag-aral din sila ng Español, para lubos na maunawaan ang ating wika.

e. Kapag Filipino ang ginagamit na salita, mag-isip sa Filipino. Huwag nag-iisip sa Ingles, tapos ay Filipino ang gagamitin. Dito nagsisimula ang paglapastangan sa ating wika.

5. Kongklusyon

Inilahad ko sa inyo ang mga pamamaraang linggwistiko na pinagdaanan ng mga Hispanismo para makapasok sa ating wika, gayon din ang mga problema o depekto ng makabagong Filipino, at ang aking mga mungkahi para sa ikauunlad ng ating sariling wika. Sa huli, nais ko lamang ipaalalang muli, na sa paglinang ng makabagong Filipino, dapat din bigyang pansin ang wikang Español, dahil malaki ang maitutulong nito sa atin. Isa pa, mapipilay ang ating wika kapag inalis ang mga Hispanismo. Ayon sa sarili kong pag-aaral, 33% ng ating wika ay Español. Wika nga ng dakilang Senador at estadista na si Claro M. Recto (1985: 214) :

TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF BORROWINGS IN TAGALOG

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The modern Tagalog is notable for its great amount of the lexical elements borrowed from Sanskrit, Chinese, Malay, Spanish and English, among others. For a thorough study of the Tagalog borrowings a researcher will need to somehow divide the loanwords into groups. The more comprehensive classification is chosen, the easier will be any further lexical study. A *comprehensive* classification, in our opinion, should cover the *complete set of main types of borrowings* in Tagalog.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ar	Arab
Hok	Hokkien Chinese
Eng	English
Mal	Malay
Mex-Sp	Mexican Spanish
Skt	Sanskrit
Sp	Spanish
Tag	Tagalog

cf.	compare (with)
coll	colloquial (word)
e.g.	for example
fem.	feminine (gender)
Ibid	the same (as above)
i.e.	that is
intern	international
lit.	literally
masc.	masculine (gender)
old	old or outdated word
smb	somebody
smth	something
suf.	suffix:

act. suf.- actor suffix, *diminut. suf* - diminutive *suf, internat. suf.* - international *suf, gerund. suf.*

gerundial *suf.*

Vs	versus

The nomination of a concept borrowed into Tagalog or other language .is usually realized through:

a) borrowing of the corresponding word(s), or

b) creation of their equivalents in the recipient by translation, invention of a new word for the borrowed meaning, or extension of the semantics of some native word.

While analyzing different layers of loanwords in Tagalog I felt the necessity of describing all their main types. To solve this problem I chose to apply the principles offered by the renowned Norwegian linguist Einar Haugen [Haugen 1953], which appeared to me exhaustive enough to be the basis of a loanwords classification.

Haugen offered to divide borrowings into 3 main types:

1) borrowings *without morphemic substitution* (i.e. both the meaning and the morphemes of the original are adopted);

2) borrowings *with partial morphemic substitution* (the meaning and the morphemes of the original word are adopted, but some of the original morphemes are substituted with native ones of the recipient);

3) borrowings *with full morphemic substitution* (only the meaning of the original word is adopted, while its morphemes are fully substituted with the native morphemes of the recipient language).

Types **1)** and **2)** of loans stand closer to each other, for they imply borrowing of both the meaning and morphemes of an original word. Therefore we may call them "Full Borrowings" as containing semantic and morphemic covers borrowed from an original (Haugen's term – "Borrowed words", some other linguists called them "Direct borrowings").

Borrowings of types **3)** are not full borrowings in the strict sense of the term, as they result from the transportation of only *semantic* cover of a foreign word onto the morphemic material of the recipient, which allows to name them "Semantic Borrowings" (Haugen's term – Loan shifts").

2

I. FULL BORROWINGS

1. Complete Loans

As I mentioned above, Haugen's 1st type of loanwords implies borrowing of both the meaning and morphemes of a word from a donor language, i.e. a loanword is *completely* adopted by the recipient language without any substitution with the native morphemes[1]. Hence in my Classification such loanwords will be called *Complete Loans*.

Within the class of Complete loanwords there are at least two groups that should be distinguished, which are *unassimilated* and *assimilated* loanwords.

a) Unassimilated loanwords, or so-called "*phonological citations*" (U. Weinreich's term) keep intact their phonetic, semantic and even graphic appearance. In Tagalog this group is mostly represented with recent borrowings from Spanish and English.

There are quite a number of Spanish borrowings, which have been adopted unassimilated as they belong to onomastical lexica - personal and geographical names, for example:

Jose Rizal – personal name, read as /Hose Risal/, according to the rules for the Spanish letters

"*j*" and "*z*", which do not exist in the Tagalog alphabet,

Peñafrancia – geographical name, read as /Penyafransya/, no "*ñ*", "*f*" or "*c*" in Tagalog,

also – *Aquino, Lopez, Teofilo*; *Vigan, Davao, Zamboanga*, and many others.

There are also plenty of English unassimilated borrowings in the modern Tagalog. They are abundant in newspapers and printings, where they are often marked with italics (thus corroborating the term "phonological *citations*"), e.g.:

"Nilusob ang tirahan ng mga *illegal workers*" - "Illegal workers' house was raided",

"Hinihinalang isa na naman itong anyo ng *religious clash*..." – "It is supposed to be another form of religious clash...".

The peculiarity of phonological citations in Tagalog is that regardless of being *unassimilated* they still may be embedded into the Tagalog morphological system, i.e. may act as *roots* taking over the Tagalog *prefixes*. It is noteworthy that even in such cases Tagalog speakers usually handle them as *foreign words*, either italicizing them in the text, or putting a hyphen between the unassimilated root and the Tagalog prefix used with it:

nag-withdraw siya kahapon - "he/she withdrew yesterday",

naka-attach dito ang litrato ko - "my photo is attached here",

naki-pose na lang siya sa mga Pinay – "he was just posing in front of the Philippine girls"

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[1] *Phonemic* substitution, however, will take place, for speakers of the recipient language will inevitable perceive and reproduce borrowed words with the recipient's phonemic inventory.

The *morphological* assimilation of the loanwords, which still remain unassimilated *graphically*, *semantically* and *phonetically*, is perfectly represented by such derived borrowings as conjugated forms of the Tagalog verbs or verbal nouns. The Present and Future Tenses of Tagalog verbs, as well as verbal nouns are formed with help of the reduplication of the root's first syllable, e.g.: **lutuin** "to be cooked" > *niluluto* "is being cooked", **lulutuin** "will be cooked"; *magtanggol* "to defend" > *pagtatanggol* "defending, defense". The borrowed *unassimilated* roots are handled accordingly to this general Tagalog rule. However the *reduplicated* part of their first syllable becomes *assimilated* (even changing its graphic appearance where needed), while the *root* itself remains *unassimilated* and is often separated from the assimilated part with hyphen:

Magko-concert *siya sa Cyprus* – "He will give a concert in Cyprus",

Para kaming nata-transform *sa ibang mundo* – "We are as if transformed to another world";

*Mahirap ang pagdo*draw-up *ng* project – "Drawing up a project is difficult".

Such a large-scale incorporation of unassimilated borrowings into Tagalog is maintained and increased by the widespread *language mixing*, or *code-switching*, which has become common in the everyday colloquial language of educated Filipinos with the expansion of the English language in the Archipelago. There are plenty of unassimilated borrowings and even their abbreviations used in this "Mix-Mix language", which was so well described by David Zorc [Zorc 1990], e.g.:

kilig to the bones – "overjoyed" (lit. "tremble to the bones")

kadiri to death – "gross, coarse" (lit. "loathing to death");

b.f. – boy friend,

d.o.m.- dirty old man,

o.a. – over-acting, over-reaction.

b) *Assimilated loanwords* are borrowings adjusted to the Tagalog norms and structure through assimilation at different levels of the recipient language - phonological, morphological and lexical.

- *Phonetic assimilation*: the sounds of original words are substituted with the corresponding Tagalog sounds or sound combinations; a consonant or vowel is dropped or inserted to avoid a cluster; other changes occur to adjust the sound structure of a borrowing to the Tagalog norms, e.g.:

Hok *bì* (rice) -*kō* "rice pastry" > Tag *biko* "sweetened rice cake",

Eng *project* > Tag. *prodyek*;

Skt *liksā* "louse" > Tag *lisâ* "nit; egg of a louse",

Mal *biawak* "big lizard" > Tag *bayawak* "iguana";

Eng *kinky* > Tag *kingki* "kinky, curly (hair)",

Sp *almidón* > Tag *almiról* "starch".

4

- *Morphological assimilation:* borrowed words and word combinations are simplified into indivisible roots or root words; they are used for further derivation according to the Tagalog rules; some borrowings may undergo hypercorrection (wrong interpretation of a borrowing's morphemic structure), etc.:

Mal *barat laut* "North-West" > Tag *balaklaot* "north-western wind",

Sp *en paz* "in peace" > Tag *impás* "settled";

Skt *aga* "sun" > Tag **maaga** "early", **umaga** "morning", *agahan* "breakfast",

Ar *hikay'at* "preach, legend" > Tag *hikayát* "persuasion", *hikayatin* "to persuade, to talk into";

Mal **pontianak** "spirit of pregnant woman who died" > Tag **patianák** > *tianák* "evil spirit",

Sp-Mex. *zaquisamé* "loft, upper floor" > Tag * *sakisame* > *kisamé* "ceiling".

It is interesting, that even in dictionaries one may sometimes find such examples of the wrong interpretation – for example, the borrowing *paligsá* "test, quiz" (from Sanskrit *parīkṣā* "to thoroughly examine, check") was offered as derivation from the "root *ligsá*" (*see* English, 1986-2002; Rubino, 2000).[2]

- *Semantic (lexical) assimilation:* the semantics of borrowings is adjusted to the semantic lacunas existing in the recipient language – thus, a loanword's meaning or circle of meanings may be narrowed or extended; may undergo metaphoric, metonymic or other changes, e.g.:

Hok *oan* "insect" > Tag *uang* "beetle, coconut beetle";

Ar *le-lahma* "meat" > Tag *lamán* "substance, content; flesh, meat";

Sp *tijeras* "scissors" > Tag *tiheras* "folding cot";

Mal *asap* "smoke, fog, vapors" > Tag *asáp / hasáp* "eye irritation caused by smoke or vapors";

Eng *from the [provinces]* > Tag coll. *promdi* "hick, unsophisticated unpolished person".

2. Hybrid Loans

Another type, which I refer to *full borrowings,* is hybrid loanwords. To follow Haugen's terminology, this type implies borrowing with *partial substitution* with native morphemes, i.e. while adopting a borrowing the recipient language replaces some elements of the borrowing (mostly roots) with the native ones.

In the case of Tagalog the borrowed morphemes may be substituted with those of *previously assimilated* loanwords, thus Tagalog *hybrid loans* may consist only of borrowed material. Some of such assimilated loans are early and have already become an integral part of the native vocabulary. Others are relatively recent (mostly Spanish and English) and are still taken as "borrowed". Thus, I propose to classify the Tagalog hybrid loans into the following two groups:

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[2] To be precise, the phenomenon of *hypercorrection* refers to *morphological interference*, i.e. to the post-assimilation process that a borrowing may undergo (*see* my paper Baklanova 2004: 108-112).

a) Partially native: words borrowed with partial substitution with the native material (or with the elements borrowed so long ago that they are already taken as native):

Sp *carnero marino* "seal" (lit. "ram-sea") + Tag *dagat* "sea" > *karnerong-dagat* "seal",

Mex-Sp *(naran)jita* "small tangerine or grapefruit" + Tag *dalan(dán)* "orange"> *dalanghita* «tangerine».

Such recent partially native hybrids seem to be relatively scarce. There are much more *hybrid neologisms (creations)* in the modern Tagalog, i.e. the new words *invented* by Filipinos with use of some native and already assimilated borrowed material (*see below*).[3]

However, far greater number of *early* hybrid loans may be eventually found in the Tagalog vocabulary itself. Thus, the hypothesis of William Maxwell may be referred to the problem of *early hybrid loans* [Maxwell 1920]. This linguist picked up some considerable amount of Malay words with **bu-/bung** for the first syllable, which he considered to be an ancient monosyllabic prefix conveying "an idea of roundness" [*Ibid*: 4] (I would also add "the idea of fullness"): *bu-lan* "moon" (cf. Tag *bu-wán*), *bun-tut* "buttocks; tail" (Tag *bun-tót* "tail"), *bung-kus* "bundle; bunch" (Tag *bung-kós* "bundle; bunch"), etc. One can easily find this element in some Tagalog words as well, especially in those created by syllable duplication: e.g. *bu-lak* "cotton" > *bu-lak-lák* "cotton flower; flower; blossom", *bu-nga-ngà* "gullet; mouth" (cf. *nga-ngà* "to chew betel"), *bu-ngis-ngís* "giggle" (cf. *ngis-ngís* "grinning, showing the teeth"). Another probable "prefix" Maxwell found in Malay is **ta-/tang-** "a hand/an arm": *tang-an* "hand", *tang-kap* "to seize", *tang-kei* "a stalk". It's also possible to distinguish this element in such Tagalog words as: *tang-án* "held (in hand)", *tang-gáp* "to get; accepted", *tang-káy* "stalk, stem", *tang-kál* "coop"> *tang-ka-kál* "support; protection", *tang-kó* "light touch, as with the tip of fingers" (cf. *ku-kò* "nail"), *ta-guyod* "united support" (cf. *guyod* "bundle of sticks; herd; thick rope").

Developing this idea, may we suppose that such prefixes / lexical elements, being productive in the early periods of the Tagalog language development, could participate in the word creation with use of the early borrowings (Chinese, Malay, Sanskrit)? Such creations should then be regarded as *early hybrid loans*. May we, for instance, trace Tag *tadhanà* "fate, destiny" to **ta-** + *dhanà* [< Skrt *dhāna* "fortune, property etc."]?

Arsenio Manuel, studying Chinese borrowings in Tagalog, claimed that the element *–pak-* in Tagalog was borrowed from the Chinese *pak* "stripping off skin of trees" [Manuel 1949: 36]. If this probable lexical morpheme is of Chinese origin, the following words might be examples of the early hybridization: **bakbák** "strip off the skin, bark", *gapak* "tear, strip", **paknít** "to flay, skin",

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[3] In my previous paper I erroneously refer such specially created words to *hybrid loans* [*see* Baklanova 2004: 110-111]. Here I want to correct myself and emphasize, that under a hybrid *loanword* I mean the result of *borrowing* with partial substitution of its morphemes with the native material. Under hybrid *neologism* I mean the result of *creation* of a new word with use of some *previously assimilated* borrowed material.

paknós "scald, excoriate", *paknót* " (cf. Tag *nutnót* "worn away; unraveled"). If this element in Tagalog is of Chinese origin, the above words might be examples of the early hybridization.

b) **Purely borrowed** hybrids are the loanwords borrowed with partial substitution with recently assimilated by Tagalog borrowed material (mostly Spanish or English), which is still distinguished as "borrowed":

Sp *(porta)monedas* "purse" + Tag *kwarta* "money" [< Sp *cuarto* "old copper coin; money"] > *kwartamoneda* "purse",

Sp *largo(mira)* "binoculars, telescope" + Tag *bista* "sight; view, landscape" [< Sp *vista*] > *largabista* (cf. Sp *vista larga* "long-sight").

II. SEMANTIC BORROWINGS

Semantic borrowings (or *semantic shifts*) refer to E. Haugen's 3[rd] type of borrowing - that *with full morphemic substitution*. In this case only the *meaning* of the original word is adopted, while all its morphemes are substituted with the native morphemes of the recipient language. Thus the borrowing is limited to the shift in the usage of a native word or a combination of native morphemes. Usually there are two groups of semantic loans singled out in a recipient language, which are *extensions* and *creations*. One of the peculiarities of Tagalog's assimilating foreign words is the fact that not only its native words but also borrowed lexemes previously adopted by Tagalog may acquire new borrowed semantics.

1. Extensions

Extension is the result of transportation of a borrowed meaning or a circle of meanings onto an already existing in Tagalog lexeme of similar *semantic* or *phonetic* appearance.

a)   **Semantic extension** is a result of transportation of a borrowed meaning onto some Tagalog word or word combination with similar *semantic* cover:

Tag *Kalihim* (also - *sekretaryo* [< Sp *secretario* "confidant, attorney; assistant"]) "attorney, secretary as an assistant in work" + "Minister" (e.g. *Kalihim ng Ugnayang Panlabás* "Minister of Foreign Affairs"") < Eng *secretary*;

In many cases, however, such semantic extension is provoked by false cognates:

Tag *aktuál/aktwál* [< Spanish *actual*] "current, present; timely" + "real" < Eng *actual* (cf. Sp *real* for "real", *verdadero* for "true"),

direksyón [< Sp *dirección*] «direction, course; address; administration» + «directive, instruction, precept, command» [< Eng *direction*] (c. Sp *directriz, directiva* for "directive").

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b)   **Phonetic extension** is a result of transportation of a borrowed meaning onto a native word with similar *phonetic* cover:

tipon «collecting, gathering» + «type» [< Sp *tipo* «type»];

bóla «ball, balloon» [< Sp *bola*] + «joke; trickery; flattery» [< Sp.-Mex. *volada* «deceit; trickery, joke»],

kámbas «canvas» [< Eng *canvas*] + «check-up, investigation» [< Eng *to canvass*];

asusena [< Sp *azucena*] "white lily" + coll. "cooked dog" [< a play-on-words combination of Tag *aso* "dog" and Sp *cena* "supper, evening meal"].

2. Creations

Creations are new combinations made of the lexemes already existing in the recipient language (both native and previously borrowed), to assimilate new borrowed semantics. It seems possible to divide the Tagalog creations at least into two groups: *loan-translations* (or *calques*) and *induced neologisms* (or *induced creations*, in E. Haugen's term).

a) **Loan translations**, or *calques,* emerge as a result of the transfer of a foreign word's or word combination's semantics, as well as their morphological structure onto the semantically corresponding lexical material of the recipient. For this process the Tagalog language largely uses previously assimilated foreign elements, too:

doble-talím ([< Sp *doble* "double"]) < Eng *double-edged,*

gubat-ulán (lit. "forest-rain") < Eng *rainforest,*

pinál na desisyón [Sp *final* «last; final», *decisión* «decision»] < Eng *final decision* (cf. Sp *determinación* «final decision»),

may bista (lit. "to have look [< Sp *vista*]") < Sp *tener vista* "to have the air of".

b)   **Induced creations** are new words created in Tagalog as equivalents to foreign originals. Thus only the meanings of the latter are borrowed and transferred onto these creations, which may not have any formal or structural analogies with the foreign originals. The group of induced creations is not large, for the present general tendency in Tagalog and other Philippine languages is *lexical* (full) borrowing. The group of the Tagalog induced creations may contain both new creations specially invented within the framework of the bygone language nationalization (or purification) policy, and those emerged rather spontaneously, in attempt to give names to unknown things or phenomena:

Kapulungán (lit. "place to meet / gather in") "assembly or meeting to talk" < Sp *Cámara,* Eng *Chamber/assembly* (e.g. *Mababang Kapulungán* "Lower Chamber"),

padér-ilog (lit. "wall-[< Sp *pared*] - river») "embankment" < Sp *malecón,* Eng *enbankment*

pakilusán (lit. «that-where-is-movement») «engine» < Sp *motor,* Eng *motor/.engine,*

talatinigan, talahulugán (lit. "list-of-sounds", "list-of-meanings") "dictionary (esp. with transcription" < Sp *diccionario,* Eng *dictionary.*

III. HYBRID NEOLOGISMS

This is a completely different type of borrowing, caused by *morphological interference.* There is no transportation of either lexeme or its meaning, but *a creation* by the recipient language of new words using both native morphemes and foreign elements (*lexical* or even *grammatical*), singled out of already *assimilated borrowings.* In the case of Tagalog hybrid neologisms are often created of parts of assimilated *loanwords* only, with no native elements added. Such hybrid neologisms may emerge either on the account of *hypercorrection* (wrong interpretation) of some already assimilated loanword, or with aim to create a word with some new meanings out of existing ones, or just for fun, as a play-on-words (usual for slang and sward language in the Philippines). I attempted to classify the Tagalog hybrid neologisms according to the ways of application of the borrowings used for hybridization:

1. Lexical hybrids are the neologisms created with use of foreign *lexical* morphemes (roots) or their parts singled out of previously adopted borrowings.

I refer the following two examples to *early hybridization* as a result of *wrong interpretation* due to the phonological identification of one of its components as "Tagalog". The first started with assimilation of Mal *juru bahasa* (lit. "expert - language") "interpreter" into Tag *dalubhasà* "expert; connoisseur (in general)". It appears to have been wrongly divided into "quasi-morphemes" *dalub+hasà,* which was probably evoked by the phonological identification of its second component with the native word *hasà* "whetting; sharp". As a result of this misinterpretation *hasà* has got as though a "figurative" meaning "training, expert check", and the "new morpheme" *dalub-* was mistaken as a "prefix denoting expertise".[4] In this status *dalub-* participated in the creation of such *hybrids,* as *dalub-aghám* "scientist" (with Tag *aghám* "science" < Skt *āgama* "sacred science, religion"), *dalub-wikà* "linguist" (Tag *wikà* "language, speech" < ? Skt *vāka* "mumbling").

Another early loanword, which gave rise to hybridization is *batu(m)balanì* "magnet", which is the simplified Mal *batu* ("stone")+*berani* ("courageous, brave") "magnet". It seems to have been re-analyzed as consisting of *batu* (Tag *bato* "stone")+*balanì* thus thought to mean "magnetic". This misinterpretation has given rise to *balanì* as a root word meaning "magnetism; charm". So, now it's possible for different hybrids to evolve, containing any Tagalog or borrowed word + *balanì.* Thus,

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[4] This is how Carl Rubino calls it in his Dictionary, *see:* Rubino 2000: 52. *See also:* English 1977: 403.

Tagalog Dictionaries already have *turubalanì* for "magnetic needle" (with Tag *turò* "needle") [*see* e.g. Rubino 2000].

Filipinos are famous for their ingenuity and bright humor in creation new words and expressions in their colloquial Philippine languages including Tagalog:[5]

biyahilo "travel sickness" < *biyahe* "travel" [< Sp *viaje*] + *hilo* "dizziness; vertigo" [< Sp *giro* "rotation; turn, spin"],

ander de saya "henpecked" < Eng *under* + Sp posses. prep. *de*[6] + Tag *saya* "skirt",

sawang interj. "so what?" < Tag "what a pity!" (< Mal *sayang* "affection (to)", *sayang nya!* "what a pity!".

2. Grammatical hybrids are neologisms created with use of borrowed grammatical elements in order to impart the *grammatical* meanings of the latter to the chosen Tagalog words. Tagalog has assimilated a large number of Spanish and English words so profoundly that many borrowed grammatical elements are now used as partly productive formations in the language participating in the Tagalog word-building. It is general tendency in Tagalog, as we see, that neologisms may also be created with use of borrowed material only.

ansikót "loitering" > *ansikutero* "loafer; smb. avoiding their duties",

basura "garbage" [< Sp *basura*] > *basurero* "dustman" (cf. Sp *basurero* «помойка, свалка»),

Eng *boxing* > *boxingero* "boxer" (all with Sp suf. denoting actor *-ero*);

aguha [< Sp *aguja* "needle"][7] – *aguhílya* (<Sp diminut. suf. *–illa*] "hairpin";

tamád "lazy" > *tamarisim* [< Eng internat. suf. *–ism*] "laziness";

bays [< Eng *buys*] "a buy" > *baysing* [+ Eng gerund. suf. *-ing*] "shopping".

The use of borrowed affixes as productive indicates a significant shift in the language structure, even in grammar. Thus, there is a number of Spanish loanwords and Tagalog-Spanish hybrids in the language, where such grammatical category as gender works, though Tagalog grammar itself has no such category:

doktór / doktora "doctor masc./fem." [< Sp *doctor* for both genders],

slang *egat* "dark-skinned woman" - *egot* "dark-skinned man" [< Tag *igat* "black eel"],

pilyo – pilya "disobedient, naughty masc./fem." [< Sp verb *pillar* "to rob, swindle; etc."],

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[5] See, for example, D. Zorc's Tagalog Slang Dictionary [Zorc 2000].

[6] Here I doubt D. Zorc's tracing *de* of this example to the English article "the" [Zorc 1990: 80]. Tagalog has borrowed from Spanish enough word combinations with the possessive preposition "de" for Filipinos to start operating with this Spanish element: thus, having borrowed *kuryente* "electricity, current" [< Sp *corriente*] Filipinos has *created* their own adjective *de-kuryente* for "electric" (cf. Sp *eléctrico* "electric").

[7] I also doubt J. Wolff's derivation of Tag *aguhilya* "hairpin" from "a reshaped Spanish *horquilla* "hairpin" [Wolff 1999: 10].

posturyoso – posturyosa "stylish, fashionable, well-dressed" (Tag *postura* "pose; posture" [< Sp *postura* "pose, posture; position; etc."] + analogy with borrowings like *seryoso, nerbyoso*).

