

VOL. 1, NO. 1  
2022

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

# working papers IN LINGUISTICS

1922  2022  
UP LINGUISTICS

---

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

**working papers**  
IN LINGUISTICS

VOL. 1, NO. 1  
2022

Issue Editors  
Elsie Marie T. Or  
Jesus Federico C. Hernandez  
Jay-Ar M. Igno



UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

# working papers

## IN LINGUISTICS

The **UP Working Papers in Linguistics (UPWPL)** is an open access publication featuring preliminary research and reports on research in progress done by scholars affiliated with the University of the Philippines Department of Linguistics.

Issue Editors

**Elsie Marie T. Or**

**Jesus Federico C. Hernandez**

**Jay-Ar M. Igno**

Administrative Staff

**Victoria N. Vidal**

**Dustin Matthew O. Estrellado**

Proofreading and Layout

**James Dominic R. Manrique**

### Copyright Notice

The copyright of all articles published in the UPWPL remains with their respective authors. Articles in the UPWPL are distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0). Proper attribution must be given when citing any part of the works included in this publication.



# Contents

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Introduction . . . . .   | v          |
| <b>I. Research Papers</b>  |            |
| <b>A Trend Analysis of the Graduate Theses and Doctoral Dissertations under the Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman . . . .</b> | <b>1</b>   |
| Dave Benedict F. Badiola   |            |
| <b>Sakit: A Preliminary Linguistic Analysis of Tagalog Pain Concept and Language . . . . .</b>   | <b>64</b>  |
| Mary Dianne Ofalla Jamindang   |            |
| <b>LF (Looking for) a Sociolinguistic Analysis of K-pop BNS Twitter in the Philippines . . . . .</b>   | <b>106</b> |
| Gertrude Beatriz D. Lim  |            |
| <b>Error Analysis of Written Compositions of Filipino Learners of Korean as a Foreign Language . . . . .</b>   | <b>142</b> |
| James Dominic R. Manrique  |            |
| <b>II. Essays</b>  |            |
| <b>On Contact, Cultural Emphasis, and Linguistic Relativity . . . . .</b>  | <b>194</b> |
| Miguel Lorenzo Tan   |            |
| <b>Thoughts on Time . . . . .</b>  | <b>197</b> |
| Miguel Lorenzo Tan   |            |
| <b>Beyond the Binary: A Reflective Essay on Language, Gender, and Socialization . . . . .</b>  | <b>200</b> |
| Jaira Alessandra Rodolfo   |            |
| <b>On the Status of English in the Philippines . . . . .</b>   | <b>204</b> |
| Francine Yvonne B. Dela Cruz   |            |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>Making the Unknown Obvious: Why English Education Sets the Conditions for the OFW . . . . .</b> | <b>207</b> |
| John Joshua Noel L. Macapia  |            |
| <b>The Good and the Bad: The Social Role and Position of English in the Philippines . . . . .</b>  | <b>211</b> |
| Nicko Enrique L. Manalastas  |            |
| <b>What Is the Role of Language Scholars in Solving Social Problems? . . . . .</b>                 | <b>215</b> |
| Jino Antonio Escudero, Simoun Rober Monzon, and Michaela Marie Tindog                              |            |

# Introduction

We are very proud to present the inaugural issue of the *UP Working Papers in Linguistics* (UPWPL). This series was originally conceived as a way to properly archive and broadly disseminate some of the excellent Lingg 199 capstone research projects that our undergraduate students produce, as well as other term papers and essays written by members of the UP Lingg Dept. community.

Over the years, we have seen our students produce many commendable studies, some of which could be considered the first of their kind in the country, with some that have documented first-hand data on understudied and increasingly threatened languages and dialects in the Philippines. In its 100 years of existence, the Department has always been committed to training its students not only to be linguists and language specialists but also to become social scientists with the awareness that the works that they produce are not only for themselves to obtain a numerical grade in their classes, but that they also have the potential to have some impact in the field and in our society through their engagement in research which could illuminate issues—particularly language-related issues—that influence the lives of everyone.

In this issue, we present some of the best capstone research projects produced in the past three and a half years. These capstone research papers represent the culmination of what the undergraduate students have learned during their stay in our program.

Dave Badiola (Batch 2019) presents a survey of theses and dissertations done by the alumni of the Department's MA and PhD programs in order to reveal trends in the research topics that they have worked on, find how this reflects the historical development of Philippine linguistics as practiced by the past and present members of the Department, and see what else could and should be done by the Department in order to fulfill its mandate.

Mary Dianne Jamindang (Batch 2022) explores the concepts that are encapsulated in the Tagalog word *sakit* by conducting a semantic and syntactic analysis of the word and how it is used. In doing so, she aims to bridge our linguistic and cultural understanding of pain and how it is talked about in the field of healthcare.

Gertrude Beatriz Lim (Batch 2022) delves into the world of buy-and-sell communities for K-pop merchandise on social media sites to document the jargon that members of these communities use to engage in transactions and that also reflects their membership to the K-pop fandom. Lim's work provides another lens through which we can see and understand the Hallyu phenomenon in our local context.

Meanwhile, James Manrique's (Batch 2021) error analysis of Korean language learners' written compositions at different language proficiency levels provides preliminary insights into how Filipino students learn Korean as a foreign language and the factors that influence their acquisition of the language. Manrique's study is a valuable contri-

bution to the currently sparse literature on foreign language learning in the Philippine context.

Also included in this issue are several selected think pieces from the Lingg 170 (Introduction to Ethnolinguistics) and Lingg 180 (Language Issues in the Philippines) classes last A.Y. 2021–2022. In these essays, students reflect on various topics including the effects of language and cultural contact and its implications on how we view the world, our conceptualization of time as reflected in our temporal expressions, the role that the English language plays in our society and our relationship with this language of our former colonizer, and how we are linguistically socialized to perform and think about gender norms or roles. The final piece in this collection is a short statement, written by Jino Escudero, Simoun Monzon, and Michaella Tindog, which details what they believe to be the role and responsibility of language and communication researchers in effecting change by helping to solve social problems in our nation.

In a printed announcement released in 1925, Otto Johns Scheerer, the second chairperson of the Department, wrote that, in publishing through his own means the papers that his students wrote for their seminars on Philippine linguistics in a series of pamphlets, he hoped to encourage and reward the research undertaken by his students. He believed that there is no one better who could bring to light the “valuable information as lies [...] untouched or hidden within the confines of our archipelago” than (“properly guided”) students who hail from our own local ethnolinguistic groups.<sup>1</sup> He called this series which he began *The Archive*.

Since Scheerer’s time, the Department has grown exponentially. Awareness and interest in Philippine linguistics has also grown, and *The Archive* has now been established as the Department’s official peer-reviewed academic journal which has since published many established linguists in the field, including Cecilio Lopez, Videa de Guzman, Ernesto Constantino, Lawrence Reid, Resty Cena, and R. David Zorc.

With the launch of this new series, we hope to continue in the same spirit as Scheerer when he first established *The Archive* in encouraging new researchers of Philippine languages and dialects by providing them with a platform where they can share their works and their own perspectives and thoughts, thus giving them a sense that the work that they do is relevant to the advancement of the field of linguistics in the Philippines and to society at large.

**Elsie Marie T. Or**  
Issue Editor

---

<sup>1</sup>Lopez, C. (1970). Foreword. *The Archive*, 1(1), 1–3.

# A Trend Analysis of the Graduate Theses and Doctoral Dissertations under the Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman

Dave Benedict F. Badiola

## Abstract

This study aims to discern, analyze, and interpret trends in the types of graduate theses and dissertations made under the Department of Linguistics at the University of the Philippines Diliman and discuss the possible motivations behind these studies. It also seeks to determine the contributions of prominent proponents of each time period, divided based primarily on chronological order and the commonality of the topics discussed in the outputs.

Four time periods were identified and discussed in detail. From 1955 to 1972, all of the theses began as simple works which utilized descriptive analysis to describe the Philippine languages, especially Tagalog. From 1973 to 1991, there was a sudden increase in the number of outputs on the Thai language, due to the Thai government providing scholarships to teachers in Thailand to study abroad and obtain graduate degrees from foreign academic institutions. From 1992 to 2008, there came a renewed focus on linguistic theories, which sparked the interest of both students and teachers to test these theories on the Philippine languages. From 2010 to the first quarter of 2019, we see a greater diversification in the topics that were produced by the graduates of the Department.

75 theses and 16 dissertations were cataloged and analyzed for this study, totaling to 91 outputs. These outputs have been classified into five different types: *Analysis*, or descriptions of the basic and distinct features of a language in at least one but not more than two grammatical domains; *Grammar*, or more in-depth and systematic descriptions of the basic and distinct features of a language in three grammatical domains; *Comparison*, or descriptions of the features of two or more languages vis-à-vis another language; *Review*, or critical critiques of works of scholars that preceded the author; and *Reconstruction*, or diachronic linguistic studies that try to reconstruct older forms of a language.

*Keywords:* research trends, trend analysis, graduate theses and dissertations

# 1 Introduction

For 96 years,<sup>1</sup> the Department of Linguistics of the University of the Philippines Diliman (henceforth referred to as the Department), one of the few institutions in the Philippines that offers an undergraduate degree and graduate degrees in linguistics, has strived with fortitude in its pursuit of promoting linguistic diversity in the Philippines, stated as its primary aim since founding to the “scientific study, preservation and promotion of the Philippine languages through teaching, field research and publication” (University of the Philippines Department of Linguistics, 2012). The theses and dissertations produced by the Department’s alumni include grammar sketches, linguistic surveys, and studies which test the application of theories on Philippine languages. This study aims to identify occurring trends present in the master’s theses and doctoral dissertations written under the Department.

## 1.1 Research Questions

The primary objective of this study is to discern, analyze, and interpret trends present within the graduate theses and doctoral dissertations made within the initial 96 years of the Department, separated by time periods where we can see clear commonality of topics among the outputs generated during these time periods. The study aims to answer the following specific questions:

- What are the common topics present in the graduate theses and doctoral dissertations within a time period of five years to a maximum of 20 years?
- What are the local and international milieu during the time periods when the graduate theses and doctoral dissertations were written?
- What factors could have motivated specific trends in the topics of the graduate theses and doctoral dissertations to occur?
- Given the information above, what topics have yet to be done in the Department?

## 1.2 Rationale

This study is a step towards a direction which will allow for quick access to all works made through the potential creation of a digital database of said works created under the Department. This would aid students under the Department and other linguists in their survey of which linguistic topics have research already been conducted on and to what length have these topics been investigated so that they would be able to identify knowledge gaps that they might be able to fill with the research that they will choose to conduct themselves.

---

<sup>1</sup>The original text of this working paper was completed in May 2019. As of this publication in the Working Papers in Linguistics, the Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman is celebrating its 100th founding anniversary on August 28, 2022.

### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

This study would benefit students under the Department, both undergraduate and graduate, by providing them with a preliminary database of theses and dissertations made through the years, which could help said students to formulate research topics for their respective classes. This would also benefit professors in the Department and other Filipino linguists for this might allow them to engage in a more in-depth introspection about the history of the Department and of Philippine linguistics, and to gain insights into topics, ideas, and methodologies prominent in specific time periods, which could possibly open up potential avenues for further research. This will also benefit researchers interested in linguistics, specifically Philippine linguistics, for they might be able to perceive the development of the Department as an accredited institution through the outputs of its alumni. This study could also benefit language researchers in general by providing a record of what has been done and what still needs to be done with the Philippine languages.

### **1.4 Scope and Limitations**

The study covers the MA theses and PhD dissertations produced under the Department since the inception of its graduate program until the first quarter of 2019. There exists a multitude of linguistic and language-related theses produced by graduates from other colleges within UP Diliman, such as the College of Education, College of Engineering, and the College of Arts and Letters, and the works produced by graduate students in these other colleges also cover topics in linguistics such as dialectology, corpus creation, and comparative/contrastive studies of a Philippine language and either English or Filipino. These, however, are outside the scope of this present study and might be considered for a future broader survey of language-related studies conducted at the University.

### **1.5 Methods**

#### **1.5.1 Data Gathering**

Archival work was conducted at four main locations: (a) the University Main Library Archives, (b) the Department of Linguistics Library, (c) the CSSP Graduate Student Reading Room, and (d) the National Library of the Philippines. A preliminary database of all the theses and dissertations housed in these locations was made. Historical fact-checking was done by going through historical documents that include articles relating to the Department. These include the UP Diliman General Catalogs, as well as publications of other relevant figures in linguistics within the years prescribed. Fact-checking was also done through semi-structured interviews with senior and retired faculty members of the Department. These individuals, who provided their free, prior, and informed consent to participate in this research, are listed below, including the years they were actively serving at the Department:

- Consuelo J. Paz (1967–2004)
- Jonathan C. Malicsi (1977–2019)
- Viveca V. Hernandez (1988–present)
- Jesus Federico C. Hernandez (1991–present)

### 1.5.2 Procedure

The term *trend analysis* is used elsewhere in other fields, specifically in the stock market. In stocks, trend analysis is a method that looks at events in the past performances of stocks in order to predict the future of the said stock and other elements relating to that stock, such as stocks of sister companies or of companies in the same scope. According to Hayes (2019), trend analysis is “based on the idea that what has happened in the past gives traders an idea of what will happen in the future” (para. 2). While this study has completely nothing to do with stocks and the stock market, certain key concepts in this practice are shared and are utilized to the best of my ability as a scholar. Specifically, trend analysis, as used in this study, looks into the common patterns within the outputs made, from the full conception of the MA and PhD program to the present, not to predict what possible output could be made next, but to assess the outputs to know what topics have been done and to what degree those topics have been discussed.

To determine trends in research conducted by the graduate students of the Department, I categorized each thesis and dissertation based on several criteria. This list serves as a tabularized form of the aforementioned preliminary digital database, containing basic information of the work, such as output title, year published, author, and adviser. This list also contains specific information about the work, such as the domain(s) tackled (denoted with P, M, Y, X for Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, and Semantics respectively), languages tackled (denoted with the three-letter notations based on Ethnologue, 2018), keywords important to the output, locations where the output is available, and whether the output contains a list in its appendices (e.g., word list, sentence list). This detailed list can be found in the Appendices section of this paper.

## 2 History of the Department

Learning the history of the Department is necessary in order to discuss in detail the time periods presented in the following section. Most of the information in this section is from a public lecture by Dr. Ernesto Constantino in 1992, while any additional information not mentioned in that lecture is supplemented by my research at the University Archives and University Records of the UP Main Library.

The Department underwent a series of name changes over the course of its 96 years in existence. Its conception on August 28, 1922 as the Department of Philippine Linguistics (DPL) was an answer to multiple calls from foreign and local letter senders

to various newspapers such as *The Philippines Herald* and *The Manila Times* for UP to teach about languages in the Philippines, specifically Tagalog and Bisaya (Constantino, 1992). Due to the urgency of this endeavor, the only active local language scholars at the time were suddenly put into a situation wherein they had to quickly organize themselves into an official entity, placing Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, a physician and historian by profession and an instructor of Spanish at UP, as the head. This appointment was with merit due to Tavera's interest in languages like Malay, as evident in the various papers that he wrote on some Philippine languages such as the *Antología: Sobre las Lenguas Filipinas* [Anthology: On Philippine Languages] and *Contribución Para el Estudio de los Antiguos Alfabetos Filipinos* [Contribution to the Study of Ancient Philippine Alphabets].

There were two courses on Philippine Linguistics that were offered as electives during the academic year 1923–1924: Philippine Linguistics 101 (History and Methodology of the Comparative Study of Language) and Philippine Linguistics 102 (The Philippine Group of Languages). By the next academic year in 1924, the Department introduced language courses such as Chinese and Japanese, transitioning into the Department of Oriental Languages (ORIEL), now under the College of Liberal Arts (University of the Philippines, 1924). Otto J. Scheerer, an instructor of German, who replaced Tavera as the head of ORIEL wrote two paragraphs describing the nature of the Department at that time, reproduced below:

With exception of the courses in Philippine linguistics, which are scientific and comparative in nature, the courses in this department are chiefly designed to give to students the practical use of the languages concerned; the exercises are, however, interspersed with occasional lectures on historical or cultural subjects designed to bring the spheres of thought underlying these languages more comprehensively before the mind of the student.

#### SECTION OF PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

Instruction in Philippine Linguistics in the University has for its chief aim to enable students intelligently to judge of the place occupied by Philippine languages among other forms of human speech, especially among the languages of surrounding parts of Asia and Oceania, and to make it possible for the student to form for himself an intelligent opinion of the future of the vernaculars. It is sought to attain these ends, first, by an exposition of the history, methods and aims of the science of language in general, and, second, by a presentation of the characteristics of the languages making up the Philippine group. (University of the Philippines, 1929, p. 136)

In 1930, a year after Scheerer's retirement and subsequent appointment as a professor emeritus, one of his students, Cecilio Lopez, who graduated with a bachelor's degree in zoology from UP and later earned a doctorate degree in linguistics from the University of Hamburg, became the acting head of ORIEL.

Famously regarded as the first Filipino linguist, Lopez opened new courses in Tagalog (University of the Philippines, 1929) and a course entitled Philippine

Linguistics 300 (Thesis) in 1935 (University of the Philippines, 1935). However, said courses were not immediately offered, and the Second World War broke out in the Pacific on December 7, 1941, delaying any rising ambition to further linguistics as a recognized field in the academe. When UP reopened its doors at the end of the Second World War in 1946, Lopez was officially appointed as the head of the Department (University of the Philippines, 1963). The next known revision to the Department's description was made in 1947, which kept the original first paragraph made by Scheerer, and removed the paragraph entitled "Section of Philippine Linguistics" entirely, but emphasizing the essence of ORIEL as a unit designed also for "oriental languages."

With exception of the courses in Philippine linguistics, which are scientific and comparative in nature, the courses in this department are chiefly designed to give to students the practical use of the languages concerned; the exercises are, however, interspersed with occasional lectures on historical or cultural *background to give a more comprehensive idea of the Oriental languages* [emphasis added]. (University of the Philippines, 1947, p. 117)

After one year of studying at the University of Michigan and Yale University as a fellow under the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation in 1950, Lopez introduced more courses on Philippine Linguistics, while the Department continued offering courses on Tagalog and foreign languages. In 1952, a full curriculum for the graduate program was institutionalized. This program was the Master of Arts in Language and Literature (University of the Philippines, 1952). In 1954, the degree program was renamed to Master of Arts in Linguistics (University of the Philippines, 1954) and then to Master of Arts in Linguistics and Literature in 1956 (University of the Philippines, 1956). The following courses were taught at that time:

- Linguistics 201** Linguistic Science
- Linguistics 202** Phonetics
- Linguistics 203** Phonemics
- Linguistics 204** Morphology
- Linguistics 205** Informant Work
- Philippine Linguistics 206** Seminar in Tagalog Grammar
- Literature 207** Seminar in Tagalog Literature
- Philippine Linguistics 208** Seminar in Philippine Linguistics
- Linguistics 209** Phonetics and Phonemics (added in 1956, replacing 202 and 203)
- Linguistics 210** Morphology and Syntax (added in 1956, replacing 204)
- Linguistics 211** Bilingualism (added in 1956)
- Linguistics 212** Comparative Malayo-Polynesian (added in 1956)
- Philippine Linguistics 300** Master's Thesis

With linguistics slowly gaining traction in the academe, coupled with an increase in the number of regular faculty members, the Department decided to place more importance on the scientific study of language, and this was reflected in its next name change, Department of Oriental Languages and Linguistics (DOLL) in 1961 (Constantino, 1992).

Two years later in 1963, Lopez retired from the Department and was awarded the title of professor emeritus, relinquishing his role as what we would refer to now the department chairperson to Ernesto Constantino, a scholar who took up his PhD in linguistics in America in 1959 (Constantino, 1992). It was also around this time when the College of Arts and Sciences was reorganized into multiple Divisions: the Division of Humanities (DH), the Division of Social Sciences and Philosophy, and the Division of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, with the Department joining DH, alongside the Department of English and Comparative Literature, Department of Speech and Drama, Department of European Languages, and the Department of Humanities.

The earliest known record for the first undergraduate program awarding a bachelor's degree in linguistics is from 1968 (University of the Philippines, 1968). The initial undergraduate courses that were offered are as follows:

- Linguistics 110** General Linguistics
- Linguistics 111** General Linguistics
- Linguistics 121** Linguistic Survey of the Philippines
- Linguistics 125** Introduction to Field Methods
- Linguistics 130** Language Problems in the Philippines
- Linguistics 150** The Austronesian Language Family
- Linguistics 181** Linguistics in Relation to Other Disciplines
- Linguistics 199** Undergraduate Seminar

In 1970, the Department's PhD program in Philippine Linguistics was established (Constantino, 1992). The following were the courses that were initially offered at the PhD level (University of the Philippines, 1972):

- Linguistics 301** History of Linguistics
- Philippine Linguistics 302** History of Philippine Linguistics
- Linguistics 335** Transformational Theory
- Philippine Linguistics 365** Comparative Philippine Linguistics I
- Philippine Linguistics 366** Comparative Philippine Linguistics II
- Philippine Linguistics 370** Language Planning and Standardization in the Philippines
- Philippine Linguistics 380** Philippine Dialectology
- Linguistics 385** Seminar: Southeast Asian Linguistics

**Philippine Linguistics 385** The Subgrouping of Philippine Languages

**Philippine Linguistics 390** Selected Problems in Philippine Linguistics

**Linguistics 396** Seminar: Grammatical Theories

**Linguistics 400** Ph.D. Dissertation

In 1973, another name change to the Department was in order, aiming to broaden the scope of foreign languages taught under its wing and putting linguistics at the forefront of the Department's specialization. This formed the Department of Linguistics and Asian Languages (LINGUAL), still under DH. This year also marks the first instance when the Department started offering courses in applied and interdisciplinary fields such as anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and ethnolinguistics, along with a course on trends in contemporary linguistics to cover new developments in the field (University of the Philippines, 1977).

Following the split of the College of Arts and Sciences on October 6, 1983 (University of the Philippines Diliman, 2016) into three separate colleges, namely the College of Arts and Letters, the College of Science, and the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (CSSP), the Department joined CSSP, and changed its name again to the shorter Department of Linguistics (LINGG). However, the removal of "Asian Languages" in its name did not imply that the said languages will no longer be taught by the Department. In fact, during this time, the College of Arts and Letters planned to place all of the courses in Asian languages and European languages under one department, presumably to be put under the present-day Department of European Languages. The Department maintained its position of keeping the classes on Asian languages under its wing, stating that "the Asian languages are our laboratory for Asian linguistics" (Malicsi, personal communication). This is also evidenced by the Department's formal declaration of objectives, stated below:

**PRIMARY OBJECTIVES:**

1. to continue developing as a primary center for the study and archiving of the languages and dialects in the Philippines
2. to contribute to general and theoretical linguistics based on the study of Philippine languages and dialects
3. directly and significantly help in recognizing, clarifying, and solving language problems in the country, especially in the fields of education and national communication and integration, based on the survey and the study of the languages and dialects in the country

**SECONDARY OBJECTIVE:**

1. to teach the national languages of Asia according to the needs of the Filipino people

(Constantino, 1992)

The Department devoted much of its time in the 1980s and the 1990s in fine-tuning the undergraduate program, which will not be discussed here. However, it should be noted that it was in 1990 when the first MA-level course on translation and a PhD-level course on Philippine psycholinguistics were first offered (University of the Philippines, 1990).

To this day, the Department continues its efforts to maintain steady strides in linguistics that are in line with its aforementioned objectives. Such efforts include the establishment of extension programs such as the Extramural Classes for Asian Languages and the Summer Seminars in Linguistics, research platforms such as the Philippine Linguistics Congress and the Linguistics Research Colloquium, yearly lecture events (all of which are open to the general public), and the continued publication of *The Archive*, which was established by Otto Johns Scheerer in 1923 or 1924 as a journal that will be dedicated to the study of Philippine languages and dialects.