3. Play hybrids are usually *slang* or colloquial neologisms created for fun, where borrowed elements are *insignificant* and do not add any meaning. Thus the general application of borrowed elements is play / humorous speech only:

Eng *o'k, okay + ch > chokay* "o'k",

Tag *hikà* "asthma" + Sp/Eng plural suffix *–s > hiks* "asthma",

Sp *torpe* "dull, slow, stupid" > Tag *torpe* "stupid" *+–s > torps* "afraid of girls".

SUMMARY

Summarizing the above analysis of the types of loanwords in Tagalog, the following *Typological Classification of Tagalog Borrowings* may be offered:

I. Full Borrowings

1) **Complete Loans -**
   a) unassimilated loanwords
   b) assimilated loanwords

2) **Hybrid Loans -**
   a) partially native
   b) purely borrowed

II. Semantic Borrowings

1) **Extensions**
   a) semantic extensions
   b) phonetic extensions

2) **Creations**
   a) loan translations
   b) induced creations

III. Hybrid Neologisms

1) **Lexical hybrids**

2) **Grammatical hybrids**

3) **Play hybrids**

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How to Give and Receive in Malay and Cebuano?

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1.0 Introduction

One of the primary tasks of the discipline of linguistics concerns with the study of the knowledge of language among the native speakers of any particular language. In linguistics, the study of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics fall under the category of pure linguistics. Other than these, such studies are categorized as applied linguistics.

In the last decade, the plausibility of the **Universal Grammar (UG)** has taken shape in various theoretical setups and has come to be known lately as the **Minimalist Program (MP)** which is not a theory but a program based on the **Principles and Parameters Theory (P&P)** (Hornstein, 2005). Its origins can be traced to its prime mover, Noam Chomsky, starting with his book **Syntactic Structures** (1957) down to the recent book **The Minimalist Program** (1995) and other books that follow it. While other grammatical theories are concerned with the explanation of the grammaticality of every utterance in some languages like English, the Chomksyan perspective is designed for the attainment of the universal explanation of the notions of grammaticality and the ungrammaticality in any particular language. Just like all other exhaustive pursuits of science, the study of grammar deals with the two sides of the coin in contrast to the previous trends. Currently, most Chomskyan linguists are concerned in the studies of all languages across language families.

Among the languages, the **Austronesian** languages are a family of languages spoken widely among the people of Madagascar, Southeast Asia, Polynesia, Micronesia, Easter

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Island, and New Zealand (O'Grady, et. al., 1996). This family of languages is one of the largest language families in the world numbering more than 1000 languages. One of the typological characteristics of this family of languages is **reduplication** (Finegan, 1999). Reduplication is a morphological process wherein a part or the whole base of a word is duplicated, of which, Bahasa Melayu and Cebuano as Austronesian languages are no exception. This paper attempts to shed some light on the application of MP in Bahasa Melayu and Cebuano. It is in this light that the authors are dealing with comparative double object construction in the two languages. This paper is concerned with the synchronic analysis on the morphological and syntactic properties of the 3-place Malay and Cebuano verbs.

2.0 The Minimalist Program

This paper employs the Minimalist Program (MP). This program/theory subsumes the idea that the Universal Grammar has similar design of the P&P. Research has shown the success of P&P in dealing with the abstraction of the Universal Grammar (UG). UG is the biological endowment which allows the human species to acquire language (Radford, 2004b). The current trend of the quest for UG is to determine the principles that govern natural languages – to give light to the nature of the linguistic system that represents the organization and function of any particular language. MP assumes that UG has the architecture of P&P. MP advances P&P approach by making the theory minimal and simplified through the inclusion of economy principles – both methodological and substantive. The principle of methodological economy encompasses the notions of *simplicity* and *parsimony*. The principle of substantive economy projects the idea that

locality conditions and well-formedness filters reflect the concept that grammar is structured parsimoniously to fully utilize all of the resources (Hornstein, et. al., 2005).

As part of the standard assumptions of MP, grammar is composed of the lexicon and the computational system (CS). This composition is delineated in the book **Minimalist Program** (Chomsky, 1995:6) as stated in the following:

> "….The lexicon specifies the elements that CS selects and integrates to form linguistic expressions – (PF, LF) pairings, we assume. The lexicon should provide just the information that is required for CS, without redundancy and in some optimal form, excluding whatever is predictable by principles of UG or properties of the language in question. Virtually all items of the lexicon belong to the *substantive categories*, which we will take to be noun, verb, adjective, and particle, putting aside many questions about their nature and interrelations. The other categories we will call *functional* (tense, complementizer, etc.)…"

In the light of the foregoing statements, it is assumed that CS selects the lexical item and constructs derivation. Each derivation determines a structural description (SD). SD includes a pair of representations, Logical Form (LF) and the Phonetic Form (PF). LF is the semantic component which converts the syntactic structures produced by merger and movement operations into LF-representations. PF is the component which converts the syntactic structures generated by the computational component of the grammar into PF-representations, via a series of morphological and phonological operations (Radford, 2004).

3.0 The Malay Language

The Malay language, which is also known as Bahasa Melayu among native speakers, is one of the member languages of the Austronesian Language Family. It serves as the national and official language of Brunei, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. It is the regional language in Southern Thailand among the Muslim Malays who constitute the majority in the provinces of Narathiwat, Pattani, Satun, and Yala. It assumes various names like Bahasa Melayu in Brunei, Singapore, and Thailand; Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia and in Timor-Leste and Bahasa Malaysia in Malaysia. Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia are mutual intelligible and such nomenclature division is purely political and non-linguistic at all.

In this paper, Malay refers to Bahasa Malaysia (BM), the official language of Malaysia which is provided in Article 152 of the Constitution of Malaysia and functions for official use in the federal and state governments, all authorities and official bodies (Alicio, 2001). BM is spoken as first and second language by around 22 million people in Malaysia. This particular variety of Malay undergoes various stages of evolution. Lexically, the current form of BM is a product of long history of linguistic influences of Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, Portuguese, and English among others. The following sample words and their origin are presented in Table 1 below:

Source Language	Loanword	Malay form	Gloss
Sanskrit	bahasa	bahasa	language
	guru	guru	teacher
	mannushya	manusia	human
Arabic	dunya	dunia	world
	kamus	kamus	dictionary
	syariah	syariah	Islamic Law

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Chinese	long-kang	longkang	drainage
	bi-hun	bihun	rice noodle
	kong-si	kongsi	to share
Dutch	duit	duit	money
Portuguese	bandeira	bendera	flag
	igreja	gereja	church
	manteiga	mentega	butter
English	journal	jurnal	journal
	promotion	promosi	promotion
	president	presiden	president

Table 1. Loanwords in Malay

As seen in the table, the Malay form represents the Malay approximation of the original sound. The final form meets the requirement of the Malay phonotactics and other conventions the guardian of which is the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. Orthographically, BM used to be written in modified Arabic script known as **Jawi**. At present, it is written using Roman alphabet which is locally known as **Rumi**.

Typologically, BM is an agglutinative language and follows the SVO pattern as in the sentence: *Saya makan nasi goreng* where *saya* 'I' is the subject, *makan* 'eat' the verb, and *nasi goreng* 'fried rice' the object. The verb is not inflected with tense or aspect. However, the verb can be marked by the agentive marker prefix **me-** as in **memakan** 'to eat' or by passive marker prefix **di-** as in **dimakan** 'to be eaten'.

4.0 The Cebuano Language

Cebuano, often spelt as Sebwano, is an Austronesian language spoken as first language among the people in various political regions of Visayas and Mindanao. It is called *Sugbuhanon* by the people of Cebu, its place of origin which is called **Sugbu** by the natives themselves. Among native speakers, they also called the language **Bisaya** and

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Binisaya, a generic term which applies not only to Cebuano but to all languages in Visayas. Cebuano serves as the lingua franca in the Visayas and Mindanao. Current estimates project Cebuano as spoken by not less than 30 million people in the Philippines. The speakers can be located in Region VI Western Visayas, Region VII Central Visayas, Region VIII Eastern Visayas, Region IX the Zamboanga Peninsula, Region X Northern Mindanao, Region XI The Region of Davao, Region XII Central Mindanao or popularly known as SOCCSKSARGEN, and Region XIII Caraga Administrative Region. The bulk of the population in all of these eight regions speaks Cebuano as first language.

Various languages came into contact with Cebuano. Today, the present Cebuano language is fused with lexical items which are a product of language contact with Chinese, Spanish and English. Observe the sample words as presented in Table 2 below:

Source Language	Loanword	Cebuano	Gloss
Chinese	bi-hun	bihun	'rice noodle'
	pinggan	pinggan	'plate'
	mangkok	mangkuk	''bowl'
Spanish	cuchara	kutsara	'spoon'
	calle	kalyi	'street'
	gobierno	gubirnu	'government'
	municipio	munisipyu	'municipality'
	infierno	impirno	'hell'
	Dios	Jus	'God'
English	blue	blu	'blue'
	computer	kumpyuter	'computer'
	microphone	maykrupun	'microphone
	apartment	apartmint	'apartment'

Table 2. Loanwords in Cebuano

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The influence of Chinese can be found in food and utensils. The Spanish influence is so pervasive – from the kitchen to the street, from the mundane world of politics and government to the inner sanctum of the soul. One of the obvious reasons is the Spanish colonization for almost 400 years. In English, its influence can be found particularly in technology and other modern implements wherein modernity is equated with the arrival of American English in the Philippines during the American occupation of 50 years. Although the Philippines was governed by the US for 50 years, the American influence is more overarching than that of Spain almost in every part of the Filipino life.

In this paper the variety of Cebuano used here is the Davao variety. Davao Cebuano (DC) behaves like its other sister dialects and languages in terms of typology and other linguistic subsystems. Cebuano is a verb-initial language, where the verb/predicate comes first in the normal utterance. It is agglutinative which means that the affixes play the major role of semantic and syntactic loading in the sentential computation. Its verb system is of similar complexity as all Philippine languages exhibit. All verbs are marked by aspect and are inflected with other grammatical categories. For instance the verb **kaun** 'eat' can be inflected with aspect, producing the passive completed lexical form **gikaun** 'eaten' or its agentive infinitival form **mukaun** 'to eat'; or by number producing the completed plural lexical form **nangaun** 'are/were eating'. Much of this will be discussed in the following pages.

5.0 Three-place BM and DC verbs

By applying the analytical tools of the Minimalist Program (MP), this paper analyzes the 3-place verbs in BM and DC. It starts with the establishment of the argument/thematic

structure of the verbs. The term 3-place, which is borrowed from the terminology of logic, means that there are three arguments in the event signified by the predicate/verb. In the traditional literature, the sentence which contains 3-place verbs is called double object construction. Double object construction (DOC) is a construction in which a verb takes two NP objects as its complements. In English, for example, DOC is demonstrated by the verbs **send, show, give,** and **donate** among others. Observe the sentential examples below:

1. John sends [NP Mary] [NP a book].

2. Mary showed [NP the picture] [to NP John].

3. John gives [NP flowers] [to NP Mary].

4. John and Mary donate [NP the prize] [to NP the church].

Judged as grammatical, the sentences above are the projections of the lexical information found in the argument structure of the verbs. The term **argument** refers to the participant in any given event signaled by the verb. Regarding argument structure, various definitions exist in the literature. Radford (2004) defines **argument structure** as a "description of the set of arguments associated with the predicate and the **thematic role** which each fulfills in relation to the predicate". In syntactic terms, the term theta role (**Θ-role**) refers to the set of thematic relations assigned by a particular element to a particular position (Cowper, 1992). Every argument in the argument structure is associated with a theta-role. This information is encoded in the **thematic structure** of the lexical item which in this case is the verb. The argument/thematic structure of the verb represents the selectional properties of the verb (Ouhalla, 1999).

In accounting the individual Θ-roles, linguists come into consideration of the commonly known ones. Below is the tabulation of commonly termed Θ-roles and their definitions taken from Cowper (1992), Ouhalla (1999), and Radford (2004):

1	Agent	Entity instigating some action
2	Benefactive	Subtype of *Goal* which refers to the one for whose benefit the event took place
3	Experiencer	Entity experiencing some psychological state
4	Goal	Entity representing the destination of some other entity
5	Instrument	Means used to perform some action
6	Locative	Place in which something is situated or takes place
7	Patient	Entity which undergoes an action
8	Percept	An entity which is experienced or perceived
9	Recipient	Subtype of *Goal* which occurs with verbs denoting change of possession such as *give, donate, receive,* etc
10	Source	Entity from which something moves
11	Theme	Entity undergoing the effect of verbs of motion and location

Table 3. Theta Roles

There is a consensus among linguists on the Θ-roles **theme** and **patient** unifying these Θ-roles under one name – **theme**. Arguing that the Θ-role theme is central to the study of semantic relations, the term thematic role is coined out of the Θ-role **theme** (Radford, 2004). Furthermore, these Θ-roles are used interchangeably in the literature denoting the same entities. In line with this account, I make use of the Θ-role **theme** as the cover term for both theme and patient.

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Applying the preceding concept, the corresponding argument/thematic structures of the verbs in sentences **1 - 4** are as follows:

1a. send: V: <1,2,3>
      <source, recipient, theme>

2a. show: V: <1,2,3>
      <agent, theme, goal >

3a. give: V: <1,2,3>
      <source, theme, recipient>

4a. donate V: <1,2,3>
      <source, theme, benefactive >

In (1), **John** is the source, **Mary** the recipient, and **a book** the theme. In (2), **Mary** is the agent, **the picture** theme, and **to John** the goal. In (3), **John** is the source, **flowers** the theme and **Mary** the recipient. In (4), **John and Mary** is the source, **the prize** the theme, and **the church** the benefactive.

English verb morphological system is impoverished as compared to those of the productive Austronesian languages like BM and DC. In BM and DC, the modification of the argument structure of the verb is the result of verbal affixation. The number of arguments in the argument/thematic structures of verbs is increased due to the verbal affixes. This means that it is not only the inherent meaning of the verb that plays the role of determining the number of arguments but also the verbal affixes. Take for example the verbs below BM and DC verbs:

5. **BM verbs**   'Gloss'
5.1 menjahit: V: <1,2>   'to sew something'
        <agent, theme>

5.2 menjahitkan: V: <1,2,3>   'to sew something for someone'
        <agent, benefactive, theme>

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5.3 membuat: V: <1,2>   'to make something'
           <agent, theme>

5.4 membuatkan: V: <1,2,3>   'to make something for someone'
           <agent, benefactive, theme>

5.5 membeli: V: <1,2>   'to buy something'
           <agent, theme>

5.6 membelikan: V: <1,2,3>   'to buy something for someone'
           <agent, benefactive, theme>

6. DC verbs
6.1 magtahi: V: <1,2>   'to sew something'
           <agent, theme>

6.2 tahian: V: <1,2,3>   'to sew something for someone'
           <agent, benefactive, theme

6.3 magbuhat: V: <1,2>   'to make something'
           <agent, theme>

6.4 buhatan: V: <1,2,3>   'to make something for someone'
           <agent, benefactive, theme>

6.5 palit: V: <1,2>   'to buy something'
           <agent, theme>

6.6 palitan: V: <1,2,3>   'to buy something for someone'
           <agent, benefactive, theme>

As shown above, the BM verbs which are affixed with *meN* have their argument/thematic structures composed only of two arguments which bear the theta roles **agent** and **theme.** While the BM verbs affixed with *meN-kan* are having three arguments which bear the theta roles **agent, benefactive,** and **theme** in their argument/thematic structures. Similarly in DC verbs, the verbs which are affixed with *mag* have their argument/thematic structures composed of two arguments which bear the theta roles **agent** and **theme.** The DC verbs affixed with *an* are having three arguments which bear the theta roles **agent, benefactive,** and **theme** in their argument/thematic structures. It

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seems clear that when the BM and DC affixes **kan** and **an** are affixed to the BM and DC verbs respectively, the 3-place verbs are likely to exist in the computation. However, such verbs are not only the 3-place verbs. BM verbs such as **memberikan** 'to give', **menderma** 'to donate', and **menghantar** 'to send' among others are naturally designated as 3-place verbs. The same can be said with DC verbs **maghatag** 'to give', **maglimos** 'to donate', and **magpada** 'to send'. These verbs are used in the discussion on the representation of argument/thematic structures in the next section.

6.0 Representing the Argument/Thematic Structures

Observe the following sentences from BM (**7**) and DC (**8**) and the argument/thematic structures of the verbs below.
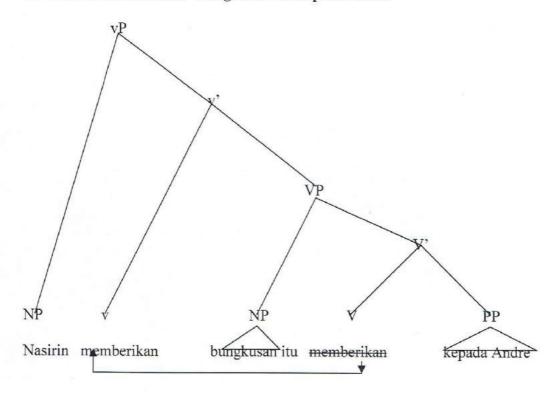
7.   [NP **Nasirin**] memberikan [NP **bungkusan itu**] [**kepada** NP **Andre**].
        'Nasirin gives the package to Andre'

7a.   memberikan: V: <1,2,3>
                    <source, recipient, theme>

8.   Maghatag [NP **ug libro**] [NP **sa bata**] [NP **si Maria**].
        'Maria gives the book to the child'

8a.   maghatag: V: <1,2,3>
                    <source, recipient, theme>

In the argument/thematic structures in **7a** and **8a** of the verbs in sentences **7** and **8** above, the Arabic numerals represent the arguments which the verb has. The theta-grid encodes the type of thematic relation that the argument has in relation to the verb. This idea leads to the development and the assertion of the concept of canonical structural realization (CSR) in such a way that there exists a corresponding relationship between a syntactic

category and a theta role. Simply stated, for every theta role in the thematic structure of the verb there is a corresponding syntactic argument as encoded in the argument structure of the verb. Saying this, the theta role **agent** can have either a CSR in NP or a PP and the theta role **theme** can have a CSR of either an NP or an IP depending on the inherent meaning of the verb.
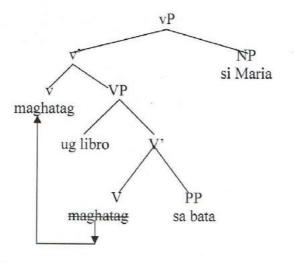
Working on the sample data, in **(7)** the three-place BM verb **memberikan** 'to give' has the **NP Nasirin** as the CSR of source, the **NP bungkusan itu** 'the package' for theme and the **PP kepada Andre** 'for Andre' as the recipient. In **(8)** the three-place DC verb **maghatag** 'to give' has the **NP si Maria** as the CSR of source, the **NP ug libro** the theme, and the **NP sa bata** the recipient. In summary, all of the theta roles are assigned by the verbs to their arguments and are fully realized by the grammatical categories as stated above. This fact ensures the grammaticality of the sentences.

Applying the X-bar Theory, the sentence **(7)** is given the structural representation in **(7b)** in the following page for exemplification. The template used here conforms to the idea that all of the complements of the verb originate from the verb phrase (VP). This hypothesis is known in the literature as VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (VPISH). As employed in the MP, this paper makes use of the VP-shell analysis wherein the VP is the complement of the light verb v with maximal projection headed by a light verb phrase vP. The little v assigns the theta role **Agent**. The big **V** assigns the theta roles **Theme** and **Goal** respectively. To make this point clear, observe the following structures 7c and 8c below.

7c. Nasirin memberikan bungkusan itu kepada Andre

```
                    vP
                   /  \
                  /    v'
                 /    /  \
                /    /    VP
               /    /    /  \
              /    /    /    V'
             /    /    /    /  \
            /    /    /    /    \
          NP    v   NP    V     PP

       Nasirin  memberikan  bungkusan itu  memberikan  kepada Andre
```

8c. Maghatag ug libro sa bata si Maria.

```
              vP
             /  \
            v'   NP
           / \   si Maria
          v   VP
      maghatag / \
          ug libro V'
                  / \
                 V   PP
              maghatag  sa bata
```

In sentence7c, the small *v* takes a VP as its complement and that it projects into vP. The argument-NP-Source-**Nasirin** occupies the Spec-vP position. The argument-NP-Theme **bungkusan itu** occupies the Spec-VP position. The argument-PP-Recipient-**Andre** occupies the V'-internal position. In sentence 8c, the small *v* takes a VP as its complement and that it projects into vP. The argument-NP-Source-**si Maria** occupies the Spec-vP position. The argument-NP-Theme **ug libro** occupies the Spec-VP position. The argument-PP-Recipient-**sa bata** occupies the V'-internal position. The strikethrough verbs ~~memberikan~~ and ~~maghatag~~ refer to the traces of the verbs which move to the little v in relation to the syntactic mechanisms of theta assignment thus preserving the word order. It follows that by linking the argument/thematic structure and the syntactic structure, the syntactic representations in **7c** and **8c** show that:

(9) a. The NP which is the daughter of vP is interpreted as the Source.

    b. The DP which is the daughter of VP is interpreted as the Theme.

    c. The PP which is the daughter of V' is interpreted as the Recipient.

These statements are congruent with the hypothesis called **Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)** which serves as the solution to the Linking Problem. This hypothesis is stated as follows (Radford, 2004b):

(10) **Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)**

    Each theta role assigned by a particular predicate is canonically associated with a specific syntactic position.

The utterances are judged grammatical by the native speakers themselves and by virtue that they obey the basic principles and parameters that the UG has set. Owing to the fact that MP is still in its early stages, other analyses in the generative grammar might prove otherwise.

By the way, my co-author Nasirin said that in Malay when we receive something from somebody, we have to say TERIMA KASIH. And in Cebuano, we say SALAMAT. These expressions simply mean THANK YOU.

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Interlinears: Lack of Equivalence
By
Annie del Corro

1.0 Introduction
1.1 New interest

An interlinear such as a Greek interlinear is a lexicographical tool wherein the Greek text of the NT is glossed with another language. The goal of the interlinear user is to know the meaning or content of the book written in the foreign or less known language.

In the Bible Society context, there is a growing interest in the development and production of interlinears. In the Asia-Pacific region, there is now a Greek-Baluchi interlinear project in Pakistan published and dedicated in 1999, a Greek-Bahasa Indonesia interlinear published in 2004, and the Philippine Bible Society initiated a project in 2003 to produce a Greek-Tagalog interlinear.

In comparison with my early years with UBS, there were no interlinear projects then, at least, not in the NBS's where I served. What does this mean?

- There is a progression in the appreciation of God's word. Our Bible users want more than a translation. If in the past they were told how a verse is supposed to be understood, now, they want direct access to the biblical text, the source languages. They may not necessarily know how to translate from the source language, but they want to see the link between the source text and the translation at hand.

- A part of this progression can be attributed to the growing interest in the study about the Bible, its history, different versions, translation principles and the like.

- In a country where the majority religion is Islam, the accusation leveled against Christianity has been on the changing character of the Bible, considering that translations now even are available in contemporary, modern languages. This is in contrast with the Quran which is still read in its original language, Arabic. Without any knowledge of the principles of translation, it is hard to convince the layperson that Bible translations maintain the integrity of the original texts. Thus, an interlinear is a good format to give an idea about the accuracy of a translation. The Pakistan Bible Society is on its second interlinear project, a means they have found effective to demonstrate the accuracy of the Bible in their Islamic context.

Equally interesting is looking into the reasons why Bible Society projects did not include interlinears in the past. Anyone who has majored in Biblical Studies will certainly remember how they were forbidden to use Hebrew and Greek interlinears in their exegesis class. And if students used interlinears, it was kept a

secret, not only from the professor but from the other students as well. One thing is also true: the scholarly editions published by UBS do not include interlinears. It makes one wonder why there is so much bias against interlinears!

Interlinears are not perceived to be scholarly, and this may be due to the following reasons: An interlinear provides a fast way to match every Greek word with a gloss from the gloss language. The basis for the match is similarity in meaning without any regard for the structure of the gloss language. Because of this one-sided view of interlinears, it is easy to presume that assigning meanings can be quite arbitrary. All analysis is done only from the perspective of the source language when the ideal would have been to study both languages, source and gloss languages, as separate linguistic systems with their own grammars and unique characteristics.

1.2 Sample Greek-English Interlinears

For the purpose of comparison with existing interlinears, I evaluated the features of two Greek-English interlinears, *The New Greek-English Interlinear New Testament,* by Robert K. Brown and Philip W. Comfort, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 1990, and *The Interlinear NRSV-NIV Parallel New Testament in Greek and English by Alfred Marshall, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1993.*

As expected, both interlinears provide a gloss in English that is a literal translation of the Greek word. Both also provide information about features of Greek grammar that do not have exact equivalents in English such as elaborate case features in nouns and adjectives, participles, negatives, and common idiomatic expressions.

There are also differences between the two interlinears. Brown and Comfort call the English counterpart as an interlinear translation. Instead of this term, Marshall calls it the interlinear English. This is an important distinction because it explains why the former includes the superscript numbers to indicate the order the words are to be read. This is to say that the interlinear part can and should be read like well-formed sentences.

I think Marshall is on the right track not to aim for a translation in the gloss. This explains why he does not use superscript numbers. However, the rationale is never explained and this is due to the common feature of these two interlinears to focus only on the description of Greek and not on the gloss language. Marshall demonstrates his in-depth knowledge of the Greek text, to the extent that some information is no longer relevant to the needs of the interlinear user, but rather to any person studying Greek. There is one setback. Marshall mentions in the introduction that the Greek text used is the 21st edition of Eberhard Nestle' Novum Testamentum Graece. (Or should this be Erwin Nestle's 1883-1972 since Eberhard Nestle's period was 1851-1913?). On the other hand, Brown and Comfort used the UBS GNT 3rd edition (1983). The Greek text used in the Greek-Tagalog Interlinear is the 4th edition of the UBS Greek text.

1.3 Objective of the paper

This paper aims to present the theoretical considerations in the making of an interlinear thereby elevating this practice from a one-sided study of the Greek language, to one that gives equal importance to the gloss language. As a result, the linguistic patterns of the two are viewed from the perspective of structure leading to a more objective, holistic and consistent description of the languages.

2

2.0 Differences between Greek and Tagalog

2.1 Genetic classification

One way to classify languages is to establish families whose members are said to have developed historically from a common ancestor. The basis for this kind of diachronic classification is the regular correspondence of sounds. The existence of systematic phonetic correspondences in the forms of two or more languages point toward a common source. Consider the following example [1]:

English	Russian	Hindi	Turkish
two	dva	do	iki
three	tri	tin	ytʃ
brother	brat	bhāī	kardeʃ
nose	nos	nahī	burun

It is notable to see the closer similarity between English and Russian when compared with Hindi. Turkish, not related to the rest, is included to show the non-existence of cognates. Based on this type of classification, the Greek language belongs to the Indo-European family of languages, under the sub-family Hellenic. On the other hand, Tagalog belongs to the Austronesian family, under the Malayo-Polynesian branch.

2.2 Typological Classification

Another way to classify languages, but from a synchronic perspective, is through their structural characteristics. Different languages combine morphemes differently in forming words. In isolating or analytic languages, words are generally single root morphemes, such as Chinese. In agglutinating languages, words can contain several morphemes but the components are usually easily identified. In fusional or inflectional languages, words may contain different morphemes but affixes mark several grammatical categories simultaneously.

Greek is inflectional so in the Greek word λυω, the final vowel can signify any of the following grammatical categories: present tense/aspect, active voice, indicative mood, 1st person and singular number. One will note the extensive semantic load of the omega of this verb.

On the other hand, Tagalog is an agglutinating language because the word is easily divided into its component parts, thus:

nagtulungan < n   ag   tulong   an   'helped each other"
              Completed aspect   active help   reciprocal

2.3 Contrastive Analysis of languages:
In the development of Philippine linguistics, specifically, the use of linguistic principles in the study of Philippine languages, there was a stage in the 70's when contrastive analyses were very popular. These are

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[1] O'Grady 1995, p324

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comparative studies of the linguistic features of English and another Philippine language, many times with the objective to improve the teaching and use of the English language. The "other" language was analyzed only in so far that it was different from English. But as a result, the language being compared with English ended up being analyzed.

Following this type of analysis, a survey of the different parts of a Greek grammar book can easily show the major differences between Greek and Tagalog. A number of differences show categories grammaticalized in Greek whereas these are lexicalized in Tagalog. Something is said to be grammaticalized if a concept is expressed through a regular and structural alternation such as affixes. When the concept is encoded as separate words that do not exhibit a regular alternation, the category is said to be lexicalized. Please see under Reflexive for a clear distinction between these two.

- concord or agreement
    - Greek – grammaticalized through suffixes affecting articles, nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs
    - Tagalog – none
- Case marking
    - Greek – grammaticalized through suffixes
    - Tagalog – grammaticalized through different markers
- Verbals
    - Greek – participles and infinitives grammaticalzed
    - Tagalog – expressed as verbs usually, lexicalized
- Verbs
    - Greek – phonologically conditioned classification such as liquid, -μι , contract verbs
    - Tagalog – elaborate semantically differentiated affix combinations
- Subjunctive
    - Greek – grammaticalized
    - Tagalog - lexicalized
- Nouns
    - Greek – elaborate declension
    - Tagalog – none
- Prepositions
    - Greek – high differentiation
    - Tagalog – low differentiation
- Reflexive
    - Greek – grammaticalized in pronouns
        - Mark 5.5 κατακ☐πτων ☐αυτ☐ν λ☐θοις.
          Bruising   himself   with stones
    - Tagalog – lexicalized
        - Mark 5.5 κατακ☐πτων ☐αυτ☐ν   λ☐θοις.
          sinusugatan   ang sarili ng mga bato

In Greek, the reflexive pronoun ☐αυτ☐ν is inflected for case, number and gender. The regular alternation marks that it is grammaticalized. In Tagalog, reflexive action is expressed lexically through the use of 'sarili' meaning 'self', and not through a grammatical alternation.

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2.3.1 Concord

One morpho-syntactic characteristic of the Greek language that stands out as different fromTagalog is the prevalence of concord. This is a syntactic device manifested by the agreement of suffixes between nouns, pronouns, adjectives, articles and participles in the categories of case, gender, number.

Mark 7.3

οἱ γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐὰν μὴ πυγμῇ νίψωνται τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν, κρατοῦντες τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,

Note the agreement between οι, φαρισαιοι, Ιουδαιο, where the shared final vowels are also obvious. Although not as obvious in form, the adjective παντεϖ also agrees with the nouns in case, number and gender. The verbs have to agree with the nouns they modify in number and person. Thus, the verb ηεσθιουσιν agrees with the plural subject φαρισαιοι and Ιουδαιο. Because of the prevalent suffixes showing agreement, there is more freedom in the way words are arranged. Because of the semantic load of these words, it is not surprising that Blass et al [2] observe that " word order in Greek and so in the NT is freer by far than in modern languages". Certain tendencies and habits on word order (in the NT especially in the narrative) are observed by Blass et al and these are

1. The verb or the nominal predicate with its copula stands immediately after the conjunction (the usual beginning of a sentence) then follow in order the subject, object, supplementary participle, etc.
2. Positions are by no means mandatory. Any emphasis on an element in the sentence causes that element to be moved forward.
3. Transitional temporal phrases tend to stand at the beginning; but sometimes as a result of the tendency to begin a sentence with a verb, a meaningless эεγενετο which does not even influence the construction may precede

The second and third statements, Blass (1961, p248) admit the lack of a big picture with regard to how words are arranged in Greek. The first description is often made that the verb takes precedence in Greek. There is some truth to this but one has to equally emphasize that for every verb, the grammatical categories referring to the subject are always present. So this statement is not too significant especially when the subject is a pronoun. When the subject is a noun, it may occur before the verb. With the copula, it may be before or after. But with the emphatic proclitic pronoun, it is always before the verb.

So the most significant thing to be made about word order is that it is quite free and this is a result of the highly inflectional feature of Greek. One can move words around more easily if the words are themselves bearers of meaning and this is true for inflectional languages. In isolating languages where every significant category of meaning is represented by a separate morpheme, word order is used as basis for meaning distinction

Tagalog is basically a Verb – Object – Subject language. Being agglutinative, meaning distinction is borne by distinct affixes and syntactic marking particles. There is no morphological concord.

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[2] Blass et al, 1961, p248

2.3.2 Voice

Voice is a grammatical category that shows how one part or entity is related to the action or main predication in the sentence. If the doer of the action is also the subject, the voice is active. However, if the subject is other than the doer of the action, the voice is passive. The Greek language clearly delineates between these two.

Three examples are given below which may not contain the whole verse. In the first two, Matt 1.2 and 14.58, the Greek verb is active. In Mark 14.72, the Greek verb is middle deponent and should still be translated as active. In all of these three cases, however, the active voice is not possible in Tagalog, without a change in the meaning.

Matt 1.2

□βρα□μ   □γ□ννησεν   τ□ν □σα□κ, 'Abraham begat Isaac'

* si Abraham nanganak/umanak   kay   Isaac   (active)

 Ni Abraham   naging anak   si   Isaac   (passive)

Mark 14.58

□με□ς   □κο□σαμεν α□το□ λ□γοντος □τι 'we heard him saying'

* kami   nakinig   sa kanya sinasabi   (active)

 Namin   narinig   niya   sinasabi   (passive)

The sentence above can become acceptable if made to mean 'we listened to him saying', thus intransitive.

Mark 14.72

δ□ς   τρ□ς με   □παρν□σ□· 'you will deny me three times'

beses   tatlo ako   ipagkakaila mo (passive)
times   three me   will deny   you

* beses tatlo sa akin   magkakaila ka (active)

The Tagalog sentence above can become acceptable if made to mean 'he will lie', thus intransitive.

Primacy of the patient

In the three examples above, the syntactic behavior of arguments or accompanying noun phrases shows a particular relationship between the transitive and intransitive sentences. The subject of an intransitive verb such as 'magkakaila ka (subject) sa akin' meaning 'you will deny me' in Mark 14.72 is marked the same as

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the patient of a transitive clause (ako 'me') which is different from the marker of the cooccurring agent (mo 'you').[3]

This syntactic behavior has been associated with ergativity when some verbs show restriction in occurring in the active voice. Studies in Philippine linguistics have attributed this to the primacy of the patient (object or goal) being the more salient nominal in Tagalog[4]. Patient focus constructions are also observed in verbs that bear no affix. When one of two nominals is forced to be focused, the patient readily allows it. Some examples in Tagalog are: ayaw 'don't like'; kailangan 'necessary'; alam 'know'.

The same is observed in verbs derived from nouns in which the cooccurring agent noun appears to have been incorporated into the verb, or sometimes called a cognate verb. Matt 1.2 example *'umanak' 'give birth to a child' and 'anak' is 'child'. Similar examples are: 'anayin' to be infested with termites 'anay 'termites'; lamukin ' means 'to be bitten by mosquitos' where 'lamok' means 'mosquitos'.

This section presents the major issues of difference between Greek and Tagalog: genetic classification, typological classification, the prevalence of concord in Greek and the ergative tendencies of Tagalog. Because of this tendency, an active verb in Greek is sometimes impossible and sometimes very unnatural to render as active also in Tagalog.

3.0 Principles to be used in the interlinear:
3.1 The lack of equivalence

Equivalence in this paper is used to refer to the close similarity between languages because of their common descent. This was shown in the close phonetic correspondence between English, Russian and Hindi in section 2.1 The basis for the similarity is the fact that the languages belong to the same family.

Among Philippine languages, shared morpho-syntactic characteristics can also be the basis for equivalence. One can note the similarity of the syntactic markers in 5 Philippine languages below.

A: Tagalog   Bumili ang bata   ng   libro.
                 Bought the child mrk[5]   book

    Cebuano   mipalit ug   libro ang   bata
                 Bought   mrk   book   the   child

    Hiligaynon   nagbakal ang   bata sang   libro
                 Bought   the   child mrk   book

Consider, however, the languages in B:

B. Kapampangan sinali   yang   libru ing   anak
                 Bought   he/she+mrk book   the   child

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[3] 'ka' and 'ako' belong to the same syntactic set of pronouns in Tagalog.
[4] De Guzman, 1998
[5] Syntactic marker

Ilocano	gimmatang	ti	ubing	ti	libro
	Bought	the	child	mrk	book

All these sentences mean, "The child bought a book." in 5 languages in the Philippines. Among these, languages in A are closer structurally than those in B. In A, note that except for a difference in order of words, the gloss of the words is identical. In B however, note the need for a cross-referent pronoun in Kapampangan, to refer to the child. In Ilocano, note the use of the identical marker for the subject 'child' and the direct object 'book'. The degree of similarity can differ as in A and B, but their similarity typologically is easily established.

If equivalence is based on inherent similarities between related languages, both genetically and typologically, and if Greek and Tagalog are clearly of different types on both counts, as shown in section 2.0, what can be the basis to make an interlinear with Tagalog as the gloss language?

3.2 A correspondence, but not equivalence

There may be a lack of equivalence, but one can establish a correspondence. The fact that there are numerous interlinears with Greek as the SL and many languages as GL (Bahasa Indonesia, Baluchi) is a proof that despite the lack of equivalence, there is value in showing correspondence in an interlinear. The user usually wants to have an idea about the literal meaning of the Greek word, but first the correspondence has to be established. The weakness of existing interlinears is that only the SL is given importance. No wonder, assigning the gloss is arbitrary because there is no reference whatsoever to the structure or linguistic patterns of the GL. It is like a patchwork, the GL patching up for whatever is found in the SL. Glossing will cease to be arbitrary only if the structure of the GL is given the same importance as the SL and the principles of glossing are based on sound linguistic principles and therefore shows consistency.

3.2.1 The verb ϶ειμι and Tagalog 'ay'

The Greek verb ϶ειμι is a copula verb characteristic of many languages in the Indo-European family of languages which is not found in Tagalog. Although used often to indicate a state of being, it can also combine with a participle to form a periphrastic construction. Either way, this copula verb embodies a combination of grammatical categories such as tense/aspect, mood, gender and person.

Tagalog 'ay' has been wrongfully analyzed as equivalent to the verb 'to be'. But 'ay' does not exhibit any verbal quality except to order the components, always putting the subject before it and the predicate after it. There are times when Greek ϶ειμι also behaves this way. Because of ϶ειμι's grammatical load such as person and number, there will be times when 'ay' will be glossed with a pronoun. Clearly, there is no equivalence, but a correspondence can be established.

Mark 1.11

Σ□ ε□ □ υ□□ς μου □ □γαπητ□ς

You	are	the	son	my	the	beloved
Ikaw	ay	ang	anak	ko	ang	minamahal

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Mark 1.13

καὶ □ν □ν τ□ □ρ□μ□ τεσσερ□κοντα □μ□ρας

and	was	at	the	desert	forty		days
at	siya ay	nasa sa		ilang	apatnapu		mga araw

3.3 The gloss is not intended to be read as a translation.

By virtue of the principle above, that what is to be maintained is a correspondence rather than equivalence, the gloss should not be read as a translation. Therefore, it will not read as a well-formed sequence of words but it should be possible to glean the meaning even just from the corresponding words of the SL. Quite differently, as mentioned in section 1.2, some existing Greek-English interlinears are intended to be read as translations by the system of superscript numbers on the English words to indicate the order how they are to be read Such treatment of the GL clearly demonstrates the corresponding words of the GL being pulled from all directions for the sake of finding a word to correspond to the SL. Correspondence is made only on the surface level.

The following is an example from Brown and Comfort (1990):

Mark 1.13

καὶ □v □v τ□ □ρ□μ□ τεσσερ□κοντα □μ□ρας
and he had been [4]in [5]the [6]wilderness [7]forty [8]days

at siya ay nasa sa ilang apatnapu mga araw

πειραζ□μενος □π□ το□ Σαταν□
[1]tempted [2]by - [3]Satan
tinutukso ni Satanas

3.3.1 No ligature in Tagalog

The Tagalog ligature is the morpheme that is added to link words within a descriptive phrase, whether adjectival or adverbial This ligature is phonologically conditioned: /na/ when preceded by a word ending with a consonant, /ŋ/ as in the example above in Mark 1.13.

τεσσερ□κοντα □μ□ρας
forty days

apatnapu mga araw (gloss)

In a well-formed level, this phrase is:

apatnapuŋ mga araw

If the order of the constituents of the descriptive phrase are reversed:

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Mga araw	na	apatnapu
Days	linker	forty

The linker takes the form of /na/ in the latter example because it now follows a word that ends with a semi-vowel /w/. Because of the phonological conditioning, the linker apparently makes the flow of speech smooth. And because of principle 2 that states that the gloss is not intented to be read as a translation, the ligature will not be added in the gloss. This supports the position that an interlinear is not a surface structure representation but rather a stage prior to it. The only time when a linker will be used is when a descriptive phrase forms the gloss of one Greek words such as:

τεσσερ□κοντα

forty
apat + na + pu
four lnk ten

3.4 Accompanying Translation

The Greek-Tagalog Interlinear recognizes the need to show a coherent, grammatical rendering of the glosses through the accompanying Bible translation on the same page. This is the Bagong Ang Biblia[6], or Revised Ang Biblia (RAB), a formal translation of the Bible in Tagalog. The gloss will fulfill the purpose of providing the literal meaning while RAB provides the smooth reading of the gloss language.

The RAB is a revision of the 1905 Ang Biblia, while maintaining the same formal correspondence approach. As a revision, the language was adjusted to make it more readable. Consequently, the very archaic words were revised to make them more understandable and for the same reason, the very formal approach was in some places revised to reflect meaning rather than the form. For these reasons, it is not surprising to see how RAB has deviated from the gloss of the interlinear. However, when RAB still reflects the literal gloss, priority is given to the choice of lexicon used in RAB. An example is the Greek word ꙃιδου or ꙃιδε. The 1905 Ang Biblia consistently translated as 'narito' meaning 'here it is'. RAB sometimes used a more contextual rendering such as Mark 15.35:

Mark 1.2
□δο□   □ποστ□λλω   τ□ν   □γγελ□ν   μου

Behold   I send   the   messenger   of me

Narito   nagsusugo ako   ng   sugo   akin

Mark 15.35
□δε   □λ□αν   φωνε□

Look   for Elijah   he calls

---

[6] RAB 2001

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Tingnan ninyo   kay Elias   tumatawag siya

Look you (pl)   to Elijah   calling   he

3.5 When even Correspondence is difficult

Section 2.3 lists down the different categories in language where Greek and Tagalog greatly differ. Most of these involve grammatical categories in Greek but which are lexicalized in Tagalog. Two of the more difficult ones are the participles and subjunctive. Because of the lack of equivalence, it is expected that there will be more inconsistency in the way the verbal participle and the subjunctive verb are glossed.

Mark 9.14
Κα□ □λθ□ντες προ□ς το□ς μαθητ□ς 'and when they came to the disciples'

The participle □λθ□ντες can be glossed in two ways:
a) nang   dumating   sila   sa   mga alagad
   when   came (act) they   to   disciples

b) pagdating   nila   sa   mga alagad
   when/after coming (pas)   they   to   the disciples

This participle can be glossed in these two ways. Example A retains the active voice in Tagalog but needs to add an adverbial 'nang' which is not found in Greek. In B, one word gloss is retained in Tagalog but the voice is changed.

Mark 12.2
□να παρ□ τ□ν γεωργ□ν λ□β□ □π□ τ□ν καρπ□ν το□ □μπελ□νος 'to get from them some of the fruit of the vineyard'

The subjunctive, aorist active 3rd singular verb λ□β□ is glossed as 'makakuha' meaning 'be able to get/receive' to reflect the contingency meaning more than the tense/aspect aorist since in the subjunctive, nature of action is given more importance than time. In some cases however, the subjunctive meaning is not reflected as in:

Mark 11.28
□ τ□ς σοι □δωκεν τ□ν □ξουσ□αν τα□την □να τα□τα ποι□ς; 'and who gave you this authority to do them?'

In Tagalog, the subjunctive present active 2nd sg verb ποι□ς is glossed as a simple 'gawin' meaning 'to do', which is no different in form and meaning from the indicative verb ποιεω.

4.0 Summary

The assumption of equivalence is apparent in the very format of an interlinear. But many times, there is no equivalence. Consequently, the making of interlinears involve a number of theoretical considerations.

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There is no better substitute to learning a language as one language with its own grammar and unique features. However, the reality is that people do not always have this opportunity since this entails more time and focus. The impression sometimes is that a person only needs to have an "idea" of what's happening in the other language. I believe, this has led to the proliferation of interlinears. So, this paper recognizes that there is value in making an interlinear because it provides a quick correspondence between two languages, namely the one being studied such as Greek, and the one that is known by the user, such as English or Tagalog. The inadequacy, however, is that the gloss language is not given proper treatment. I believe that an interlinear's analysis of the two languages is useful to know how the two language systems relate with one another. As the two languages retain their uniquess, the goal is still to find a correspondence between them. The picture is of two linguistic systems being rearranged and readjusted to find a systematic correspondence between them. Because of the reality of the two unique systems, two principles are necessary. First, it is important to establish equivalence, if there is a close affinity between the two languages. If not, which is usually the case in interlinears, the pattern of correspondence should be analyzed. Secondly, because of the lack of equivalence, the gloss is not to be read as a translation. The two linguistic systems will vary in numerous aspects and this principle will allow flexibility in the gloss language to shed light on the meaning of the source language. However, because the interlinear involves two linguistic systems, consistency in the gloss is given high priority. For Greek and Tagalog, a number of syntactic categories in Greek are lexicalized in Tagalog. The manner of expression may be different, but what is significant is that the same general idea can still be expressed.

This type of interlinear will include a brief grammatical sketch of the two languages, the source and gloss languages, that is user friendly to the target audience. This will be provided in the actual product but not in this paper. Very important to the final product is the introduction that will explain how the user can make good use of the interlinear, the principles integrated, with the use of minimal technicality.

Appendix: Sample of Mark 1.1-8 in a Greek-Tagalog interlinear format

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Sample Greek-Tagalog Interlinear: Mark 1.1-8[7]

Mark 1.1

HΑρχ∇	τοℜ	εαγγελ°ου	HIφσοℜ	Χριστοℜ	[υ≳οℜ	θεοℜ].
N-NF-S	DGNS	N-GN-S	N-GM-S	N-GM-S	N-GM-S	N-GM-S
[THE] BEGINNING	OF THE	GOOD NEWS	OF JESUS	CHRIST	[THE] SON	OF GOD.
PASIMULA	NG	EBANGHELYO	NI JESU-	CRISTO	[ANAK	NG DIYOS]

Mark 1.2

Καθ)ϖγγραπται		ν	τ⌡	ϑσα...□	τ⌡	προφ∠τ⇔,	HIδοℨ
CS	VIRP--3S		PD	DDMS	N-DM-S	DDMS	N-DM-S	QS
JUST AS	IT HAS BEEN WRITTEN		IN	-	ISAIAH	THE	PROPHET,	BEHOLD
TULAD NG	NASUSULAT		NASA	SA	ISAIAS	NA	PROPETA	NARITO

□ποστ□λλω	τ\ν	□γγελ\ν	μου	_πρ\	_προσ□που	σου,	⌐ϖ
VIPA--1S	DAMS	N-AM-S	NPG-1S	PG	N-GN-S	NPG-2S	APRNM-S
I SEND	THE	MESSENGER	OF ME	BEFORE	[THE] FACE	OF YOU,	WHO
NAGPAPADALA AKO	NG	SUGO	KO	UNAHAN	MUKHA	MO	NA

_κατασκευ□σει	τ∇ν	⌐δ\ν	_σου;
VIFA--3S	DAFS	N-AF-S	NPG-2S
WILL PREPARE	THE	WAY	OF YOU;
MAGHAHANDA	NG	DAAN	MO

Mark 1.3

φων∇	βο⌠ντοϖ_	□ν	τ⇒	□ρ∠μ⌡,	ηΕτοιμ□σατε		τ∇ν	⌐δ\ν
N-NF-S	VPPAGM-S	PD	DDFS	AP-DF-S	VMAA--2P		DAFS	N-AF-S
A VOICE	CRYING OUT	IN	THE	WILDERNESS,	PREPARE		THE	WAY
TINIG	NG SUMISIGAW	NASA	SA	ILANG	IHANDA NINYO		ANG	DAAN

_κυρ°ου,	εθε°αϖ	_ποιε″τε	τ□ϖ	_τρ°βουϖ	αℜτοℜ,
N-GM-S	A--AF-P	VMPA--2P	DAFP	N-AF-P	NPGM3S
OF [THE] LORD,	STRAIGHT	MAKE	THE	PATHS	OF HIM,
NG PANGNOON	TUWID	GAWIN NINYO	ANG	MGA LANDAS	NIYA

Mark 1.4

□γ□νετο	HIω□ννφϖ	[⌐]	βαπτ°ζων	□ν	τ⇒	□ρ∠μ⌡	κα±
VIAD--3S	N-NM-S	DNMS+	VPPANM-S	PD	DDFS	AP-DF-S	CC
CAME	JOHN	-	BAPTIZING	IN	THE	WILDERNESS	AND
DUMATING	JUAN	ANG	TAGAPAGBAUTISMO	SA	-	ILANG	AT

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[7] The grammatical description uses the analysis and symbols from Friberg 1981.