### 3 The Time Periods

Listed below in chronological order are the time periods by which the graduate theses and doctoral dissertations shall be grouped. The groupings were mostly determined based on similarities or dominant themes in the works produced in each time period.

**1955–1972** Humble Beginnings: Descriptions and Tagalog

**1973–1991** The Thai-Linguals & More Descriptions

**1992–2008** The Theory for Theory

**2010–2019** Linguistics of a New Age

#### 3.1 Humble Beginnings: Descriptions and Tagalog (1955–1972)

This time period is grouped to represent the first ten theses produced during the earliest times of the Department. The first thesis to be completed is entitled *Pampango Syntax* (1955), written by Maria Luisa Castrillo who was advised by Cecilio Lopez. This thesis about Pampango (now, more commonly referred to as Kapampangan) would pave the way for other aspiring Filipino linguists during this period who will also choose to write synchronic analyses of Philippine languages, specifically about Tagalog. Six out of 10 theses during this period were on Tagalog. Along with Maria Salome Alegre's (1972) comparative review of two Tagalog grammars written by Spaniards, the following features of Tagalog were among those discussed in the early MA theses produced by the Department:

- active and passive sentences (Gonzales, 1962; Silverio, 1962)
- adverbs (of time) (Cayari, 1963)
- nouns and adjectives (Paz, 1967)

- verbs (active, passive, subcategorization) (Cruz, 1971; Gonzales, 1962; Silverio, 1962)

Descriptive analysis, as exemplified by Leonard Bloomfield in his 1933 publication *Language*, is the primary method of analysis of the American school of structural linguistics that was brought by Lopez and Constantino from their stint in the US. The application of Bloomfieldian structural linguistic analysis would define this period, with eight out of ten theses employing this methodology, whether it was explicitly stated in their manuscripts or otherwise. Among these are two theses completed in 1962, which talked about active sentences and passive sentences in Tagalog, respectively.

Including Castrillo's 1955 thesis, noteworthy theses made during this time period ranged from descriptions of specific grammatical features in the students' language of study, such as Patria Ramos's *The Verbal Sentences of Bhanaw Tinggian* (1970) and Ferdinand Adrian Parer's *Topicalization in Calbayog Waray* (1972), to a grammar sketch of a Philippine language, as seen with Irma Peneyra's *A Grammatical Sketch of the Tausug Language* (1972). This showcases not only the diversity in topics and Philippine language coverage but also the level of description students have been able to showcase even early on in the MA program.

None of the ten theses in this time period are written in Filipino. It might be due to the challenge of introspective explanation of the features of the language. This may also be supported by the American school of thought imported by Lopez and Constantino from their studies in the US where English technical terms were adopted, including "causatives," "derivation," or "verb inflection," which were not readily translated into Filipino.

The scholastic prowess of the graduate students can be measured through the aptitudes of their mentors. Like how many organizations start, the members learn from the leader and create outputs in a format as defined or exemplified by the leader. There was little to no room to try new methods and theories because either they had not been invented yet or the students would have had no knowledge of the other fields apart from the American descriptive linguistics which the core faculty during this period specialized in.

Lopez retired in 1963 but continued doing research and teaching comparative Austronesian linguistics as a professor emeritus at the University until his untimely passing on September 5, 1979. Constantino was somewhat left to his own devices, especially with regards to handling the master's program. As far as this time period is concerned, he was the only faculty qualified to be an adviser to the MA students. Consuelo Paz, who would eventually become a prominent member of the faculty, had just finished her thesis in 1967. There are no documents on when Ernesto Cubar, another prominent senior faculty of the Department who obtained his MA in linguistics from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1961, entered the scene, but it is clear from the theses produced during this period that Constantino was operating solo as the official adviser to the MA students of the Department during this period of time.

### 3.2 The Thai-Linguals & More Descriptions (1973–1991)

This time period is marked by the high volume of outputs on the Thai language, specifically the Standard Thai dialect (Central Thai or Ayutthaya), Thailand's national language. This time period is the most productive, with 33 theses and eight dissertations, a total of 41 outputs. 16 outputs in this time period tackle Thai, while seven outputs are grammatical descriptions of selected Philippine languages.

Around the late 1960s and the 1970s, Thailand experienced a rapid expansion of its higher education sector and many of their teachers were encouraged to study abroad (Suwanwela, 2006). Philippine universities likely attracted many Thai students due to how the education system is closely patterned to the American educational system, plus the tuition and cost of living is cheaper in the Philippines compared to the United States, United Kingdom, or Australia (Novio, 2019). Their main goal was for the students to have a firsthand experience in education with English as a medium of instruction, which they will be able to apply in their own teaching practices back home. These teachers had not received training in linguistics prior to entering the Department's MA program, and after the completion of the said program, most returned to teaching their respective subjects, with the exception of Chinda Ngamsutdi who went on to teach linguistics at the University of Chulalongkorn in Thailand (Malicsi, personal communication).

Prior to this time period, studies on Thai had not been produced at the Department, and the Thai students chose to apply linguistic concepts they had learned in the program by writing descriptions of features of their own Thai language. Listed below are all of the topics made by these foreign students.

- noun phrases (and their modifications) (Sombut, 1973)
- causative sentences (Kumlert, 1976)
- nominal sentences (Rawangkang, 1976)
- interrogatives (phrases and sentences) (Anusaen, 1977)
- tense (or the lack thereof) (Boonrueng, 1977)
- nominalization (Kooratanaweich, 1977)
- passivization (Ngamsutdi, 1977)
- case (Kerpetkeaw, 1978)
- verbs (using deep structure analysis) (Phumipruksa, 1978)
- adverbs (Teepanont, 1978)
- tone (across four varieties of Thai) (Srikhao, 1979)
- morphology (what has been done prior) (Thavilpravat, 1979)

- compounding (Thavilpravat, 1979)
- tone (Thoong Yang Thai vs. Standard Thai) (Klaichom, 1981)
- loanwords (Sanskrit) (vs. Tagalog) (Ngamsutdi, 1983)
- loanwords (English) (Suwanruje, 1990)
- grammar (vs. Tagalog) (Wattanakul, 1991)

It should be noted that this time period is not limited to Thai studies. In fact, it was business as usual for the up and coming linguists of the Philippines. Alongside the expected outputs which use descriptive analysis, there was an emergence of new fields of study yet to be written on by any MA or PhD student of the Department. This means that prior to this time period, no discussions with regards to these fields had been written about as a thesis or a dissertation. These include the first ever dissertation under the Department, which employed diachronic linguistic analysis (Paz, 1977), the first sociolinguistics MA thesis of the Department (Sonza, 1979), the first dissertation that deals with lexicography (del Corro, 1985), and the first dissertation which applied dialectology (Cagas, 1990).

The graduate faculty roster of the Department also grew during this time with the addition of UCLA-trained linguist Ernesto Cubar, as well as home-grown talents, including Constantino's former advisee, Consuelo Paz, and Cubar's former advisee, Jonathan Malicsi, who entered the Department a year before finishing his MA in linguistics in 1974. Malicsi became chairperson of the Department from 1976 to 1979, and within that period, he became an adviser to three Thai students. Also around this time, the first two graduates of the Department's bachelor's degree program also became part of the faculty: Anicia del Corro, currently the director of the translation department of the Philippine Bible Society, and Leith Casel, a former research assistant of Constantino who also went on to serve as a lecturer at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Hernandez, V. V., personal communication).

### **3.3 The Theory for Theory (1992–2008)**

This time period saw several outputs which utilize specific syntactic and phonological theories, such as the Government and Binding Theory and Optimality Theory, as their theoretical framework. There are 22 outputs during this time period: 16 of which are theses, while six are dissertations. Five out of 22 outputs within this time period provided analyses of aspects of selected Philippine languages with the use of specific theoretical frameworks. Six out of 22 outputs within this time period are grammars.

It is a common theme in this time period that when a student is introduced to a theory, one will attempt to use these on the Philippine languages. One of which is the Optimality Theory, originally proposed by Alan Prince and Paul Smolensky in 1993, which was applied by Ma. Althea Enriquez (2004) in her MA thesis comparing the phonology of Tagalog, Cebuano, and Ilocano. There is also Rodney Jubilado's (2002)

and Donna Hope Moran's (2006) MA theses, which both apply the Theta Theory on Isama and Bikol respectively. Works that apply Government and Binding Theory include Lucylline Tabada's (2003) thesis which tests the application of the theory on Viracnon and Viveca Hernandez's dissertation (1998) on Ilokano causative constructions. Meanwhile, Aldrin Lee (2007) wrote an analysis of Cuyonon non-verbal sentences using the Minimalist Program for his MA thesis.

During this time period, many students and their advisers were enthusiastic in testing Western linguistic theories on Philippine languages upon learning of them as it was, to put it simply, something different and exciting (Hernandez, J. F. C., personal communication). The endeavor was a collaborative effort between the adviser, who would prompt their advisees to explore new theories, and the student, who felt the motivation from the equally psyched up adviser who challenged them to their limits (Hernandez, V. V., personal communication).

The increase in the diversity of theoretical viewpoints explored in the outputs during this time period could possibly also be attributed to the increase in the number of graduate faculty who were able to advise graduate students. Among them are Irma Peneyra, Viveca Hernandez, Ricardo Nolasco, and Emilita Cruz. This willingness to explore new previously unexplored avenues in linguistics will continue on to the following time period.

Other notable outputs during this time period were the works of Imelda Flores (1996) and Jessie Grace Rubrico (1996), which, similar to Marlies Salazar's dissertation (1989) from the previous time period on the studies on Philippine languages by European scholars, were expansive historical reviews of linguistic scholarship on Philippine languages. Flores focused on the studies conducted by American scholars from the 1900s to 1990, while Rubrico created an annotated bibliography of works on the Cebuano language done from 1610 to 1996. Arwin Vibar (2010) will later follow suit by writing his dissertation on the studies done by Spanish missionaries on major Philippine languages during the Spanish Colonial period. These works are significant to the field of Philippine linguistics due to how they paint a clearer and more coherent picture of the history of linguistic scholarship in the Philippines.

### **3.4 Linguistics of a New Age (2010–2019)**

This time period is grouped to be as close to the current era as possible, being limited to the end of the first decade and within the second decade of the 21st century. There are 19 outputs noted in this time period: 17 of which are theses, while two of which are dissertations.

This time period is defined mainly by the diversity of topics, from tried and tested methods of old (i.e., structuralist descriptive analysis of grammatical features of different languages), as seen in the grammar sketches done by Liwanag (2015, on Surigaonon), Balanquit (2017, on Ninorte Samarnon) and Or (2018, on Iraya Mangyan), to theories and fields of new, such as ethnolinguistic studies like Cabazares' (2017) study of the Matigsalug concept of spirit and Pasion's (2018) study of the sense of justice among the Ilubu community, and studies in semantics such as Cunanan's

(2011) comparative study of modality in three languages and Reolalas' (2013) semantic analysis of Ilocano aspect forms.

By this period the Department has come a long way in terms of the growth in the number of its faculty and student body. MA and PhD students of this time seem freer than ever to pursue lesser-studied topics, at least in the history of graduate theses and dissertations produced at the Department. This is observable especially when compared to the first time period where students tended not to branch out to studies that were not being taught by any of the senior faculty during that time. Faculty members of the Department who joined the graduate faculty ranks and advised graduate students on their theses and dissertations during this period were also pivotal to this trend. These faculty members are Mary Ann Bacolod, Jesus Federico Hernandez, and Aldrin Lee.

This relative freedom to choose a topic for their thesis or dissertation, which will eventually lead them to form their own specializations, may have also been motivated by the fact that there were more students entering the Department's graduate programs already with prior knowledge in linguistics and other language-related disciplines.

## **4 Findings**

In this section, I present my findings in a more systematic and quantitative order. Presented in this section are multiple charts made from all the data collected from the theses and dissertations that were surveyed. The succeeding subsections explain the charts individually as well as define certain classifications I made for the outputs.

### **4.1 Summation of Outputs from 1955 to 2019**

A total of 91 theses and dissertations were cataloged and analyzed for this study, 75 of which are master's theses and 16 of which are doctoral dissertations. The earliest work was completed in 1955, and the most recent was completed in 2019.

Figure 1 shows the number of works categorized according to the major topic that were worked on.

**Figure 1**  
*Number of Theses and Dissertations According to Their Topics*

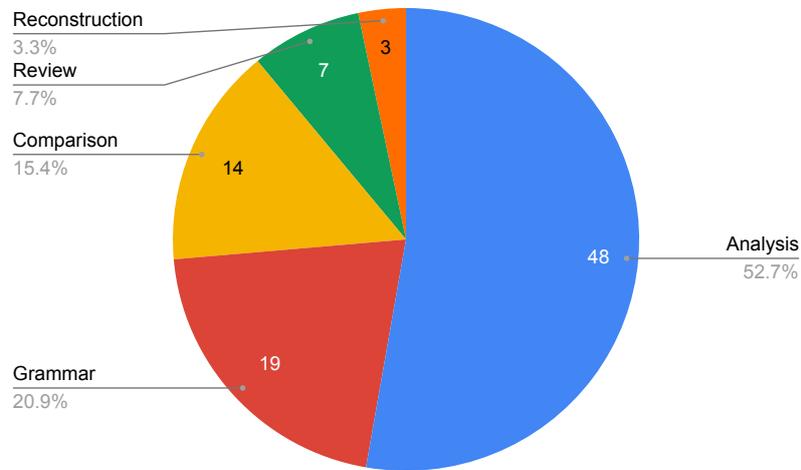


Figure 2 shows the number of studies which involve the analysis of the specified grammatical domains.

**Figure 2**  
*Grammatical Domains Analyzed and Described*

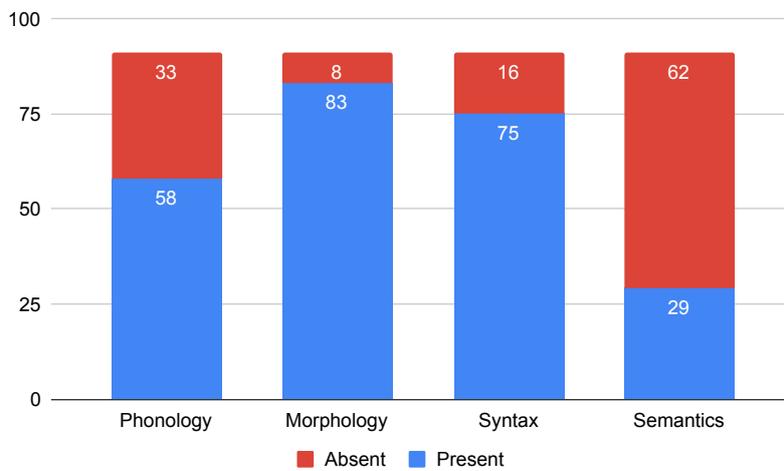


Figure 3 lists all possible combinations of the grammatical domains discussed in the graduate students' works, and how many of such fall under each category.

**Figure 3**  
*Grammatical Domains Combinations*

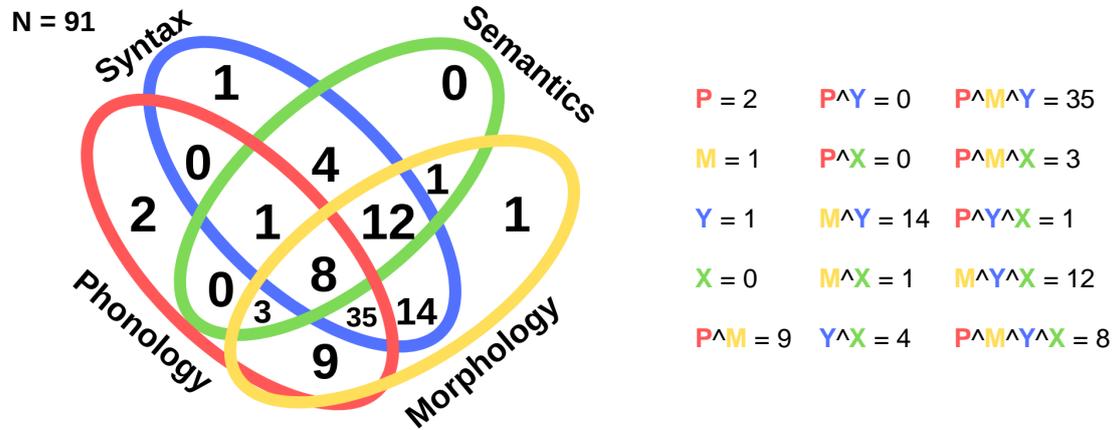
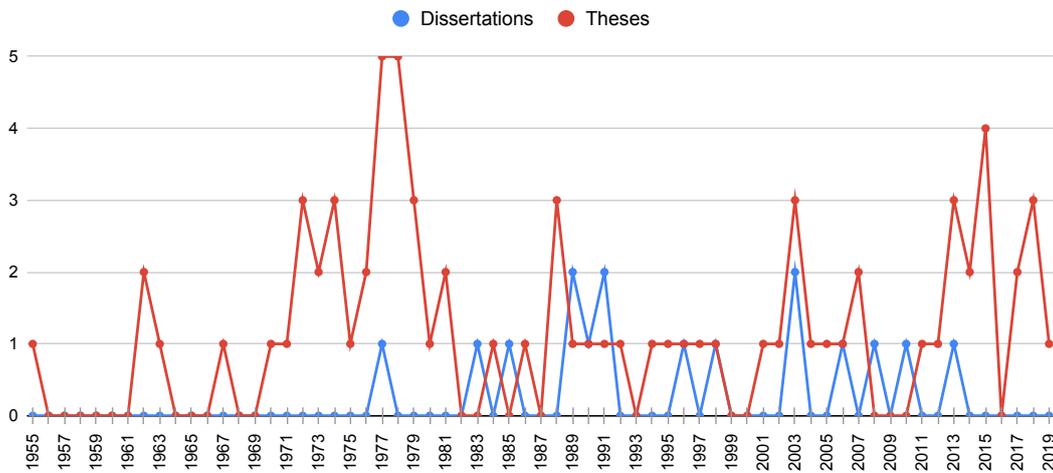


Figure 4 shows the amount of theses and dissertations completed per year.

**Figure 4**  
*Output Distribution per Year*



## 4.2 Research Trends

This section aims to define the five types of outputs listed in Figure 1. In the following subsections are brief explanations of the aforementioned output types and a discussion of the number of works done for each type.

### 4.2.1 Analyses

I use the label “analyses” to describe outputs that focus on enumerating basic and distinct features of a language under any single (or at most two) grammatical domains. In terms of quantity, the number of theses and dissertations that fall under this category type rank the highest with 48 outputs or 52.75%, comprising more than half of the total number of outputs; 43 of these are theses and five are dissertations. While there are many forms of analyses that may be done by anyone from any field, for the purposes of this study, I would like to emphasize on the analysis outputs as works that focus on specific features of a selected grammatical category of a language. Some examples of works that fall under this category are Emilita Cruz’s *Subcategorization of Tagalog Verbs* (1971), Purificacion Delima’s *Interrogative Structures in Ilocano* (1974), and Daryl Pasion’s thesis on the concept of *bumaruon* of the Ilubu tribe in the Kalinga area (2018).

### 4.2.2 Grammars

Grammars are outputs that follow a format of describing features of a language in at least three grammatical domains, or at least two grammatical domains in-depth. In terms of quantity, these outputs rank second with 20 outputs or 20.9%, around one-fifth of the total number of outputs, 18 of which are theses and two of which are dissertations. Generally speaking, these grammars are completed with the aim of contributing to language documentation efforts. These grammars are usually divided into phonology, morphology, and syntax in that order. Some examples of works that fall under this category are Michiko Yamashita’s description of Kakilingan Sambal (1980), Pedro Guasa Jr.’s dissertation on Binukid (1991), and Ivan Bondoc’s grammar of Blaan (2015).

### 4.2.3 Comparisons

Comparisons are outputs that aim to compare and contrast the features of two or more languages in order to broaden the understanding of the target languages and determine a relative mutual intelligibility among them, allowing an introspection on the possible struggles a native speaker of one language might encounter in trying to learn the language of another. In terms of quantity, these outputs rank third with 14 outputs or 15.4%, 11 of which are theses, and three of which are dissertations. Some examples of works under this category include a simple morphological comparison of English loanwords in Thai as written by Kanitha Suwanruje (1990), a dialectology of Davao’s “minor languages” as written by Luzviminda Cagas (1990), and a phonological comparison of the sounds in Cebuano Bisaya, Ilocano, and Tagalog using the Optimality Theory written by Ma. Althea Enriquez (2004),

### 4.2.4 Reviews

Reviews are surveys and critiques of past studies. In terms of quantity, these outputs rank the second to the least with only seven outputs or 7.69%: three are theses and four are dissertations. Two theses discussed in detail the contents of one or two works

to bring to light how previous scholars analyzed Philippine languages, whether it was made by multiple scholars of the same nationality (Alegre, 1972) or by a prominent Filipino historical figure like Pedro Serrano Laktaw (V. V. Hernandez, 1988). Annotated bibliographies such as Rubrico's (2006) MA thesis on the history, structure, and lexicon of the Cebuano language are also included under this category.

The four dissertations under this category are historical surveys of works made by other language scholars of varying nationalities. This includes grammars made by Filipinos (Gonzales, 1989), general studies of Philippine languages made by scholars of various European nationalities (Salazar, 1989), studies by American scholars on Philippine languages over the course of 90 years (Flores, 1996), and a survey of all works made by Spanish missionaries which allowed them to spread the Christian faith to almost all parts of the country (Vibar, 2010). These are products of extensive archival work coupled with making the review itself talking about the specifics of the works present in their scope.

#### 4.2.5 Reconstructions

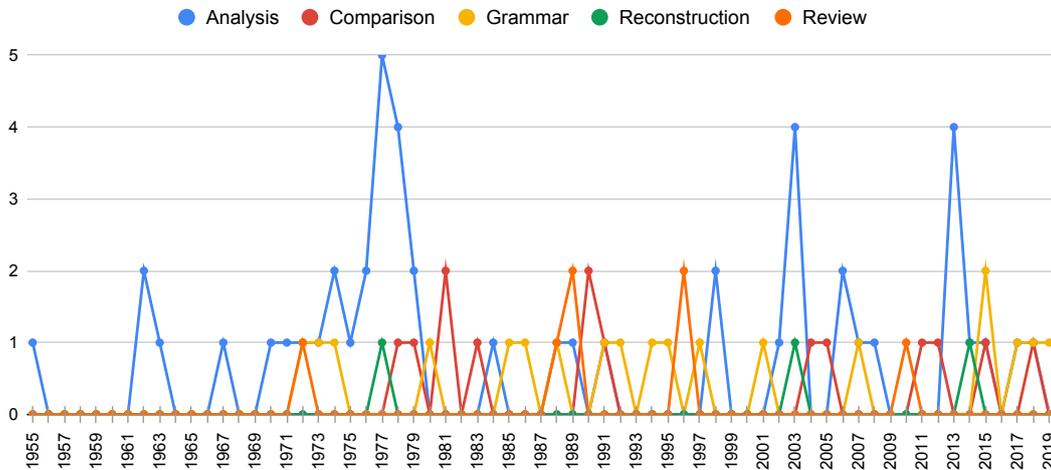
Reconstructions are diachronic studies that attempt to recreate older linguistic forms and determine the genealogy of related languages. In terms of quantity, these outputs rank the least with only three outputs or 3.3%, one of which is a thesis and two are dissertations. These are Consuelo Paz's (1977) reconstruction of phonemes and morphemes using 29 Philippine languages to form a solid basis for the Proto-Philippine language; Irma Peneyra's (2003) internal reconstruction of Tagalog using a number of Tagalog dialects; and Maria Kristina Gallego's (2014) reconstruction of the Proto-Batanic language. This classification may be considered as a subtype of Comparisons as the comparative method is a common method used in diachronic linguistics. However, presenting these outputs separately highlights its importance as a major output of practitioners of diachronic linguistics, or the study of language change and development over time. Given the relatively few number of dedicated experts in this field, the number of outputs almost equals the number of active Filipino practitioners in the Philippines. The only other scholar at the Department who specializes in diachronic linguistics is Jesus Federico Hernandez, who decided early on upon entering the MA program to specialize in this field (Hernandez, J. F. C., personal communication). For him, diachronic linguistics is a painstakingly tedious, time-consuming, and a head-scratching task that awards but an indefinite answer, or only a close approximation of the past (Hernandez, J. F. C., personal communication).

#### 4.2.6 Research Work Produced Over Time

This section presents a quantitative view of all outputs included in this study with respect to the classifications in the previous subsection.

Figure 5 presents the number of output types produced per year. As seen in this chart, a stable number of outputs have been made as time progressed, with an outlier number of outputs created during the second time period, consisting of Thai scholars.

**Figure 5**  
*Distribution per Year of Outputs According to Classifications*



A small increase in the average number of outputs created per decade can be seen starting from the 2000s. In addition, creation of analysis types of studies have started becoming a consistent fixture of outputs starting from 1998. Creation of grammars, on the other hand, have been steady at 0.4 outputs starting from 1972 (in other words, we can see that one is created at an average interval of three years). No significant trends can be spotted with the remaining three output classifications due to the small amount of outputs made. Should the trend remain the norm over the next few years, one can expect a consistent amount of analysis works with the occasional but expected one grammar output to be completed every three or so years.

### 4.3 Interpretations

It is evidenced by all charts, with the summation of outputs at 91, that linguistics in UP continues to be a developing field of research. At present, the field is still in its relative adolescence, seeing as the total number of outputs is less than 100.

Out of the four grammatical domains, a great number of outputs tackle the morphological structures of selected languages, with 83 out of 91 outputs, or 91.21%, discussing such in detail. This is presumably due to the nature of the Philippine-type languages having a unique verb marking system which utilizes affixes to denote various grammatical features and relations such as aspect, modality, and the controversial subjecthood. With the field of syntax following second in representation at 75 out of 91 outputs, or 82.42%, it can be inferred that any writer will have challenges separating morphology from syntax when discussing any Philippine language, with Tagalog in particular being the most well-studied in this aspect. This as well can be observed by adding the number of outputs which contain descriptions of both morphology and

syntax in their work, as shown in Figure 3, constituting 69 outputs out of 91, or 75.82%. A breakdown of the morphosyntactic outputs above can be seen referenced by these four fields: Morphology  $\cap$  Syntax (totalling 14 outputs), Phonology  $\cap$  Morphology  $\cap$  Syntax (totalling 35 outputs), Morphology  $\cap$  Syntax  $\cap$  Semantics (totalling 12 outputs), and All 4 (totalling 8 outputs).

Studies on phonology rank third at 58 outputs, or 63.74%, which still doubles in number research done on semantics at 29 outputs. This amount of outputs, while more than half of the total outputs, is below the three-fourths threshold obtained by the first two grammatical domains, perhaps due to either a lack of up-to-date technologically advanced instruments to make any solid or innovative research in this domain, or perhaps a lack of interest to venture out in this field given said lack of instruments. On the other hand, one might track historically the reason for the low number of outputs of semantics through looking at the equally few offerings of courses on semantics from the conception of DPL to the early years of LINGG. Although I may still attribute to structuralism as an anti-influence to the study of semantics in the Department (as discussed in the first time period), I would like to digress to at least give the Department some credit with promoting the domain as an emerging field.

It is interesting to note the heightened activity of the MA program from 1977 to 1979, as shown in Figure 4. In addition, 1977 and 1978 can be classified as the years with the most completed theses at any given year, with a final count of 5. Within this span, 13 theses, or 14.29% of the total theses, plus the first dissertation ever made in the Department have been produced during this time. These three years also represent the starting point for my findings in the second time period as discussed in the previous section.

#### **4.4 Languages Studied**

To see how the graduate students of the Department have been contributing towards the Department's goal of "developing as a primary center for the study and archiving of the languages and dialects in the Philippines," this section was added to see the range of languages that have been studied in the theses and dissertations produced at the Department. The following figure shows a tally of all the languages tackled in the outputs. Languages marked with an asterisk (\*) are underspecified as to which variety was documented in the thesis or dissertation where they are described.

**Table 1**  
*Target Language Tally*

| Language           | As Seen In  | Number of Studies |
|--------------------|---|-------------------|
| Tagalog            | Alegre, 1972; Añoño, 2018; Balmeo, 2005; Casel, 1977; Cayari, 1963; Cruz, 1971; Cunanan, 2011; de Chavez, 2015; Endriga, 2014; Enriquez, 2004; Flores, 1996; Gaitan, 2003; Gonzales, 1962, 1989; V. V. Hernandez, 1988; Igno, 2015; Javier, 2013; Klimenko, 2012; Ngamsutdi, 1983; Nolasco, 2003; Paz, 1967, 1977; Peneyra, 2003; A. J. Perez, 2013; Salazar, 1989; Shiroku, 1989; Silverio, 1962; Sonza, 1979; Suarez, 1981; Vibar, 2010; Wattanakul, 1991 | 31                |
| Thai               | Anusaen, 1977; Boonrueng, 1977; Kerpetkeaw, 1978; Klaichom, 1981; Kooratanaweich, 1977; Kumlert, 1976; Ngamsutdi, 1977, 1983; Phumipruksa, 1978; Rawangkang, 1976; Sombut, 1973; Srikhao, 1979; Suwanruje, 1990; Teepanont, 1978; Thavilpravat, 1979; Wattanakul, 1991  | 16                |
| Ilocano            | Caliwanagan, 2008; Delima, 1974; Enriquez, 2004; V. V. Hernandez, 1998; Klimenko, 2012; Paz, 1977; Reolalas, 2013; Vibar, 2010  | 8                 |
| Cebuano            | Adeva, 2003; Enriquez, 2004; Paz, 1977; Rubrico, 1996, 2006; Vibar, 2010  | 6                 |
| Manobo             |   | 6                 |
| Manobo*            | Paz, 1977   |                   |
| Manobo, Ata        | Cagas, 1990   |                   |
| Manobo, Dibabawon  | Cagas, 1990   |                   |
| Manobo, Sarangani  | Cagas, 1990   |                   |
| Manobo, Matigsalug | Cabazares, 2017   |                   |
| Manobo, Obo        | Cagas, 1990   |                   |
| Pampangan          | Castrillo, 1955; del Corro, 1974, 1985; Paz, 1977; Vibar, 2010  | 5                 |
| Waray-Waray        | Balanquit, 2017; Parer, 1972; Paz, 1977; Vibar, 2010; Villanueva, 1978  | 5                 |
| Bikol, Central     | Moran, 2006; Paz, 1977; Vibar, 2010   | 3                 |
| English            | Cunanan, 2011; Sonza, 1979; Suwanruje, 1990   | 3                 |
| Pangasinan         | Paz, 1977; Rosario, 2013; Vibar, 2010   | 3                 |
| Kalinga*           | Caliwanagan, 1995; Pasion, 2018; Paz, 1977  | 3                 |
| Blaan              |   | 3                 |
| Blaan*             | Cagas, 1990; Paz, 1977  |                   |
| Blaan, Sarangani   | Bondoc, 2015  |                   |

| Language                    | As Seen In                     | Number of Studies |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| Sambal                      |                                | 3                 |
| Iba Zambal*                 | Paz, 1977                      |                   |
| Sambal, Botolan             | Malicsi, 1974                  |                   |
| Sambal                      | Yamashita, 1980                |                   |
| Bikol, Southern Catanduanes | Paz, 1977; Tabada, 2003        | 2                 |
| Bontoc (Macrolanguage)      | Nava, 1986; Paz, 1977          | 2                 |
| Agta, Casiguran Dumagat     | Antonio, 2007; Savella, 1997   | 2                 |
| Hiligaynon                  | Gaitan, 2003; Vibar, 2010      | 2                 |
| Ibanag                      | Paz, 1977; Vibar, 2010         | 2                 |
| Itawit                      | Jalotjot, 1988; Paz, 1977      | 2                 |
| Ivatan                      | Gallego, 2014; Paz, 1977       | 2                 |
| Sorsoganon, Southern        | Escalante, 1978; Nolasco, 1994 | 2                 |
| Tausug                      | Paz, 1977; Peneyra, 1972       | 2                 |
| Inabaknon                   | Merin, 1992                    | 1                 |
| Agutaynen                   | Paz, 1977                      | 1                 |
| Aklanon                     | Paz, 1977                      | 1                 |
| Ati                         | Manzano, 2019                  | 1                 |
| Giangan                     | Cagas, 1990                    | 1                 |
| Tagabawa                    | Cagas, 1990                    | 1                 |
| Itneg, Banao                | Ramos, 1970                    | 1                 |
| Binukid                     | Guasa, 1991                    | 1                 |
| Buhid                       | Paz, 1977                      | 1                 |
| Bikol, Rinconada            | J. F. C. Hernandez, 1998       | 1                 |
| Butuanon                    | Llido, 1991                    | 1                 |
| Chinese, Mandarin           | Cunanan, 2011                  | 1                 |
| Cuyonon                     | Lee, 2007                      | 1                 |
| Davawenyo                   | Cagas, 1990                    | 1                 |
| Ifugao, Tuwali              | Klimenko, 2012                 | 1                 |
| Bogkalot                    | Paz, 1977                      | 1                 |
| Indonesian                  | Layda, 1988                    | 1                 |
| Isinay                      | Paz, 1977                      | 1                 |
| Iraya                       | Or, 2018                       | 1                 |
| Ibatan                      | Gallego, 2014                  | 1                 |
| Japanese                    | Balmeo, 2005                   | 1                 |
| Korean                      | Igno, 2015                     | 1                 |
| Kalagan                     | Jubilado, 2002                 | 1                 |
| Kinaray-a                   | Manueli, 2001                  | 1                 |
| Maranao                     | Paz, 1977                      | 1                 |
| Chinese, Min Nan            | Sy, 1984                       | 1                 |
| Surigaonon                  | Liwanag, 2015                  | 1                 |
| Bolinao                     | C. V. Perez, 1975              | 1                 |
| Sangil                      | Cagas, 1990                    | 1                 |

| Language         | As Seen In    | Number of Studies |
|------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Spanish          | Suarez, 1981  | 1                 |
| Tagbanwa         | Paz, 1977     | 1                 |
| Yakan            | Paz, 1977     | 1                 |
| Subanen*         | Chua, 1973    | 1                 |
| Bukidnon*        | Paz, 1977     | 1                 |
| Subanon*         | Paz, 1977     | 1                 |
| Bagobo*          | Paz, 1977     | 1                 |
| Kamalignon*      | Paz, 1977     | 1                 |
| Proto-Philippine | Paz, 1977     | 1                 |
| Proto-Tagalog    | Peneyra, 2003 | 1                 |
| Proto-Batanic    | Gallego, 2014 | 1                 |

Out of 91 theses and dissertations included in this survey, 31 outputs or 34.07%, which is one-third of the total, have Tagalog as a language involved in the graduate students' outputs. The amount of languages studied, being more numerous in the Luzon region, can be explained by the simple reason that the area is more accessible for students given that the Department is situated in Quezon City.

Table 2 below shows outputs that focus solely on Tagalog, while Table 3 lists studies which have Tagalog as one of the languages involved in their research.

**Table 2**  
*Studies on Tagalog Only*

| Topic                            | Proponents                     |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Dialectology                     |                                |
| In Batangas and Oriental Mindoro | Añoso, 2018                    |
| Various Provinces                | Peneyra, 2003                  |
| Morphology and Morphosyntax      |                                |
| Adverbs of Time                  | Cayari, 1963                   |
| Conjunctions                     | A. J. Perez, 2013              |
| Nouns and Adjectives             | Paz, 1967                      |
| Pronouns                         | de Chavez, 2015                |
| Subcategorization                | Cruz, 1971; Endriga, 2014      |
| The <i>-an</i> Affix             | Casel, 1977                    |
| The <i>ay</i> Morpheme           | Shiroku, 1989                  |
| Proto-Tagalog                    | Peneyra, 2003                  |
| Syntax                           |                                |
| Active and Passive Sentences     | Gonzales, 1962; Silverio, 1962 |
| Clause Structure                 | Javier, 2013                   |
| Grammars and Dictionaries        |                                |
| Made by Pedro Serrano Laktaw     | V. V. Hernandez, 1988          |
| Made by Filipinos                | Gonzales, 1989                 |
| Made by Spaniards                | Alegre, 1972                   |

**Table 3***Studies on Tagalog Together with Other Languages*

| Topic   | Proponents       |
|---|------------------|
| Grammars  |                  |
| Made by Spaniards (Tagalog, Bicol, Cebuano Bisaya, Hiligaynon, Ibanag, Ilocano, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, and Waray) | Vibar, 2010      |
| Morphology and Morphosyntax   |                  |
| Loanwords (Sanskrit) (Tagalog and Thai)   | Ngamsutdi, 1983  |
| Verbs (of Motion) (Tagalog, Ilocano, and Tawali Ifugao)   | Klimenko, 2012   |
| Ergativity and Transitivity (Various Philippine Languages)  | Nolasco, 2003    |
| Reflexivity (Tagalog and Spanish)   | Suarez, 1981     |
| Phonology   |                  |
| Optimality Theory (Tagalog, Cebuano Bisaya, and Ilocano)  | Enriquez, 2004   |
| Proto-Philippine Language   | Paz, 1977        |
| Semantics   |                  |
| Modality (Tagalog, Chinese, and English)  | Cunanan, 2011    |
| Sociolinguistics  |                  |
| Bilingualism (Tagalog and English)  | Sonza, 1979      |
| Studies of Philippine Languages   |                  |
| Made by Americans   | Flores, 1996     |
| Made by Europeans   | Salazar, 1989    |
| Syntax  |                  |
| Basic Sentences (Tagalog and Japanese)  | Balmeo, 2005     |
| Basic Sentences (Tagalog and Korean)  | Igno, 2015       |
| Grammar (Tagalog and Thai)  | Wattanakul, 1991 |
| Translation Studies   |                  |
| (Hiligaynon to Tagalog)   | Gaitan, 2003     |

As one can see from Tables 2 and 3, there is already a plethora of studies especially in the grammatical domains of morphology and syntax. Surprisingly, only one study on Tagalog phonology has ever been conducted. Comparisons of the sound systems with other languages may be an interesting step in the direction towards adding to the studies on Tagalog, similar to what has already been done vis-à-vis Cebuano Bisaya and Ilocano (Enriquez, 2004).

A significant lack of sociolinguistics outputs is an interesting observation to point out. I would argue that due to the social relevance of outputs in the graduate level, it is all the more important that more studies on sociolinguistics should be done at the graduate level. It also might be interesting if any sort of ethnolinguistic research could be done with Tagalog, even though urbanization might have obscured possible topics that could be explored in the Tagalog-speaking community. Any step towards an ethnolinguistic paper about the Tagalogs could become historical and rooted in diachronic linguistics, which I will also argue needs attention in the Department for Tagalog and beyond.

Given the above tables, there is evidence that Tagalog—at least based on the graduate students' outputs—is indeed “over-studied,” except for the domain of phonology, semantics as well as in related fields such as sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, psycholinguistics, diachronic linguistics, and so forth.

## 5 Summary and Recommendations

The first time period, which was from 1955 to 1972, saw the birth of 10 theses which provided the starting point for the Department to put linguistics more forward in the academic setting. The second time period, which was from 1973 to 1991, was characterized by a sudden surge of Thai scholars taking up their MAs in the Department and consequently becoming a part of its history of promoting American descriptive and structural linguistics in the Philippines. The third time period, which was from 1993 to 2008, was defined by the use of Western linguistics theories and testing their applicability on Philippine languages. The final time period, which was from 2010 to 2019, is a time described as a new age that keeps the tradition of continuing the production of language descriptions while some branching out to new specializations by investigating new fields of research such as cognitive linguistics and ethnolinguistics.

The outputs of the graduate students of the Department were categorized into five major types and have been defined in this study. With the number of outputs I tagged as “grammar” only being at 19, some of these not even full grammatical descriptions but are instead grammar sketches, I would posit that there is still a need for aspiring MA and PhD students to contribute to this important work of language documentation. There is also a smaller cry to add towards the studies on the foreign languages taught under the Department, specifically languages such as Bahasa Indonesia or Malaysia, Chinese Mandarin, Japanese, and Korean, if the works done by the graduate students are to contribute towards the fulfillment of the Department's secondary objective of improving the instruction of the national languages of Asia according to the needs of the Filipino people. Also, recently, the Department started offering classes on Thai once more; an aspiring graduate student must be made aware that if one intends to contribute to the body of knowledge on Thai, one must look at the past studies on Thai, both under the Department and elsewhere. Furthermore, semantics, as the most underrepresented grammatical domain out of all the outputs (at only 29 out of 91 outputs), should be at the forefront of the Department as an area of improvement. The initial steps towards improvement in this area have already been made which can be observed in the works produced in the more recent time period.

I admit that the various shortcomings of this study fail to consider many outside factors. However, as this is a preliminary work, I opted to focus my scope strictly within the confines of the Department and purposely leaving out non-immediate influences to any of the time periods presented. Since it is challenging to account for *all* linguistic research during the time periods, a reanalysis that takes into account more if not all linguistic research in the Philippines, as well as those conducted outside the country, is necessary to provide a more complete picture of factors that influence the type and

amount of research that graduate students of the Department engage in.

I excluded undergraduate research in this study, but any step towards a trend analysis of undergraduate research under the Department is a viable option that I highly encourage. However, do note that this is more difficult to actualize due to the unavailability of copies of these materials to the general public. I have taken note of an undergraduate “thesis” by Gospel Grace Porquez dated 2002 entitled *An ‘Annotated Chronological Bibliography’ of Historical Linguistic Studies on Philippine Languages* made under the Department. This issue of formalities when attributing a term paper such as the present study and Porquez’s (i.e., whether one should call the culminating undergraduate paper a “thesis” or not) may be addressed when taking other undergraduate research into consideration.

There are other institutions all over the Philippines that have offered linguistics as a degree program before and are still offering it at the time of writing. To name a few, those institutions who have offered a degree program in linguistics before but no longer include the Ateneo de Manila University, while those currently offering courses include the De La Salle University, the Mindanao State University - Iligan Institute of Technology, and the Cebu Technological University. Consolidating all of the research work done in all of these institutions, as well as the work produced in other units within the UP System, most of which tend to lean towards applied linguistics, will also help with tracking the history of linguistics in the Philippines.

### **Acknowledgments**

To the Department, for providing me a second home when all seemed lost for me and showing me that there is work to be done in promoting the Philippine languages.

To Farah-sensei, my teacher for this subject and adviser for this study. Thank you po for an opportunity for me to pursue this line of work! Here’s to hoping this more than makes up for last time.

To The University Library, University of the Philippines Diliman, for the amazing opportunity of becoming a student assistant, and in turn, helping with this research tenfold in many aspects.

To the entire crew of the University Archives and Records Division, for making me appreciate organization and history more and more with each of my four-hour shifts.

To Ma’am EQ Silarde, my closest supporter for this research, going so far as to call it “ground-breaking.” Your words of encouragement made me feel that I can make a difference; that I can contribute.

To my parents, for their undying love and support.

And to the NOHK, for 7 years of fun, banter, anime, and games. I definitely wouldn’t know a life without this group of friends. I couldn’t have survived college without y’all!

## **6 References**

Adeva, F. M. B. (2003). *Mga semantik koreleyt ng pagkatransitibo sa kwentong Sebwano* [Unpublished master’s thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.

- Alegre, M. S. S. (1972). *Tagalog grammars in Spanish: A study of two representative works* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Añoso, P. S. A. (2018). *Ang mga dayalekto ng Tagalog sa Batangas at Oriental Mindoro* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Antonio, V. C. (2007). *Gramatikal na iskets ng Tagebulos* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Anusaen, P. (1977). *Interrogative structures in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Balanquit, L. N. (2017). *A grammar sketch of Ninorte Samarnon* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Balmeo, A. L. (2005). *Pagkukumpara ng mga wikang Tagalog at Hapon* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language*. Henry Holt and Company.
- Bondoc, I. P. (2015). *A grammatical sketch of Blaán* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Boonrueng, S. (1977). *Arguments against tense in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Cabazares, J. R. T. (2017). *Inserepan te marusen: Using semantic analysis in describing Matigsalug concepts of spirits* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Cagas, L. M. (1990). *Davao minor languages: A description, comparison and classification* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Caliwanagan, E. A. (1995). *Isang gramatikal iskets ng Kalinga* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Caliwanagan, E. A. (2008). *Interpretasyon ng NP sa Ilokano sa Integratibong Pananaw* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Casel, L. B. (1977). *The syntax and semantics of Tagalog verbs with "-an"* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Castrillo, M. L. Y. (1955). *Pampango syntax* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Cayari, R. M. (1963). *Tagalog time adverbs* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Chua, L. T. (1973). *A structural description of the Subanen language* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Constantino, E. A. (1992). *Ang kasaysayan ng Departamento ng Linggwistiks sa U.P.* (Lecture manuscript). Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Cruz, E. L. (1971). *Subcategorization of Tagalog verbs* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Cunanan, F. C. (2011). *Modality in English, Chinese, and Filipino* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- de Chavez, M. R. C. (2015). *Isang pagsusuri ng mga pre-form sa tekstwal na datos ng Tagalog* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.

- del Corro, A. H. (1974). *Kapampangan morphophonemics* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- del Corro, A. H. (1985). *Kapampangan lexicography* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Delima, P. G. (1974). *Interrogative structures in Ilocano* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Endriga, D. A. P. (2014). *An affix-based subcategorization of Tagalog verbs* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Enriquez, M. A. T. (2004). *Testing the effectivity of optimality theory: A comparative phonological analysis of three Philippine languages* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Escalante, A. H. (1978). *A study of South Sorsogon verbs* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Flores, I. Y. (1996). *American studies of Philippine languages: 1900 to 1990* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Gaitan, M. A. P. (2003). *Function words in Hiligaynon-Filipino translations: A study in comparative syntax* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Gallego, M. K. S. (2014). *Tracing ancestry and descent: A reconstruction of the Proto-Batanic language* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Gonzales, L. F. (1962). *The active sentences and active verbs in Tagalog* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Gonzales, L. F. (1989). *Ang mga gramatikang Tagalog/Pilipino na sinulat ng mga Pilipino (1893-1977)* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Guasa, P. A., Jr. (1991). *Binukid: A grammatical description* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Hayes, A. (2019). Trend analysis. *Investopedia*. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/t/trendanalysis.asp>
- Hernandez, J. F. C. (1998). *Ang wikang Rinconada sa Bicol* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Hernandez, V. V. (1988). *Ang diksyunaryo at gramatika ni Pedro Serrano Laktaw: Isang pagsusuring panglingguwistika* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Hernandez, V. V. (1998). *Ang syntax ng konstruksyong kosatib sa Ilokano: Isang pagsusuri batay sa goberment-baynding tiyori* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Igno, J.-A. M. (2015). *Contrastive na pag-aaral sa mga basic sentence ng wikang Filipino at Koreyano* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Jalotjot, E. M. (1988). *Diskripsyon ng klos na verbal ng wikang Itawit* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Javier, J. R. (2013). *Ang clause structure ng Tagalog batay sa cognitive grammar* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.