_κφρℵσσων   β□πτισμα   μετανο°αϖ   ε÷ϖ   □φεσιν   □μαρτι∫ν.
VPPANM-S   N-AN-S   N-GF-S   PA   N-AF-S   N-GF-P
PREACHING   A BAPTISM OF REPENTANCE FOR [THE] FORGIVENESS OF SINS.
NANGANGARAL NG BAUTISMO NG PAGSISISI PARA SA KAPATAWARAN   NG MGA
                                                            kasalanan

Mark 1.5

_κα±   □ξεπορεℵετο   πρ\ϖ   α∩τ\ν   π□σα   ©   HΙουδα°α   χ□ρα
CH   VIIN--3S   PA   NPAM3S   A--NF-S   DNFS A--NF-S   N-NF-S
AND   WERE GOING OUT TO   HIM   [THE] ENTIRE -   JUDEAN   COUNTRY
AT   PUMUPUNTA   SA   KANYA   LAHAT   ANG   JUDEA   LUPAIN

_κα±   _ο≥   ηΙεροσολυμ"ται   _π□ντεϖ,   _κα±   _βαπτ°ζοντο   _ϱπ≅
CC   DNMP   N-NM-P   A--NM-P   CC   VIIP--3P   PG
AND   THE   JERUSALEMITES   ALL,   AND   THEY WERE BEING BAPTIZED BY
AT   ANG   MGA TAGA-JERUSALEM LAHAT   AT   BINABAUTISMUHAN SILA   -

_α∩τοℜ   □ν   τ⌡   HΙορδ□ν⇔   ποταμ⌡   □ξομολογοℵμενοι   τ□ϖ   □μαρτ°αϖ
NPGM3S   PD   DDMS N-DM-S   N-DM-S   VPPMNM-P   DAFP   N-AF-P
HIM   IN   THE JORDAN   RIVER,   CONFESSING   THE   SINS
NIYA   SA   -   JORDAN   ILOG   NAGPAPAHAYAG   NG   MGA KASALANAN
NILA

α∩τ∫ν.
NPGM3P
OF THEM.
NILA

Mark 1.6

_κα±   νν   ⌈   HΙω□ννφϖ   □νδεδυμ□νοϖ   τρ°χαϖ   καμ∠λου   _κα±
CS   VIIA--3S+ DNMS   N-NM-S   +VPRMNM-S   N-AF-P   N-GF-S   CC
AND   HAD BEEN   -   JOHN   CLOTHED   HAIRS   [IN] CAMEL AND
AT   NOON AY   SI   JUAN   NAKADAMIT   NG BALAHIBO NG KAMELYO AT

ζ□νφν   δερματ°νφν   περ±   τ∇ν   ⌠σφℨν   α∩τοℜ   κα±   □σθ°ων
N-AF-S   A--AF-S   PA   DAFS   N-AF-S   NPGM3S   CC   +VPPANM-S
BELT   A LEATHER   AROUND   THE   WAIST   OF HIM,   AND   EATING
NG SINTURON BALAT   SA PALIBOT NG   BAYWANG   NIYA   AT   KUMAKAIN

□κρ°δαϖ   κα±   μ□λι   □γριον.
N-AF-P   CC   N-AN-S   A--AN-S
LOCUSTS   AND   HONEY   WILD.

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NG MGA BALANG   AT   PUKYUTAN   LIGAW

Mark 1.7

καὶ	ἐκήρυσσεν	λέγων,	Ἔρχεται	⌐	ἰσχυρότερός
CC/CH	VIIA--3S	VPPANM-S	VIPN--3S	DNMS	APMNM-S
AND	HE WAS PREACHING	SAYING,	IS COMING	THE ONE	STRONGER
AT	NANGANGARAL SIYA	NAGSASABI	DUMARATING	ANG	HIGIT NA MAKAPANGYARIHAN
KAYSA					

μου	⌐ὀπίσω	μου,	οὗ	οὐκ	εἰμὶ	ἱκανὸς	κύψας
NPG-1S	PG	NPG-1S	APRGM-S	QN	VIPA--1S	A--NM-S	VPAANM1S
THAN ME,	AFTER	ME,	OF WHOM	NOT	I AM	QUALIFIED,	STOOPING,
AKIN	KASUNOD	KO	NA	HINDI	AKO	KARAPAT-DAPAT	YUMUKOD

λῦσαι	τὸν	ἱμάντα	τῶν		ὑποδημάτων	αὐτοῦ.
VNAA	DAMS	N-AM-S	DGNP	N-GN-P	NPGM3S	
TO UNTIE	THE	STRAP	OF THE	SANDALS	OF HIM.	
MAGKALAG	NG	TALI	NG	MGA SANDALYAS	NIYA	

Mark 1.8

ἐγὼ	ἐβάπτισα	ὑμᾶς	ὕδατι,	αὐτὸς	δὲ	βαπτίσει
NPN-1S	VIAA--1S	NPA-2P	N-DN-S	NPNM3S	CH	VIFA--3S
I	BAPTIZED	YOU	IN WATER,	HE	BUT	WILL BAPTIZE
AKO	NAGBAUTISMO AKO	SA INYO	SA TUBIG	SIYA	NGUNIT	MAGBABAUTISMO SIYA

ὑμᾶς	ἐν	πνεύματι	ἁγίῳ.
NPA-2P	PD	N-DN-S	A--DN-S
YOU	IN	SPIRIT	[THE] HOLY.
SA INYO	SA	ESPIRITU	SANTO

PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS STUDIES IN RUSSIA

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ABSTRACT

The Philippine linguistics studies in Russia trace its roots back to the 18th century when Peter S. Pallas (1741-1811), a member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, published his famous work entitled Comparative Dictionaries of all Languages and Dialects in 1787. Although Russia had shown the interest in the Philippines a long time ago, however, until the middle of the 20th century Philippine linguistics studies in Russia were undertaken in fits and starts. During the post-war period, since the 1950s the research institutes under the Academy of Sciences and universities of the former USSR almost simultaneously have undertaken the regular and systematic research and teaching both of Philippine languages, first of all Tagalog, and Philippine literature. In 1960s the first important works on various problems of Tagalog as well as Philippine grammar, typology and comparative and historical studies of the Philippine languages by Philippine linguists in Russia such as V. Makarenko, I. Podberezsky, G. Rachkov, L. Shkarban and some others appeared. In 1980-s and 1990-s most works were dedicated to the history and the comprehensive language situation and language policy in the Philippines; the first Tagalog textbooks, manuals and dictionaries for students were published; and various reviews and essays on historical studies of the Philippine languages, literature and culture appeared, some of which were published abroad in English and Filipino. In recent decades 70 qualified Philippine specialists having good command of Filipino and several dozens of Indonesian specialists who studied Filipino as optional subject were trained in Russia. Today we have two Filipino groups and two PhD student-linguists in Moscow State University and one Filipino group in St. Petersburg State University. This is the keystone to further successful and prosperous development of Philippine linguistics in Russia. This paper also includes the bibliography of all Russian Philippine linguists and gives a brief account of their important works.

The first descriptions of the Philippine languages were made by Spanish friars by the late sixteenth century when they arrived in the Philippine Archipelago after the Spanish conquest of the Islands. However, the most important and impressive Spanish works appeared in the 1700-s and 1800-s only. At the beginning of the nineteenth century their materials were used by the fathers of comparative and historical linguistics. As a result, by the early twentieth century 500 works by European, American and Filipino authors on Tagalog only, one of the most widely spoken languages in the Philippines, were produced. Various theoretical schools succeeding one another or existing simultaneously have contributed a lot to the development of the Philippine linguistics studies. The largest and the most influential in force of historical circumstances remains the American linguistics. The European schools exerted less influence, probably, except for universalism presented in the works by Spanish missionaries.

The Philippine linguistics studies in Russia trace its roots back to the 18th century when Peter S. Pallas (1741-1811), a member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, published in 1787 his famous work entitled *Comparative Dictionaries of all Languages and Dialects gathered by the right hand of Her Majesty[1]. Part I, including the European and Asian languages.* This book has materials on Pampangan, or Kapampangan, Tagalog and Magindanao. However, out of 130 words of the Russian glossary 19 words only were translated into Tagalog. Although Peter Pallas did not provide the references, which he used to compile the Dictionary, we may assume that for the Filipino words he applied to Forster's glossary.

At the beginning of the 19th century Peter Dobell, the American who came over to the Russian service and who was appointed to the position of Russian Consul General in Manila in 1820, got acquainted with Tagalog in practice. In his very interesting book *Voyages and the latest observations in China, Manila and Indo-Chinese Archipelago...* published in translation from English[2] by N. Grech in 1833 in St. Petersburg, you can find not only various observational data about the Philippine Archipelago, its inhabitants, their capital but also very remarkable information on Tagalog, its role and cultivation in Archipelago, cognation of this language with Malay a good command of which Dobell had and etc. As it said in the book, Dobell compiled the pocket Tagalog dictionary and on his return to Russia donated it to Count Nikolay Rumyantsev (1754-1826), Foreign Minister of Russia in 1807-1814 as well as the famous collector of books and manuscripts and founder of the Rumyantsev Museum and Library (today – the Russian State Library).

At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century Sergey Bulich (1859-1921), the famous Russian linguist and specialist in the Slavic languages, comparativist and historian of the national linguistics concept as well as Professor of the Moscow State University, repeatedly applied to the Philippine and Austronesian languages. He wrote such articles as *The Tagalog language (1901), The Filipino or Tagalog group of the Malay languages (1902)* and some others for the popular *Encyclopedia* by F.A. Broghaus and I.A. Efron. The author used the works of Spanish and Filipino authors as Sebastian de Totanes, Pedro de Sanlucar, Juan Jose de Noceda and Pedro Serrano Laktaw to write the mentioned articles, compiled to the great extent by the terms of the edition.

Some information about the Philippine languages, language and ethno-national situation, language policy and culture of the Philippines in the 19th century we can find in the articles of Vice-Admiral V.M. Golovin (1776-1831), the Russian navigator, captain of circumnavigation and corresponding member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences; in the book of Captain Otto Kocebu (1788-1846) written in cooperation with German writer-naturalist Adelbert fon Chamisso (1781-1838); in part 3 *The Philippine islands* in the travel notes *Frigate Pallada* by the Russian famous writer Ivan Goncharov (1855-1857) and some other publications.

During the first years of the Russian post-revolution period Eugenie Polivanov (1891-1938), the talented Russian linguist, many times appealed to the facts of Tagalog. He is the author of the first course *Introduction into Linguistics for the Institutes of Oriental Studies (1928)* where he widely operated with Tagalog examples. Ten years before this book Polivanov using the Tagalog materials reconstructed the old Japanese forms and proposed the hypotheses on parent language cognation of Japanese and Austronesian languages. Unfortunately, in view of repressions and execution of the scholar his greatest and fruitful scientific effort was interrupted. Polivanov was posthumously rehabilitated at the end of 1960s only.

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[1] i.e. by the Russian Empress Katherine II, the patroness of Art and Sciences.

[2] On the book jacket is mentioned that Dobel's *Voyages and latest observations...* were translated by someone A. Gh. According to Makarenko's surveys and supposition, A. Gh. is A. Ghunkovsky, a friend of P. Dobell.

Before the World War II the travel notes by various travelers on the Philippines and one of Jose Rizal's novels and some others translated into Russian were published. In 1931-1940 the special articles on Linguistics and Ethnography by Roy Franklin Barton who lived and worked at that time in USSR appeared in different periodicals of Moscow and Leningrad (today St. Petersburg).

Although Russia had shown the interest in the Philippines a long time ago, however, until the middle of the 20th century Philippine linguistics studies in Russia were undertaken in fits and starts. During the post-war period, since the 1950s the research institutes under the Academy of Sciences and universities of the former USSR almost simultaneously have undertaken the regular and systematic research and teaching both of Philippine languages, first of all Tagalog proclaimed by President Manuel Quezon in the middle of the 1930s *the national language of the Philippines*, and Philippine literature. Filipino emigrant Teodosio A. Lansang (191801993) - alias Manuel Cruz and Lina Shkarban (born in 1937) – the author of series of articles on Tagalog morphology worked in the Institute of Oriental Studies under the Russian Academy of Sciences (IV RAN). Together with M. Cruz they published the brochure *The Tagalog language* in 1966 in journal *Narodi Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa).

In the Institute of Asian and African Studies (IAAS, former Institute of Oriental languages, founded in 1956) attached to the Moscow State University (MSU) since the academic year of 1959/1960 Tagalog had been taught by Vladimir Makarenko as the second Oriental language for the students of Indonesian and Malay Department and since 1975 as the first Oriental language at Historico-Philological Faculty and since 1979 – at Socio-Economic Faculty. In 1985 the instruction of this language was interrupted and the anchor was weighed only in 1997 for philologists by the efforts of Mikhail Meyer, current Director (retiring in 2006) of IAAS attached to MSU. Nowadays we have two Filipino groups and two PhD student-linguists in IAAS, MSU. The first Filipino group is on the 4th year of its study at Socio-Economic Faculty, Professor Elena Frolova, and the second one is on the 1st year at Philological Faculty, Professor Ekaterina Baklanova, one of the University's current PhD students on Filipino Linguistics.

Since its establishment the intensive research and instructional work has been undertaken at the Department of Philology of South-East Asian Countries in IAAS. As a result a lot of programs, textbooks and manuals, student's readers and collections of science-philological articles such as *Voprosy filologii stran Jugo-Vostočnoy Azii* (*Philological Problems of SEA Countries*), which collected surveys on comparative Tagalog-Indonesian linguistics, in particular word-formation and genetic cognation of Austronesian languages as well as some other works, in particular on the old Filipino script and etc. were produced. In the 1960-s the Center of Malay and Indonesian Studies headed by Alexander Guber (1902-71), a member of USSR Academy of Sciences and specialist on history of South-East Asia and general problems of oriental studies, was established in the Institute of Asian and African Studies. Afterwards, in the late 1970-s the center was renamed after Nusantara. Today the Center assembles its members not regularly, annually holds readings on the problems of SEA countries and publishes its Journal once or twice a year. Next year on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and the Philippines it plans to organize Conference devoted to the Philippine studies in Russia.

At the Moscow State Institute of International Relations attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MGIMO MID) of USSR (now MFA of the Russian Federation) Tagalog was taught by Manuel Cruz since 1956/1957 academic year and later on until the end of the 1970s – by Igor Podberezsky (born in 1937), one of the first graduates who had his language training at the University of the Philippines in 1970-1971. In 1980 he was succeeded by Elena Frolova (born in 1957) who graduated from IAAS attached to MSU. In 1976 Podberezsky published excellent *Tagalog Textbook* including *Grammar* and *Tagalog-Russian Vocabulary* for students of the 1st and 2nd year of study. Together with Prof.

Frolova who also had very good language practice in the Philippines (in UP Diliman and DLSU) they produced in cooperation with the native speakers perfect language sound courses and other training aids. The Institute of International Relations prepared diplomats placing the high emphasis on Colloquial speech and giving pragmatic knowledge about the country without theoretical and special courses and seminars on Filipino Philology in contrast to IAAS attached to MSU. In the middle of the 1990s the instruction of Tagalog was stopped there in view of unclaimed personnel and lack of teaching staff.

Initially for the training purposes some works of Filipino teachers and Filipino dictionaries were published in a small number of copies. However, in 1959 *Tagalog-Russian Dictionary* (of about 20 000 words with the potted Tagalog Grammar) by Manuel Cruz and Sergey Ignashev (1938-1998) who later immigrated to USA, appeared. The abovementioned also compiled *Russian-Tagalog Dictionary* in 1965 (about 23 000 words). Both dictionaries printed by the State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries in Moscow were edited by Vladimir Makarenko.

At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation itself till recently Natalia Zabolotnaya, the graduate of the Moscow State University and specialist on Filipino linguistics, held Filipino language courses for Russian diplomats. In view of the completion of the courses and assignment of the students, the instruction at MFA was also interrupted.

In the 1960s the first important works on various problems of Tagalog as well as Philippine grammar, typology, comparative and historical studies of the Philippine and Indonesian languages by Philippine linguists in Russia such as V. Makarenko, I. Podberezsky, G. Rachkov, L. Shkarban and some others appeared. The following first Ph.D. theses by linguist-philippinists were defended: *Morphological Word Structure in Modern Tagalog* (1965) by V. Makarenko, *Classification of the parts of speech in Modern Tagalog* (1966) by I. Podberezsky and *Verb in Modern Tagalog. Problems of Morphology* (1967) by L. Shkarban. The translations of the works of classical and modern Filipino literature from Tagalog, English and Spanish were regularly published. The book *English outside England* by Belyaeva T.M. and Potapova I.A. characterizes *Philippine English* and descanted upon the interinfluence of Tagalog and English in the Philippines. However, the book abounds with errors and slips for the authors used multifarious foreign sources, sometimes not relevant, that are hard to distinguish without knowing the Philippine languages. Nevertheless we can state the complete development of the Philippine philology in Russia by the end of the 1960s.

Since the 1970s a great number of research works by Russian philippinists was dedicated to the history and contemporary language situation and language policy in the Philippines particularly in comparison with language policy and creation of new alphabets for some non-script nations in USSR in the 1920s-1930s. Among them are the following: *Language situation in the Philippines: past and present (1970), Language situation and language policy in the Philippines (1977), Language question in the Philippines (1983)* and some other works by Vladimir Makarenko, some of which were also published in Manila.

In the 1970s the Institute of Asian and African Studies under MSU prepared several works on the theory of Tagalog, Tagalog teaching programs and theoretical and special courses on Filipino philology, published the first Filipino textbooks, dictionaries and reading-books for junior and senior students, recorded language sound courses and etc. Among them are *Word structure in Tagalog (1970), Wikang Pilipino* - Textbook on Filipino for students of the 3rd year, *Textbook for II-IV year,* article *Evolution of modern Tagalog* by V.A. Makarenko and some others as well as informational and encyclopedic articles *Tagalog* and *The Philippine languages,* which were published in *Abridged Literature Encyclopedia* in 1972. Vladimir Makarenko in cooperation with K. Meshkov from the Institute of Ethnography under Russian Academy of Sciences published the article entitled *Main problems in researching of old Filipino script,* which is based on Makarenko's previous research

work in English published in India in 1964. An analysis of works written and published by V.A. Makarenko in Russia and abroad shows the breadth of his interests: from sociolinguistics to the theoretical grammar of Tagalog in the broader context of languages of SEA and Austronesian languages in general. His great contribution to Nusantara studies in Russia, especially in the field of grammar, cannot be denied. His mentioned monograph *Morphological Structure of Modern Tagalog* was highly appraised both in Russia and abroad. According to a review in the journal Asian and African Studies (Bratislava 1974, vol. 10) the book was very valuable because of its innovative character. For the first time this problem was analyzed to such deep extent.

Following the Moscow State University and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) since the end of 1960s the instruction of Tagalog was introduced at the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad (today the St. Petersburg) University. Primarily, the Faculty used the textbooks and teaching programs of IAAS, MSU. The famous Russian orientalist and koreanist Gennady Rachkov (born in 1929) has been the Head of the Tagalog Department of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University since its establishment. Today Rachkov gives both language classes and lectures on Philippine philology. Among the great number of the articles on Tagalog grammar he published his fundamental book entitled *Introduction into morphology of modern Tagalog*. The lectures delivered by Rachkov at the St. Petersburg University, which were devoted to the crucial problems of Tagalog morphology and word-formation, underlie the abovementioned book. Now he is giving the final touches to his Filipino-Russian dictionary – the biggest dictionary of this kind in Russia, which he has been compiling for about 20 years. One of Rachkov's first students Dr. Maria Stanyukovich, the ethnographer, several years ago spent the whole year among the Ifugaos who have terraced the central Cordilleran mountains of Luzon, to study, on the heels of R. Barton, their present life, traditions and language. Today she is the unique specialist in the Ifugao Hudhod epics .

In 1980-s various reviews and essays on historical development and studies of the Philippine languages, literature and culture appeared in Russia, some of which were published abroad in English and Filipino. Some philological surveys by Russian philippinists began to be published abroad since that period (in Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Poland, the Netherlands, Indonesia, the Philippines and etc.) as well as the works, which for various reasons were not published in Russia (in former USSR) such as *A preliminary annotated bibliography of Pilipino linguistics (1604-1976)* that includes about 2000 names. This work is simply unique because it is the first book of this kind. No wonder it was recommended as a reference book for Filipino students at some universities in Manila for a long time and underlies the latest *Bibliography of Philippine Linguistics (1996)* by Rex E. Johnson from Summer Institute of Linguistics published by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, which, by the way, elected Makarenko its life member 14 years ago.

Having started with the article *Some problems of the history of the Philippine national linguistics* in 1982, Vladimir Makarenko continues his surveys in this field in the context of sociolinguistics and maintains close connection and book exchange with his Filipino colleagues. His contribution to the comparative linguistics is also very essential too. His several articles shed light on the relationship among Austronesian languages, including Tagalog, Malay, and Indonesian.

The Russian philippinists closely watch the development of contemporary linguistics and study of literature in the Philippines and promote the latest achievements of the Filipino philologists, in particular, in their reviews, bibliographic essays, articles and surveys since 1960-s, which, unfortunately, as most Russian research works are not known in Manila, first of all due to language barrier for they are published in Russian in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Most reviews and surveys you can find in Herald of Moscow University published by IAAS attached to MSU and in its St.

Petersburg version, in bulletin *New Books on Social Studies,* which before the early 1990-s had been printed for decades by Publishing House *Progress* in scholarly journal *Peoples of Asia and Africa* (today *Orient*) and other publications as well as in philological referee journal of the Institute for Scientific Information on Social Studies (INION) under the Russian Academy of Sciences.

A series of fundamental articles by L. Shkarban and her complete monograph *Tagalog grammatical system* are also worthy of notice. The monograph's references consist of 85 works in Russian and 119 works in English, Spanish, German and Filipino. The description of Tagalog in the mentioned book is based on a research carried out with two main aims: 1). to reveal a set of implicative relations among specific features of Tagalog grammar observed at different levels of its structure, thus clarifying its internal systemic organization, and 2). to put to proof the validity of the following supposition: the lowered degree of the Noun/Verb differentiation (manifesting itself in numerous striking similarities between Tagalog nouns and verbs) may serve a key to the abovementioned internal systemic integrity. The review of this book by V. Makarenko and G. Rachkov is published in *the Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta (Journal of the St. Petersburg University)* in 1997.

Needless to say that Igor Podberezsky, the famous literary critic and translator, bears the palm in the field of literature and culture in the Russian Philippine studies. He translated into Russian the works by Nocomedes Joaquin, Fr. Sionil Jose and some other Philippine writers, he is the founder of the Russian Rizaliana and the author of such brilliant books as *Evolution of Jose Rizal's work: Infancy of the Philippine Contemporary Literature* (1982), *The Philippines: Philippine Contemporary Cultural Studies* (1984), *Sampaguita, Cross and Dollar, Jose Rizal* (1985) and some others. His keen interest in translating the best Philippine literary works has made them very popular in Russia. However, beside for Podberezsky's very interesting books on literature and culture, he produced very important and fundamental works on Filipino grammar, some of which are still used both by students and scholars as reference books.

The detailed information on the main Philippine languages, Filipino script and Philippine literature and culture are published in various encyclopedias, references and the recent universal linguistic editions of Russia. Thus, such articles as *The Philippine languages, Bikolano, The Visayan languages, Ilokano, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Tagalog* and others are featured in the *Linguistic Encyclopedia* (1990). A great number of materials on Filipino philology you can find in a nine-volume *Abridge Literary Encyclopedia, Literary Encyclopedia* (1987) and some other editions.

In recent decades 70 qualified Philippine specialists having good command of Filipino and several dozens of Indonesian specialists who studied Filipino as optional subject were trained in Russia. Today we have two Filipino groups and two PhD student-linguists in Moscow State University and one Filipino group in St. Petersburg State University. This is the keystone to further successful and prosperous development of Philippine linguistics in Russia.

Appendix:

List of main Russian works on Philippine Linguistics

1. Cruz, Manuel, Ignashev, S.P. 1959. *Tagal'sko-russky slovar* (Tagalog-Russian Dictionary), ed. by Makarenko, V.A.. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannykh i natsional'nykh slovarey (State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries).
2. Cruz, Manuel, Ignashev, S.P. 1965. *Russko-tagal'sky slovar* (Russian-Tagalog Dictionary), ed. by Makarenko, V.A. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannykh i natsional'nykh slovarey (State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries).
3. Dobell, Peter V. 2002 (second edition). *Puteshestviya i Noveishiye nablyudeniya v Kitaye, Manile i Indo-Kitayskom Arkhipelage* (Voyages and latest observations in China, Manila and Indo-Chinese Archipelago), ed. by Makarenko, V.A. Moscow: Vostochny Dom.
4. Grigoriev I.V. 1987. Iz istorii izuchenia filippinskikh yazykov (bikolsky yazyk) (From the history of the Philippine languages studies (Bikol) *Uchyenie zapiski (Works of scientists)* No 29, 13-21. Vostokovedenie (Orientalists) No 13. Leningrad: LGU (Leningrad State University).
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6. Grigoriev I.V. 1997. Uslovno-ustupitelnie konstruktsii v tagal'skom yazyke (Conditional and concessive constructions in Tagalog) In *Kultura stran Malayskogo arkhipelaga (Culture of the countries of Malay Archipelago): Sbornik materialov (Collected materials)*,19-28.
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10. Makarenko, V.A. 1965a. O stepeni rodstva tagal'skogo i indoneziyskogo yazikov (About the degree of similarity among Tagalog and Indonesian). *Voprosi fIlologii stran Yugo-Vostočnoy Azii (Philological problems of SEA countries. Collection of articles)*, 25-46. Moscow: Moscow State University.
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13. Makarenko, V.A. 1967. Izuchenie v SSSR filippinskih yazikov do i posle Oktyabrya (Studies on Philippine languages in the Soviet Union before and after October Revolution). *Narodi Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa) No 6, 100-107. Moscow.