- Jubilado, R. C. (2002). *Ang teta-tyuri sa Isamal* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Kerpetkeaw, P. (1978). *A study of cases in the Thai language* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Klaichom, S. (1981). *Thoong Yang and standard Thai: A phonological, morphological and lexical comparison* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Klimenko, S. B. (2012). *Motion verbs in Tagalog, Ilokano and Tuwali Ifugao* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Kooratanaweich, S. (1977). *Nominalizations in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Kumlert, D. (1976). *Causative sentences in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Layda, E. L. (1988). *Verbal sentences in Bahasa Indonesia* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Lee, A. P. (2007). *The non-verbal sentences in Cuyonon: A minimal approach* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Liwanag, M. H. C. (2015). *A grammar sketch of Surigaonon* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Llido, P. C. (1991). *Tense, aspect, mood in Butuanon: A study of three verb inflectional categories* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Malicsi, J. C. (1974). *A structural sketch of Halitay Baytan (a Sambal Aeta dialect)* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Manueli, M. K. S. (2001). *Gramatikal na sketch ng wikang Kinaray-a* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Manzano, D. A. (2019). *A grammar sketch of Inati* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Merin, E. M. (1992). *A grammatical description of Inabaknon* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Moran, D. H. L. (2006). *Application of theta theory to standard Bikol* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Nava, B. A. (1986). *A grammatical sketch of Mainit Bontoc* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Ngamsutdi, C. (1977). *Passivization in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Ngamsutdi, C. (1983). *A study of Sanskrit loanwords in Thai and Tagalog* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Nolasco, R. M. D. (1994). *Gramar ng Sorsoganon* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Nolasco, R. M. D. (2003). *Ang pagkatransitibo at ikinaergatibo ng mga wikang Pilipino: Isang pagsusuri sa sistemang boses* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.

- Novio, E. B. C. (2019). English skills pave ways for Filipinos in Thailand. *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia Trendsetters*, 25. <https://kyotoreview.org/trendsetters/english-skills-pave-ways-for-filipinos-in-thailand/>
- Or, E. M. T. (2018). *A grammar of Iraya* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Pardo de Tavera, T. H. (2005). *Contribucion para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos* [Contribution to the study of ancient Philippine alphabets] (746955752). WorldCat. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/contribucion-para-el-estudio-de-los-antiguos-alfabetos-filipinos/oclc/746955752>
- Pardo de Tavera, T. H. (2011). *Antología: Sobre las lenguas filipinas* [Anthology: On Philippine languages] (881821644). WorldCat. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/antologia-sobre-las-lenguas-filipinas/oclc/881821644>
- Parer, F. A. (1972). *Topicalization in Calbayog Waray* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Pasion, D. Q. (2018). *Ang Bumaruon ng mga Ilubu: Isang etnolinggwistikong pag-aaral* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Paz, C. J. (1967). *The morphology and syntax of Tagalog nouns and adjectives* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Paz, C. J. (1977). *A reconstruction of proto-philippine phonemes and morphemes* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Peneyra, I. D. U. (1972). *A grammatical sketch of the Tausug language* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Peneyra, I. D. U. (2003). *Isang rekonstrusyong internal ng Tagalog batay sa mga piling dayalek* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Perez, A. J. (2013). *Konek ka dyan: Isang deskriptibong pag-aaral sa mga coordinating at subordinating conjunction sa Filipino* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Perez, C. V. (1975). *The personal pronouns of Bolinao* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Phumipruksa, N. (1978). *Two-verb surface predicates in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Prince, A., & Smolensky, P. (1993). *Optimality Theory: Constraint interaction in generative grammar* (Technical Report CU-CS-696-93). Department of Computer Science at the University of Colorado Boulder.
- Ramos, P. P. (1970). *The verbal sentences of Bhanaw Tinggian* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Rawangkang, W. (1976). *Nominal sentences in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Reolalas, S. R. (2013). *The semantics of Ilocano aspect forms* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Rosario, F. C. J. (2013). *Subcategorization of Pangasinan verbs* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.

- Rubrico, J. G. U. (1996). *An annotated bibliography of works and studies on the history, structure and lexicon of the Cebuano language: 1610 to 1996* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Rubrico, J. G. U. (2006). *Komputasyon ng mga simpleng verbal klos sa Cebuano batay sa minimalist program* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Salazar, M. S. (1989). *European studies of Philippine languages* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Savella, M. T. C. (1997). *Gramatikal na iskets ng wikang Casiguran Dumagat* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Shiroku, M. (1989). *A study of the Tagalog "ay" construction: Analytical problems and some solutions* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Silverio, A. C. (1962). *The passive verbal sentence constructions in Tagalog* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (Eds.). (2018). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (21st ed.). SIL International. <https://www.ethnologue.com/>
- Sombut, S. (1973). *Structures of modification in noun phrases in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Sonza, J. T. (1979). *A descriptive study of Maryknoll bilingualism* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Srikhao, S. (1979). *Tone correspondences among Thai dialects* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Suarez, C. M. (1981). *A cross-linguistic study of reflexivity in Spanish and Tagalog* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Suwanruje, K. (1990). *English loanwords in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Suwanwela, C. (2006). Higher education reform in Thailand. In V. L. Meek & C. Suwanwela (Eds.), *Higher education, research, and knowledge in the Asia Pacific region* (pp. 201–212). Palgrave Macmillan US. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230603165\\_11](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230603165_11)
- Sy, M. (1984). *The syntax of e-phrases in Fookien* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Tabada, L. C. (2003). *Mga verb-inisyal na sentens ng Viracnon: Isang pagsusuri batay sa government-baynding tyuri* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Teepanont, N. (1978). *Adverbial structures in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Thavilpravat, P. (1979). *Furthest studies on morphology and compounding in Thai* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1924). *General catalogue '24-'25*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1929). *General catalogue '29-'30*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1935). *General catalogue '35-'36*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1947). *General catalogue '47-'48*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1952). *General catalogue '52-'53*. UP Diliman.

- University of the Philippines. (1954). *General catalogue '54-'55*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1956). *General catalogue '56-'57*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1963). *UP research digest*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1968). *General catalogue '68-'69*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1972). *General catalogue '72-'73*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1977). *General catalogue '77-'78*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines. (1990). *General catalogue '90-'91*. UP Diliman.
- University of the Philippines Department of Linguistics. (2012). About. *UP Department of Linguistics*. <https://uplinguistics.wordpress.com/programs/about>
- University of the Philippines Diliman. (2016). *UP General Education through the years: A timeline from 1910 to 2016* [Powerpoint slides]. [https://upd.edu.ph/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Infographic-Version\\_UP-General-Education-through-the-Years-A-Timeline-from-1910-to-2016\\_as-of-19-Jan-2016.pdf](https://upd.edu.ph/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Infographic-Version_UP-General-Education-through-the-Years-A-Timeline-from-1910-to-2016_as-of-19-Jan-2016.pdf)
- Vibar, A. M. (2010). *Studies on the major Philippine languages by Spanish missionaries* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Villanueva, E. P. (1978). *Compound and complex sentences in Tacloban Waray* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Wattanukul, P. (1991). *A grammatical comparison of Thai and Tagalog* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Yamashita, M. (1980). *Kakilingan Sambal texts with grammatical analysis* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of the Philippines Diliman.

## 7 Appendix

### List of Theses and Dissertations From 1955 to 2019

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1955 | <p><i>Pampango syntax</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Castrillo, Maria Luisa Y.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Lopez<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [01]<br/>           [Analysis 01]<br/>           [Morphology 01]<br/>           [Syntax 01]<br/>           [M, Y 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> PAM<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Structural, Pronouns, Affixes<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1955 L5 C3<br/>           Contains text data.</p> |

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 1962 | <p><i>The active sentences and active verbs in Tagalog</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Gonzales, Lydia F.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [02]<br/> [Analysis 02]<br/> [Phonology 01]<br/> [Morphology 02]<br/> [Syntax 02]<br/> [P, M, Y 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Classification, Active Verbs, Verbs, Affixes, P+M, Deviation, Stem, Active<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1962 L5 G6<br/> Contains word list.</p>        |
| 1962 | <p><i>The passive verbal sentence constructions in Tagalog</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Silverio, A. C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [03]<br/> [Analysis 03]<br/> [Phonology 02]<br/> [Morphology 03]<br/> [Syntax 03]<br/> [P, M, Y 02]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Complements, Affixes, Stem, Passive Sentences, Passive Verbal Sentences, Passive<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1962 L5 S5<br/> Contains word list.</p> |
| 1963 | <p><i>Tagalog time adverbs</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Cayari, Remedios M.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [04]<br/> [Analysis 04]<br/> [Phonology 03]<br/> [Morphology 04]<br/> [Syntax 04]<br/> [P, M, Y 03]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Classification, Adverbs<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1963 L5 C5<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1972 L5 P37<br/> Contains word list.</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1967 | <p><i>The morphology and syntax of Tagalog nouns and adjectives</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Paz, Consuelo J.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [05]<br/> [Analysis 05]<br/> [Phonology 04]<br/> [Morphology 05]<br/> [Syntax 05]<br/> [P, M, Y 04]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Classification, Nouns, Adjectives, P+M<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1967 L5 P3</p>   |
| 1970 | <p><i>The verbal sentences of Bhanaw Tinggian</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Ramos, Patria P.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [06]<br/> [Analysis 06]<br/> [Phonology 05]<br/> [Morphology 06]<br/> [Syntax 06]<br/> [P, M, Y 05]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BJX<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Bhanaw, Bhanaw Tinggian, Tinggian, Verbal Sentences, Affixes, Complements<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1970 L5 R35<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1970 L5 R35</p> |
| 1971 | <p><i>Subcategorization of Tagalog verbs</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Cruz, Emilita L.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [07]<br/> [Analysis 07]<br/> [Phonology 06]<br/> [Morphology 07]<br/> [Syntax 07]<br/> [Semantics 01]<br/> [P, M, Y, X 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> SC, Verbs, Verb Complements, Affixes, Mode, Voice, Aspect, Verbal Sentences, Voice, Mode, Aspect<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1971 L5 C89</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 1972 | <p><i>Tagalog grammars in Spanish: a study of two representative works</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Alegre, Maria Salome S.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [08]<br/> [Review 01]<br/> [Phonology 07]<br/> [Morphology 08]<br/> [Syntax 08]<br/> [P, M, Y 06]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, Spanish, Grammar, Latin model, Arte de la Lengua Tagala, Arte de la Lengua Tagala y Manual Tagalog<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1972 L5 A44</p> |
| 1972 | <p><i>Topicalization in Calbayog Waray</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Parer, Ferdinand Adrian<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [09]<br/> [Analysis 08]<br/> [Phonology 08]<br/> [Morphology 09]<br/> [Syntax 09]<br/> [P, M, Y 07]<br/> <b>Language:</b> WAR<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Calbayog Waray, Northern Waray, Verb Inflection, Topicalization, Verbal Complements<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1972 L5 P37<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1972 L5 P37</p>        |
| 1972 | <p><i>A grammatical sketch of the Tausug language</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Peneyra, Irma Dolores U.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [10]<br/> [Grammar 01]<br/> [Phonology 09]<br/> [Morphology 10]<br/> [Syntax 10]<br/> [P, M, Y 08]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TSG<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Subjectivalization, Aspect<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1972 L5 P45<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1972 L5 P45</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1973 | <p><i>A structural description of the Subanen language</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Chua, Lily T.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [11]<br/> [Grammar 02]<br/> [Phonology 10]<br/> [Morphology 11]<br/> [Syntax 11]<br/> [P, M, Y 09]<br/> <b>Language:</b> Subanen*<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Zamboanga del Sur, Structural, Affixes, Subjectivalization, Aspect, Linguistic Awareness, Dialect Promotion<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1973 L5 C48</p> |
| 1973 | <p><i>Structures of modification in noun phrases in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Sombut, Suthipong<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [12]<br/> [Analysis 10]<br/> [Morphology 12]<br/> [Syntax 12]<br/> [M, Y 02]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai, Noun Phrases, Derivation<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1973 L5 S64<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1973 L5 S64</p>  |
| 1974 | <p><i>Kapampangan morphophonemics</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> del Corro, Anicia H.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [13]<br/> [Analysis 11]<br/> [Phonology 11]<br/> [Morphology 13]<br/> [P, M 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> PAM<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, P+M, Verbal Inflection, Dialects<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1974 L5 D45</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 1974 | <p><i>Interrogative structures in Ilocano</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Delima, Purificacion G.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [14]<br/> [Analysis 12]<br/> [Syntax 13]<br/> [Semantics 02]<br/> [Y, X 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ILO<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> SR, Interrogative, Question<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1974 L5 D46<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1974 L5 D46</p>   |
| 1974 | <p><i>A structural sketch of Halitaq Baytan (a Sambal Aeta dialect)</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Malicsi, Jonathan C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [15]<br/> [Grammar 03]<br/> [Morphology 14]<br/> [Syntax 14]<br/> [M, Y 03]<br/> <b>Language:</b> SBL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Sambal Aeta, Aeta, Halitaq Baytan, Baytan<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1974 L5 M45<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1974 L5 M45</p>            |
| 1975 | <p><i>The personal pronouns of Bolinao</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Perez, Consuelo V.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [16]<br/> [Analysis 13]<br/> [Phonology 12]<br/> [Morphology 15]<br/> [Syntax 15]<br/> [P, M, Y 10]<br/> <b>Language:</b> SMK<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Pronouns, Personal Pronouns, Sambali, Cross Reference<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1975 L5 P47<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1975 L5 P47</p> |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1976 | <p><i>Causative sentences in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Kumlert, Duangporn<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [17]<br/> [Analysis 14]<br/> [Phonology 13]<br/> [Syntax 16]<br/> [Semantics 03]<br/> [P, Y, X 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai, Causative<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1976 L5 K84<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1976 L5 K84</p> |
| 1976 | <p><i>Nominal sentences in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Rawangkang, Wissanu<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [18]<br/> [Analysis 15]<br/> [Syntax 17]<br/> [Semantics 04]<br/> [Y, X 02]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai, Nominal Sentences<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1976 L5 R39<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1976 L5 R39</p>                 |
| 1977 | <p><i>Interrogative structures in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Anusaen, Paiboon<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [19]<br/> [Analysis 16]<br/> [Syntax 18]<br/> [Semantics 05]<br/> [Y, X 03]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1977 L5 A58<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1977 L5 A58</p>                                |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1977 | <p><i>Arguments against tense in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Boonrueng, Suhipon<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [20]<br/> [Analysis 17]<br/> [Phonology 14]<br/> [Morphology 16]<br/> [Syntax 19]<br/> [P, M, Y 11]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1977 L5 B66<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1977 L5 B66</p>                                       |
| 1977 | <p><i>The syntax and semantics of Tagalog verbs with “-an”</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Casel, Leith B.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [21]<br/> [Analysis 18]<br/> [Morphology 17]<br/> [Syntax 20]<br/> [Semantics 06]<br/> [M, Y, X 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Case, Verbalization, Lexicalization<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1977 L5 C37<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1977 L5 C37</p> |
| 1977 | <p><i>Nominalizations in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Kooratanaweich, Santi<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [22]<br/> [Analysis 19]<br/> [Morphology 18]<br/> [Syntax 21]<br/> [M, Y 04]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1977 L5 K87<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1977 L5 K87<br/> Contains word list.</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1977 | <p><i>Passivization in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Ngamsutdi, Chinda<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [23]<br/> [Analysis 20]<br/> [Morphology 19]<br/> [Syntax 22]<br/> [M, Y 05]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1977 L5 C55<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1977 L5 C55</p>   |
| 1977 | <p><i>A reconstruction of proto-Philippine phonemes and morphemes</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Paz, Consuelo J.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [01]<br/> [Reconstruction 01]<br/> [Phonology 15]<br/> [Morphology 20]<br/> [P, M 02]<br/> <b>Language:</b> AGN, AKL, BCL, BKU, BLN, BNC, CEB, IBG, ILK, ILO, INN, ITV, IVV, MRW, PAG, PAM, TBW, TGL, TSG, WAR, YKA, Blaan*, Bagobo*, Bukidnon*, Iba Zambal*, Kalinga*, Kamaligonon*, Manobo*, Subanon*, Proto-Philippine<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DL, CM, P+M, Itbayat<br/> In Archives: LG 996 1977 L5 P39<br/> Contains word list.</p> |
| 1978 | <p><i>A study of South Sorsogon verbs</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Escalante, Antonio H.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [24]<br/> [Analysis 21]<br/> [Morphology 21]<br/> [M 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> SRV<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Verbs, Affixes, Mood, Voice, Sorsogon, South-Southeastern Sorsogon<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1978 E5 E83<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1978 E5 E83</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1978 | <p><i>A study of cases in the Thai language</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Kerpetkeaw, Punthip<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [25]<br/> [Comparison 01]<br/> [Morphology 22]<br/> [Syntax 23]<br/> [M, Y 06]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> FC, Thai Traditional Case, Standard Thai, Case, Personal Analysis<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1978 L5 P85<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1978 L5 P85</p> |
| 1978 | <p><i>Two-verb surface predicates in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Phumiprukksa, Naiyana<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [26]<br/> [Analysis 22]<br/> [Syntax 24]<br/> [Semantics 07]<br/> [Y, X 04]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai, Two-Verb Concatenation, Modal<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1978 L5 N35<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1978 L5 N35<br/> Contains word list.</p>  |
| 1978 | <p><i>Adverbial structures in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Teepanont, Nipawan<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [27]<br/> [Analysis 23]<br/> [Phonology 16]<br/> [Morphology 23]<br/> [P, M 03]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai, Adverbs<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1978 L5 N56<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1978 L5 N56<br/> Contains word list.</p>                            |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1978 | <p><i>Compound and complex sentences in Tacloban Waray</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Villanueva, Erlinda P.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [28]<br/> [Analysis 24]<br/> [Syntax 25]<br/> [Y 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> WAR<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Samar-Leyte Language, Tacloban City Waray, Compounding, Transformations<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1978 L5 V56<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1978 L5 V56</p>   |
| 1979 | <p><i>A descriptive study of Maryknoll bilingualism</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Sonza, Jorshinelle T.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [29]<br/> [Analysis 25]<br/> [Phonology 17]<br/> [Morphology 24]<br/> [Syntax 26]<br/> [P, M, Y 12]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ENG, TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> SL, Mackey's 1970 Description of Bilingualism, DA, FC, Maryknoll College, TGL-ENG, Quantitative, Bilingualism<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1979 L5 S66<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1979 L5 S66</p> |
| 1979 | <p><i>Tone correspondences among Thai dialects</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Srikhao, Sarit<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [30]<br/> [Comparison 02]<br/> [Phonology 18]<br/> [P 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> CP, Proto-Tones, Cassette Tapes, Phonetics, Northern Thai, Northeastern Thai, Standard Thai, Southern Thai<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1979 L5 S37<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1979 L5 S37</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1979 | <p><i>Furthest studies on morphology and compounding in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Thavilpravat, Patariya<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [31]<br/> [Analysis 25]<br/> [Phonology 19]<br/> [Morphology 25]<br/> [Syntax 27]<br/> [Semantics 08]<br/> [P, M, Y, X 02]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Standard Thai, Compounding<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1979 L5 P38<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1979 L5 P38</p>  |
| 1980 | <p><i>Kakilingan Sambal texts with grammatical analysis</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Yamashita, Michiko<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [32]<br/> [Grammar 04]<br/> [Phonology 20]<br/> [Morphology 26]<br/> [Syntax 28]<br/> [P, M, Y 13]<br/> <b>Language:</b> XSB<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, Kakilingan Sambal, Kakilingan, Zamables, Ayta, Affixes, Verb Inflection, Pronouns<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1980 L5 Y34<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1980 L5 Y34<br/> Contains word list.<br/> Contains text.</p> |
| 1981 | <p><i>Thoong Yang and standard Thai: a phonological, morphological and lexical comparison</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Klaichom, Samruay<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [33]<br/> [Comparison 03]<br/> [Phonology 21]<br/> [Morphology 27]<br/> [P, M 04]<br/> <b>Language:</b> THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> CP, Standard Thai, Thoong Yang Thai<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1981 L5 S34<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1981 L5 S34<br/> Contains word list.</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 1981 | <p><i>A cross-linguistic study of reflexivity in Spanish and Tagalog</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Suarez, Carlito M.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [34]<br/> [Comparison 04]<br/> [Morphology 28]<br/> [Syntax 29]<br/> [M, Y 07]<br/> <b>Language:</b> SPA, TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> UG, Contrastive, Reflexive, Reflexivization<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1981 L5 S92<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1981 L5 S92</p>   |
| 1983 | <p><i>A study of Sanskrit loanwords in Thai and Tagalog</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Ngamsutdi, Chinda<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [02]<br/> [Comparison 05]<br/> [Phonology 22]<br/> [Morphology 29]<br/> [Syntax 30]<br/> [Semantics 09]<br/> [P, M, Y, X 03]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL, THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> CP, Loanwords, Standard Thai<br/> In Archives: LG 996 1983 L5 C55<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 996 1983 L5 C55<br/> Contains word list.</p> |
| 1984 | <p><i>The syntax of e-phrases in Fookien</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Sy, Mary<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [35]<br/> [Analysis 26]<br/> [Phonology 23]<br/> [Morphology 30]<br/> [Syntax 31]<br/> [P, M, Y 14]<br/> <b>Language:</b> NAN<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, DS, Surface Structure, Fookien, Particle Phrases, Noun Phrases<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1984 L5 S96<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1984 L5 S96</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1985 | <p><i>Kapampangan lexicography</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> del Corro, Anicia H.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [03]<br/>           [Grammar 05]<br/>           [Phonology 24]<br/>           [Morphology 31]<br/>           [Semantics 10]<br/>           [P, M, X 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> PAM<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> LX, Verbal Inflection, Affixes, Dictionary, RV<br/>           In Archives: LG 996 1985 L5 D45<br/>           Contains word list.</p>  |
| 1986 | <p><i>A grammatical sketch of Mainit Bontoc</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Nava, Betty A.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [36]<br/>           [Grammar 06]<br/>           [Phonology 25]<br/>           [Morphology 32]<br/>           [Syntax 32]<br/>           [P, M, Y 15]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BNC<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Bontoc, Mountain Province, Mainit, Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs, Aspect, Adjectives, Adverbs, Markers, Verbal Sentences, Nonverbal Sentences<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1986 L5 N38<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1986 L5 N38<br/>           Contains sentence list.</p>  |
| 1988 | <p><i>Ang diksyunaryo at gramatika ni Pedro Serrano Laktaw: isang pagsusuring panglingguwistika</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Hernandez, Viveca V.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [37]<br/>           [Review 02]<br/>           [Phonology 26]<br/>           [Morphology 33]<br/>           [P, M 05]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, Diccionario hispano-tagalog, primera parte, Diccionario hispano-tagalog, segunda parte, Estudios gramaticales sobre la lengua tagalog, Pedro Serrano Laktaw, Dictionary, Grammar, Greco-Spanish Model<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1988 L5 H47<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1988 L5 H47</p> |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1988 | <p><i>Diskripsyon ng klos na verbal ng wikang Itawit</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Jalotjot, Editha M.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [38]<br/>           [Grammar 07]<br/>           [Phonology 27]<br/>           [Morphology 34]<br/>           [Syntax 33]<br/>           [P, M, Y 16]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ITV<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Tugearao, Cagayan, Northern Luzon, Verbal Clauses, Verbal, Verbs, Affixes, Case, Mode, Aspect, Noun Phrases, P+M<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1988 L5 J34<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1988 L5 J34</p> |
| 1988 | <p><i>Verbal sentences in Bahasa Indonesia</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Layda, Eden L.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [39]<br/>           [Analysis 27]<br/>           [Morphology 35]<br/>           [Syntax 34]<br/>           [M, Y 08]<br/> <b>Language:</b> IND<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, FC, DS, Semantic Role, Declarative, Trees, Verbs, Verbal Complement, Affixes, P+M, Modality<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1988 L5 L38<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1988 L5 L38</p>   |
| 1989 | <p><i>A study of the Tagalog "ay" construction: analytical problems and some solutions</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Shiroku, Masako<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cubar<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [40]<br/>           [Analysis 28]<br/>           [Morphology 36]<br/>           [Syntax 35]<br/>           [Semantics 11]<br/>           [M, Y, X 02]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Particle 'ay', Classification, Problems, M+Y<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1989 L5 S55<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1989 L5 S55</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1989 | <p><i>Ang mga gramatikang Tagalog/Pilipino na sinulat ng mga Pilipino (1893-1977)</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Gonzales, Lydia F.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [04]<br/> [Review 03]<br/> [Phonology 28]<br/> [Morphology 37]<br/> [Syntax 36]<br/> [P, M, Y 17]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, Filipino, Jose Rizal, Wikang Pambansa, Grammar, National Language<br/> In Archives: LG 996 1989 L5 G66</p>   |
| 1989 | <p><i>European studies of Philippine languages</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Salazar, Marlies S.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [05]<br/> [Review 04]<br/> [Morphology 38]<br/> [Syntax 37]<br/> [Semantics 12]<br/> [M, Y, X 03]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, European, Belgian, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, Protolanguage, Proto-Philippine, Malayo-Polynesian<br/> In Archives: LG 996 1989 L5 S25<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 996 1989 L5 S25</p> |
| 1990 | <p><i>English loanwords in Thai</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Suwanruje, Kanitha<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Paz<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [41]<br/> [Comparison 06]<br/> [Phonology 29]<br/> [Morphology 39]<br/> [Semantics 13]<br/> [P, M, X 02]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ENG, THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TA, Loanwords, ENG-THA<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1990 L5 K36<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1990 L5 K36</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 1990 | <p><i>Davao minor languages: a description, comparison and classification</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Cagas, Luzviminda M.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [06]<br/> [Comparison 07]<br/> [Phonology 30]<br/> [Morphology 40]<br/> [P, M 06]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ATD, BGI, BGS, DAW, MBD, MBS, OBO, SNL, Blaan*<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DI, Lexicostatistics, Typology, Speech Variety, Davao City, Davao del Norte, Davao del Sur, Davao Oriental, Matigsalug, Mangguangan, Kalangan, Tagakulo, Mansaka, Mandaya, Carageño, Dabawenyo-Cateel, Dabawenyo-Davao City, Isamal, L-Complex, Subgrouping<br/> In Archives: LG 996 1990 L5 C34<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 996 1990 L5 C34<br/> Contains text.</p> |
| 1991 | <p><i>Tense, aspect, mood in Butuanon: a study of three verb inflectional categories</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Llido, Paulino C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [42]<br/> [Analysis 29]<br/> [Morphology 41]<br/> [Syntax 38]<br/> [Semantics 14]<br/> [M, Y, X 04]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BTW<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> EA, Tense, Aspect, Mood, Modality, M+X, Verb Inflection, Verb Inflectional Categories, Relational Database Software, Substituted Minimal Forms, Affixes<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1991 L5 L55<br/> In National Lib: 415.499218</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1991 | <p><i>Binukid: a grammatical description</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Guasa, Pedro A., Jr.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [07]<br/>           [Grammar 08]<br/>           [Phonology 31]<br/>           [Morphology 42]<br/>           [Syntax 39]<br/>           [P, M, Y 18]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BKD<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Bukidnon, P+M, Verbs, Aspect, Mode, Adjectives, Pronouns, Adverbs, Noun Phrase, Verb Phrase<br/>           In Archives: LG 996 1991 L5 G83<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 996 1991 L5 G83<br/>           In National Lib: 499.218095<br/>           Contains text.</p>                              |
| 1991 | <p><i>A grammatical comparison of Thai and Tagalog</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Wattanakul, Pearl<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [08]<br/>           [Comparison 08]<br/>           [Phonology 32]<br/>           [Morphology 43]<br/>           [Syntax 40]<br/>           [P, M, Y 19]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL, THA<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> UG, Standard Thai, Universal Language<br/>           In Archives: LG 996 1991 L5 W38<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 996 1991 L5 W38</p>  |
| 1992 | <p><i>A grammatical description of Inabaknon</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Merin, Eliseo M.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [43]<br/>           [Grammar 09]<br/>           [Phonology 33]<br/>           [Morphology 44]<br/>           [Syntax 41]<br/>           [P, M, Y 20]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ABX<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Capul, Northern Samar, Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives, Verbs, Affixes, Mode, Voice, Adverbs, Syntactic Markers, Verbal Sentences, Complements, Nonverbal Sentences<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1992 L5 M47<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1992 L5 M47<br/>           In National Lib: 499.218</p> |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 1994 | <p><i>Grammar ng Sorsoganon</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Nolasco, Ricardo Ma. D.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [44]<br/>           [Grammar 10]<br/>           [Phonology 34]<br/>           [Morphology 45]<br/>           [Syntax 42]<br/>           [P, M, Y 21]<br/> <b>Language:</b> SRV<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> SR, Structural, Immediate Constituent, Case, P+M, Aspect, DS, Bikol-Sorsogon, Sinorsogon<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1994 L5 N65<br/>           Contains word list.<br/>           Contains sentence list.</p> |
| 1995 | <p><i>Isang gramatikal iskets ng Kalinga</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Caliwanagan, Elizabeth A.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [45]<br/>           [Grammar 11]<br/>           [Phonology 35]<br/>           [Morphology 46]<br/>           [Syntax 43]<br/>           [P, M, Y 22]<br/> <b>Language:</b> Kalinga*<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, San Mariano, Isabela, Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Particles, P+M<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1995 L5 C35<br/>           In Lingg Lib: LG 995 1995 L5 C35</p>                 |
| 1996 | <p><i>An annotated bibliography of works and studies on the history, structure and lexicon of the Cebuano Language: 1610 to 1996</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Rubrico, Jessie Grace U.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [46]<br/>           [Review 05]<br/>           [Phonology 36]<br/>           [Morphology 47]<br/>           [Syntax 44]<br/>           [Semantics 14]<br/>           [P, M, Y, X 04]<br/> <b>Language:</b> CEB<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> Annotation, Bibliography<br/>           In Archives: LG 995 1996 L5 R83</p>     |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 1996 | <p><i>American studies of Philippine languages: 1900 to 1990</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Flores, Imelda Yared<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [09]<br/> [Review 06]<br/> [Phonology 37]<br/> [Morphology 48]<br/> [Syntax 45]<br/> [Semantics 15]<br/> [P, M, Y, X 05]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, American, General Linguistics, Theoretical Linguistics, American Language Planning, SL, Applied Linguistics, LX, Language Survey, SIL<br/> In Archives: LG 996 1996 L5 F56</p>   |
| 1997 | <p><i>Gramatikal na iskets ng wikang Casiguran Dumagat</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Savella, Ma. Theresa C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [47]<br/> [Grammar 12]<br/> [Phonology 38]<br/> [Morphology 49]<br/> [Syntax 46]<br/> [P, M, Y 23]<br/> <b>Language:</b> DGC<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> SR, Negrito, Aurora, P+M, Deep Structure, Immediate Constituent, Linguistic Competence<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1997 L5 S38<br/> In National Lib: 499.218<br/> Contains word list.<br/> Contains sentence list.</p> |
| 1998 | <p><i>Ang wikang Rinconada sa Bikol</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Hernandez, Jesus Federico C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Paz<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [48]<br/> [Analysis 30]<br/> [Phonology 39]<br/> [Morphology 50]<br/> [Syntax 47]<br/> [P, M, Y 24]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BTO<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DI, Bicol, Bicol Dialects, Lexicology, Phonetics, Variety, Spatial Linguistics<br/> In Archives: LG 995 1998 L5 H47<br/> In National Lib: 499.215<br/> Contains word list.</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 1998 | <p><i>Ang syntax ng konstruksyong kosatib sa Ilokano: isang pagsusuri batay sa goberment-baynding tiyori</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Hernandez, Viveca V.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Constantino<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [10]<br/> [Analysis 31]<br/> [Morphology 51]<br/> [Syntax 48]<br/> [M, Y 09]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ILO<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> GB, X-Bar T, SC, Projection Principle, <math>\theta</math>T, C-Command, Movement, Move-Alpha, Bangued, Abra, Causative Sentences, Causative, Affixes<br/> In Archives: LG 996 1998 L5 H47<br/> In National Library: 499.213</p> |
| 2001 | <p><i>Gramatikal na sketch ng wikang Kinaray-a</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Manuelli, Maria Khristina S.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [49]<br/> [Grammar 13]<br/> [Phonology 40]<br/> [Morphology 52]<br/> [Syntax 49]<br/> [P, M, Y 25]<br/> <b>Language:</b> KRJ<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> EA, SR, GB, GG, X-Bar T, NP Movement, WH Movement, SC, Kinaray-a Pandan, P+M, Affixes, Theta Role, Antique, Hantik<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2001 L5 M35<br/> Contains sentence list.</p>  |
| 2002 | <p><i>Ang teta-tyuri sa Isamal</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Jubilado, Rodney C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [50]<br/> [Analysis 32]<br/> [Phonology 41]<br/> [Morphology 53]<br/> [Syntax 50]<br/> [Semantics 16]<br/> [P, M, Y, X 06]<br/> <b>Language:</b> KQE<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> PP, UG, <math>\theta</math>T, X-Bar T, Case T, Movement, Isamal, Verb, Topicalization, Introspection, Mental Grammar, Grammatical Judgment<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2002 L5 J83<br/> In National Lib: 499.218717</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 2003 | <p><i>Mga semantik koreleyt ng pagkatransitibo sa kwentong Sebwano</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Adeva, Frieda Marie B.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Nolasco<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [51]<br/> [Analysis 33]<br/> [Morphology 54]<br/> [Syntax 51]<br/> [Semantics 17]<br/> [M, Y, X 05]<br/> <b>Language:</b> CEB<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> Hopper &amp; Thompspon's 1980 T on TR, TR, Kinesis, Aspect, Punctuality, Volitionality, Affirmation, Verbs, Aspect, Mode, Affixes, Pronouns<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2003 L5 A34<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2003 L5 A34<br/> In National Lib: 499.212<br/> Contains text.</p> |
| 2003 | <p><i>Function words in Hiligaynon-Filipino translations: a study in comparative syntax</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Gaitan, Mary Ann P.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [52]<br/> [Analysis 34]<br/> [Morphology 55]<br/> [Syntax 52]<br/> [Semantics 18]<br/> [M, Y, X 06]<br/> <b>Language:</b> HIL, TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, Function Words, Conjunctions, HIL-TGL, CP<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2003 L5 G35<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2003 L5 G35<br/> In National Lib: 499.214<br/> In Reading Room.<br/> Contains text.</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 2003 | <p><i>Mga verb-inisyal na sentens ng Viracnon: isang pagsusuri batay sa government-baynding tyuri</i></p> <p><b>Author:</b> Tabada, Lucillyne C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [53]<br/> [Analysis 35]<br/> [Morphology 56]<br/> [Syntax 53]<br/> [M, Y 10]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BLN<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> PP, GB, X-Bar T, <math>\theta</math>T, Move-Alpha, Case T, Verb-Internal Subject Hypothesis, SC, Viracnon, Catanduanes, Theta Role, Determiner Phrase<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2003 L5 T33<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2003 L5 T33<br/> In National Lib: 499.2155</p>                                 |
| 2003 | <p><i>Ang pagkatransitibo at ikinaergatibo ng mga wikang Pilipino: isang pagsusuri sa sistemang bose</i></p> <p><b>Author:</b> Nolasco, Ricardo Ma. D.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Peneyra<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [11]<br/> [Analysis 36]<br/> [Morphology 57]<br/> [Syntax 54]<br/> [Semantics 19]<br/> [M, Y, X 07]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> ER Voice, Focus, Filipino Voice, TR, Source, Affected Entity, Arguments<br/> In Archives: LG 996 2003 L5 N65<br/> In National Lib: 499.2115</p>  |
| 2003 | <p><i>Isang rekonstrusyong internal ng Tagalog batay sa mga piling dayalek</i></p> <p><b>Author:</b> Peneyra, Irma Dolores U.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Paz<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [12]<br/> [Reconstruction 02]<br/> [Phonology 42]<br/> [Morphology 58]<br/> [P, M 07]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL, Proto-Tagalog<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DL, Bataan, Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, Marinduque, Oriental Mindoro, Occidental Mindoro, Quezon, Rizal, CM, Subgrouping, Qualitative, Internal Reconstruction, Dialect Chain<br/> In Archives: LG 996 2003 L5 P46<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 996 2003 L5 P46<br/> In National Lib: 499.2112</p> |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 2004 | <p><i>Testing the effectivity of optimality theory: a comparative phonological analysis of three Philippine languages</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Enriquez, Ma. Althea T.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [54]<br/> [Comparison 09]<br/> [Phonology 43]<br/> [P 02]<br/> <b>Language:</b> CEB, ILO, TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> OT, GG, CP<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2004 L5 E57<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2004 L5 E57<br/> In National Lib: 415</p>   |
| 2005 | <p><i>Pagkukumpara ng mga wikang Tagalog at Hapon</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Balmeo, Antonio L.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [55]<br/> [Comparison 10]<br/> [Phonology 44]<br/> [Morphology 59]<br/> [Syntax 55]<br/> [P, M, Y 26]<br/> <b>Language:</b> JPN, TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> Contemporary Linguistics, Sentence Structure, Basic Sentences, Affixes, Contemporary Linguistics<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2005 L5 B35<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2005 L5 B35<br/> In National Lib: 499.211824956<br/> In Reading Room.</p> |
| 2006 | <p><i>Application of theta theory to standard Bikol</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Moran, Donna Hope L.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [56]<br/> [Analysis 37]<br/> [Morphology 60]<br/> [Syntax 56]<br/> [Semantics 20]<br/> [M, Y, X 08]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BCL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> GB, <math>\theta</math>T, Case T, Bicol, Standard Bikol, Lexicology, Affixes<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2006 L5 M67<br/> In National Lib: 499.2155</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 2006 | <p><i>Komputasyon ng mga simpleng verbal klos sa Cebuano batay sa minimalist program</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Rubrico, Jessie Grace U.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [13]<br/> [Analysis 38]<br/> [Morphology 61]<br/> [Syntax 57]<br/> [M, Y 11]<br/> <b>Language:</b> CEB<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> MP, UG, Derivation, Verbal Clause, Simple Verbal Clause, Focus, Case, Aspect, Word Order<br/> In Archives: LG 996 2006 L5 R83<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 996 2006 L5 R83<br/> In National Lib: 499.21256</p> |
| 2007 | <p><i>Gramatikal na iskets ng Tagebulos</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Antonio, Victor C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Cruz<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [57]<br/> [Grammar 13]<br/> [Phonology 45]<br/> [Morphology 62]<br/> [Syntax 58]<br/> [Semantics 21]<br/> [P, M, Y, X 07]<br/> <b>Language:</b> DGC<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Tagebulos, Aurora, Morphosyntax, Verbs, Verb Inflection, Voice, Case, Aspect<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2007 L5 A58<br/> In National Lib: 499.21815</p>  |
| 2007 | <p><i>The non-verbal sentences in Cuyonon: a minimal approach</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Lee, Aldrin P.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [58]<br/> [Analysis 39]<br/> [Phonology 46]<br/> [Morphology 63]<br/> [Syntax 59]<br/> [Semantics 22]<br/> [P, M, Y, X 08]<br/> <b>Language:</b> CYO<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> MP, Non-Verbal Sentences, Cuyo, Palawan, GB, PP<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2007 L5 L44<br/> In National Lib: 499.21856<br/> Contains text.</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 2008 | <p><i>Interpretasyon ng NP sa Ilokano sa Integratibong Pananaw</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Caliwanagan, Elizabeth A.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [14]<br/> [Analysis 40]<br/> [Morphology 64]<br/> [Syntax 60]<br/> [Semantics 23]<br/> [M, Y, X 09]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ILO<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> Integrative Approach, ER, GG, GB, MP, Noun Phrases<br/> In Archives: LG 996 2008 L5 C35<br/> Contains text.</p>  |
| 2010 | <p><i>Studies on the major Philippine languages by Spanish missionaries</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Vibar, Arwin M.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Peneyra<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [15]<br/> [Review 07]<br/> [Phonology 47]<br/> [Morphology 65]<br/> [Syntax 61]<br/> [P, M, Y 27]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BCL, CEB, HIL, IBG, ILO, PAM, PAG, TGL, WAR<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, Spanish, Bicolano, Pampango, Nebrija, de Molina, Hervas y Panduro<br/> In Archives: LG 996 2010 L5 V53<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 996 2010 L5 V53<br/> In National Lib: 499.21<br/> In Reading Room.</p> |
| 2011 | <p><i>Modality in English, Chinese, and Filipino</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Cunanan, Farah C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [59]<br/> [Comparison 11]<br/> [Morphology 66]<br/> [Syntax 62]<br/> [M, Y 12]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ENG, CMN, TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> UG, Modality, Mandarin, Modal Verbs, Affixes, Reduplication<br/> In Archives (in process).<br/> In National Lib: 415.6<br/> In Reading Room.</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 2012 | <p><i>Motion verbs in Tagalog, Ilokano and Tuvali Ifugao</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Klimenko, Sergey B.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [60]<br/> [Comparison 12]<br/> [Morphology 67]<br/> [Syntax 63]<br/> [Semantics 24]<br/> [M, Y, X 10]<br/> <b>Language:</b> IFK, ILO, TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> Talmy's T, Talmy's T Revised, Slobin's T, Croft et. al's T, Verbs, Affixes<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2012 L5 K55<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2012 L5 K55<br/> In National Lib: 499.21182<br/> In Reading Room.<br/> Contains word list.</p> |
| 2013 | <p><i>Ang clause structure ng Tagalog batay sa cognitive grammar</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Javier, Jem R.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [61]<br/> [Analysis 41]<br/> [Phonology 48]<br/> [Morphology 68]<br/> [Syntax 64]<br/> [P, M, Y 28]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> CL, Cognitive Grammar, Event Schema, Clause Structure<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2013 L5 J38<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2013 L5 J38<br/> In National Lib: 499.21182<br/> In Reading Room.</p>  |
| 2013 | <p><i>Konek ka dyan: isang deskriptibong pag-aaral sa mga coordinating at subordinating conjunction sa Filipino</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Perez, April J.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Bacolod<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [62]<br/> [Analysis 42]<br/> [Morphology 69]<br/> [Syntax 65]<br/> [M, Y 13]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Conjunctions, Coordination Reduction, Aspect<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2013 L5 P37<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2013 L5 P37</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description  |
|------|--|
| 2013 | <p><i>Subcategorization of Pangasinan verbs</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Rosario, Francisco C. Jr.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [63]<br/> [Analysis 43]<br/> [Phonology 49]<br/> [Morphology 70]<br/> [Syntax 66]<br/> [P, M, Y 29]<br/> <b>Language:</b> PAG<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> SC, GG, Pangasinan, Verbs, Affixes, Thematic Roles<br/> In Archives: LG 995 2013 L5 R67<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2013 L5 R67<br/> In Reading Room.</p>                                    |
| 2013 | <p><i>The semantics of Ilocano aspect forms</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Reolalas, Santiago R.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Malicsi<br/> <b>Dissertation</b> [16]<br/> [Analysis 44]<br/> [Morphology 71]<br/> [Syntax 67]<br/> [Semantics 25]<br/> [M, Y, X 11]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ILO<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TA, ILO-ENG, ILO-TGL, Aspect, Subordinate Clauses, Affixes<br/> In Archives: LG 996 2013 L5 R46<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 996 2013 L5 R46<br/> In National Lib: 499.2132<br/> In Reading Room.</p> |
| 2014 | <p><i>An affix-based subcategorization of Tagalog verbs</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Endriga, Divine Angeli P.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [64]<br/> [Analysis 45]<br/> [Morphology 72]<br/> [Syntax 68]<br/> [M, Y 14]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> SC, Affixes, Semantic Roles, Focus<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2014 L5 E53<br/> In Reading Room.<br/> Contains word list.</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 2014 | <p><i>Tracing ancestry and descent: a reconstruction of the Proto-Batanic language</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Gallego, Maria Kristina S.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, J.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [65]<br/> [Reconstruction 03]<br/> [Phonology 50]<br/> [Morphology 73]<br/> [P, M 08]<br/> <b>Language:</b> IVB, IVV, Proto-Batanic<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DL, CM, Proto-Philippine, Subgrouping, Yami, Itbayat<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2014 L5 G35<br/> In Reading Room.<br/> Contains word list.</p> |
| 2015 | <p><i>A grammatical sketch of Blaan</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Bondoc, Ivan P.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, J.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [66]<br/> [Grammar 14]<br/> [Phonology 51]<br/> [Morphology 74]<br/> [Syntax 69]<br/> [P, M, Y 30]<br/> <b>Language:</b> BPS<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Sarangani, Bilic, Aspect, Focus, Mode, Affixes<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2015 L5 B66<br/> Contains word list.<br/> Contains sentence list.</p>   |
| 2015 | <p><i>Isang pagsusuri ng mga pre-form sa tekstwal na datos ng Tagalog</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> de Chavez, Mark Rae C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Bacolod<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [67]<br/> [Analysis 46]<br/> [Morphology 75]<br/> [Syntax 70]<br/> [Semantics 26]<br/> [M, Y, X 12]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> TX, Bible, Focus, Pronouns, M+Y, Pro-form<br/> In Lingg Lib (in process).<br/> In Reading Room.<br/> Contains text.</p>  |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 2015 | <p><i>Contrastive na pag-aaral sa mga basic sentence ng wikang Filipino at Koreyano</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Igno, Jay-Ar M.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, V.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [68]<br/> [Comparison 12]<br/> [Phonology 52]<br/> [Morphology 76]<br/> [Syntax 71]<br/> [P, M, Y 31]<br/> <b>Language:</b> KOR, TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> CP, Contrastive, Basic Sentences, Immediate Constituent, Subject, Predicate<br/> In Archives (in process).<br/> In Lingg Lib: LG 995 2015 L5 I46<br/> In Reading Room.</p> |
| 2015 | <p><i>A grammar sketch of Surigaonon</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Liwanag, Mariyel Hiyas C.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Lee<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [69]<br/> [Grammar 15]<br/> [Phonology 53]<br/> [Morphology 77]<br/> [Syntax 72]<br/> [P, M, Y 32]<br/> <b>Language:</b> SGD<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Headedness, Focus, Aspect, Mood, Nouns, Adverbs, Prepositions<br/> In Lingg Lib (in process).<br/> In Reading Room.</p>   |
| 2017 | <p><i>A grammar sketch of Ninorte Samarnon</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Balanquit, Liberty N.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Lee<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [70]<br/> [Grammar 16]<br/> [Phonology 54]<br/> [Morphology 78]<br/> [Syntax 73]<br/> [P, M, Y 33]<br/> <b>Language:</b> WAR<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, <math>\theta</math>T, SC, Structural Case, Ninorte Samarnon, Affixes, Aspect, Voice, Mood, Adjectives, Adverbs, M+Y<br/> In Lingg Lib (in process).<br/> In Reading Room.</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 2017 | <p><i>Inserapan te marusen: Using semantic analysis in describing Matigsalug concepts of spirits</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Cabazares, Janus Ruel T.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, J.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [71]<br/> [Analysis 47]<br/> [Morphology 79]<br/> [Semantics 27]<br/> [M, X 01]<br/> <b>Language:</b> MBT<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> Frame Semantics, Spirits, Spirit Names, Central Manobo, Matigsalug, Davao del Sur, South Central Bukidnon, Northeast North Cotabato<br/> In Lingg Lib (in process).<br/> In Reading Room.</p> |
| 2018 | <p><i>Ang mga dayalekto ng Tagalog sa Batangas at Oriental Mindoro</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Añoaso, Precious Sarah A.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, J.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [72]<br/> [Comparison 13]<br/> [Phonology 55]<br/> [Morphology 80]<br/> [P, M 09]<br/> <b>Language:</b> TGL<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DI, Dialect, Variation, Batangas, Oriental Mindoro, Mindoro, Maps, Affixes<br/> In Lingg Lib (in process).<br/> In Reading Room.<br/> Contains word list.<br/> Contains sentence list.</p>                               |
| 2018 | <p><i>A grammar of Iraya</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Or, Elsie Marie T.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Bacolod<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [73]<br/> [Grammar 17]<br/> [Phonology 56]<br/> [Morphology 81]<br/> [Syntax 74]<br/> [P, M, Y 34]<br/> <b>Language:</b> IRY<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, Iraya Mangyan, Mangyan, Northern Mangyan, Mindoro, Oriental Mindoro, Affixes<br/> In Reading Room.<br/> Contains word list.<br/> Contains sentence list.</p>   |

---

---

| Year | Description   |
|------|---|
| 2018 | <p><i>Ang Bumaruon ng mga Ilubu: isang etnolinggwistikong pag-aaral</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Pasion, Daryl Q.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Hernandez, J.<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [74]<br/> [Analysis 48]<br/> [Phonology 57]<br/> [Morphology 82]<br/> [Semantics 28]<br/> [P, M, X 03]<br/> <b>Language:</b> Kalinga*<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> EL, Semantic Analysis, Bumaruon, Justice, Ilubu, Kalinga, Semantics, Upper Tanduan, Linguistic Relativity<br/> In Lingg Lib (in process).<br/> In Reading Room.<br/> Contains word list.</p> |
| 2019 | <p><i>A grammar sketch of Inati</i><br/> <b>Author:</b> Manzano, Diane A.<br/> <b>Adviser:</b> Bacolod<br/> <b>Thesis</b> [75]<br/> [Grammar 18]<br/> [Phonology 58]<br/> [Morphology 83]<br/> [Syntax 75]<br/> [P, M, Y 35]<br/> <b>Language:</b> ATK<br/> <b>Keywords:</b> DA, ER, Aklan, Numancia, TR, Inete, Syntactic Functions, Nouns<br/> In Lingg Lib (in process).<br/> Contains word list.<br/> Contains sentence list.</p>   |

---

# Sakit: A Preliminary Linguistic Analysis of Tagalog Pain Concept and Language

Mary Dianne Ofalla Jamindang

## Abstract

To contribute to studies seeking to better facilitate healthcare communication on pain (Halliday, 1998; Katz & Melzack, 2011; Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002; Patharakorn, 2010; Wierzbicka, 2012), the present study analyzed the Tagalog pain language through semantic and syntactic analysis to delineate the local pain concept and experiences. The metaphors gathered in the data were also interpreted. The semantic analysis found that *sakit* in Tagalog has a variety of experiences that vary according to its sensations, location, and causes. It also found that *sakit* is primarily caused by external factors (accidents, everyday objects, and illnesses) and by internal factors (found inside the body). In the sentence-level analysis, Tagalog primarily construes pain as a process and secondarily as a quality and as an entity. This is significantly different from the construal of English, Greek, and Thai. *Sakit* as a process shows that there are active and passive experiences and participants of pain, while *sakit* as a quality functions as an attribute of the body and of the pain experience itself. Lastly, *sakit* as an entity reveals that pain can be an undesired possession, an actor who causes pain, a nominal modifier, and a subject of the sentence. In the interpretation of the metaphors, it is found that pain is an invisible or an identified force that violates the body, and pain is someone or something from the sufferer's environment.