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Japanese Language Learning Support Systems

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Summary

This is the introduction of Japanese language learning support systems. There are a lot of resources which help Japanese language learners a lot and can be used for free on line. Presenter introduces ones for intermediates to read documents on line.

It is good for an intermediate learner to read not only limited teaching materials but also a lot of real reading materials, but it is a little too difficult. A support system makes it easier by giving the meaning of each word in the text given by copy & paste, so it will greatly lighten the learner's burden to refer to a dictionary for one by one word. The useful ones are Reading Tutor http://language.tiu.ac.jp/ .

Presenter built the Japanese language reading support system for Chinese intermediate learners. It can be useful for a Filipino intermediate learner who knows or is learning Chinese language. Chinese language and Japanese share a lot of kanji words. Most of them have the same meaning but some have different. Completely different ones are easily to remember but slight different ones are difficult to check. The system tells a user such kanji words. The URL is http://moli.cims.hokudai.ac.jp/~sato/ . The development and evaluation of the system was done by Instructional Design, and it was confirmed the effectiveness.

1 Support by lightening the learner's burden to refer to a dictionary

It is good for an intermediate learner to read not only limited teaching materials which a teacher prepares for but also a lot of real reading materials, but in most cases it is a little too difficult. Support systems make it easier by giving the meaning of each word in the text given by copy & paste, so it will greatly lighten the learner's burden to refer to a dictionary for one by one word.

Looking up a kanji word in a dictionary is difficult in learning Japanese language if you don't know the way to read the kanji word, because you have to refer two dictionaries, kanji

dictionary to know the way to read before Japanese-English dictionary to know the meaning of the word. Each kanji has ways to read, so a learner needs to know the way to read the combination of those words.

The support systems help Japanese learner's reading activity which aims to understand what is saying. Presenter introduces one of them, "Reading Tutor", below. Of course others[1] are also good to try.

Japanese Language Reading Tutorial System "Reading Tutor"

http://language.tiu.ac.jp/

According to *Kawamura* (2003), this system supports the reading activity for a learner to study by himself/herself using materials on the internet. Five learning support systems which had developed up to then were integrated into "Tutor"; first, dictionary tool box which explains the meaning of each word in the text given, second, level checker which judges the difficulty of the word or kanji from the standard of JLPT[2] test, third, website links, fourth, reading resource bank, fifth, reading comprehensive quiz.

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[1] Japanese Reading System of Multi-Lingual Environment "ASUNARO"
http://hinoki.ryu.titech.ac.jp/

Todd David Rudick's "Rikai"

http://www.rikai.com

Dictionary Translation "POPjisyo.com"

http://www.popjisyo.com

[2] Japanese Language Proficiency Test

2

(Fig. 1 : Dictionary tool box. Copy and paste the text you would like to read)

チュウ太の道具箱

日本語の文章を読むための道具です。どうぞ自由に使ってください。皆様のご意見、ご質問をお待ちしております。(ツールはこちらへ。)
東京国際大学 川村よし子 静岡大学/ATR

下のテキストボックスに日本語の文章を入れて、ボタンを押してください。ネット上の文章などすることもできます。(使い方)

辞書ツール

[日→日] [日→英] [日→独] [消去]

(Fig. 2 : Display of the result of the dictionary tool box.)

リーディング チュウ太   Reading Tutor

入力された文章

「日本語読解学習支援システムリーディングチュウ太」(以下、「チュー太」)は、川村よし子氏、北村達也氏が、これまでに開発されてきた学習支援ツールを有機的に統合して構想したシステムである。インターネット上の情報を用いて自由に読解学習を進めることができるよう学習者の自律学習を支援する。テキスト内の単語の意味を日本語や英語、ドイツ語で説明してくれる辞書ツール

あなたの単語リスト

1 学習!
2 対検!
3 情報!

情報(じょうほう)
1 利用に必要な知識や資料
data / facts / material / information / intelligence
2 事情についての知らせ
report / notification / information / news
3 電子計算機への入力のためのデータ

用いる(もちいる)
1 役立たせ うまく運用 活用する【利用する】
make use of / use / utilize / put into use / make something useful
2 意見などを採用する
decide to use something / adopt / choose / employ / accept / act upon [advice]
3 人を雇う【採用する】
be given important responsibilities / hire / engage / enlist
4 必要とする(要する)

According to *Kawamura* (2003), the advantages to use the dictionary tool box are;

1. Because dictionary information is given immediately, a learner can devote in reading itself without being bothered a lot of time to look up in a dictionary.

2. Because dictionary information of all words is given, it is possible for different level learners to use the same teaching material.

3. Because any digital Japanese text is turned into a teaching material immediately, a leaner can learn reading according to his/her own interest or need.

4. Because the meaning of each word is given not as a vocabulary list but as dictionary information, a learner takes the most important part of reading activity, that is, to think and judge the meaning of the word in the context by himself/herself.

5. Because all classmates use the same dictionary, it is possible to make it class work to think and discuss the central meaning of each word, the peripheral meaning, or the meaning in the context.

However, it is apprehensive that too easy dictionary reference may prevent vocabulary learning. According to *Kitamura, Kawamura etc.* (1999), "Reading Tutor" has the feature to leave the learning history that is the words the learner referred and the frequency. The learner can review the meaning of the word, and can save or print the list, too. They compared both cases to use the learning history management feature and not to use it, and confirmed the effectiveness of use of it for enhancing acquirement of vocabulary because of three learning steps, that is, first referring

dictionary, second looking at the vocabulary list of the learning history, third referring dictionary again.

2 Japanese language reading support system for Chinese intermediate learners

Presenter built the Japanese language reading support system for Chinese intermediate learners to learn the special kanji word of the same shape between Japanese language and Chinese[3]. It can be useful for a Filipino intermediate learner who knows or is learning Chinese language.

Chinese language and Japanese share a lot of kanji words. About half of them have the almost same meaning[4] and there are a lot of words which can be guessed, so it is relatively easier for Chinese speakers to learn Japanese kanji words they only need to learn the difference. In learning the kanji words of the same shape, it is easy to remember if they have completely different meanings between Chinese language and Japanese, but it is not easy if the difference is slight.

For example, 「你已经习惯中国菜了吗？（もう中華料理に慣れましたか）」 is spoken or written mistakenly as 「＊もう中華料理に習慣しましたか。」 because of the difference that Chinese 习惯 is a noun or a verb but Japanese 習慣 is only noun and there is no verb ＊習慣する. For another example, 「听说最近要上演一部新电影（近いうちに新しい映画が上映されるそうです）」 is produced as 「＊最近新しい映画が上映されるそうです」 because Chinese 最近 has more meaning than Japanese 最近, not only the meaning of from recent past to present but also in the near future.

The number of them is not so large and they are no relevant with the outline of the sentences, so they are the problem for higher level learner than an intermediate who would care more than minimum requirement for survival. There already is a good textbook to learn such kanji words[5] but the computer works when a learner has not mastered them yet. So presenter built the new support system to complement the textbook for learning the words.

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[3] Judging from 唐磊(1996)「现代日中常用汉字对比词典」. It doesn't have to be the exactly same shape and includes the *Itaiji*.

[4] *Matsushita, Taft, & Tamaoka* (2004)

[5] 林成虎（1997）『中日同形异义词辨析』 延边大学出版社

4
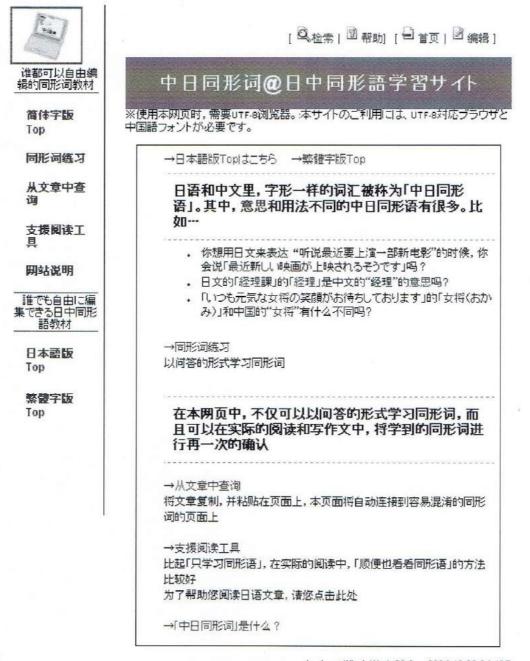
A learner who has not acquired such word yet tends to think that he/she knows the word as well as the same word of the same shape in Chinese language. Then he/she feels no need to look for a dictionary, and he/she won't use a dictionary or support system for such word. In that case, even the good support system is useless. He/she needs to be given awareness for it. He/she cannot solve the problem by himself/herself in self-study without teachers to tell.

The system tells a user where such kanji words are in the text and the difference between Japanese and Chinese. It is useful for a Chinese intermediate learner who is not sure about such kanji words to read Japanese text when there is no teacher to tell. It is also useful for a teacher to check where such kanji words are in the text which he/she is going to use, in particular, when the amount of the text is large.

A learner can learn such kanji words through the process of reading or writing. He/she doesn't have to take a lot of time only for them.

The URL is http://moli.cims.hokudai.ac.jp/~sato/ .

(Fig. 7 : Top page of the website)

[🔍检索 | 📖帮助] [🏠首页 | 📝编辑]

中日同形词@日中同形語学習サイト

※使用本网页时，需要UTF-8浏览器。本サイトのご利用には、UTF-8対応ブラウザと中国語フォントが必要です。

→日本語版Topはこちら　→繁體字版Top

日语和中文里，字形一样的词汇被称为「中日同形语」。其中，意思和用法不同的中日同形语有很多。比如…

- 你想用日文来表达"听说最近要上演一部新电影"的时候，你会说「最近新しい映画が上映されるそうです」吗？
- 日文的「経理課」的「経理」是中文的"经理"的意思吗？
- 「いつも元気な女将の笑顔がお待ちしております」的「女将（おかみ）」和中国的"女将"有什么不同吗？

→同形词练习
以问答的形式学习同形词

在本网页中，不仅可以以问答的形式学习同形词，而且可以在实际的阅读和写作文中，将学到的同形词进行再一次的确认

→从文章中查询
将文章复制，并粘贴在页面上，本页面将自动连接到容易混淆的同形词的页面上

→支援阅读工具
比起「只学习同形语」，在实际的阅读中，「顺便也看看同形语」的方法比较好
为了帮助您阅读日语文章，请您点击此处

→「中日同形词」是什么？

Last-modified: Wed, 29 Dec 2004 13:09:34 JST
编辑者专用 [新規 | 一覧 | 履歴 | 削覧 | R | 添 | 凍 | 差 | 保]

Modified by 佐藤 修(北海道大学大学院 国際広報メディア研究科在学中)
"PukiWiki" 1.4rc4 Copyright © 2001,2002,2003 PukiWiki Developers Team. License is GNU/GPL.
Based on "PukiWiki" 1.3 by sng

Left sidebar:

谁都可以自由编辑的同形词教材

简体字版
Top

同形词练习

从文章中查询

支援阅读工具

网站说明

誰でも自由に編集できる日中同形語教材

日本語版
Top

繁體字版
Top

G
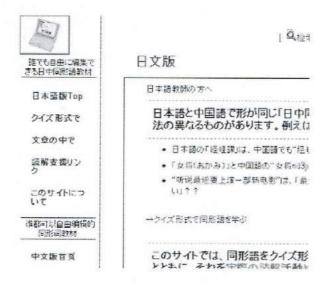
(Fig. 8 : The explanation of a word, displaying the difference between Chinese language and Japanese.)

Each explanation page has the feature of the kanji word of the same shape between Chinese language and Japanese, frequent erroneous use of it, and example sentences.
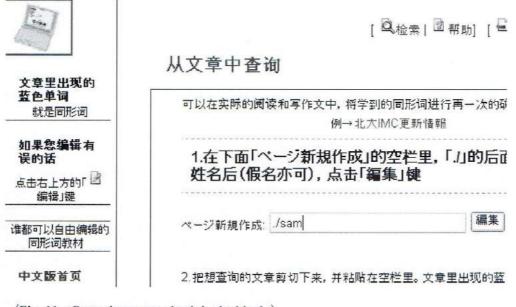
The language is Chinese but there is Japanese version.

(Fig. 9 : Top page of Japanese version.)

(Fig. 10 : Enter some characters to open new page.)

文章里出现的
蓝色单词
　　就是同形词

如果您编辑有
误的话
　　点击右上方的「 」
　　编辑」键

谁都可以自由编辑的
同形词教材

中文版首页

[🔍检索 | 📖帮助] [

从文章中查询

可以在实际的阅读和写作文中，将学到的同形词进行再一次的研

例→北大IMC更新情报

1.在下面「ページ新規作成」的空栏里，「./」的后面
姓名后(假名亦可)，点击「編集」键

ページ新規作成: ./sam　　　　　　　　　　　　編集

2.把想查询的文章剪切下来，并粘贴在空栏里。文章里出现的蓝

(Fig. 11 : Paste the text to check in the blank.)

[🔍检索 | 📖帮|

从文章中查询/sam の編集

把想查询的文章剪切下来，并粘贴在空栏里: 調べたいテキストをコピーして、空欄に貼り付けま

上節で説明したように、本システムでは、実践の中で同形語を
再確認することができる。その実践のうち、読解活動について
は、学習を支援してくれるWebサイトが多く公開されているた
め、本システムは、それらを集めたリンク集を用意し、同形語
学習を読解活動全体の中に位置づけた。それは、「日中同形語
だけを勉強する」よりも、読解活動の中で「ついでに日中同形
語も」確認しておくというときに、学習者および、日本語教師
にとって役に立つことが予想される。

ページの更新

粘贴或者编辑之后，点击「ページの更新」键: 貼り付け、編集が済んだら「ページの更新」ボタン

（Fig. 12：If there are some kanji word of the same shape between Chinese language and Japanese, then such words are displayed in blue and linked to explanation page.）

The support system was received well by 21 learners who cooperated the questionnaire. Evaluation is by five grade, which the affirmative answer is five.

（Table ： Result of the questionnaire）

Questionnaire item	評価
Do you think this site is useful for Japanese language learning?	4.52
Would you like to use this site again?	4.62
Was this site easy to use?	4.29
Are you interested in this site?	4.52
Compared with before you use this site, do you think more that it is important to study the kanji word of the same shape between Chinese language and Japanese?	4.52

Though the evaluation to usability is relatively low, the evaluation still high in general. According to fifth item, the use of this system may change the attitude to the kanji word of the same shape between Chinese language and Japanese.

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Notes on Cebuano-Bisayan Ethnic Identity in the Philippine Multilingualism

Yoshihiro KOBARI

1. Introduction

It is very obvious for those who are interested in the relationship between language and identity that language sometimes plays a crucial role for the formation of one's identity, but it is also pointed out that language is not an indispensable deciding factor for one's identity all the time.

As to the establishment of identity, one's mother tongue is often discussed and analyzed as the most fundamental element in relation to other deciding factors. But under the multilingual situations where speakers possess linguistic commands in several languages, the definition of "a mother tongue" suggests several interpretations. Therefore, although there is a claim that a mother tongue is one of the fundamental markers for one's ethnic identity", it is not always a decisive factor all the time.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1984 and 1988) points pout that there are several ways of defining a mother tongue as follows; 1) the language(s) one learned first (origin), 2) the language(s) one knows best (competence), 3) the language(s) one uses most, 4-a) the language(s) one identifies with (internal) and 4-b) the language(s) one is identifies as a native speaker of by others(external). An individual can have different mother tongues, depending on which definition is used. Under the Philippine multilingual situations, Filipinos can have several mother tongues accordingly, following the above definitions of what a mother tongue is.

The above multiple meanings of the term, "mother tongue" are clearly observed and applied to each Filipino with their own ethnic and social background in the Philippine multilingual society. Therefore, it is practically possible for a Filipino to have several mother tongues based on the above interpretations of the term. The Census 1990 cites 988 mother tongues, using the definitions of mother tongue as the language or dialect spoken at home or at birth of the child or the language of the child if had the power of speech that early and the language or dialect spoken most of the time by members of the household.

Some linguistic typological studies reveal the number of existing languages is 120 (it is estimated that there exist more than Philippine languages and dialects). This indicates the fact that the number of Philippine languages identified by Filipino respondents in The 1990 Census greatly exceeded the number revealed by linguists on Philippine languages. The ethnic name for a group does not always correspond to the name of their language and the same language based on the linguistic inquiry can have

several different names according to the other ethnic icons of their group. Thus, there exists a commonly used term, an ethnolinguistic community, the relation between an ethnic group and their language is not straightforward as we usually experience in linguistic fieldwork.

In addition to the differences in the names of an ethnic group and their language, these different names connote various notions of an ethnic identity constructed arbitrarily in a wider local, regional (sometimes national and international) context. First of all, a sense of belongingness to a certain ethnic group is fundamentally realized by the outsiders who do not share "similarities" among the members of the group in their locality or in some cases, a wider comprehensive community such as the nation defines boundaries among different groups. The process of building self-awareness requires objective judgments by others and once the existence of these objective judgments is recognized among people, a name is given to grant its existence. Through this process, the awareness for "we"-"others" dichotomy is built. Then, this process requires names for differentiation and these differences come to be conceived as well as perceived with ethnic ideological implications in contexts. This process of self-awareness is complex in multilingual contexts where multilingual individuals use several languages simultaneously to meet their communicative needs. The relationship of "we"-"others" dichotomy is intertwined and blurred in multilingual discourses. On this point, as the definition of a mother tongue suggests, the relationship between an ethnic identity and a multilingual speaker can be interpreted in several ways in relation to his/her linguistic abilities and language use. Therefore, the multiplicity of one's identity in relation to language(s) can be obviously observed.

Based on the points cited above, I would like to examine the relationship between one's language(s) and ethnic identity further, taking the case of Cebuano-Bisayan multilingual speakers in the central and southern multilingual Philippine context.

2. Ethnic Identity (Foundation and Complexity of Ethnic Awareness)

What factors decides an ethnic group? Off course, there are numerous factors (such as linguistic, cultural, economic, and political factors) and these factors have different roles with varying degrees of weight in deciding what an ethnic group is and who the members are. How hard we try to explain what an ethnic group is, it is always inadequate to get the comprehensive and explanatory view though we accumulate all the available icons for the group. Logically speaking, it is a fundamental fact that one could be a member of the ethnic group if he has a sense of belongingness to a certain

ethnic community even with the lack of some recognized deciding factors for the identification of ethnic identity. Levinson (1998) briefly defines the construction of ethnic identity and the awareness of ethnic solidarity as follows;

> The basis of ethnic relation is the presence of and interaction of members of different ethnic groups. Ethnic identity refers to the reality and the process through which people identify themselves and are identified by others as members of a specific ethnic group. Ethnic solidarity refers to the sense and degree of cohesion felt by members of an ethnic group.

The ethnic boundary is not felt when one is with members of a certain ethnic group which shares more similarities than differences. There are numerous physical and ideological factors (i.e. the color of skin, the color of hair, customs, language, religion, etc.) which serve as icons to differentiate one from another. These icons can be overtly and covertly recognized when people face each other, but physical as well as linguistic features play as obvious symbols. When we engage in conversations, we notice that one has peculiar accents which we are not accustomed to in our everyday environment. These linguistic differences serve as markers for the separation of ethnic groups and lead us to some ideological implications behind these ethnic differences. It is fundamentally described that language has two distinctive roles, communicative and symbolic functions. This symbolic perspective of language plays important roles in the formation of ethnic identity with its arbitrary relationship between ethnic symbols and their connotations in local contexts.

Then, this paper attempts to elaborate on the formation of "we"-"others" dichotomy among people under Philippine historical, social, and cultural conditions.

3. The "We"-"Others" Dichotomy in Philippine Contexts

There are many books published on the Philippine history by leading scholars, but the brief summary of major Philippine historical events serves as a good guiding hand to comprehend the flows of "we"-"others" awareness among Filipinos through history. The key terms, societal plurality and multiplicity are often used to describe common features of Southeast Asian communities and these terms depict the nature of Philippine society as well. Historically, local communities were bound with relatively loose ties and formed allies when necessary. Each local community fostered regional distinctiveness as observed and documented by friars, traders, travelers, colonial bureaucrats, historians and others. Accordingly, the distinction between "we" and "others" was established within their regional networks and ethnic differences were interpreted in their locality. Then, the country faced the periods of colonization by

Spaniards, Americans, and Japanese for hundreds of years. Finally the Philippines became independent after WWII with some stains of these colonial experiences in modern Philippine society.

Under the societal structure of colonization, the bipolar relation, "colonizer"-"colonized", was constructed among people's consciousness with "we" as the "colonized" and "others" as the "colonizer". With the growth of a national consciousness, the term, Filipino[1], gained the recognition of what it means today. As to the process of collection of ethnic tribes in Philippine history, Gonzalez (1991) briefly explains as follows:

> In the nineteenth century, it was the Spaniards; in the twentieth, opposition was effectively dispersed through the political process in the lobby for the independence under the American colonial government; between 1941-45, it was against the Japanese; in the brief moment of EDSA on February 22-25, 1986, it was against twenty years of misrule and dictatorship under Marcos.

As in the case above, it is noted that the "we"-"others" dichotomy is strongly felt especially in moments of crisis. A sense of nationalism among the people of the Philippines in the late nineteenth century gave rise to their massive movements for freedom and the Americans supported them for independence from the Spanish colonial rule. As a result, the United States took over the control of the Philippines through mass education whereas the Spaniards mainly used religion (Christianity) as the channel for the management of colony.

The primary purpose of mass education was to "civilize" Filipinos with English as a medium of instruction. It is clear that the use of English was one of the strategies of American colonial ruling system, but Filipinos in a sense accepted this mass educational system positively, because they felt that they could have an access to one of the advanced modern educational opportunities even in barrios. Therefore the system came to create subtle self-consciousness among Filipinos that "we" (Filipinos) were behind and "they" (Americans) were advanced. But a sense of self-awareness for being Filipinos in relation the dichotomy of "we" (colonized) and "others" (colonizer) arose once again and led Filipinos to centripetal forces to unite themselves under the American colonial rule. After the similar movements of Filipino's unification during the Japanese occupation period and WWII, the Philippines finally became an independent nation sate in 1946.

However, once these crises were over, Filipinos lost the overt presence of "others" (colonizers) to which they obtained a sense of self-awareness as Filipinos in contrast. Tagalogs in Manila tool over the colonial predominance in every social,

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economic, and political aspect over a newly-born modern nation state.

The centralized administrative framework was strongly reinforced again under the Marcos regime and Manila as the capital city has been growing vastly with no comparable existing cities in the country. The overconcentration of various functions and roles in Manila has been criticized by those outside Manila (non-Tagalogs) and they share a feeling of unfairness mixed with fierce envy towards Manila. Even though the policy for decentralization and devolution (i.e. Local Government Code) accomplished some achievement in balancing political power relations in Philippine contexts, but the overdependence on Manila still exists today. Filipinos recognize somehow that everything is decided in Manila through the power play of center-peripheral political negotiation and with a sequence of corruptions in pursuit of national as well as local politicians' personal interests.

The centripetal force for being Filipinos was weakened after the moments of crises and converted into the centrifugal force for the formation of regional (ethnic) awareness. Self-awareness of regional ethnic identity has been formulated and characterized with local characteristics and the claim for ethnic identity was closely associated with political and economic interests of each ethnic group within the nation state set-up. Accordingly, the ethnic tension of "center" (Tagalogs) - "peripheral" (non-Tagalogs) relation was highlighted in the state. With a sense of ethnic identity, the "we"-"others" dichotomy was constructed on the center-peripheral relation as well as the recognition of different local ethnic groups. This oblique relations among ethnic groups reinforced a sense of inequality among Filipinos with severe critics like "Manila colonialism" (Pensar, 1988) especially against Tagalogs. On Philippine ethnocentrism, Levinson (1998) points out some prevailing ethnocentric judgments that "Catholic regional cultures of the Philippines, who all regard themselves as Filipinos, the members describe one another in ethnocentric, stereotypical terms - Tagalogs are proud and boastful, Pampangans are materialistic and self-centered, Ilocanos are hard-working and aggressive, and Bisayans are fun-loving and passionate."