## 1 Introduction

Previous literature such as Woolf (1926/1994, as cited in Bending, 2006), Scarry (1985), and Selzer (1994) among others attempted to understand the experience of pain, a universal human phenomenon that affects quality of life, as it is an unpleasant and threatening experience that seems to escape language. In terms of the relationship of these two, the three works claimed that language always falls short or runs dry when expressing or describing pain. Scarry went as far as claiming that "physical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it" (p. 4). Selzer, on the other hand, acknowledged the tools that patients utilize to describe and make sense of their experience of pain. According to him, "There is no adequate way for the sufferer to portray his pain other than to cry out. In order to convey his pain, the patient, like the writer,

must resort to metaphor, simile, and imagery” (p. 28).

Pain is difficult to communicate as it is an experience exclusive and subjective to the sufferer (Sussex, 2009). It is an “unshareable” experience that cannot be denied or confirmed (Scarry, 1985). However, to understand the pain experiences and sensations is necessary as these affect our quality of life. It is particularly important in the medical and health care professions to diagnose correctly and provide appropriate treatment. This need results in medical and clinical fields to dominate the study of pain language (Patharakorn, 2010).

Languages such as English (Halliday, 1998; Melzack & Torgerson, 1971; Wierzbicka, 2012), Greek (Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002), Thai (Patharakorn, 2010), and Chinese (Rui et al., 2014) have started recognizing the importance of conducting linguistic studies on the language of pain. These studies used linguistic evidence and frameworks to provide a fuller understanding of the concept of pain in their own context and language.

Linguistic analysis of pain language is important as it provides a perspective different from those conducted in the medical perspective. Medical studies of pain language aim to determine the various qualities of pain sensations as well as to develop more accurate and appropriate pain assessment tools (Katz & Melzack, 2011; Melzack, 1975). While linguistic analysis of pain helps understand the meaning, concept, and experience of pain based on the speakers’ linguistic expressions, as well as how the speakers perceive pain as a concept and as an experience (Halliday, 1998; Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002; Wierzbicka, 2012). These studies provide an understanding of how pain is perceived and experienced by its participants; thus, linguistic analysis of pain is an important perspective to look at and understand in facilitating healthcare communications. It delineates the concept and language of pain based on the cultural and linguistic constraints that govern pain expression. Overall, linguistic study of pain poses a potential help to healthcare practitioners in understanding the concept of pain in a certain unique setting and it may also address the problem of communicating and assessing pain.

In Philippine languages, there are hardly any linguistic studies conducted on the pain concept and language. Most are translations and cultural adaptations of pain assessment tools, and these are still greatly shouldered by the medical field. Such adaptations are: translation of painDETECT Questionnaire (Gomez et al., 2019) in Tagalog and Cebuano, the two major languages in the Philippines with the most number of speakers; Filipino version of Penn Facial Pain Scale (Yu & Rosales, 2018); and translation of VISA-P Questionnaire for Patellar Tendinopathy (Sosa et al., 2021) to Filipino language, among others. The translations of pain assessment tools like these in Philippine languages imply the demand to study and provide an accurate understanding of pain experience and expression that would facilitate doctor-patient communication in the country.

This research provides a preliminary description of Tagalog pain language and concept that may help facilitate the communication between medical, health care practitioners and patients in Tagalog speaking areas. More importantly, this would provide a deeper understanding of pain as viewed from the lens of Tagalog context, culture, and language through linguistic devices in reporting pain such as pain terms, grammar, and

metaphors.

The main contributions of conducting this linguistic study on pain language are (a) to provide a deeper understanding of and delineate the Tagalog pain experience according to its language, context, culture, and setting, and (b) facilitate health care communication in Tagalog and Filipino settings. That is, the linguistic study of the Tagalog concept of pain presents the founding knowledge that informs the speakers of their pain experience including its cause, sensations, and treatment. It is also significant in understanding how the Tagalog speakers perceive their experience and in deciphering what they intend to communicate for the healthcare professionals to understand. Since linguistic and cultural factors are operative in pain language and concept, this study delineates the Tagalog concept of pain in comparison with Western concept(s) of pain where the medical field is highly based. As according to Wierzbicka (2012), pain expression is also subject to cross-cultural variation, hence the non-translatable concepts of pain to other languages. To delineate the Tagalog concept of pain is of high

significance and must be considered to cater to the needs of Filipinos, especially, Tagalog patients. As a whole, the significance of this study is to understand the Tagalog pain experience and to facilitate pain discussions in healthcare communication. This study also contributes to existing linguistic literature on pain language, especially in Philippine and Tagalog linguistic literature, as this area of study is still in its infancy. Finally, this study also presents the interplay between pain and language which justifies the linguistic analysis of pain as well as the delineation of Tagalog pain concept from other concepts.

## 2 Review of Related Literature

This section presents what was achieved so far in the study of pain, pain and language, and pain language. This serves as the guide as to how the present study can compare and contribute to the study of pain language. There are four sections in this section. The first section (2.1) presents the definition and scope of pain. This serves as a basis in understanding pain and its experience which is helpful in the gathering of data. The second section (2.2) explains the interplay between pain and language. This provides the study a better understanding of why pain language must be linguistically analyzed to help in assessing and managing pain experience. The third section (2.3) presents the previous pain language studies both from the medical and linguistic perspectives. This shows what was achieved so far in this area of study and what else needs to be done.

### 2.1 Definition and Scope of Pain

In studying pain and its relationship with language, it is important to understand first that pain is a complex universal human phenomenon (Gomez et al., 2019; Halliday, 1998; Sussex, 2009) with varieties, different qualities, and higher dimensions. According to Visser and Davies (2009), "these higher dimensions of pain are important in the expression of 'pain language'" (p. 29), thus it is also important in its study. In the

following paragraphs, the extent of the complex nature of pain is set and discussed.

Many studies and literature, commonly in the fields of philosophy and medicine, described pain as a subjective and private experience. Ferber (2019) described it as in two paradigms of “destructive” and “isolating” as it leaves one in “utter privacy and isolation” (p. 5). Scarry (1985) also described it as “unshareable,” as the person in pain effortlessly grasped the certainty of the pain experience while the person outside of that painful experience “is not grasping it” (p. 4). Scarry stated, “Thus pain comes unsharably into our midst as at once that which cannot be denied and that which cannot be confirmed” (p. 4). However, although pain is described as subjective and private, something that the sufferer certainly grasps, it is also something external that the sufferer also does not recognize. Drawing from the personal painful experience of the French novelist Daudet, Bending (2006) stated that pain is simultaneously part of the self and external to the self. Bourke (2021) agrees, stating that while pain is internal, it also disconnects the self (the “me”) from its body and experience of pain (the “my body” and the “my pain”). The subjective and private, yet external nature of pain is already complex, but it does not stop there. There are also varieties and different qualities of pain (Melzack & Torgerson, 1971). Bending (2006) manifested various qualities of pain as she claimed that the totality of the experience can only be conveyed through multifaceted approach. Ferber (2019) was more direct in claiming that pain “encompasses a multifarious and complex” (p. 13) nature.

In medical and clinical perspectives, the complex nature of pain was specified. In the most widely used definition of pain by International Association for Study of Pain (IASP) (2020), it stated that pain is “an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with, or resembling that associated with, actual or potential tissue damage” (para. 3). In this one sentence definition, the multiple dimensions and complex nature of pain were emphasized. It explained that pain is and should be unpleasant, but it is not limited to a sensory experience as it can also be emotional. Moreover, this unpleasant experience is associated with an injury as referred to by “tissue damage” or anything that resembles it. However, it can also be experienced without tissue damage as referred to by the phrase “potential tissue damage” in the definition. In a more elaborate discussion on the scope and definition of pain, pain medicine specialists Visser and Davies (2009) specified its range of application and meaning, as discussed in the next paragraphs. The authors dissected the definition provided by IASP and added what else needs to be included in its definition. They presented criticisms that the IASP definition received; however, Visser and Davies demanded that the limitations of the IASP definition should be put into context, that it was designed as an explanatory clinical tool and not to define concepts of pain. Lastly, they concluded that the definition by IASP is still valid and essential.

Visser and Davies (2009) first draw from the different origins of the word *pain* in European languages to explain that pain is connected to other experiences beyond sensations. They claimed that the term “pain” was derived from the Latin word *poena* which means “punishment” or “penalty” which resulted in the promotion of the concept of pain as “evil, punitive experience” (p. 29). The Greek for pain *algos* is also linked to “sorrow” or “punishment,” while the Latin word *dolor* which means “hurt” or

“ache,” terms used for sensory experience, also has linkage to emotional words such as “sadness,” “suffering,” or “anguish.” Meanwhile in Asian languages such as Japanese and Bahasa Indonesia, the word for pain and “illness” or “disease” is the same, without reference to “punishment” and “suffering.” Visser and Davies (2009) claimed that with these etymologies, the concept of pain is beyond the sensory experience. Pain is also a “negative, emotional experience linked to ‘suffering’ with social, spiritual, and philosophical dimensions” (p. 29).

Next, the two authors dissected the components of the IASP definition of pain and added some insights. According to them, pain is not always unpleasant, which further complicates the definition. This claim was supported by patients with cortical injuries like stroke who reported pain but not as unpleasant (Visser & Davies, 2009). As already discussed in the previous paragraph, pain is also emotional. Here, Visser and Davies reiterated that pain is an experience that is beyond perception, sensory processing, or nociception. It is also “‘emotional-affective,’ ‘cognitive-evaluative,’ ‘motivational’ and perhaps even ‘spiritual’” (p. 29). They agreed that pain is not tied to “tissue damage” as pain may also be experienced in situations where there is no damage or where damage may occur. Pain is also an experience internal to the sufferer and external to others, therefore “pain is always what the sufferer says it is” (p. 30). It was emphasized by the authors that the authority of pain is the sufferer. Among the criticisms that Visser and Davies presented, two of these are that the IASP definition did not address the philosophical, spiritual, societal-cultural, and ethical aspects of pain. This criticism may have come from their assessment of the etymologies of the word “pain” in mostly European languages. Lastly, it did not address the link of pain to suffering, and its meanings and purpose.

Visser and Davies (2009) and IASP (2020) provided an elaborate discussion on the definition, concept, and scope of pain. It also included and emphasized the descriptions of pain provided by the philosophical perspective. In combining the two perspectives, pain is, in sum, an unpleasant experience. It is a subjective and private experience, yet also external to oneself. It has varieties, different qualities, and higher dimensions. Meaning, pain is beyond a sensory experience; it is also emotional and even spiritual. Based on the etymologies of pain, it has philosophical, spiritual, societal, cultural, and ethical aspects. Lastly, pain has links to suffering. Although the latter was not discussed by Visser and Davies and IASP, it is manifested that pain has links to suffering as those who are in pain or who have pain are said to suffer and are referred to as the “sufferer,” as in “let a sufferer try to describe a pain in his head to a doctor and language at once runs dry” (Woolf, 1926/1994, as cited in Bending, 2006, p. 132). Selzer (1994) also referred to a person in pain as “sufferer,” as in “there is no wholly adequate way for the sufferer to portray his pain” (p. 28).

There are arguments presented such as Merskey (1994) that pain experience is not physical but only as a psychological event: “pain ... is the perceptual experience of discomfort in a spot in the body. ... Without ... brain action, we can get sense data coming up afferent channels but we get no pain, e.g., sleep, anesthesia, and coma” (Walters, 1963, as cited in Merskey, 1994, p. S74). This is an interesting take on what pain is, and it presents another dimension of pain which is purely psychological, that

is possibly helpful to the present study. However, it is not the intention of the present study to take a position whether pain is physical or psychological.

The definition, concept, and scope of pain presented in this section provides a basis for what is meant by pain and what is not considered as pain. This guides the lexical data gathering of this study. Also, this section provides context to the assumptions claimed regarding the relationship of pain and language which will be discussed in Section 2.2.

## 2.2 Relationship of Pain and Language

The interplay between pain and language justifies the demand for linguistically studying pain language, as it helps differentiate one particular pain concept from the others that could help in better understanding and assessing pain. This interplay can be traced back to the variety of pain experiences according to language, culture, and context. That is, language constraints and cultural factors affect pain expression and behavior, while pain experience affects linguistic construction. As discussed in Fabrega (1989), language and culture are claimed as operating factors in the expression of pain. Fabrega supported this assumption with the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis which is basically about the crucial role of language in thought or cognition. This hypothesis questions whether language is simply associated with how people think and perceive the world or does language cause and determine cognition and thought (Fabrega, 1989). For Fabrega, language and culture are important factors in the phenomenon of pain that must not be underemphasized in its studies and analyses. According to him, “the selective and interpretive qualities of a people’s culture and language are particularly salient in its pain behaviors” (p. 239), as linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors that people learn for the events they cannot observe, communicate, and confirm their perceptions. More importantly, the influence of language can be traced back to the formal properties or the structure of a linguistic event such as pain descriptors and “secondary terms” that can enrich the description of pain. These “secondary terms” have a metaphoric qualification in pain descriptions such as crushing, cutting, burning (Fabrega, 1989). It should be emphasized here that the influence of language and culture in describing pain is manifested in their restrictions in the descriptions of pain. This means that the linguistic devices for pain description are subjected to language-specific constraints, hence the influence of language and culture in pain expression. Fabrega stated, “A culture employs only those linguistic devices (e.g., syntactic inflections, semantic roots) that are deemed consonant with its conceptualizations of the phenomena for which the devices are employed in descriptions” (p. 239). This also applies to the secondary terms such as metaphors and similes of languages since the appropriate analogies for the conceptualization of pain vary according to the linguistic and cultural patterns of the community. Apart from that, Fabrega also pointed out that the speaker’s utilization of pain terms manifests the existence of grammatical constraints that are operating. He stated, “The denotation of a culture’s premises of pain is embodied in those terms which are central to pain descriptions, for it is these terms and their syntactic configuration (usage and constraints) that indicate the conceptual dimensions of pain” (p. 240).

In Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002), it is found that linguistic construction of pain expression reveals the experience of the sufferer. In this study, they found that pain in Modern Greek is influential in language as it determines how language is configured by patients. This configuration reflects the involvement of the patient in their painful experience and it determines the construction and utilization of grammar. In their analysis of language in a doctor-patient consultation, Lascaratou and Hatzidaki found that the form of the verb used in expressing pain illuminates the degree of the sufferer's involvement in the experience. For example, when the patient uses the personal verb *ponao* 'hurt,' the patient is more involved in the painful experience as it becomes a part of him. However, when the patient uses the impersonal verb *ponai* 'hurt,' the patient is less involved in the experience as he or she finds it difficult to express the pain, thus only stating its occurrence. According to them, "the degree of involvement of the patient's self in the painful experience which strongly determines the choice of particular linguistic configurations among a large number of seemingly interchangeable ones" (p. 53). They mean that among many available linguistic configurations, the choice of the sufferer to one construction of pain expression implies the kind of experience being suffered. This manifests how pain experience affects the utilization of language, as well as how language reveals pain experience.

In a more recent study, Wierzbicka (2012) also posited that there are multilingual and multicultural influences in the expression of pain. Her claim was based on her observations on the language of emotions and other subjective experiences in general. According to her, different languages and cultures color the way people perceive, experience, and express pain. She cited the case of immigrant and indigenous Australians who find it difficult to translate their experience of pain into the English language. This is because, in the Australian Aboriginal language that is Yankunytjatjara, the word *pika* that is closest to the English word and concept of pain is used differently and does not translate directly. This word when used in comparison with pain always associates the experience with the body part and with a physical cause (Wierzbicka, 2012). This case of the indigenous Australians supported Wierzbicka's claim that the experience of pain is not as universal as many thought.

In total, Fabrega (1989), Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002), and Wierzbicka (2012) recognized the crucial role of language and culture in the expression of pain, as well as the involvement of pain experience in the construction of linguistic expression. Their analyses and findings showed that there is an interplay between pain and language. Language influences pain due to language-specific constraints that affect pain expression which is also part of pain experience, while pain experience influences the construction of linguistic expression as it reveals the involvement and experience of the patient in the sensation. As presented above, Fabrega (1989) explored and presented the possibility of language, along with culture, influencing the expression and experience of pain using the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. He pointed out that the influence occurs through the language-specific constraints set by its cultural context. Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002), on the other hand, manifested in their findings that language cannot communicate the gist of the pain experience without the involvement of pain in linguistic construction. Lastly, in her study of subjective experiences such as emotions,

Wierzbicka (2012) raised the issue of the difficulty of translating the experience of pain in the English language or any other lingua franca, since language and culture color the way people perceive and express the experience. In Section 2.3.2, this issue is elaborated. Overall, the three presented why language must be considered in the analysis of pain to aid in its expression, understanding, and management. From this, it can be concluded that there is an interplay between pain and language, contrary to the earlier assumptions that pain resists and is beyond language (see Section 1).

### 2.3 Pain Language

Since earlier studies discover the interplay between pain and language, more studies are becoming more motivated in addressing the possibly existing gap and barrier on the knowledge and expression of pain respectively, to facilitate doctor-patient communication as well as its appropriate management. First, there is a gap to be filled in the knowledge of pain particularly in its varieties and qualities that differ across languages and cultures (Fabrega, 1989; Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002; Wierzbicka, 2012). Then, a communication barrier seems to possibly exist between doctors and patients, as the two differ in their expression and understanding of pain (Wierzbicka, 2012). In a doctor-patient setting, there is the tendency for doctors to communicate with their patients using the jargon of their profession (Dangott et al., 1978, as cited in Wierzbicka, 2012). It is also possible that they understand through pain assessment tools such as the McGill Pain Questionnaire (Melzack, 1975, as cited in Patharakorn, 2010; Katz and Melzack, 2011; Wierzbicka, 2012). This implicitly suggests that healthcare practitioners may be understanding their patients through scientific lenses. Patients, on the other hand, may be communicating pain through personal and local understanding of the experience, using private language (Wittgenstein, 1953/1958), analogies based on cultural context (Bending, 2006; Fabrega, 1989; Selzer, 1994), or personalized pain expression (Wilson et al., 2009). In this setting, there exists a possible gap and a barrier. Both doctors and patients are unaware of the concept of pain that the other understands; they are also speaking a language that is different from the other. Wierzbicka (2012) cited Yoon (2007) as an example that perfectly illustrates the difficulty of communicating pain, especially if the objective of this communication is to be understood which is mostly the demand in doctor-patient settings:

The symptoms that I could describe with such words as *ssulita*, *salalaphuta*, *khokkhok ssusinta* or *ssahata* (referring to stomach aches), could not be described in English. The first expression is usually translated into English as “acute or burning pain.” However, neither seemed good translations to me, especially “burning pain,” which put me in mind of the pain that one feels when one burns oneself. To me, there was no relationship between the concept of “burn” and the pain that I had in my stomach. However, the Korean expression *ssulita* did not have translatable alternatives in English other than “burning pain.” So I had to use that expression, feeling that I was not describing accurately the pain I felt. (as cited in Wierzbicka, 2012,

p. 308)

This example illustrated by Yoon (2007, as cited in Wierzbicka, 2012) is applicable in the Philippines where medical consultations are also mostly informed with English knowledge, as English is primarily the language of biomedicine. This example supports the interplay of pain and language (see Section 2.2) as it presents that the concept of pain is culture and language-specific; however, it goes beyond that. It also presented that patients, who communicate pain in their ordinary language, also have the need to be understood. Thus, linguistic analysis of pain must decipher the experience of patients from their linguistic expression of pain to provide relief as well as to aid in pain assessment and management.

### **2.3.1 Pain Language in Medical and Healthcare Studies**

The issue of communication and understanding pain between doctors and patients have been the concern of all pain language studies, both in health sciences and linguistics. In the study of medicine and healthcare, which dominated the study of pain language for a long time, the focus is on the varieties and qualities of pain and how it is manifested in the pain descriptors and terms of a language. The objective of these fields is to understand the concept and dimensions of pain to design and provide the appropriate tools and treatments for pain management. Melzack and Torgerson (1971) is among the early English pain studies which analyzed the language to attempt a new approach of describing and measuring pain. Their motivation was based on the observation that the existing assessment tools of pain during that time was focused on intensity alone, neglecting the other dimensions and qualities of pain. In this study, Melzack and Torgerson collected, classified, and categorized different descriptive words used for the experience of pain. They started with the collection and classification of Dallenbach (1935, as cited in Melzack and Torgerson, 1971), then added more words gathered from various pain literature. In total, they collected 102 words classified into three major classes and 13 subclasses, namely (a) words that describe sensory qualities in terms of temporal, spatial, pressure, thermal, and other properties, (b) words that describe affective qualities in terms of tension, fear, and autonomic properties, and lastly (c) evaluative words that describe overall intensity of the pain experience. These words and classifications were evaluated by 20 participants, wherein the evaluation resulted in a confirmation that these represent different properties of pain experience. Afterwards, these words were again evaluated by participants to determine the intensity of the descriptive words. In the end of this study, Melzack and Torgerson (1971) concluded that the many different descriptive words of English language for pain indicate that it has varieties and different qualities, which also vary in intensity. Thus, according to them, the single term "pain" represents a "myriad of different experiences, and refutes the traditional concept that pain is a single modality which carries one or two qualities" (p. 53). This study of Melzack and Torgerson (1971) motivated Melzack (1975, as cited in Patharakorn, 2010) to develop the now most influential, most widely used, and most translated pain assessment tool which is the McGill Pain Questionnaire (MPQ). This

quantitative pain questionnaire developed by Melzack (1975) has been continuously studied, assessed, and developed both by the healthcare (see Katz & Melzack, 2011) and linguistic (see Patharakorn, 2010) fields. Such a case is the study of Wilson et al. (2009) titled *Language and the Pain Experience* which found, among others, that the McGill Pain Questionnaire is inadequate in explaining the individual experience of pain. This finding was drawn from one of their objectives, which is to highlight the discrepancies in the previous studies of pain and language based on MPQ. In the end of their study, they concluded that personalized pain description according to the individual experience of the patients may prove useful in the management of the persistent pain.