Steinberg (2000) summarizes the fundamental nature of modern Philippine society and it would be useful for all of us to seize pieces of the whole picture

> The discrepancies and contradictions of the plural society of the colonial era not only have survived through the postindependence period but are still growing. As education and the mass media work on people's values, nationalism – that binding belief in the centrality of the Filipino people – brings people together in a sense of unity. But inequalities of wealth and questions of access exacerbate traditional divisions, distorting the vision of national harmony. This tension is at the core of twentieth-century Philippine society. (p.52)

The changes of political and economic structure in society brought self-awareness, "we"-"others" dichotomy, among Filipinos constructed not only on concepts of nation state and regional ethnic distinctiveness but also on the class stratification of modern society. Steinberg (ibid.:51) describes that "(T)he Philippine has, in effect, an aristocracy based on economic and educational criteria – a privileged upper class and a gap between the entitled few and masses that is comparable to that in eighteenth-century France." The "we"-"others" dichotomy among Filipinos is anchored in these tensions in the process of nation-state building and the emergence of regional ethnic awareness.

4. The Case of Cebuano-Bisayan Multilingual Speakers

The brief summary of Philippine history was indicated in relation to the formation of self-awareness among Filipinos in the previous section. In Philippine multilingual contexts, Gonzalez (1985) characterizes the verbal repertoires of Filipinos as follows:

> ... as a minimum, every Filipino as at least bilingual in his mother tongue)a vernacular) and the regional lingua franca; in addition he learns Pilipino and English in school, thus making him quadrolingual if he stays in school long enough to learn English (because he can learn Pilipino outside the school). And if he goes to college, he takes two years of Spanish, which provides hardly enough exposure to gain even a conversational mastery.

Then, questions arise on how the notion of self-awareness is constructed among multilingual speakers and what roles language plays in the process of formulating ethnic identity in Philippine contexts. There are many ethnic labels for Philippine ethnic groups, but I would like to take up the terms of "Filipino", "Bsiaya", and "Cebuano" and focus on the analysis of regional ethnic identity, "Cebuano-Bisayan" below.

4-1. Who are Bisayans (Visayans)[2]?

How was the ethnic awareness of "Visayans" formed in Philippine society? Zorc (1977) explains that "the term biyayáq(Bisaya) has come to mean local, indigenous, native, often with the implied warmth and pride of a phrase like 'home-grown' or 'home-made' in American English." He further elaborates its meaning that the name also has been applied to dances and recipes and the dialects are numerous, yet all (except Kuyunon, Sorsogon Gubat and Tausug) are commonly identified by the name bisayaq (Bsiaya). The root of the term Bisaya has been explained differently with a Sanskrit origin or an indigenous vernacular, but it is not entirely explored with some

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possible interpretations. In addition, the Tausug language has a meaning of Bisaya with its meaning as "slaves", but it is assumed that the term obtained its secondary meaning in contact with Bisayans[3]. In general, Bisayans share some cultural similarities of Christian lowland Filipinos, such as Christianity, regional customs, and so on.

In relation to language and ethnic identity, the term Bisaya implies a group of people who speak different Bisayan dialects which are unintelligible to each other with some linguistic similarities. There is not a straightforward one-on-one relation between the name of language and that of an ethnic group. Linguistically, as the title of Zorc's work (ibid.) indicates, it is appropriate to differentiate "Bisayan dialects" with 36 distinctive local linguistic communities.

Historically, Philippine regional cultural traits have been described with the dichotomy of "Tagalog" in the north and "Bisaya" in the south from the Spanish colonial period[4]. For the efficient colonial management, friars and colonial bureaucrats conducted research and surveys to grasp regional characteristics and some ethnographic descriptions at that time revealed the cultural supremacy of Tagalogs over Bisayans. Its supremacy was enhanced by the controlling power of a capital city, Manila, as the center of colonial domestic networks in the state. As a result, the north-south ethnic dichotomy was slowly printed on the minds of people with images of Tagalog's cultural superiority and Bisaya's backwardness.

Now, there are many Bisayan migrants in Manila and a stereotypical image toward them is not generally positive. In the Tagalog language, the is a term, "probinsyano" (a person who is from a province), and the word is commonly used in a sentence like "Probinsyano siya." (He/she is a person who comes from a province). The same connotation could be expressed in a different expression using a word Bisaya as in "Parang Bisaya siya." (He/she is like a Bisaya.), but the phrase does not necessarily refer to one's ethnic origin or place of birth. The phrase "like a Bisaya" simply expresses the idea to be "a person form a province" and anyone could be metaphorically described as a Bisaya. In fact, there are numerous migrant-workers from the south, who reside in several densely populated communities of Bisayas in Manila. There are stereotypical images on Bisayas that male Bisayans usually work as taxi-drivers and construction workers and female Bisayans generally as domestic helpers (maids), sales ladies at shopping malls, GROs at night clubs, and so on. These ethnic stereotypes were created reinforced among people in Manila by the two facts of Bisaya's economic backwardness compared to and numerous Bisayan migrant-workers in Manila.

4-2. Who are Cebuanos?

Cebuanos reside in the central Philippines, with Cebu as the center, including eastern Negros, Siquijor, Bohol, Cebu, western Leyte and waves of Cebuano migrants to Mindanao have been quite noticeable. The Cebuano language has been de fact regional lingua franca in the central and southern Philippines.

Mojares (2001) depicts Cebuano (Sugbanon) ethnic category as a historical artifact as below:

> There was a time when it effectively subsumed under the more general category of "Visayan" and, in many contexts today, it may be less meaningful than the label "Filipino." Moreover, the territorial dispersion of Cebuanos is such that Cebuano who have relocated to, say, Mindanao or Metro Manila may have assumed under newer cultural identities. Within Cebu itself, there are distinctions to be made along lines of social class, occupational groupings, or location.
> Yet the idea of a "Cebuano identity" remains persuasive. Its obvious hallmarks are language (Sugubanon), local residence, or orientation of Cebu province as a cultural or sentimental "homeland." It is nourished in shared cultural memories – history, music, literature, rituals, popular arts – and draws its typicality from such formative facts as environment, subsistence patterns, social organization, and political experience. (p.30)

Manila now has its status as the capital city and the center of politics and economics whereas Cebu is characterized as the seat of Christianity and a symbolic place of opposition to foreign domination with the name of King Lapu-Lapu. In addition, Cebu currently holds the 2nd biggest city next to Manila with high socio-economic growth as the trading center as well as higher education in the central and southern Philippines. The international port and airport accelerate its economic growth in trading and attract foreign tourists as well. The surge of Cebu as an industrializeing trade and service center created a compound word, "Ceboom", and gave the city another label, "Queen City of the South."

Sometimes, the awareness of "we"-"others" dichotomy is directly reflected on linguistic issues. Since independence of the Philippines, there were language problems in the selection and formation of a national language (Tagalog, Pilipino and Filipino[5]) and regional ethnic conflicts in pursuit of balancing economic and political relations within the state. Cebuanos do not oppose to the idea of "being Filipinos", but to the decision that Tagalog, one of the vernacular languages, serves as a national language or the basis of a national language in large part. Behind these movements, people in the provinces recognize some implied possibilities that a national language ideology does not allow non-Tagalogs to retain linguistic diversities under hegemonic power of Manila and react aggressively to the idea of a Tagalog(-based) national language with great political and economic dominance of Tagalog ethnic group. Emergence of

Tagalog(-based) national language with higher hegemonic power as the standard created a sense of feeling that non-Tagalogs are "second class citizens" and Cebuanos gave severe critics to this phenomenon as a "forth colonization" (Tiempo, 1981) by Tagalogs (followed by Spaniards, Americans and Japanese).

There are ethnic tensions among regional communities behind their reaction to the issues of a national language. Cebuano politicians regarded the national language policy as a crisis to Cebuano ethnic group. They sought for the uplifting of political status and influence of Cebuano ethnic group to the decision making process of national government and intentionally utilized an ethnic symbol, Cebuano language, as a centripetal force to unite Cebuanos by strengthening a sense of ethnic solidarity[6]. The "Cebuano revolt" to the Filipino language, especially to the Constitutional declaration of Filipino as the national language and the 1987 Bilingual Education Policy, is the most obvious case in point.

The 1986 Constitution defines that "the national language of the Philippines is Filipino." It elaborates on the content that "(A)s it (Filipino) further evolves, it shall be further developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages" with some emotional considerations to non-Tagalog ethnic groups.

But in fact, the definition of Filipino seems valid only to those in the government, Academe, and the education sector whereas people recognize that (Manila-) Tagalog and Filipino are more or less the same languages with different labels.

4-3. Another "We" and "Others" Dichotomy in Education

American colonial rule was mainly administered to gain economic control over the country and the mass education was adopted as the most efficient method of ruling. The foundation of mass education system with English as a medium of instruction made it possible for the American colonial government to control not only the higher-class privileged, but also the general public nation wide. The educational system as a part of colonial ruling strategies over the country was sometimes fiercely criticized like "Mis-education" (Constantino, 1966) for the Filipino people. Gradually, the educational system was introduced and established as the basis for civilization of Filipinos in every corner of the country and the colonial legacy of the English language has been re-interpreted as a tool for wider knowledge on the globe and international competitiveness in every field[7]. Then, one's better educational background promises higher socio-economic success in the future and plays selective roles between the "educated" and the "less-educated" in society.

Under the current educational system, English and Filipino are taught from

Grade 1 in elementary education with a vernacular language as an auxiliary medium of instruction. As educational levels go higher, the shift of a medium of instruction to English is gradually achieved at secondary and tertiary educational institutions. As one proceeds to higher levels of learning, he/she has more opportunities to use English and gains better linguistic skills. Differences in educational backgrounds are reflected in English linguistic abilities[8]. There are commonly heard labels for the educated, "educado" (especially, those attained a tertiary level of education) and for the less-educated "ignorante" (those who are ignorant because of the lack of higher educational opportunities) with their differences in English abilities. Filipinos perceives English as an intranational language which is a prerequisite for the access to education as well as international language for global use. It is not overemphasized that they now recognize English not as a colonial/foreign language, but as one of their languages[9].

With inequality in access to education in urban and rural areas and differences in quality of public-private education, most of parents prefer to send their children to prestigious schools and wish them to acquire higher English abilities. Then, education is regarded as the most promising key to future socio-economic success in society where majority of people have to face poverty and differences in their educational attainment create another "we"-"others" dichotomy.

4-4. Language Use of Cebuano-Bisayan Multilingual Speakers

In the previous sections, the formation of "we"-"others" dichotomies in Philippine society was briefly examined. Then, how do Cebuano-Bisayan multilingual speakers use their languages in particular contexts? There are some examples of their language use below.

As to actual language use, people follow certain linguistic norms which best suit various social contexts. For example, English is required in educational domains and Cebuano is used among peers. The set of perceived linguistic norms give influences on their choice of languages (to some extent) and they voluntarily choose the most appropriate language of their choice. But the linguistic norms vary from one communicative situation to another and guide them to follow without definite compelling power (except the educational, technological and international business domains).

Off course depending on their linguistic abilities in languages, Cebuano-Bisayan speakers select Filipino (Tagalog), English and Cebuano in response to social linguistic norms in a communicative context. The use of Cebuano refers to a sense of belongingness that "we" are the members of the same regional ethnic

community, the use of Filipino (Tagalog) appeals to pride of being Filipinos with a sense of nationalism or some implications to the center of the state, Manila. The eloquent use of English serves as an indicator of being the "educado" or hints that the person has a relatively higher socio-economic status.

Cebuano-Bisayan speakers use Cebuano as a medium of daily conversation, but some college students prefer to communicate in English to indicate that they are learning in higher educational institutions through the language use. They often mix Cebuano and English and switch the use of one language to another (code-switching, sometimes with Tagalog and other vernaculars) in the middle of conversation. But when a high school student with relatively higher English command speaks English to their classmates, they tease the student for his act of showing off the mastery of English and irrelevance of language use in relation to social linguistic norms in the context. If one uses English among those who completed elementary education in a rural area or in an urban poor area, he might be regarded as a wisecracker. In "fiesta", locals get together for reunion after a long interval and speak a local vernacular to each other. In ceremonial occasions, Cebuanos sing the national anthem in Filipino. When they hang out in karaoke, they sing English or Tagalog popular songs. When they are drank, English is the outstanding language to swear in. In elections, local politicians appeal to Cebuano ethnic pride by making speeches in Cebuano and speak of the necessity for devolution and decentralization of the national government functions and local development projects.

These are just tips of language use incidents observed among Cebuano speakers in their daily lives, but they reveal that Cebuanos select a language in relation to social linguistic norms and language ideologies which the use of a language implies.

5. Conflicts between Ideologies behind Language Issues[10]

Cebuano-Bisayans are practically multilingual speakers of Filipino (Tagalog), Cebuano and English, the "we"-"others" dichotomy is sharply reflected on language issues in relation to formative roles of ethnic as well as social self-awareness. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) characterize language planning as "a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities" and simplify it as "an attempt by someone to modify the linguistic behavior of some community for some reason." It is clearly observable that there exist three ideological conflicts in the language planning processes in the Philippines; 1) vernacular languages and foreign language(s), 2) vernaculars and a national language,

and 3) foreign language(s) and a national language (Filipino, Pilipino and Tagalog).

Ideological conflicts in the use of these languages in certain domains have repeatedly arisen in reference to respective language ideologies. For example, when a certain favorable ideology which dominates current situations interferes with another and creates contrasting points between these two ideologies, these ideological conflicts are expressed in language issues. Thus since this process examines and discusses the recognition of language problems in language policy and the reaction to ideological consideration of the current policy, language issues could be treated as a focal point of two contradicting ideologies. Following the above, the interpretation of "we"-"others" dichotomy in the contexts of these ideological conflicts is comprehensively summarized in relation to language issues in the Philippines below.

It seems that there are three kinds of ideological orientations toward the formation of "we"-"others" dichotomy in Philippine multilingual society;1) the orientation to the nation state, 2) the orientation to Cebuano regional ethnic culture, and 3) the orientation to modernization/westernization. The orientation to the nation-sate means that people assume the ideal nation-sate status as "one nation, one people and one language." Through the experiences of colonial period and as a member of international community, people come to obtain self-awareness of being Filipinos and an imaginary sphere of the nation-sate, the Philippines and the national culture gains its centripetal force for the unification of different regional ethnic groups. Orientation to regional ethnic cultures implies that inequality of socio-political power balance among regional ethnic groups under the highly centralized system which is rooted in Spanish colonization is to be criticized and socio-political benefit for regional ethnic groups should be protected within a nation state framework of center-peripheral power balance. Orientaion to modernization/westernization leads to the idea that Filipino indigenous culture is behind in terms of scientific and technological progresses and acquisition of modern/western knowledge and skills is a key for the attainment of higher socio-economic status with support of better educational backgrounds.

These orientations to different ideologies in relation to languages used by Cebuano-Bisayan speakers could be schematized in the following diagram.
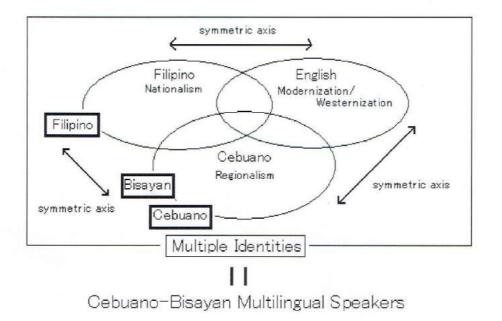
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Figure 1. Schematic Diagram of Multiple Identities of Cebuano-Bisayan Speakers

There are ethnic labels, Filipino, Bisayan and Cebuano , from broader nationalistic concept to narrower ethnic one in locality applicable to Cebuano-Bisayan speakers, but the "we"-"others" dichotomy is formed around concepts of "national culture versus regional indigenous culture", "nation-state versus foreign countries(international community", and "higher versus lower status in educational attainment and social class."

Ideologies, such as "nationalism", "regionalism", and "modernization/ westernization" are emphasized through symmetric axes of bipolar structure with centripetal forces of its ends. Then speakers choose their position and the most suitable language along a certain axis in tension depending on their orientation to these ideologies and voluntarily use a language as a marker.

When a symmetric axis of two contradicting ideologies is realized, people conditionally change their positions closer to the center of a certain ideology of their preference which best suits their belief and draw a boundary between "us" and "others"[11]. Filipino symbolizes "nationalism", English "modernization/westernization", and Cebuano "regionalism". Therefore, views and interpretations of these ideologies differ depending on one's gravity point in ideological grounds.

For example, when we discuss the relation between language and ethnic identity in terms of an ideological symmetric axis with its ends of "nationalism" and

"colonization", we tend to locate ourselves in arguments on the most preferred language for our people in the nation-state. We definitely lack viewpoints from existing regional indigenous cultures and neglect the linguistic dynamism of multilingual society. It can be said, to some extent, that English education has historically given an inferiority complex of being the colonized (colonial mentality) and been provided as one of the most efficient mechanisms of colonial management to foster pro-American views among Filipinos, but the above interpretation is considerably biased by nationalist fervor.

The dichotomy between the two is the most effective way to revise biased views in the context of adding insiders' views to predominant historical interpretations of western-oriented Philippine history. In fact, Cebuano-Bisayan multilingual speakers interpret "nationalism" and "modernization/westernization" in the context of their indigenous culture. In this regional context, reactions of Cebuano-Bisayan speakers to an ethnic group (namely, Tagalogs) which takes hold of the nation-state are sometimes expressed in their preference in the use of English which forms the "we"-"others" dichotomy along a social class axis. Therefore, ethnic tensions between Tagalogs and Cebuanos along the symmetric axis between "nationalism" and "regionalism" are counterbalanced by situating Cebuanos along another symmetric axis between "nationalism" and "modernization/westernization" by their use of English as a marker of higher social status. The excessive emphasis on the use of English leads Cebuanos to disregard for their ethnic indigenous culture and their reactions to the ethnic group in the center of the nation-state turns Cebuanos to obstinate persistence in their ethnic indigenous culture.

Multilingual speakers change their positions[12] closer to the center of a preferred ideology and voluntarily select a linguistic marker which implies ideological grounds in a certain socio-historical context. Then, the choice of a language is heavily dependent on speakers' position of gravity point along a symmetric axis of two contradicting ideologies in tension.

6. Concluding Remarks

The process of identity formation in Philippine multilingual society were briefly examined through the case of Cebuano-Bisayans, who have three different ethnic labels ("Filipino", "Bisayan", and "Cebuano") and possess linguistic commands in three languages ("Filipino (Tagalog)", "Cabuano" and "English"). Although there is a need for more elaborated analyses on its process, it is indispensable for us to examine the relationship between language and ethnic identity not only from anthropological (such as specific ethnic properties), but also from wider multi (social, economic and

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historical) - perspectives. The dichotomy between the two is the most reliable method for clarification of differences in contrasting values, but also determines relative merits in value among the two. The method never reveals the full picture of "multiplicity[13]" in multilingual speakers.

The case of Cebuano-Bisayan multilingual speakers gives us an opportunity to explore the invisible ties between language and identity formation along contrasting axes with their ideological ends of "nationalism", "regionalism" and "social class". These relations between language and identity formation are more complicated in the case of speakers who possess adequate linguistic skills in four or five languages. The Cebuano-Bisayan case supports that following Padilla' statement (2000);

> Ethnicity can be more meaningful than in certain intergroup contexts than in any other situations. Moreover, the ethnic label that an individual chooses to wear may differ according to social context.

The post-structural approaches to negotiation of identities which consider "language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social, political, economic, and cultural systems" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2005) are indispensable and encouraged for further descriptions and comprehensive understanding on relations between language and ethnic identity in the Philippines settings.

Notes

1. As to the historical transitions of the term in meaning, William Henry Scott's *Baranagy* (1994. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press) and Domingo Abella's "*From Indio to Filipino*" (1971. Philippine Historical Review Vol.IV, Manila: Philippine Center of International Association of Historians of Asia) explain the processes of transition in detail.
2. Zorc (1977) explains that Bisaya is the local term used to describe a region and a group of people in the central Philippines. 'Visaya' is an English, adopted from Spanish, denoting a region and while 'Visayan' refers to a person from that region. In this paper, the terms of "Bisaya" and "Bisayan(s)" are intentionally used in accordance with descriptions in other reference materials. The compound term Cebuano-Bisaya(n) includes the notions of the two, "Cebuano" and "Bisayan".
3. Tausug-English Dictionary (Hassan, et al. 1994) cites the heading, Bisaya, with its meanings, 1) Filipino Christian and 2) The Cebuano language.
4. For more details, see Eric C. Casino's *The Filipino Nation, The Philippines: Lands, and Peoples, A Cultural Geography* (1982, Manila: Grolier International).
5. See Isagani Cruz's "A Nation Searching for a Name." in Philippine Journal of Linguistics Vol.21, No.1 (p.p.62-66, Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines).
6. Mojares (2002) mentions that "(I)n many ways, however, "Cebuano autonomy" is less a given in the culture as a sign deployed for practical purposes, whether the promotion of the political careers of leaders, or a site for investment and tourism, or the mobilization of a community for civic goals. As to political perspectives, he further describes that "Cebuano political leaders have used appeals to a "Cebuano/Southern" constituency to assume positions of national influence."
7. Martin (1999) states changes of Filipinos' recognition on English as follows; We no loner talk of English as the language of colonizer, but the language we have colonized. We no longer identify English as the language of access to civilization, rather we attribute to English

access to knowledge, which is a precondition of power. (p.135)

8.   Gonzalez (1985) cites Bautista's study (1982) on varieties of English spoken by Filipinos that "it is better to speak of edulects than to use the sociolectal terms such as basilects, mesolects, and acrolects."

9.   As to processes of "nativization" of English, see Braj. B. Kachru' pioneering work (1990), "The alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-native Englishes." As to the history of English in the Philippines, refer to Gonzalez's article (1996), "The History of English in the Philippines."

10.   There are not so many descriptive studies on the use of Cebuano, but some can be found in works of Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. and Jean-Paul Dumont (1991).

11.   Admitting that languaguage first learned is the crucial factor in ethnic identification, Gonzalez and Bautista (1986) state that "we eventually have to admit that there are complex interrelationships between and language and ethnicity." They further point out that "(A)lthough clearly interrelated, language and ethnicity do not enjoy one-to-one relation; that is, as the situation shifts, a person can shift his ethnicity especially he is multilingual."

12.   Davis and Harré (1990) defines "positioning" as the process by which selves are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines, informed by particular discourses" (See also Harré and von Langenhove, 1999). Based on this idea, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) introduce the expand meaning of the term and apply to "all discursive practices which may position individuals in particular ways or allow individuals to position themselves."

13.   Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) cite different works on this multiplicity with other terms such as "fragmentation" and "hybridity."

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National Sign Language Committee
Philippine Federation of the Deaf
Julius Andrada

**KEY FINDINGS FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING FROM THE NATIONAL SIGN
LANGUAGE COMMITTEE**
"Status Report On The Use Of Sign Language In The Philippines"

OVERVIEW

The World Federation of the Deaf (WFD), an international advocacy
federation of over 80 national organizations of the Deaf conducted a survey in
1988 on the Status of Sign Language due to the lack of data on how sign
language was treated in various countries. The survey covered the topics:
National sign language in the country, Official recognition of sign language, Sign
language research, Sign language teaching, Use of sign language in deaf
education, Use of manual alphabet, Sign language interpreters, Sign language
on television, and Information on sign language books.

In 1993, the WFD published the comprehensive results from the 42 -
country survey entitled 'Report on the Status of Sign Language.' Unfortunately,
this survey did not include data from the Philippines because the survey was
completed at a time when the national representative to the WFD, the Philippine
Association of the Deaf (PAD), was experiencing administrative problems. Later
in 1997, the Philippine Federation of the Deaf (PFD) was established and it
succeeded the PAD as the national representative and member to the WFD.

The National Sign Language Committee was formed as a result of a
dialogue between Deaf leaders and then Department Of Education Secretary
Raul S. Roco in November 2001, regarding the education of deaf students   The

scope of the NSLC was expanded to cover not only education, but also the critical areas of the use of sign language in interpreting, sign language instruction, media and research - key areas outlined in the WFD world survey. Its objective was to collect and disseminate research data on the use of sign language throughout the Philippines.

To better perform its role as member to the WFD, the Philippine Federation of the Deaf led an initiative for a research committee while the Philippine Deaf Resource Center and the Catholic Ministry to Deaf People provided assistance. Funding was made possible through the Laurent Clerc Cultural Fund of the Gallaudet University Alumni Association and through Deaf organizations and individuals in Japan and the United States.

The Status Report on the Use of Sign Language is seen as an important part of a long-term scheme in the formulation of a clear and comprehensive language policy for Deaf education.

DATA COLLECTION

Number of fieldsites

A total of 249 fieldsites in 15 regions all over the country were visited. The only region not visited was the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). Majority of these were formal education programs / schools for the Deaf. Other field sites included religious and non-government organizations. The conservative estimate is that this Report covers 80-90% of existing formal education programs in 2003.

Field surveys

Field data gathering was done primarily through the administration of questionnaires.

Video data

The NSLC Deaf researchers sought the permission of individual teachers to take 5-minute videotape samples of actual classroom signing. The recording was viewed and Video Evaluation Forms were completed by: the teacher (Self Evaluation), a colleague (Peer Evaluation), and the Deaf regional / lead researcher (Deaf evaluation). Originally these were the intended evaluators, with a fourth group, the NSLC Core Team. However, because of the change in the composition in the latter, and, the presence of PFD staff trained in linguistics (beginning 2003), it was eventually agreed that a fourth, and fifth group of evaluators would view the tapes: volunteers from NSLC Core Team.

Evaluations for Deaf teachers were separated from the hearing teachers. Selected aspects of expressive signing skills were included in the Video Evaluation Form (VEF). These represent various levels of linguistic structure: sign production and vocabulary, message clarity, eye contact, speed or pace of signing, use of facial expression and body movements.

FINDINGS

KEY AREA: USE OF SIGN LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

1. Though there are existing formal and community- based education programs which use sign language throughout the country, there is unequal distribution of such programs in various regions.

Compared to other regions, Regions VI and VII had significantly more schools and programs. Random sampling of fieldsites had to be taken given the allotted time for data gathering.

2. The number of teachers in proportion to the deaf population is low.

There were 553 teacher respondents and 74 interpreter respondents from fieldsites representing approximately 80 – 90% of the existing programs in the Philippines. The 2000 Census, on the other hand, indicates a total count of 121,598 persons with hearing impairment.

3. The Total Communication philosophy is practiced in the classroom as Sign Supported Speech. The spoken language(s) used vary across the regions.

In the fifteen regions surveyed an average of 87.6% of teachers used voice while signing. This implies that schools equate the Total Communication philosophy with Simultaneous Communication or Sign Supported Speech. However, research since the late eighties has already documented the

inadequacy of the latter as a communication practice in the classroom (PDRC and PFD 2004, III: 38-40).

Furthermore more than half of the teacher respondents (56.7%) used spoken English only while signing. The rest of the respondents utilized a mixture of two to three languages (English, Filipino, Tagalog, Cebuano). The problem here lies not in the adoption of the Total Communication philosophy but its implementation in the classroom as Simultaneous Communication or Sign Supported Speech. The compounding problem of having a mixed speechreading signal of different languages also makes the learning process extremely difficult for the deaf student. The difficulty lies in perceiving as well as comprehending the mixed signal. Without clear language policy on the application of communication strategies in the classroom, the fundamental problem has thus been made even more complex.

4. There is a currently a minority of deaf and hard-of-hearing individuals in the teaching workforce.

It is a notable finding that of the teachers surveyed in formal education, ten percent (10%) identified themselves as deaf or hard-of-hearing. It is hoped that this number shall increase with stronger advocacy in the years to come.

5. Teachers tend to view their expressive signing skills more favorably than Deaf adult evaluators.

In eight regions, self-evaluations of teachers of their classroom signing yielded an overall rating of (High) Average. Peer Teacher evaluations likewise showed a (High) Average. The Deaf NSLC researchers gave a (Mid) Average rating, whereas the rest of the evaluator groups gave Poor ratings (PFD Deaf linguistics researchers, NSLC Core Team). It appears that teachers and their peers tend to view their signing more favorably than Deaf adults.

The differing perceptions of the quality of classroom signing also have other implications. If mature Deaf adults find the quality of signing skills poor, then all the more young Deaf children would have a difficult time comprehending and learning in the classroom. These data validate the major concern raised by Deaf leaders with (then) Department of Education Secretary Raul Roco that a fundamental problem of education of the Deaf was the weak communication skills of hearing teachers. This concern was in fact the impetus for the creation of the National Sign Language Committee.

The problem of weak communication skills of hearing teachers in itself is a serious matter. However, if in addition, teachers perceive their signing skills to be adequate, when in reality, to their Deaf students, these skills are not, then there is even greater cause for concern.

6. *Teachers acknowledge their weak receptive and voicing skills in sign communication.*

Teachers and teacher / interpreters across fifteen regions consistently rated their expressive skills higher than their receptive and voicing skills. These

data show the clear need for more balanced training in the various components of sign communication for teachers and classroom interpreters. Many schools and academic programs fall into the trap of thinking that signing (expressive) skill alone should be the focus of training of these professionals. In reality, classroom communication between the teacher, interpreter and Deaf students is a highly dynamic process that requires the former not only to be effective in conveying information, but also adept at understanding their Deaf students. Without strong receptive skills in a hearing teacher, Deaf students lose an essential avenue by which they can express their ideas and give feedback to their teacher. The instruction and learning processes then become one-sided and ineffective.

7. More than half of the Deaf respondents utilized the label Filipino Sign Language for their mode of communication.

Result shows the differing labels that Deaf junior and high school students use to refer to their signing. More than half of the 975 respondents claim their use of Filipino Sign Language. This latter finding is most striking considering that there has been no comprehensive source or publication specifically on Filipino Sign Language until 2005. It is the opinion of the Philippine Federation of the Deaf that this preferential use of FSL by these young Deaf is already a result of their advocacy in the recent years. To have had such an impact on Deaf signers with only a few years of advocacy reflects the powerful social forces at work in the Deaf community. This consciousness of their language and identity is well on its way to being rooted in the collective consciousness of Deaf Filipinos.

However, hearing individuals and entities outside the Deaf community including government agencies who have limited interactions with the Deaf or who do not purposely integrate Deaf individuals into planning or discussions relating to language will not be aware of this consciousness in the community.

USE OF SIGN LANGUAGE IN INTERPRETING

1. The total number of interpreting organizations / programs in fifteen regions is extremely low with some regions having no interpreting organization / program at all.

2. The number of interpreters in relation to the deaf population is extremely low.

3. Commonly used reference materials for training are predominantly on American Sign Language.

USE OF SIGN LANGUAGE IN SIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

1. The total number of sign language teaching organizations / programs in fifteen regions is extremely low with some regions having no sign language teaching organization / program at all.

Of the fifteen regions included in this project, only six were reported to have sign language instruction programs. Of these six regions, four had only one program for the entire region. If there is a severe lack, or absence of venues to formally learn sign language, then hearing professionals such as teachers resort to short-term training, self-study of print / video materials, or informal interactions with Deaf signers. The last of these three is a most effective and efficient way of acquiring skills but it is probably the least employed method because it requires a network of Deaf acquaintances, and time and personal commitment. Short - term training opportunities are also infrequent because of the lack of trainors / training organizations. It is also not an effective method since sign communication skills cannot be developed within a matter of days or a week. Self-study frequently uses foreign print or video materials of either American Sign Language or Manually Coded English.

2. *Commonly used reference materials for teaching are predominantly on American Sign Language.*

Frequently used are foreign print or video materials of either American Sign Language or Manually Coded English..

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USE OF SIGN LANGUAGE IN MEDIA

Sign language is used in media for TV and cinema on a limited basis. These are of a varied nature such as current events / public service, entertainment, religious purposes or advocacy. The use of sign vocabulary is extremely variable. Accessibility to media through use of signing is still very limited.

The use of sign language in newscasts as encouraged by Republic Act 7277 (Magna Carta for Persons with Disabilities, 1992) is only now about to be implemented in local broadcasting in Central Visayas.

RESEARCH ON THE USE OF SIGN LANGUAGE

Only a handful of research studies in the past few years have been done on the use of sign language. These are primarily for education and general communication. There are also few studies on the use of sign language in interpreting and advocacy.

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FILIPINO SIGN LANGUAGE IN DEAF EDUCATION:
DEAF AND HEARING PERSPECTIVES
Marie Therese A.P. Bustos
Rowella B. Tanjusay

A Deaf Perspective

What is Filipino Sign Language? It is the language that the Filipino Deaf community uses. "The most important thing about sign language is the deaf person using it." (PDRC and PFD, 2004). Language essentially represents a person's identity. The first language of a Deaf child is a natural visual language. It is this language that breaks the barriers between him/her and the hearing society. The Deaf community uses this natural visual language to communicate and transmit what it holds dear to the next generation.

For most deaf children, language acquisition happens under two possible circumstances: one is natural and the other is through formal teaching. Natural sign language is learned without effort from interactions between Deaf parents and their Deaf children and between Deaf children and the Deaf community. Deaf children who are exposed to native users of natural sign language acquire conversational skills naturally and easily. Formal language learning, on the other hand, happens in schools where there is access to other languages such as Manually Coded English (MCE).

Many people including those in schools do not realize that there is a natural sign language used by the Deaf community here in the Philippines. They think that all regions and schools use American Sign Language (ASL) or Manually Coded English (MCE) such as Signing Exact English (SEE). They do not

recognize the existence of this natural language of the Deaf community, neither do they recognize the rights of deaf people in schools.

Globally, the Deaf people's right to their own language has been upheld. Cognizant of developments in sign language research, the following resolution has been adopted by the Tenth Congress of the World Federation of the Deaf held in Helsinki, Finland.

> "Be it adopted: The distinct national sign languages of indigenous deaf populations should officially be recognized as their natural sign language of right for direct communication...
>
> "Be it further considered: ... Teachers of the deaf are expected to learn and use the accepted indigenous sign language as the primary language of instruction." (WFD, 1987 cited in PDRC and PFD, 2004, Part 3, p.37).

In the Philippines, beginning in the eighties, the Department of Education has already prescribed that the local sign language shall be used in the curriculum. Article 5, Section1.4.1 of the Policies and Guidelines in Special Education states that "Pilipino Sign Language shall be used in the education of the hearing impaired." (SPED Division, 1986). Although there is such a policy on the use of language in teaching the deaf, this is not what is happening throughout the country. The National Sign Language Committee in its preparation of the Status Report on the Use of Sign Language in the Philippines has gathered video evaluations of over 170 teachers in public and private schools in the elementary and high school levels from Regions 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, and NCR. Majority of the hearing teachers use an artificial sign system and sign supported speech. (NSLC, in progress).

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Artificial sign systems such as Signing Exact English (SEE2) and Sign Supported Speech may have their applications in the teaching of English to Deaf students. However, for deaf children, understanding and being understood are very important during communication in the classroom. They cannot learn content without a clear understanding of what happens in the classroom.

There are many linguistic features of Filipino Sign Language that are not found in artificial sign systems, which are based on English grammar. Also, artificial sign systems use a lot of initialization (the handshape of the sign is based on the first letter of the word) and affixation (the use of manual signals to represent affixes), etc. which make the signing unnatural and impractical. To deaf children, the use of artificial sign systems is long and boring. For example, the phrase "once upon a time" is signed word for word instead of signing the phrase conceptually or contextually. When signed word for word, deaf students do not understand the message, but when translated and provided the sign gloss LONG-TIME-AGO, the phrase is understood since this is a natural sign language form which uses a visual timeline and three-dimensional space.

Lastly, Tanjusay's experience as a teacher of Deaf students in the elementary grades confirm that the use of natural sign language is more effective in teaching deaf students. She found that the students were neither able to learn nor understand the lesson when she used SEE 2. There was very little response to the lesson so she tried to use natural sign language. Students became very interested and participated in class. She opines that it is very important to teach using natural sign language in the classroom.

A Hearing Perspective

The Philippines is a signatory to the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education (1994) which states the importance of sign language as the medium of communication among the deaf, prescribing the recognition of natural sign language and deaf people's access to education in their language. The practice of special education in the Philippines is likewise influenced by American legislation. The 1999 Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA) regulations specify that education of persons with disabilities should use their native language and that for deaf individuals, native language refers to the mode of communication s/he normally uses such as sign language (IDEA 34 CER. 300.19, 1999 cited in Pittman and Heufner, 2001).

The Magna Carta for Disabled Persons or Republic Act 7277 ensures deaf people's adequate access to quality education. Deaf education has been in existence in the Philippines for almost a century with the establishment of the Insular School for the Deaf and Blind now called the Philippine School for the Deaf in 1907. Many schools for the deaf and special education centers have been established ever since. The Department of Education has two basic documents that govern the practice of deaf education in the country: the first document is the *Policies and Guidelines for Special Education* (SPED Division, 1997) which bases Philippine deaf education on the philosophy of Total Communication and that the medium of instruction should be Filipino Sign Language; and the second document is the *Handbook of Special Education*

(SPED Division,1997) which recommends the use of Total Communication as "most advisable for ... teaching the hearing impaired starting in grade three with English as medium of instruction" (p.54).

Filipino Deaf leaders bemoan the low literacy levels of the deaf, which affect their educational achievement and ultimately their employability (PDRC and PFD, 2004). Initial findings on the literacy of sixth grade Filipino Deaf students indicate very poor performance in reading and English diagnostic tests (PDRC, in process). In countries such as the United States, the average reading levels range from third to sixth grade (Easterbrooks, 1999) while in Sweden and Denmark, deaf students read at levels comparable to their hearing age-mates (Mahshie, 1995). The dismal performance of Filipino students warrants an analysis of the Philippine deaf education policies and practices.

Inconsistencies within policies and between policy and practice exist. The *Policies and Guidelines of Special Education* states that Filipino Sign Language should be the medium of instruction while the *Handbook on Special Education* recommends English as the medium of instruction beginning Grade 3. Both documents are clear in stating that the practice of deaf education will adopt the Total Communication philosophy.

Total Communication hinges on the use of one or several modes of communication --manual, oral, auditory, and written, depending on the needs of the deaf child. Teachers are expected to use the communication method(s) most appropriate for the child's level of development (Solit, Taylor & Bednarczyk, 1992 cited in Hawkins and Brawner,1997). In practice, total communication is often

interpreted as a simultaneous communication or the practice of speaking and signing in English at the same time. Studies report that this simultaneous use of speech and sign is the most commonly used form of instruction and communication in schools (Schidroth and Hotto, 1993 cited in Easterbrook, 1998; Kaplan, 1996 cited in Hawkins and Brawner, 1997). A survey of Filipino public and private school teachers by the National Sign Language Committee reveals that majority or approximately 88 percent interpret Total Communication as simultaneous communication or sign supported speech. (NSLC, in progress). Instead of using Filipino Sign Language as medium of instruction, Signing Exact English is used. Signing Exact English is an artificial language, which is a signed representation of the English language. It is used as an intermediary code for learning the printed/written symbols of English.

Combining signing and speech can be problematic and requires adjustment. Signs can be omitted or shortened to match the pace of speech. Wilbur and Petersen (1998) explains that

> "although it is possible to provide a relatively accurate sign-for-word match between SE (signed English) and spoken English, the number of syllables in the two modalities, and the concomitant metrical pattern, are extremely unlikely to match. Theoretically, simultaneous speaking and signing involves the same number of words in each modality in that they are both coding English. However, there are numerous mismatches in the number of forms produced because SE frequently requires a separate sign for spoken English suffixes."

Wilbur and Petersen's study compares the sign productions of those who know American Sign Language (ASL), which is a natural sign language, and those who only know Simultaneous Communication using Manually Coded English. Their

findings reveal that both groups omitted several word categories. Those who used simultaneous communication omitted more word categories that those who knew ASL. According to Mallery-Ruganis and Fischer (1991 cited in Wilbur and Petersen, 1998), the main issue is not the deletion of signs but its effect on the meaning of the message. Impermissible are deletions that distort the meaning of the message in an effort to create less distorted speech. Wilcox (1989, cited in Easterbrook,1999) refers to the same complication -- that the nature of the spoken and visual modes of communication may cause both signers and/or speakers to change their messages to accommodate either mode. Johnson, Liddell and Erting (1989) report that Sign Supported Speech is not fully comprehensible to the deaf while Mayer and Lowenbraun (1990 cited in Easterbrooks, 1999) claim that researchers do not agree on the effectiveness of the use of manually coded English in promoting better literacy. Based on the reported literacy performance of sixth grade Filipino deaf students, the current practice of using Signing Exact English and Simultaneous Communication seemingly has not created a positive impact on their reading performance.

The bilingual-bicultural approach which began in Sweden and Denmark presents a plausible solution to the Philippine deaf education dilemma. This approach is based on a cultural model of deafness instead of a medical/pathological one. It emphasizes that Deaf people are capable individuals, hence the approach focuses on enabling Deaf children to communicate effectively in both the national sign language and in the written language of the majority and empowering them to function in both the Deaf

community and the majority culture (Baker, 1997). Mahshie (1995) reports that 55 percent of the students in Denmark are reading at age-appropriate levels. In Sweden, deaf children go past the fourth grade plateau. Professionals in both countries attribute this success to the deaf children's early access to language and to the early intervention services afforded them. In bi-bi programs, deaf students use their natural sign language to discuss the features of spoken language. In the process, they acquire literacy in the language of the majority.

Research shows that there is a strong relationship between conversation-based forms and text-based forms of language whether they be spoken language such as oral English or natural sign language such as American Sign Language (Paul, 1997, Geers & Moog, 1989, Strong & Prinz, 1997 cited in Easterbrooks,1999). Trybus and Jensema (1978 cited in Evans, 2004) note that deaf children with deaf parents consistently score higher in English reading tests compared to deaf children with hearing parents. However, only 10 percent of deaf individuals have deaf parents. This lends credence to the importance of providing deaf children early access to a first, conversational language and the role of Deaf adults in helping young deaf children acquire a first language.

Filipino deaf children face a unique linguistic situation (Bustos, 1999). An investigation of modes of communication in homes of deaf children and their hearing families shows that they use gestures and homemade signs with speech when communicating with the deaf family member. Home signs, which are highly idiosyncratic in nature, do not comprise a language. It is only through the

introduction of formal sign language that families experience and achieve a level of precision and accuracy to the references made during conversations.

To adopt the bilingual-bicultural approach, fluent users of Filipino Sign Language (FSL) are needed in deaf classrooms. Unfortunately for many hearing teachers of the Deaf, FSL is a third or a fourth language learned and this affects their fluency. Aside from this, there are very few training programs that offer FSL classes. These reasons could explain the expediency of using simultaneous communication and signed English and the resistance of some teachers to adopt FSL as medium of instruction. The Department of Education should look into involving Deaf teachers and teaching assistants who can serve as role models for young deaf children while providing comprehensible input during classes.

An incidental benefit of FSL is for teachers and interpreters who use simultaneous communication. In the study of Wilbur and Petersen (1998) on sign productions, those who know natural sign language make more learned decisions regarding permissible omissions, and can compensate by using non-manual marking and other devices to ensure effective message transmission. Teachers and interpreters who opt to use simultaneous communication can improve their signed English skills through their knowledge of FSL. Regardless of teaching philosophy and approach, learning FSL can enrich the quality of Philippine deaf education.

Synthesis of the deaf and hearing perspectives

The task of providing Deaf people adequate access to quality education is not limited to physical access to schools but includes, more importantly, access to information within the classroom. Research and personal experience question the comprehensibility of simultaneous communication using signed English. It is crucial to review existing Deaf education policies and guidelines and streamline policy and practice. To significantly impact Deaf literacy levels and educational achievement, there is a need to use Filipino Sign Language, the natural sign language of the community as medium of instruction in deaf classrooms. The bilingual-bicultural model shows promise as a workable model in raising Deaf literacy.

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LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LEXICALIZATION IN FILIPINO SIGN LANGUAGE:
A FOCUS ON FINGERSPELLED SIGNS

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Language contact

Language contact takes place when users of different languages interact with each other in an area. A sign language may come in contact with: spoken languages, other sign languages or, artificial sign systems. Social, political and cultural factors can affect this process of language contact (PDRC and PFD 2004, 123-124).

American Sign Language (ASL) linguists Clayton Valli and Ceil Lucas (1992, 349) describe the different possible results of language contact between a sign language with other languages or systems. Some of these processes and results are described below:

1. Borrowing of signs

Examples of borrowing between two sign languages are signs of countries. Nowadays, Deaf communities have their own sign for their country.

Borrowing of ASL from spoken English can also take place through the creation of compound signs based on English words: BOY-FRIEND, HOME-WORK, BLACK-BOARD.

2. Code-switching

Switching from one language to another may occur in the middle of a sentence, after a sign, or an entire sentence. For example, contact between ASL and English will result in mixing of signs and spoken words.

3. Foreigner talk

This is the simplification of signing during conversation between a skilled signer and a foreigner or beginning sign language user.

4. Interference

When a signer uses a foreign sign language, characteristics of her own sign language may be observed in her signing. For example, handshapes or movements from the native sign language may be used unintentionally during signing.

5. Fingerspelling

In ASL, spelling of English words using the alphabet will take place when there is no equivalent sign in the vocabulary.

The growth of Filipino Sign Language as the language of communication of the Filipino Deaf community involves a strong history of language contact.

The earliest documented use of sign language during the 16th-17th centuries was in Dulac (now Dulag), Leyte. Father Ramon Prat (Castilian name Raymundo del Prado or Ramón de Prado) of the Society of Jesus from Spain, taught two deaf Filipinos in their faith through the use of signs. Jesuit historian Father Pedro Chirino writes about the baptism of these two deaf men (Chirino, 1604; de Prado, 1599; see also Colin-Pastel, 1900). The older deaf, baptized Raymundo, became teacher to five to ten other deaf men in the mission residence (Lopez, 1605; Repetti, 1938). It is possible that there was language contact with signing from Spain. There is also the possibility that the signing community in Dulag was already using its own indigenous sign language and taught the Jesuit priest Father Prat their signing (Abat 2005).

There is a gap in data from these early 17th century accounts for three hundred years until the establishment of the Manila School for the Deaf in 1907 by hearing American Delight Rice (PDRC and PFD, 2004, 126-130). Rice, daughter of deaf parents, first introduced American Sign Language to the Philippines (Argila, 1970). Other American principals supervised the school until the 1940s, namely Julia Hayes and Lucrecia Belting. They are presumed to have continued the influence of bringing signing from the U.S. through those years (PDRC and PFD 2004, 126).

Clear language contact with American Sign Language took place from 1974 to 1989 when fifty-two (52) American Peace Corps Volunteers were deployed throughout the Philippines in the following areas:

> Manila / Quezon City
> Pangasinan
> Benguet
> Mountain Province
> Pampanga
> Nueva Ecija
> Laguna
> Quezon
> Camarines Sur
> Oriental Mindoro
> Aklan
> Bohol
> Negros Oriental
> Iloilo
> Cebu
> Leyte
> Bukidnon
> Misamis Occidental
> Agusan del Norte

Deaf and hearing Peace Corps Volunteers stayed for one to two years in their placement (PDRC and PFD 2004, 130-136).

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The U.S. Peace Corps Volunteer program of Deaf Education introduced the Total Communication philosophy in Manila and the provinces. Other activities included classroom expansion, teacher training, parent orientation and publication of signed English dictionaries.

Language contact in the Filipino Deaf signing community continued through the nineties, and still take place up to the current time (PDRC and PFD, 123-140).

Several of the possible outcomes of language contact described in other sign languages are evident in the sign vocabulary of Filipino Sign Language. Sign linguist Liza Martinez proposed six possible origins of signs (Martinez, 1994a, b) from data on the lexicon as observed up to the early nineties:

- Filipino signs

  Indigenous signs with the same structure and meaning in different regions of the Philippines

- Regional signs

  Indigenous signs which are unique to a region, town or island

- Phonological variants of ASL

  ASL-like signs (borrowed natural signs) apparently phonologically modified from the original ASL signs

- Semantic variants

  Signs of apparent ASL structure but with different meanings when used by Deaf Filipino signers

- Unmodified ASL signs

  Directly borrowed signs from ASL such as FATHER, MOTHER, BLACK, etc.

- Manually Coded English signs

  Predominantly initialized signs, or those signs using handshapes of the manual alphabet based on the first letter of the English word

The process of language contact is part of the life of a deaf community which interacts with deaf communities of other languages and cultures. It is a way to gain knowledge and experience. However, it may have some negative effects. In the Philippines where the Filipino Deaf community has always struggled with the dominating influence of ASL, language contact has led to co-existing forms for the same sign, i.e., ASL variants and indigenous variants. In extreme cases, the indigenous form is in danger of being lost from the lexicon, or has even already disappeared.

Examples of traditional signs in danger of being replaced by other signs of the same meaning are given below:

ACCEPT
POLITE-NOT
PROMISE
CHEAP
LIZARD
VOLLEYBALL
FRIEND
MAHAL (EXPENSIVE)
UNDERSTAND
LAZY

Other traditional forms are already rarely seen among Deaf signers, e.g., MOVIE, MEAN/ MEANING, #MAKATI, #SWEET.

The Philippine Federation of the Deaf has been doing extensive documentation of indigenous regional signs since 2003 (PFD 2005, In progress). This category of signs is extremely rich. Directions for future sign language planning and policy aim to promote these signs of indigenous origins.

Lexicalization of fingerspelling in Filipino Sign Language

In general, lexicalization is the permanent inclusion of a sign into the vocabulary of the language after repeated use over an extended period of time. Many "new" signs crop up in sign conversations, but not all become lexicalized. Lexicalization of signs as a process reflects the many social and cultural forces at work in a signing community.

The signs which make up the language as it is used by Deaf Filipinos now show historical and continuing change. Fingerspelling has been shown to be one possible outcome of language contact. It is the clear production of separate handshapes, as spelling of borrowed words from a spoken language, e.g., English.

Fingerspelling which has become lexicalized may be phonologically modified. In linguistics, their gloss is preceded by the symbol "#". There may be loss of letters (handshapes), change in location, palm orientation or movement. These fingerspelled signs (also called FS loan signs) differ from regular fingerspelling during sign discourse.