### **2.3.2 Linguistic Studies on Pain Language: Halliday (1998), Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002), and Wierzbicka (2012)**

In linguistics, the study of pain language is focused on determining the concepts and meanings of pain according to language and cultural context based on how the experience is construed, structurally configured, and expressed in language. Linguistic analyses of pain language differ in the medical study of the same, in that the latter is focused on the design of better pain management treatments and better assessment tools. The former, on the other hand, provides an understanding of how patients perceive their experience of pain according to their language and cultural context, and based on their use of linguistic devices. This is to help patients, not just to share their painful experience but also, most importantly, to be understood. Linguistic analysis of pain language provides what Wilson et al. (2009) claim is needed, that is, "Personalized pain descriptors may communicate the pain experience more appropriately" (p. 56). Linguistic analyses and findings of pain language help the patients to be understood in doctor-patient communication, and in some sense, if at all, help break the communication barrier possibly existing in that setting. The linguistic studies to be introduced here are those conducted by Halliday (1998), Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002) who followed Halliday's framework, and Wierzbicka (2012) who developed the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) theory. The findings of their studies all contribute to the conceptualizations of pain, how the patients express and perceive their experience, and the functions of pain language.

Halliday (1998) analyzed the English pain language in the context of its lexicogrammar by examining its (a) textual grammar which relates it to the thematic system of the clause, and (b) experiential grammar, which considers the transitivity and process types. For Halliday (1998), the grammar of pain helps understand the experience since language, particularly lexicogrammar, construe daily experiences as configurations of linguistic elements, specifically as major grammatical classes. He stated:

In the grammar of daily life, as we know, "moments," or "quanta," of experience are construed as configurations of a small number of elements belonging to different category types: primarily processes, participants, and circumstances. These are characteristic of very many languages, perhaps all ... and, again in very many languages (of which English is a typical speci-

men), they are construed in the grammar, congruently as major grammatical classes — verbs, nouns, and the rest, where in English, “the rest” means (i) adverbs and (ii) prepositional phrases. There are two other category types ... which need to be added: qualities, typically construed in English as adjectives (and hence as qualities of participants, the adjective being a kind of noun); and relators, which construe relations between one configuration and another (p. 10).

This investigation revealed that, at least for the English language, pain can be construed in its lexicogrammar as major grammatical classes. In his analysis of English lexicogrammar, Halliday (1998) found and developed the framework of the “grammar of pain” in English which explains that pain is construed as a process when it is worded in language as a verb, an entity when worded as a noun, and a quality as worded with an adjective (see Table 1). Moreover, pain as a circumstance and relator are configured as a prepositional phrase or adverb, and conjunctions respectively. With these findings, Halliday (1998) concluded that pain experience is construed in English lexicogrammar as a process, quality, and thing or entity, when worded as verb, adjective, and noun,

**Table 1**

*Summary of Halliday’s Pain Language Framework of English Lexicogrammar*

| Type of Construal | Grammatical Class | How pain is construed                | Details/Examples  |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| As an entity      | Noun              | Bounded or unbounded                 | Some pains<br>He’s got no pain just there                                       |
|                   |                   | Possessed: acquired, received, owned | Getting some pains<br>Giving him this constant pain<br>You’ve got a sore throat |
|                   |                   | Having temporal location and extent  | I have a bad ache this morning. It still aches now.                             |
|                   |                   | Degree                               | That vomiting made your pain worse.   |
|                   |                   | Having location within the body      | Getting some pains in your tummy  |
|                   |                   | Kind                                 | Tummy pains, headache, stomachache  |
|                   |                   | Having accompanying circumstances    | Burning or aching?  |
| As a process      | Verb              | As a process                         | It aches.   |
| As a quality      | Adjective         | Of part of the body                  | My sore throat.<br>The stomach didn’t seem to be particularly tender.           |

respectively.

As presented from his findings, Halliday (1998) concluded that pain is semantically construed in the lexicogrammar of English, which means that the pain experience is transformed into meaning by the grammar of language. That is, the experience of pain worded as a verb, an adjective, and a noun falls under the category meanings of pain as a process, a quality, and a thing or entity respectively.

Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002) followed the study of Halliday and also applied Halliday's framework in their study of the pain language of Modern Greek. They answered the questions posed by Halliday (1998) primarily concerning the exact location of the pain experience in linguistic configuration. The answers they derived from their analysis presented that, in Modern Greek, pain is construed in the everyday experience "primarily as a process (worded as a verb), secondarily as participant (worded as a noun), and only marginally as quality (worded as an adjective)" (p. 60). This finding differs in Halliday (1998) which presented English as partial to the nominalized configuration such as *I have a headache* instead of *My head hurts* (Halliday, 1998). Moreover, in its construal of pain as a process, Lascaratou and Hatzidaki found that Greek expressions of pain are majorly construed as an intransitive process and predominantly personal. The examination of the dialogues in the authentic doctor-patient setting also revealed to them that the degree of involvement of the patient to his or her pain experience strongly determines the linguistic configuration of pain expression. In all possible structural configurations available to the patient, particular constructions were preferred depending on their degree of involvement in the painful experience. In their investigation,

Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002) were able to profile how involved the patient is to his or her painful experience through the most frequent verb form utilized by the patients in their verbal expressions of pain. In this situation, for example:

In dialogue A, when the doctor asks the patient to describe his pain, offering him clues for potential responses whereby pain is objectified, ... the patient does not avail himself of the hints provided but simply resorts to the verb *ponao*, repeating twice that he's been hurting for eight and a half months. What is more, the sufferer's inability to describe his condition becomes even more dramatic when he asks the medical expert to make a description instead of him, repeating *ponao* once more, this time preceded by the personal pronoun *ego* 'I' for emphasis, as if to declare his involvement and justify his incapacity. ... Thus, his agonizing effort to verbalize his sensation concludes with a declaration clearly indicating that pain has become a part of him, which is essentially what the verb *ponao* denotes. Consequently, it is suggested that the sufferer's use of *ponao* functions as an expression rather than as a description of his distressful condition (Lascaratou and Hatzidaki, 2002, p. 64),

it showed that the patient is heavily involved in the painful experience when they configured their expression with the intransitive personal verb *ponao* 'hurt,' which was also

intensified when the patient added the personal pronoun *ego* 'I' for emphasis. In contrast with the second most frequently used verb form which is the intransitive impersonal *ponai* 'hurt,' the patient appears to be less involved in his or her pain experience when this verb form is used. Here, the authors observed that when *ponai* was used, the patient "appears to have difficulty in describing his experience explicitly and prefers to simply state the occurrence of the pain process" (p. 67). This suggests that the patient is less involved in his or her pain experience. In terms of the involvement of the self in the pain experience, Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002) concluded that:

Conclusively, the statistical prevalence of the intransitive *ponao* pattern can be attributed to the power, neatness, and clarity with which it reflects the involvement of the self in the subjective, private experience of pain. On the other hand, the considerable frequency of impersonal *ponai* structures could be seen as reflecting a further aspect of pain, namely, the difficulty of explicitly describing it in terms of a tangible and concrete setting, due precisely to the involvement—and, why not, entrapment—of the sufferer's self (p. 71).

In their conclusion, the authors presented the differing degrees of the patients' involvement in their pain experience according to how the linguistic expression of pain is configured. This finding opens the possibility that the intensity of pain and the degree of the patient's involvement in the experience may be figured out based on how the language is designed by the speaker.

Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002) also developed the two functions of pain language based on Wittgenstein's (1953/1958) statement that verbal expression of pain only expresses the experience but does not describe it. In the same study, Lascaratou and Hatzidaki proposed a continuum of pain language functions which ranges from the expressive function (cries, primitive reactions, verbal expressions) to the descriptive function (nominal and metaphors). In this continuum, the *ponao* verb constructions relate more to the expressive side while the nominal construction *ponos* is placed in the descriptive side, since *ponos* is motivated by conceptual metaphors enabling the sufferer to describe his or her experience (Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002). With this continuum of functions, Lascaratou and Hatzidaki found and concluded that the dominance of the verb constructions such as *ponao* and *ponai* over the nominal and adjectival ones reveal that in Modern Greek, linguistic manifestations of pain are primarily expressive than descriptive.

Unlike Halliday (1998) and Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002), Wierzbicka (2012) analyzed the concept of pain in English with the linguistic theory of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) which she also devised. According to Goddard (2009), NSM is a decompositional system based on semantic primes. In this approach, the meaning of a word is broken down and explicated through universal and simple human concepts available in all languages which is referred to as *semantic primes* (Goddard, 2009; Wierzbicka, 2012). In Wierzbicka (2012), the linguistic approach of NSM-English revealed that the English concept of pain "is conceived in terms of ... a process, or event, concurrent with the bad feeling" (p. 311). Pain in English is perceived by its speakers

as related with a bad feeling, particularly in a specific body part, and wanting that bad feeling to stop. Her explication of *pain* in English is shown below (2012, (p. 311)):

*She felt pain*

- a. She felt something bad at the time
- b. Like someone can feel when it is like:
- c. Something bad is happening in a part of this someone's body
- d. This someone feels something bad in this part of the body because of this
- e. This someone can't not think like this at this time: "I don't want this."

Wierzbicka (2012) also presented the difference of pain among other pain-related terms, namely *ache*, *hurt*, and *sore*, using the NSM approach. She demonstrated with each explications that *ache* from toothache is different from *pain* as the bad feeling is localized and due to internal causes while *pain* refers to a general, non-localized feeling. The term *hurt* presents a meaning that is alienable or removable from its location (e.g., *the tooth was hurting me*), while *sore* (e.g., *sore foot*) presents a meaning that is strongly localized but, unlike *ache*, is due to external causes. After showing the different concepts and nuances of different pain terms in English, in the end Wierzbicka (2012) raised the possibility that pain may not be a universal human phenomenon after all since the concept of pain that one knows in English "does not translate very easily across all languages" (p. 315). Meaning, the pain that one understands in ones language, in English for example, is or may be different from the concept and meaning of pain in other languages, like in the Australian Aboriginal languages. This finding signifies that since the concept of pain is not similar across all languages and cultures, pain may be specific to English and some languages but cease to exist in other languages and cultures. Wierzbicka (2012) stated that, "The knowledge that the concept of 'it hurts' may well be universal whereas the concept of 'pain' is not, should discourage medical practitioners from insisting that patients should try to describe the quality of their experience in terms of adjectives and principles . . . and to allow the patients to tell them, in their own words, where it hurts and how it hurts" (p. 315).

The linguistic study of Halliday (1998), Lascaratou and Hatzidaki (2002), and Wierzbicka (2012) presented that the experience and perception of pain is language-specific since language carries within itself cultural notions of pain. Thus, constraints available in a language and the patient's configuration of linguistic expressions reveal how patients perceive pain, how involved they are in the experience, and what patients mean in their linguistic expression of the subjective pain experience and other pain-related expressions.

Overall, pain language studies both from medical and linguistic perspectives are concerned with facilitating doctor-patient communication. However, a visible difference can be spotted. Certainly, medical and healthcare studies of pain language were conducted to develop better designs of pain management treatments and pain assessment tools. Although patients would also benefit in these studies, it was obvious that these studies are mainly for healthcare professionals in that the main concern is how they could easily assess, target, and manage pain. The linguistic studies of pain language, on

the other hand, were conducted to reveal and demonstrate what patients mean when they verbally express their painful experience. The objective of these studies is not primarily to help in assessing, targeting, and managing pain but to be understood by healthcare practitioners. The difference between the medical and linguistic studies of pain language is not in opposition. Instead, both are equally important as both provide complementary perspectives that would help address and bridge the possibly existing communication barrier and the gap in the doctor-patient communication and setting.

### 3 Methodology

Previous pain language studies showed the various aspects where a study of pain language can focus. These are the definition and scope of pain, its concept defined by culture, the relationship between pain and language, pain expression, and many more. Thus, to achieve the objectives of the present study, the data collection and analysis methods to use in this area of study must be carefully chosen and creatively devised to be appropriate.

#### 3.1 Data Collection, Methods, and Procedures

There are two sets of data collected for this study. The first set contains the lexical data gathered through dictionary sweep. Here, the researcher surveyed two reputable Pilipino dictionaries, namely Panganiban's (1972) *Diksyunaryo-Tesouro: Pilipino-Ingles* and Santos's (1978) *Vicassan's Pilipino-English Dictionary*. It must be clarified that the 'Pilipino' language in these dictionaries is similar to Tagalog, since Tagalog was chosen to be the basis of the then 'Pilipino' before it became the 'Filipino' of the universal approach (Constantino, 1974/2015; Rubrico, 1998). The main reason for using these Pilipino dictionaries instead of a Tagalog dictionary is due to the credibility of these materials. Out of all the available materials for Tagalog or Pilipino, these two are the most reputable. These dictionaries also include other lexical items that are necessary for the survey, such as the varieties of the lexical items, Spanish loanwords, and how these items compare to the same words found in other Philippine languages.

The second set of data are sentence data gathered through the elicitation method in the form of casual conversation but with a formatted guide. The elicitation method is a common method of data gathering in linguistic studies. It is helpful to linguists as it gets data quickly and, in this procedure, native speakers work with the linguist in clarifying and verifying the data (Bownern, 2008). In the present study of pain language in Tagalog, elicitation method is selected as it is deemed to be the most appropriate method of eliciting actual expression of pain experience from native speakers. Moreover, the researcher was able to ask the native speakers about Tagalog pain language such as how are the pain terms in Tagalog different from each other, are these still being used today, and how would they use these terms in a sentence if they would express or describe their pain.

### 3.1.1 Procedure of Data Elicitation Method through Casual Conversation

The elicitation in the form of casual discussion with the consultants followed this guide of questions:

1. Please describe what or how it felt when your [name of body part] experienced pain.
  - a) The researcher prepared a list of all body parts to be asked during the casual discussion. These are: head, eyes, ears, mouth, teeth, gums, hands, shoulders, chest, breasts (for women), back, stomach, lower abdomen (for women), knees, legs, and feet.
  - b) This question aims to elicit four kinds of data. First, to see if the pain terms found in the dictionaries will appear. Second, how these pain terms are used in an actual pain expression, or examples of these terms as used in a sentence. Third, how the native speakers express their painful experience in a free and genuine manner. Fourth, other linguistic devices that speakers utilize to express or describe pain.
2. Have you heard of this pain term? If yes, what is it? How do you use these given pain terms in a sentence if you are in this pain right now? Provide an example.
  - a) The pain terms that were asked in these questions were already screened, categorized, and selected by the researcher. These were asked to elicit how the speakers naturally construct the pain terms in a sentence.
  - b) The sentence data elicited in this format were listed, transcribed, and analyzed.

### 3.1.2 Participants

The participants were considered based on age, biological sex, and Tagalog-speaking background. First, the participants must belong within the age range of 45 to 55. Belonging in this age range is significant in ascertaining that the participants are aware of the different Tagalog pain terms, their meanings, and usage. Apart from that, participants within this age range have the possibility to know more about the knowledge of and the different pain experiences. Next, the biological sex of the participants must also be taken into consideration to rule out whether pain expression is also influenced by the biological sex of the sufferer. In the present study, there is not enough data to conclude sex as influential to pain expression. Lastly, and most importantly, is the fluency of the speakers in Tagalog as well as the length of time that they have been speaking it.

There are four language consultants who participated in the present study. Two are biologically female and the other two are biologically male. All of them are around the same age range of 45–55 years old. In terms of their linguistic backgrounds, the first of the two female consultants was born in Surigao Del Sur but was raised in Metro Manila. She has been speaking Tagalog for more than 40 years and although she understands a bit of Surigaonon, she does not speak it. According to her, she is more fluent in

Tagalog. The other female consultant was born and raised in Ilocos Sur and speaks a bit of Ilocano. However, after working and living in Metro Manila for more than 30 years now, she has now become fluent in Tagalog after speaking it for the same amount of time. In fact, she claimed that she speaks it now more than Ilocano. Of the two of the male consultants, one was born and raised in Bulacan and has been speaking Tagalog ever since, specifically, the Bulacan dialect of Tagalog. He claimed that Bulacan Tagalog is his first language. The other male consultant was born and raised in Samar and has been working and living in Metro Manila, as well as speaking Tagalog, for more than 15 years now.

### 3.1.3 Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations for the elicitation method of the present study are the following. These considerations were guided by Crowley (2007).

**Avoiding Possible Harm.** The consultants were made to reflect on their physical painful experiences and to share these stories to the researcher, to the study, and to others who will access the present study in the future. To avoid any possible harm to the consultants, they were asked only to share the experiences that they are comfortable to remember and to share with others. To protect their privacy, the consultants were made anonymous. Since the researcher is also a native Tagalog speaker, the researcher made sure that there is no harm with the stories shared by the consultants.

**Informed Consent.** To make sure that the consultants were giving their informed consent, the consent form was designed in the language they use every day and they are most comfortable in. It also presented all the general information regarding the research, methods, and procedures. The rights of the consultants were also written in the form. How the information will be used and stored were also explained. Lastly, the form was also submitted for approval to the research supervisor to make sure that all necessary information was presented to the consultants. As an additional precaution, the researcher also read and verbally explained the content of the consent form to the consultants and provided time and space for their questions and suggestions.

**Voluntary Participation.** All of the consultants were asked exactly four times if they were willing to participate, and they all agreed each time even when the researcher made clear that they could leave should they wish. The first time was when they were asked if they could participate in the research. The second time was when they arrived in the place of the elicitation process. The third time was when the researcher informed them how their information will be used, shared, and stored, and that the process will be recorded. The last time was when the researcher gave and read them the consent form and asked them to read and sign if they consent and still want to participate.

**Thanksgiving.** To compensate and to express the gratitude of the researcher, the female consultants were invited to dinner with the researcher and the researcher's family (which they are friends with). The male consultants were thanked with *merienda* delivered to their workplace. The researcher made sure to express her gratitude and appreciation without causing any embarrassment, insensitivity, offense, and abuse towards the consultants and the researcher as well.

**Ethical Delinquency.** The researcher made sure that the consultants were not exploited in any way. They were informed of the nature of the study they were participating in, and they were informed of their rights and powers as consultants.

## 3.2 Data Analysis, Methods, and Procedures

### 3.2.1 Lexical Data

The lexical data gathered from the two dictionaries were entered in Google Sheets, and organized according to the alphabetical order, synonyms and related words, definition, and reference. The total collected data reached 342 words, and all are related to an unpleasant feeling which can mean or cause pain. The data were later screened according to definition and kind (i.e., physical or emotional). Afterwards, the researcher sorted physical and emotional pain, and decided to only analyze those terms referring to physical pain. After screening, only 41 physical pain terms out of the initial 342 words remained. These were then categorized according to location (the body part where pain occurs), the quality of pain sensation, and the causes of pain. In the process of categorization, the researcher found semantic crossovers (i.e., a term belonging in two or more categories). With that, the researcher further analyzed the lexical data into a semantic network after semantic categorization.

A semantic network analysis is a framework used in linguistics and technological science for knowledge and data representation. It represents the whole knowledge and structure of a concept by presenting the ideas, meanings, and objects within it as well as their relationship and dependency among each other (Nettleton, 2014). In Jonassen and Reeves (1996), semantic networks are described as representations of human memory structures. They explained,

The cognitive theory underlying semantic networks maintains that human memory is organized semantically, that is, according to meaningful relationships between ideas in memory. These ideas, known as schemas, are arranged in networks of interrelated ideas known as semantic networks (p. 706).

Semantic network as a framework of analysis is applicable in structuring, analyzing, and representing the knowledge, concept, and language of pain in Tagalog. This representation and its interpretation answer the objective of the study which is to understand the Tagalog pain concept and language, to differentiate it from other pain concepts and

languages. This also answers the objective of determining the qualities, causes, and location of pain in the body which could help the medical sciences to better understand, assess, and identify pain in consideration of the patients' language and perspective. Thus, the researcher mapped the lexical data into a semantic network according to the common semantic features of the lexical data. The semantic network map is presented in Figure 1.

### 3.2.2 Sentence Data

The sentence data elicited through the elicitation method were analyzed with Halliday's framework of grammar of pain (see Table 1) and Lascaratou and Hatzidaki's (2002) continuum of pain language functions (expressive and descriptive). Halliday's framework has been used by previous linguistic pain language studies (Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002; Patharakorn, 2010) to determine how their languages construe the pain experience as linguistic configurations. This framework is used to analyze the construal of pain experience in Tagalog as configurations of linguistic elements as it would reveal how pain is perceived and experienced by the sufferer (as a process, an entity, or a quality). Moreover, it would also help reveal how much the sufferer is involved in the experience. Lascaratou and Hatzidaki's continuum is also used to determine the function of the Tagalog pain terms in their linguistic construction. The researcher also found this to be telling of the sufferers' perception of and involvement in pain.

In the procedure of data analysis, the researcher first listed all the sentence data elicited from the consultants in Google Sheets. Then, the data were sorted according to the type of linguistic configuration (as a verb, as a noun, as an adjective). Afterwards, the researcher counted the frequency of these configurations. The construction with the highest frequency is deemed to be the primary construal of the Tagalog language of pain experience while the lowest frequency is deemed as the last. Guided by Halliday's framework, the sentence data were then analyzed according to their theme and rheme. The theme contains the subject of the sentence, while rheme contains the setting of the sentence. The rheme of the sentence configured as a verb is analyzed according to voice (active or passive). Rhemes configured as an adjective are analyzed according to the theme it describes, while nominal configurations of rhemes are analyzed according to possession, location, and intensity. In this analysis, the objective of deciphering the different Tagalog pain experiences of the sufferers is achieved as the construal of pain revealed by the Tagalog pain language or the speakers' linguistic expression presents how they perceive and experience their pain experiences.

The results of this analysis are further analyzed with Lascaratou and Hatzidaki's continuum of pain language functions to determine the involvement of the sufferer to the experience as well as to understand the intention of the sufferer in communicating the painful sensations. To understand these two things will provide healthcare practitioners a hint of the state that the sufferers are in the experience, as well as how they are exactly feeling the sensation. The achievement of these findings will also aid the patients to understand their own experience as well as to be understood by their health-

care aids, which were among what they need during health consultations (Wierzbicka, 2012; Wilson et al., 2009).

The other linguistic devices used by the participants to convey their pain experiences are explained based on Fabrega's (1989) claim on the influence of culture and language to pain expression and behavior, particularly through his 'secondary terms.' The explanation of Bending (2006) on translating physical pain experiences into language is also used.