Examples of lexicalized fingerspelled signs (traditional forms) and their phonological modification (PDRC and PFD 2004, 76-80):

#MAKATI (loss of handshapes)
#SWEET (change in Location)
#EASY (change in Palm Orientation)
#TAXI (change in Movement)

The origin of fingerspelled signs may be traced to the history of the teaching of the manual alphabet from the U.S. by Americans. This happened in the early 1900s (with the establishment of the Manila School for the Deaf) up until it was

called the School of the Deaf and Blind (SDB). Older Deaf signers aged sixty and above use much more fingerspelling in their signing than younger Deaf generations.

The placement of the U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers also reinforced fingerspelling and the influence of spoken and written English. Also with the establishment of the Southeast Asian Institute for the Deaf (SAID, a private school in Q.C.) in 1974, more fingerspelled signs appeared (Siloterio, 2005):

#EASY
#EGG
#LAW
#USA
#ALL
#BUT
#JOB
#WHEN
#WHO

The above are believed to be older FS loan signs. Signs such as #AGE, #EARLY, #OLD, #USA, #LAW and #SWEET are already rapidly disappearing (Siloterio, 2005; PDRC and PFD 2004, 77).

The following are lexicalized fingerspelled signs observed among younger Deaf signers. They are grouped according to the kind of phonological modification they undergo:

Loss in Handshape
#LOST
#LATE
#DAY
#NEW

Change in Location
#COKE
#OWN

Change in Palm Orientation
#SPOIL
#OH
#PIZZA
#JEEP
#PEN
#BF
#GF
#CR*
#UK (United Kingdom)

Change in Movement
#MILLION
#ICE
#OA ("overacting")
#OFF
#SIM*

#COS (Check Operator Service)*
#OVER
#CSB (College of St. Benilde)*
#Q.C.*
#GH (Greenhills)
#TAXI
#BUS

*(PDRC and PFD 2004, 76-80)

The study of this outcome of language contact, i.e., lexicalized fingerspelled signs, show a natural productive process for the formation of new signs. It is a common process and Deaf people use these signs frequently during conversation. Such study is important to more fully understand the development of these signs. Superficial observations of the lexicon of FSL frequently lead other people into thinking that the sign language of Deaf Filipinos is dependent on ASL and English. On the contrary, FS loan signs show a unique linguistic mechanism. Lexicalization of fingerspelling also shows that a potential negative effect of language contact with a written language (i.e., replacement of lexical elements with English fingerspelling) is transformed into a positive mechanism for creating new signs.

Lexicalization of fingerspelling may seem like an insignificant part of signing. But it actually shows an example of the creative linguistic processes at work in the growth of Filipino Sign Language. An important benefit of the use of these signs is the motivation of Deaf people to improve their knowledge of written words. This is critical to help Deaf Filipino become stronger bilinguals.

The use of such lexicalized signs is part of the "Deaf way". The Deaf community hopes to bring these signs into the educational system so that teachers can also communicate the "Deaf way" (Siloterio, 2005). Other important advocacies of the Deaf community such as the areas of media, interpreting, social services and physical and mental health services can benefit a great deal as well from signing the "Deaf way".

Language contact and lexicalization are very critical to the growth of FSL as of now. Understanding how these processes have worked in the past for the expansion and modification of the vocabulary shall have important implications for the future.

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THE HISTORY OF SIGN LANGUAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES:

PIECING TOGETHER THE PUZZLE

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Throughout this entire century, the progressive global philosophy regarding deafness and deaf people have risen beyond a medical / infirmity model and moved towards a cultural / linguistic framework. Deaf individuals are no longer then simply viewed as *hearing-impaired* or *handicapped*, but rather as *Deaf*, or, members of a cultural and linguistic minority.

This is largely due to the emergence of sign linguistics as a discipline. The documentation and consequent acceptance of sign languages as true languages have been key to the recognition of Deaf communities. Deaf individuals of various nations throughout the world, including the Philippines, now draw from the strength of this collective identity for advocacies in various aspects of their lives.

The history of manual communication in general in the Philippines, and the emergence and development of Filipino Sign Language (FSL) as the linguistic entity and sociocultural symbol of the Filipino Deaf community is a matter of great importance to Deaf individuals as well as the community at large.

THE AMERICAN INFLUENCE

For almost an entire century, the signing of the Deaf in the Philippines was believed to be largely influenced by the U.S., and American Sign Language (ASL). Thus, previous local publications on signing in the Philippines would frequently (and prescriptively) incorporate signs from ASL references (National Council for the Welfare of Disabled Persons 1999; Shaneyfelt 1979, 1987).

Since the establishment of the Manila School for the Deaf in 1907 (now the Philippine School for the Deaf), the American influence on the signing of the Filipino Deaf community has received much of the attention. This historical school was established by American teacher, Delight Rice and the school was supervised by American principals until the 1940s. As the first public residential school for deaf students, it has remained influential in the deaf education system (Philippine Deaf Resource Center and Philippine Federation of the Deaf 2004, 126-30).

Subsequently, the placement of U.S. Peace Corps volunteers from 1974-1989 in different parts of the Philippines accounted for the period of heaviest influence from the U.S. and ASL (PDRC and PFD 2004, 130-37)

Other American influences found their way to the Filipino Deaf community through: (1) religious organizations, (2) educators, and (3) the entry of print and video materials on American Sign Language and Manually Coded English sign systems.

These various influences are summarized in the following table (PDRC and PFD 2004, 157):

Wave	Beginning Year	Milestones / landmark events	Key characteristics of Influence on development of Filipino Sign Language
I	early 1900s	Establishment of Manila School for the Deaf (currently Philippine School for the Deaf) Establishment of Philippine Association for the Deaf	Contact with ASL Converging of Deaf in Manila - school setting
II	1960s	Establishment of Deaf Evangelistic Alliance Foundation & Laguna Christian College for the Deaf	Contact with ASL Converging of Deaf outside of Manila

			- school setting - religious setting
		Establishment of Bible Institute for the Deaf	
III	Mid 1970s	Establishment of the Southeast Asian Institute for the Deaf Establishment of the Luneta Coffee Shop run by the Philippine Association of the Deaf 1st batch of Peace Corps Vounteers (PCV) arrive Publication of "Love Signs" (a) Prescriptive nature (ASL, MCE) (b) Documentation of traditional signs (c) Impact on documentation of Filipino signs (e.g., Cobar compilation)	Contact with ASL Contact with MCE Converging of Deaf in various provinces - school setting - community setting (primarily through the PCV)
IV	1990s	Establishment of: CAP School for the Deaf; Program for the Hearing-Impaired at the DLSU-College of St. Benilde; Manila Christian Computer Institute for the Deaf Opening of the School of Special Studies - Bachelor in Applied Deaf Studies at DLSU-CSB Proliferation of all-Deaf organizations: specially the Philippine Federation of the Deaf Influence from Deaf and hearing graduates from Gallaudet University (Filipino and American) Preparation of the Status Report on the Use of Sign Language by the National Sign Language Committee	Intensive converging of Deaf adults in tertiary level education programs Significant establishment and expansion of sign language instruction programs Beginning recognition of FSL through linguistic research Increased advocacy, integration into mainstream of society in various aspects of life, particularly education and employment Dramatic development in Deaf 'consciousness' within Deaf community, beginnings of Deaf Pride in FSL

Pioneering linguistics research on the indigenous nature of Filipino Sign Language was initiated on structure and sociolinguistics in the early nineties by Liza Martinez (1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996), a sign linguistics graduate and former faculty of the renowned Deaf university, Gallaudet University. Martinez, a hearing Filipina, and current Director of the Philippine Deaf Resource Center, has played a central role in ensuing linguistic publications and projects.

Prior to landmark sign linguistic publications, i.e., An Introduction to Filipino Sign Language (PDRC and PFD, 2004), Filipino Sign Language: A Compilation of Signs from Regions of the Philippines (PFD, 2005; PFD, In progress) and the Status Report on the Use of Sign Language in the Philippines (NSLC, In progress), indigenous signs and their origins had not been systematically documented.

The ongoing comprehensive study of regional variation by the Philippine Federation of the Deaf is already generating substantial data on the indigenous nature of signs in deaf communities throughout the Philippines (PFD 2005). Comparisons of signs based on the modified Swadesh method for sign languages used by distinguished sign linguist James Woodward shall be described in a forthcoming publication (PFD, In progress).

16TH-17TH CENTURY EVIDENCE

The most recently uncovered data on the history of sign language in the country cites the earliest dates, and is a most critical finding. Archival documents describe the use of signs by the Catalan Jesuit Father Ramon Prat (Castilian name Raymundo del Prado or Ramón de Prado) in the catechism and baptism of deaf men in a mission house in Dulac, Leyte in the late 1590s.

"There were then in Dulac two mutes, who caused our fathers much regret, as they supposed it would be so difficult to baptize these persons on account of their lack of capacity for instruction. Father Ramon de Prado, who was still our vice-provincial, determined, upon learning this, to instruct them by means of signs... He undertook the task, persisted, and won success..." (Chirino 1604, 103)

"So one does not know whether the deaf is more attentive or the mute more eloquent; for the preaching of the deaf is most eloquent. For as this mute was not useful for any other thing, the deaf was certainly more useful, of whom there many in these islands. They are sought for everywhere and brought into our house to this unheard of eloquence and about ten are being supported, whom he teaches, and places the Christian doctrine clearly before their eyes and with his hand and body moves, persuades, pleases, amplifies, argues, exclaims and vociferates. Sometimes I have seen him with a candle teaching his pupils, and I have seen with great astonishment how he talks without noise but not without light, transmitting light to the soul through the eyes of the body. One cannot doubt the faith and charity which he shows and proves by signs and charity." (Lopez 1605, 271)

A full paper on the details of archival evidences for this time period is forthcoming (PDRC and PFD, In progress).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HISTORY OF FILIPINO SIGN LANGUAGE TO DEAF ADVOCACY

That the natural visual sign language of the Filipino Deaf community has been traditionally associated with that of ASL has been seen as a repressive influence by Deaf leaders (PDRC and PFD 2004, 139). Despite the existence of a natural language with strong indigenous elements and linguistic processes for many decades, recognition of Filipino Sign Language as a unique and true linguistic entity remains limited to several Deaf communities. Acceptance and recognition by critical branches of government in education, labor and culture, and the hearing majority have yet to be gained.

Thus, the recent findings on 16th and 17th century signing in the Philippines, three hundred years before the first documented use of ASL have been an exciting development for the Deaf community.

5

SPANISH INFLUENCE

Deaf researcher Rafaelito Abat of the Philippine Federation of the Deaf (PFD) has raised interesting points to be investigated in the future:

1. The equal possibility of the teaching of local signing by Deaf Filipinos to Father Prat, versus the teaching of signing from Spain by the latter.

Abat speculates the existence of an actual signing community in Dulac at that time. He bases this on personal experience as well as recent fieldwork experience with the PFD Dictionary project. He knows for a fact that Deaf people tend to develop strong ties with one another regardless of place or time setting. Such a signing community could have existed even before the establishment of the Jesuit Mission house. Or, perhaps, the mission could have even been the congregating force which created the signing "community".

Knowledge of fellow deaf individuals residing in an area is part of the inherent wisdom of a vibrant Deaf community and culture. Abat and the other field researchers of the Philippine Federation of the Deaf know from experience that Deaf individuals know who and where all the other deaf people are in their community. This knowledge of the Deaf network is quite reliable, and frequently outdoes limited information that government entities such as the Department of Education or Department of Social Welfare and Development can provide. It is not too difficult to imagine such a network existing in the islands of the Visayas even in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Abat's speculation finds support in the proposed Waves of Influence catalyzed by the establishment of e.g., schools and churches (PDRC and PFD 2004, 157). Wherever deaf people are brought together, natural visual communication ensues. This could very well have been the situation in Dulac in the 16th century.

Furthermore, the 1903 U.S. Bureau of Census includes counts of deaf individuals identified in this eastern area of the Visayas (PDRC and PFD 2004,156).

The frequent assumption in a situation of language contact, is that the incoming foreigner (of higher "status") would exert stronger language influence on the Asian local than the other way around. In Dulac in the 16th and 17th centuries, it would seem to be a logical presumption that the educated hearing European would teach and influence the deaf of native "civilized tribes". However, Abat opines otherwise. In keeping with the calling of compassionate proselytizing, Father Prat, in attempting to gain rapport, could conceivably have taught catechism using signs that the locals had taught him. The humble mien of Father Prat may be deduced from descriptions of his character which would support a possible openness to learning the signs of deaf Filipino slaves:

> "All historians made much of his high moral and intellectual qualities. Because of his virtue and zeal for the salvation of souls, he is considered one of the most outstanding men of our Society". (Lopez 1605, 57)

Abat also conjectures that the interest of Jesuits in the languages could indicate additional clues: (1) during the various Visayan missions of that period, learning the local spoken languages was known to be a good vehicle for proselytizing (Repetti 1938, 21-22), so the Jesuit missionaries applied themselves to learning the local Philippine languages; and (2) later, during the 18th century, a specific interest in sign languages is well documented in the life and works of Spanish ex-Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás (Plann 1997) in Europe.

Recent communications of Liza Martinez with sign linguists in Spain provide interesting information:

1. What is known about the history of deaf education in Spain in the 16th century revolved around key historical figures such as the Benedictine Pedro Ponce de León (Plann 1997), and others like Francisco dela Peña and Miranda de Ebro (Ramón Ferrerons Ruiz, Personal communication, 2005). Historical sign linguist Ramón Ferrerons Ruiz in Barcelona believes that it is a remote possibility that Father Ramon Prat knew about these key individuals since he was Catalan. In fact, he was extremely shy and spoke little Castilian (Ramón Ferrerons Ruiz, Personal communication, 2005; Lopez 1605: 33). Thus, interactions with these key historical figures, or even perusal of their very few written works, appears unlikely (Ramón Ferrerons Ruiz, Personal communication, 2005).

2. Having said this however, Ferrerons Ruiz says the possibility of signing from monastic influence cannot be completely discounted (Ramón Ferrerons Ruiz, Personal communication, 2005). Early Christian founders of monasteries prohibited speech, and forms of monastic sign language are documented for the Order of St. Benedict and those arising from it - the Cluniacs, Cistercians, and the Trappists (Plann 1997, 211-212).

In the Benedictine monastery at Oña where the earliest beginnings of deaf education in Spain are documented, signs were used by the monks for objects in their immediate environment, as well as elements of their religious life (Plann 1997, 21).

OTHER INFLUENCE

A final piece of information which may be of significance is proposed by Abat. This is the account

of Frenchman Juan Giraldo who arrived at the Mission house of Dulac in 1595 (Repetti 1938)

and worked there as a servant.

One wonders whether this man may be of any relation to the Pedro Jiraldo mentioned in Chirino's

account (Date unavailable, 316):

> "Capitulo XXX
> DE LOS MUDOS QUE SE BAUTIZARON EN DULAC
>
> ...Andando yo en Missión, el año de mil y quinientos i ochenta i ocho, en el campo de
> Andévalo, por lugares de los Duques de Medina Sidonia i Véjar, en uno llamado los
> Castillejos me dieron posada en casa del escrivano de Cabildo, llamado Pedro Gazapo
> Jiraldo. Era algo sordo, que no oía sino le hablavan recio. Tenia un hermano mudo, el
> qual desseando a conocer i communicarme que vivia en casa aparte, vino una noche,
> acabando de cenar, a visitarme; i sobre mesa con los dos Hermanos, mudo i sordo
> afirmo que tuve un rato de la más buena conversación que he tenido en mi vida, ...
> porque el Hermano mas oia que hablava, concurriamos los tres con bien poco mas
> estorvo que sino uviera mudo ni sordo, significándome el mudo sus conceptos i dandole
> yo a entender los mios por medio del sordo, con quien el mudo se entendía por señas i
> yo con hablar un poco alto..."

If such information indicates another avenue for influence from another European sign language,

then this would make the history of signing in the Philippines singular compared to its Asian

neighbors.

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MAKING TEXTS MORE MEANINGFUL TO THE DEAF READER FOR DEEPER LEVELS OF INFORMATION AND LANGUAGE PROCESSING AND LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

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Introduction

The ability to read, like the ability to walk, is a most often taken for granted life skill in the "normal" development of the human being. An infant, unless blind, can distinguish the color red as early as two weeks. A child, unless physically challenged, can walk as early as nine months. And a toddler, unless mute, can utter words intelligibly as early as one year.

The dominant view of deafness works along the same lines of thinking so that the idea that reading comes hard to most deaf people is often met with puzzlement, if not wonder ("What is the problem? They can see and read, can't they?"). This is because a common misconception is that deaf people learn to read and engage in written texts "using essentially the same processes as do hearing persons." (Musselman, 1998)

Indeed, deaf people can see, but seeing and reading are two very different processes. We must keep in mind that printed texts are representations of spoken language. Thus, hearing adults who only learn to read later in life easily gain literacy and can easily bring their reading levels at par with their general language skills. Deaf people, on the other hand, are a different matter. Because of their lack of, if not limited, experience of the spoken language, the printed version is almost an impossibility. In fact,

a 1991 US study by the Center for Assessment and Demographic Studies (Kelly 1995) stated that the average 18-year old Deaf individual read with the "comprehension of a normally hearing child in the early months of the 3rd grade."

Thus, in the context of deafness (and Deafness, where the latter is a more cultural label than a physical condition), reading is a significant issue to address and has been the subject of many debates. Educators are divided as to what methods would be best used to teach reading, especially reading in English. And it is this predicament that teachers of the Deaf find their selves in. They are at a loss as to the best way to teach reading, let alone syntax or semantics.

There have been quite a number of studies on and approaches to reading for the Deaf. Quigley and King (1982) proposed the basal reader approach, which focused on bottom-up skills (e.g. orthography, phonology, syntax) by using text segments. This approach is more commonly used but is not considered very effective, especially in language instruction. In contrast, Goodman (1968) proposed the whole language approach to literacy development, which focused more on top-down skills and which was also adopted in reading programs, especially after Ewoldt's study (1981) with four Deaf subjects as to the effectiveness of the approach. This approach recommends the use of whole texts and emphasizes the teaching of component processes "only as needed and then only in a meaningful context." (Kelly, 1996)

Using Goodman's Whole Language approach, this paper explores the use of whole texts which may prove beneficial, if not effective, to the education of the Deaf. Further, this paper suggests that such texts should be more meaningful to the Deaf reader

that it may lead to deeper levels of processing not only in terms of information but also of language.

The Act of Reading

There are two things that the Deaf stand to benefit from the proposal to use meaningful texts: deeper levels of information processing and deeper levels of language processing. This paper will explore both processes with particular focus on the processing of the English language since most Filipino Deaf read English more than any other spoken language including Tagalog or Filipino.

So how does a Deaf reader stand to benefit from reading more meaningful texts? What makes a text meaningful?

First, let us briefly look at the reading process and how this is different for Deaf readers.

In Carol Musselman's paper entitled "How do Children who Can't Hear Learn to Read an Alphabetic Script?" (1998), she enumerated three factors implicated in the acquisition of reading skills. These are (1) method of encoding print, (2) language specific knowledge, and (3) general language knowledge. According to her, Deaf children have poor reading skills because they have a very weak method of encoding print. This is because Deaf children, and Deaf individuals in general, are deficient in phonological processing as a natural consequence of their deafness (Remember that print is the representation of spoken language). Thus, they have to rely on other means to

process the printed word. In addition to weak encoding of print, Deaf children have poor reading skills also because of their limited knowledge of semantics and syntax of the written language. (It must also be remembered that the natural language of the Deaf is sign language, a visual language with its own linguistic rules and operations, which has no written form. Perhaps it is not superfluous to say at this point that sign language is NOT a translation or visual representation of spoken languages). The third factor, general language skills, is not as detrimental if the individual has language skills in sign which can compensate for deficiencies in the written language (which further leads to an argument for the teaching of sign language as an important component of Deaf education, but is not quite the subject of this paper).

However, it should be noted that a number of Deaf readers do attain ideal levels of reading comprehension, and numerous studies of skilled Deaf readers revealed that they develop some kind of phonological processing despite their deafness. If so, is phonology then the answer to improving reading comprehension of the Deaf?

According to Carpenter and Just's 1981 study (Kelly, 1993), there are a number of cognitive processes which contribute to the reading comprehension of an individual, whether deaf or hearing: orthography (the combination of letters), phonology (letter-sound correspondences), syntax (inter-word relations), semantics (word meanings), pragmatics (sentence semantics), discourse structure, episodic knowledge (recent acquisition from earlier parts of text) and domain knowledge (world knowledge). The first ones on the list are considered bottom-up processes while the latter ones are considered top-down processes.

In studies with Deaf students, it was found that most Deaf rely on top-down processes to construct meaning. Gormley (1981) concluded that topic familiarity or world knowledge "strongly impinges" on deaf students' understanding of written texts. (Kelly, 1993) When texts were on familiar topics, there was improved or superior comprehension. This is what Stanovich (1980) theorized as the compensatory interaction of processes where cognitive processes involved in reading were relatively interactive, and that this interaction was compensatory in nature: a strength in one process offset weakness in another. Thus, most Deaf readers engaged in higher-level processes to work downward to guide their interpretation of information. As Ewoldt's study (1981) revealed, Deaf subjects were able to "[bypass] syntactic deep structure and [move] directly to meaning…" (Kelly, 1995)

Skilled Deaf readers, along with skilled hearing readers, on the other hand are able to work bottom-up, engaging more in language or linguistic operations for more accurate interpretations of the text, whether it was on a familiar topic or not.

Although Deaf readers were able to engage in top-down skills for reading comprehension, more often than not, interpretations of text were inaccurate if not off-the-mark. This is explained by past research on deaf readers (Just and Carpenter, 1992; Shankweiler and Crain, 1986; Perfetti, 1985) that revealed that the cognitive processes of reading took place in working memory both for storage and processing, as opposed to short-term memory which was used only for storage, before storage in long-term memory. However, like short-term memory, working memory had limited capacity and was impermanent. Moreover, storage and processing capacities worked as trade-offs, so that heavy demands of one task meant sacrifices in the other. This is true regardless of

reader. Working memory capacity can be strained especially if working on processing a task (such as syntax).

It is this concept or theory of capacity constrained comprehension that supports the argument for the use of more meaningful texts. Empirical findings show that readers whose working memory capacity is limited by inefficient processing tend to experience difficulty in performing other levels of processing such as semantics and syntax. Thus, if Deaf readers consume working memory capacity on processing information such as vocabulary, other processes such as syntax suffers. If working memory capacity is focused on syntax, then other processes such as semantics suffers.

Further, findings revealed that reading comprehension was improved if texts being read were on familiar topics. It was concluded that cognitive processes, if performed with relative automaticity or familiarity, allowed for more working memory capacity on other processes. This explains how Deaf readers are able to bypass syntax for contextual meaning, if reading familiar texts.

This has led to the conclusion that reading comprehension can be improved if the act of reading was relatively attention free, meaning less demanding on working memory capacity. However, the question still remains as to which instructional method would be best used to make reading attention free.

The answers largely depend on the goals to be achieved, and in this paper, two goals are identified: (1) deeper levels of information processing and (2) deeper levels of language processing.

By information processing, the focus is on content knowledge. Reading is primarily geared towards acquiring information on different topics, perhaps mostly

unfamiliar than not. This may be true for most content-focused subjects such as history, math and science, where learning of content precedes learning of language skills. In this sense, meaningful texts should make bottom-up processes such as vocabulary and syntax relatively attention free. At a glance, this does not seem to present huge problems. In the Philippine setting, most teachers of the Deaf forego language skills to focus more on content learning. Essays in content subjects are rarely graded for language skills as long as ideas and concepts are learned or acquired. Nevertheless, teachers of the Deaf of these subjects should take note that while content and meaning are prioritized, Deaf students must still perform minimum linguistic processes on these texts if such concepts are to be effectively and efficiently stored in long-term memory. (Teachers of the Deaf perennially complain of students rarely remembering lessons learned the day before.)

Language processing calls for the opposite: learning is focused on language skills, while also targeting content learning. In this sense, texts may be more meaningful if top-down processes are relatively attention-free so that working memory capacity can work on bottom-up skills. Studies by Kelly (1995, 1996) revealed that reading comprehension of subjects was improved if reading familiar passages. Gormley and Franzen (1978) suggested the use of familiar reading materials to capitalize on Deaf students' use of top-down skills to derive meaning from texts.

While such results prove favorable, further studies in the Philippine context have to be done. This is largely due to the fact that Filipino Deaf students do not enjoy a wealth of resources to access that can be considered familiar to their experience. Unlike their Western counterparts, there is a considerable lack of texts written on the Filipino Deaf experience or on Filipino Deaf issues. In English classes, for example, a huge

chunk of class time is spent on vocabulary, which includes names of places, persons and even animals. (In a class on Philippine Literature, a lengthy discussion of the story "Scent of Apples" was spent on whether Kalamazoo was a character or not, or if it was in the Philippines or not.)

In conclusion, though, it should be emphasized that this approach does not solve the problem of reading comprehension altogether. If the ideal is to be achieved, a balance of top-down and bottom-up skills will prove more beneficial to the reading development of Deaf readers.