## 4 Findings and Discussion

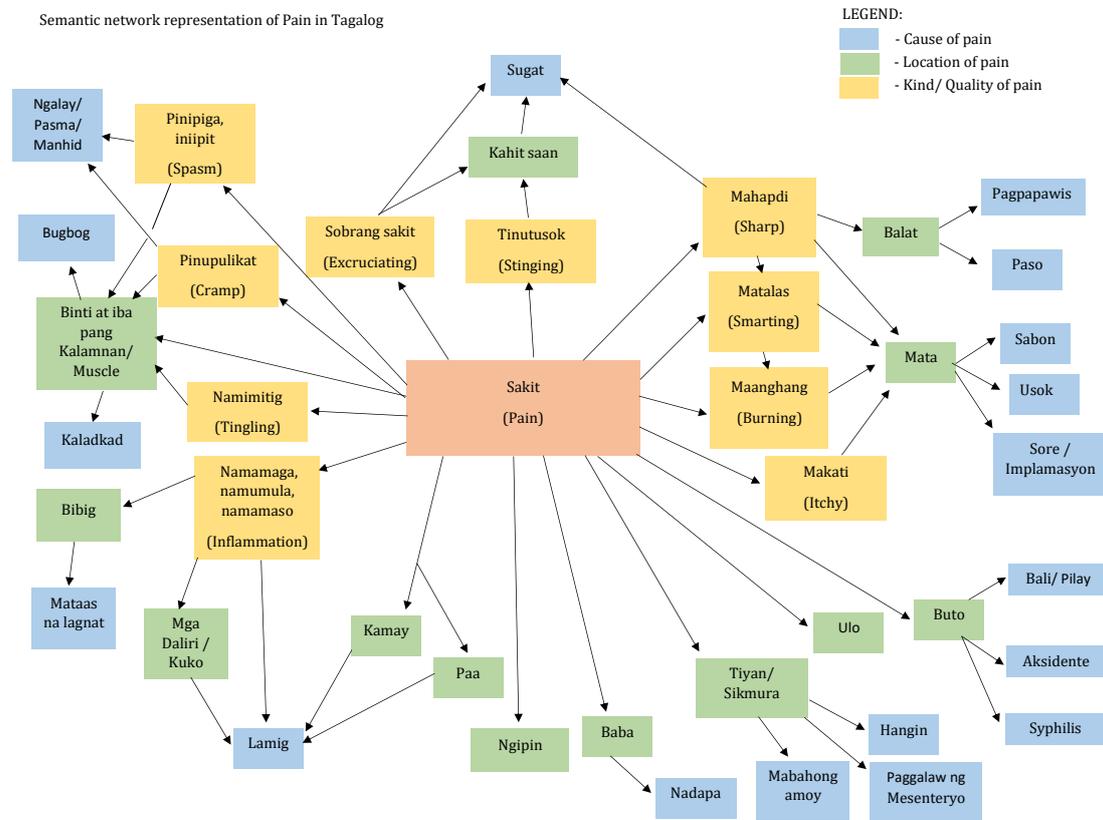
Presented in this section are the findings and interpretations of lexical and sentence data analyses. There are four sections: Section 4.1 presents the overall concept and language of pain experience in Tagalog based on the semantic analysis of the lexical data; Section 4.2 discusses the interpretation of pain expression in Tagalog pain language as well as its primary function, which reveals how the speakers perceive and experience pain in Tagalog; Section 4.3 presents the other linguistic devices that speakers use to describe their pain experience, and their interpretation.

### 4.1 The Concept of *sakit* 'pain' in Tagalog

The total collected data reached 342 words, and all are related to an unpleasant feeling which can mean or cause pain. After screening, however, only 41 physical pain terms remained. These terms were classified into semantic categories according to (a) location of pain, (b) quality or kind of pain, and (c) causes or conditions of pain. The first two contain 12 categories for pain terms while the third has 16 categories. Further analysis of these terms reveals crossovers in which a term belongs in two or more categories. An example is the term *sigid*, a smart, sharp feeling of pain in the eyes, wounds, open flesh (Panganiban, 1972), which breaks into two categories under location (eye and wound) and quality of pain (smarting and sharp). These crossovers reveal that in the concept of pain in Tagalog, there exists a relationship and dependency among the different sensations of pain, its location, and causes. These are mapped into and presented in a semantic network in Figure 1. This network presents the overall concept of *sakit* 'pain' in Tagalog which can be explained as: (a) *sakit* has a variety of experiences (see 4.1.1), and (b) *sakit* is caused by conditions external and internal to the body (see 4.1.2).

Presented in Figure 1 are the different sensations, locations, and causes of pain that are encoded in the Tagalog language based on (Panganiban, 1972) and (Santos, 1978). In the center is *sakit*, the general term and meaning for pain, which has multiple denotations in Tagalog including pain, suffering, and sickness or disease (Panganiban, 1972; Santos, 1978). The elements that surround it are the sensations, locations, and causes that are encoded and specified in the different, and more specific, Tagalog pain terms.

**Figure 1**  
*Semantic Network Representation of Pain in Tagalog*



**4.1.1 *Sakit* has a variety of experiences**

The network representation of Tagalog pain experience in Figure 1 reveals that *sakit* has various qualities of sensations. It can be sharp, stinging, excruciating, tingling, burning, smarting, itchy, and more. This conveys that *sakit* is a complex concept in Tagalog that cannot be entirely expressed or described as a complete painful experience by using the general term of *sakit* alone. It may mean all of these different sensations which may be experienced separately, in combination with another, or all at once. Thus, one’s statement that something is *masakit* ‘in pain/painful’ is vague as it is without specification of which of these sensations is being experienced. For example, the semantic network above shows that there are various sensations that can be felt with a pain in the eye (*mata*), such as sharp, smarting, sharp and smarting, burning, smarting and burning, just itchy or all at once. Thus, the pain experience of the simple statement of *masakit ang mata* ‘the eye hurts’ varies according to which sensation in particular. To be specific, Tagalog pain terms that specify the kind and cause of pain in the eye must be utilized, such as the term *hilam* which means “smarting pain in the eyes due to soap

foam, lye, smoke" (Panganiban, 1972, p. 497), as well as the term *bisil* that is a "burning, smarting pain in the eyes" (Panganiban, 1972, p. 170). Moreover, the experience also varies according to location and the cause of the pain as shown in Figure 1 wherein the sensation in the eye (*mata*) is different from the painful sensation felt anywhere else in the body due to wound, injury, or tissue damage (*sugat*). The top side of the network shows that the pain experienced anywhere else in the body due to *sugat* 'wound' can be excruciating, stinging, and sharp which is different from the usual sensations of pain felt in the eye. The terms *antak* and *kirot* both explain that the pain felt in the wounds is more of stinging: in its definition, *antak* means "stinging pain especially of wounds or cuts caused by bladed tools" (Santos, 1978, p. 60), while *kirot* is "stinging pain as in wounds, of rapid recurrence" (Panganiban, 1972, p. 290).

The experiences of pain are also different for spasm, cramp, and inflammation. In the present study, these three are also qualities of pain in Tagalog since these are also painful experiences. For example, spasm can be painful in Tagalog as seen in its lexical item *bitlig* which means "sudden painful muscular or tendonal spasm" (Panganiban, 1972, p. 173). The same can be said for the Tagalog term *hingunguto* which means "painful inflammation of the joints of the fingers or painful ingrown fingernail" (Panganiban, 1972, p. 512). As shown in Figure 1, spasm and cramp are both pains experienced in the muscle and the sensations in this area seem to have a theme of gripping or tightening, as in *pinipiga* 'spasm' and *pinupulikat* 'cramp.' On the other hand, inflammation is experienced in the mouth and the fingers, and its sensations are *maga* 'inflamed' (Panganiban, 1972) and *namamaso* 'burning hot.' The differences of these three supports the concept of pain as having a variety of experiences, i.e., pain is experienced differently.

From this presentation, the semantic network reveals and confirms that in Tagalog language, the experience of *sakit* varies according to which sensations in particular are being endured by the sufferer. This makes the general term *sakit* which means 'pain' (Panganiban, 1972) to become vague in a statement, as it does not specify how exactly is the painful experience. In other words, the pain that one sufferer endures and expresses is different from the pain of another sufferer. Apart from that, the sensations of pain also appear to be dependent on the location of occurrence and the cause of pain, which is also another reason for pain to have a variety of experiences. Overall, this finding suggests that *sakit* is not a single sensation. Instead, it is a complex concept that could not be completely expressed, described, and understood by others by solely stating that something is painful.

#### 4.1.2 *Sakit* is caused by external and internal factors

The concept of *sakit* extends to the causes of pain. In this section, the different conditions or factors encoded in the Tagalog language that cause a painful sensation to occur in the body are discussed. Figure 1 reveals that the wide range of causes of *sakit* are mainly external to the body. Primarily, pain occurs in the body due to accidents (i.e., events not intended by the sufferer) as shown in the semantic network, such as *paso* 'burns,' *bali/pilay* 'sprain/dislocation,' *aksidente* 'accident,' *nadapa* 'to fall,' *kaladkad* 'dragged,' and *bugbog*

'beating,' among others. Examples for these are the Tagalog terms *ungab* that means "falling down and hurting the chin" (Panganiban, 1972, p. 1013) and *mugmog/bugbog* that denotes "swollen and painful due to mauling and beating" (Santos, 1978, p. 1291). Secondly, pain is inflicted by objects in the environment like *sabon* 'soap,' *usok* 'smoke,' *mabahong amoy* 'bad odor,' and *lamig* 'cold (weather/temperature).' The Tagalog pain term *balis*, for example, signifies that *sakit* is present in the stomach due to bad odor (Panganiban, 1972). Apart from the objects in the environment, illnesses that invade the body's immune system are also external factors which inflict pain to patients. There are different Tagalog pain terms that show the cause of illness to pain, one of them being the term *pamiol* which is pain in the bones of a syphilitic (Panganiban, 1972), thus pointing to syphilis as the cause. There is also the term *sunip* which is an itchy eyesore (Panganiban, 1972), as well as *singaw* or *gisaw* which are both sore in the mouth due to high fever (Panganiban, 1972). These terms show that *sakit* occurs due to illnesses like a sore or inflammation, syphilis, and high fever, among others. Lastly, *sakit* can also be caused by factors internal to the body such as *hangin* 'gas' as in the Tagalog term *kabag* 'gas pain' (Panganiban, 1972; Santos, 1978), *pawis/pagpapawis* 'sweat/sweating' as in the term *hima* which is a pain in the skin due to sweat (Panganiban, 1972), and *ngalay/manhid* 'numbness' that causes cramps or spasms as in the term *pulikat* 'cramp.'

Overall, it can be concluded that the factors which cause pain in the body are both external and internal. The former is an invader as it is an alien to the body which enters and violates it, therefore causing unpleasant changes and sensations. The latter on the other hand is an actor of pain found residing inside the body that also causes painful violations in it.

## 4.2 Pain Language of Tagalog: Expression, Function, Perception, and Experience

As already discussed in Section 2.3.2, Halliday (1998) believes that the construction and production of language is based on what needs to be revealed by the speaker. He claims that language construes daily experiences as configurations of linguistic elements, especially as major grammatical classes. This supported his grammar of pain framework (see Table 1) which was already used in the study of Greek and Thai pain languages (Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002; Patharakorn, 2010). In this section, Tagalog language of pain is also analyzed with Halliday's framework to determine the language consultants' experience and perception of pain based on their structural configuration of pain terms. Table 2 below clearly shows that pain in Tagalog language is primarily construed as a process, realized through verbal constructions of pain terms.

As shown in Table 2, the most frequent configuration of pain terms is through verbal constructions with a 45.87% total frequency of occurrence. This means that the construal of pain as a process, realized through verbal constructions, has the most frequency of occurrence throughout the whole course of the elicitation process. As presented in the table, this type of construal is favored both by male and female consultants of around the same age. On the other hand, construal of pain as a quality and as an entity, realized through adjectival and nominal constructions respectively, comes

**Table 2**  
*The Construal of Pain in Tagalog Language*

| Type of Construal | Male   | Female | Total  |
|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Process           | 51.69% | 42.92% | 45.87% |
| Quality           | 28.81% | 27.47% | 27.92% |
| Entity            | 19.50% | 29.61% | 26.21% |

The frequency of occurrence is from all of the sentence data sets.

next with a close total of 27.92% and 26.21% frequency of occurrence respectively. Since there is only a 1.71% difference, the present study concludes that these last two types of construal belong at the same level. Overall, this presentation means that Tagalog language construes pain primarily as a process, and secondarily as a quality and as an entity. In Lascaratou and Hatzidaki's (2002) continuum of pain language functions, the preference of Tagalog to construe pain as a process means that the function of Tagalog pain language is primarily in the expressive side of the continuum as verbal constructions profile pain as a holistic experience thus expressive. Those in the adjectival and nominal constructions, on the other hand, are more in the descriptive side.

The Tagalog construal of pain is significantly different from the previous studies of pain languages such as English (Halliday, 1998), Greek (Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002), and Thai (Patharakorn, 2010), as shown in Table 3 below. This implies and confirms that pain is experienced differently according to language and culture.

**Table 3**  
*The Construal of Pain in Tagalog Compared to Other Pain Languages*

|                   | Tagalog                      | English      | Greek        | Thai         |
|-------------------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Primary           | As a process                 | As an entity | As a process | As a process |
| Secondary         | As a quality<br>As an entity | As a quality | As an entity | As an entity |
| Lastly/Marginally | —                            | As a process | As a quality | As a quality |

These findings are discussed further below. The discussion is divided into three parts: first, pain as a process in Tagalog, then pain as a quality in Tagalog, and lastly pain as an entity in Tagalog.

#### 4.2.1 Pain as a Process in Tagalog

According to Halliday's (1998) framework, pain is construed as a process when it is configured as a verb (Patharakorn, 2010). Based on the analysis of Tagalog pain language, it is found that Tagalog primarily construes pain as a process. In that, all consultants of the study, both male and female, favored configuring the pain terms as a verb. Sentences in (1) and (2) below are examples representative of how the consultants

construe pain as a process.

- (1) a. Nabalis ka  
stomachache(v.pass) you(n)  
'You were inflicted with stomach pain.'
- b. Binabalis na naman ako  
stomachache(v.pass) again(adv) again(adv) I(n)  
'I am suffering from stomach pain again.'
- (2) a. Ginagamit 'yan sa sugat na kumikirot na nagnanana na.  
use(v.pass) that in wound(n) that ache(v.act) that pus(v.act) already(adv)  
'That is used in wounds that are aching with pus already coming out.'
- b. Umaantak 'yung sugat mo.  
ache(v.act) the(n) wound(n) your  
'Your wound is aching.'
- c. Sumasakit na naman ang tiyan ko.  
pain(v.act) again(adv) again(adv) the(n) stomach(n) my  
'My stomach is aching again.'

First, pain as a process in Tagalog is constructed with verbal affixes attached to the word base, which is the pain term. The affixes vary according to voice and aspect. Second, as shown in (1) and (2), the pain verbs are configured differently according to voice. In (1), the term *balis* which means stomach pain due to bad odor (Panganiban, 1972) is constructed in the passive voice *na-* and *-in-* affixes. In (2), *antak*, *kirot*, and *sakit* which are all synonyms meaning 'pain' (Panganiban, 1972) are constructed in the active voice both in the perfective and imperfective aspects with the *-um-* affix. The voice of the verbs are telling of the pain experience of the sufferer. In (1a) for example, the sentence *Nabalis ka* suggests that the subject *ka* is a passive participant in the experience. This means that the pain is inflicted to the subject, and the subject has no contribution to the experience. This is the same for the sentence *Binabalis na naman ako* in (1b), wherein the passive voice construction also suggests that the sufferer *ako* has no other role apart from being a passive participant. This interpretation is also verified by the definition of Panganiban (1972) and by the language consultants themselves. Panganiban (1972) defines *balis* as pain caused to the sufferer by bad odor, while the consultants define it as pain inflicted by another person, particularly a hungry person who greets another and causes the latter pain.

In (2) on the other hand, the active voice construction in the sentence *Umaantak yung sugat mo* suggests that *sugat* 'wound' is an active participant in the experience, possibly an actor in the process. This means that the wound can be the experiencer or the inflictor of pain to itself. Santos (1978) and the definition provided by the consultant also verify this interpretation. The former defined it as if the pain is owned or caused by the wound, as in "stinging pain of wounds or cuts" (p. 60), while the latter explained the word as "ginagamit sa sugat na kumikirot (used in wounds of stinging pain)." Other

than that, active voice may also mean an active experience for the subject of the sentence, as in sentence (2c). Here, the subject *tiyan* 'stomach' is the one that is hurting, and as the active experiencer the pain is felt only by this area and not by the entirety of the self. This is discussed further in the coming paragraphs. In the meantime, more examples are presented in sentences (3) and (4) below.

- (3) a. Nakainom ako ng tubig, nangilo ang ngipin ko.  
 drink(v.act) I of water, toothache(v.pass) the(n) teeth my  
 'I drank cold water, my teeth ached.'
- b. 'Pag nangilo ka, parang may mababasag.  
 when toothache(v.pass) you, like have break(v.pass)  
 'When you experience pain, it's like something will break.'
- c. Itigil mo nga 'yang ginagawa mo, nakakangilo sa  
 stop(v.pass) you are please that do(v.pass) your, toothache(v.pass) to  
 tenga.  
 ears  
 'Stop what you are doing, it hurts my ears.'
- (4) a. Humihilab 'yung tiyan mo.  
 stomachache(v.act) the(n) stomach your  
 'Your stomach is aching.'
- b. Ano ba 'yan, humihilab na naman 'yung  
 what (int.part) that stomachache(v.act) again(adv) again(adv) the(n)  
 tiyan ko.  
 stomach my  
 'What? My stomach is aching again.'
- c. Pero mga normal na bata, hinihilab din.  
 but SG normal even child, pain(v.pass) also  
 'But even normal children also suffer from stomachaches.'
- d. Sumala 'yung buto mo, ipahilot mo.  
 dislocate(v.act) the(n) bone your, massage(v.pass) your  
 'Your bone dislocated, have it massaged.'

The sentences in (3) are similar to the sentences in (1) wherein passive voice of the verbal constructions implies that the pain is inflicted by a certain condition, which as stated in (3a) is the cold water. The subjects show no contribution to the experience except to endure. In (4a) and (4b), the active voice configuration signifies the active participation of the stomach in the *hilab* experience. *Hilab* is a stomach pain due to distention, gas, spasm, or movement of the fetus inside during pregnancy (Panganiban, 1972; Santos, 1978). Thus, when it is configured as active, the stomach is perceived as the one in action—the one causing the distention or the movement. On the other hand, when *hilab* is configured in the passive voice as in (4c), the pain in the stomach is

perceived to be inflicted to the sufferer by something else. In this case, the stomach of the sufferer experienced pain that may be inflicted by its convulsion or by gas (Santos, 1978). In pregnancy, the pain would be inflicted by the fetus inside (Santos, 1978). Lastly, in (4d), it is the bone that is moved out of its place causing the pain, therefore, it also has active participation like in *hilab*.

The active and passive voices of the verbal constructions in sentences (1–4) reveal the kinds of painful experiences that the sufferers endure, particularly the degree of their involvement in the experience. From this set of data, it can be claimed that there are active and passive participation by the subjects of pain. In an active participation realized through active voice configuration (e.g., *-um-*, *mag-* affixes), the subject is an active participant and thus an actor and experiencer to the experience. On the other hand, passive participation realized through the passive voice (e.g., *na-*, *-in-* affixes) of verbal constructions, implies that the pain is inflicted to the subject by something else, and the subject has no active contribution to the experience and only an endurer of the pain. However, what or who are the subjects or the participants in these experiences?

In Halliday (1998), the subjects of the pain experience were analyzed to locate the pain within the self, and to understand how the pain is experienced by the sufferer. For example, what is the difference between *I have a headache* and *my head hurts*? For Halliday, the preference of the speaker between these two sentences are telling of their pain experience. By favoring the first sentence, the subject of pain is revealing that they are the setting in which pain takes place. Thus, it is their entirety who experiences the ache. The preference of the second sentence on the other hand reveals that it is not their self who is in pain but the head. He stated, “In these wordings, the ache is construed as a process rather than a thing, and the entity involved in that process is not me but my head” (p. 4). In the present study, the analysis of the subjects of the sentence data further reveals the participants and their involvement in the pain experience in Tagalog language.

The examples cited above show that the pain verbs have two possible subjects: (a) the specific body part and (b) the self. About the former, sentences (2b), (2c), (3a), (3c), (4a), (4b), and (4d) above show that the subject or experiencer of the pain verbs *umaantak*, *sumasakit*, *nangilo*, *humihilab*, and *sumala* are body parts, specifically the *sugat* ‘wound,’ *ngipin* ‘teeth,’ *tenga* ‘ear,’ *tiyan* ‘stomach,’ and *buto* ‘bone.’ This is unlike Thai (Patharakorn, 2010) which cannot take a body part as a subject and instead takes an impersonal ‘it’ to construe pain as a natural phenomenon.

The semantics of these Tagalog pain verbs (except for *sumasakit*) already specify the location of pain where it occurs in the body. However, it is observed that the subjects they take still depend on their voice configuration. Most verbs, when configured in the active voice, require the subject to be the body part. As verified by the speakers, it is semantically incorrect for the active voice constructions in (5) and (6) to take a person as their grammatical subjects. The passive voice construction of most pain verbs, in contrast, is less strict, as it can take either the entirety of the self as the subject or specify the part as shown in the sentences of (1), (3), and (4c).

- (5) # Sumasakit na naman ako.  
 pain(v.act) again(adv) again(adv) I  
 'I am aching again.'
- (6) # Ano ba 'yan, humihilab na naman ako.  
 what (int.part) that pain(v.act) again(adv) again(adv) I  
 'What? I am aching again.'

Regardless of the voice configuration, when verbs take the parts of the body as their grammatical subjects, it signifies that the pain experience is limited and restricted only to these areas and not to the whole of the self. It clarifies, for example, that it is the stomach and not the person which is the actor or experiencer of *humihilab*, as it is within the abdomen that pain occurs due to its movement. In another example, the pain is endured by and inflicted to the teeth which is the passive participant and not the person themselves.

In terms of the latter, the subject of pain can also be the self, apart from the body part, as shown in (1), (3b), and (4c). In (1), pain is inflicted to and felt by the entirety of the person as realized through the personal pronouns *ka* 'you' and *ako* 'I.' In (3b) and (4c), it is the subjects *ka* 'you' and *bata* 'child' who are the sufferers of pain respectively. Here, by taking a person as a subject, the pain verbs reveal that these experiences are not restricted only to one specific area in the body. Instead, while there is pain in this area as encoded by the semantics of the pain terms, the pain experience is inflicted to and suffered by the entirety of the self as well.

In conclusion, pain as a process in Tagalog reveals the subjects' degree of participation as well as its kind of experience. First, the voice of the verbal construction reveals whether the subject is an active or passive participant to the experience of pain. If the voice is constructed as active, the participant has an active contribution to the experience. If it is passive, it implies that the participant is also passive; they may only be an endurer of the painful sensation inflicted upon them. This degree of participation of the subject reveals whether the sufferer of pain has an active or passive experience. Secondly, the voice configuration of pain verbs demands their grammatical subjects. Active voice configuration mostly demands its subject to be the body part, while passive voice configuration mostly takes both the body part and the self as subjects. Lastly, the subjects of pain as a process in Tagalog reveal the location and restriction of the pain experience within the body. These two subjects are (a) the specific body part and (b) the self. It is found in this study that the body part, as the grammatical subject of the verbal construction, implies that the pain experience can be located in, and is limited and restricted to, that specific area. However, when the subject taken by the pain verb is the self, realized by person pronouns and nouns, the pain is implied to be experienced within the overall self of the person, and not restricted to one certain area of the body.

#### 4.2.2 Pain as a Quality in Tagalog

Pain as a quality, in Halliday's (1998) framework is worded as an adjective. Unlike in Greek (Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002) and Thai (Patharakorn, 2010) in which pain as

a quality was not discussed as it occurred only marginally, in Tagalog this construal occurred secondarily along with pain as an entity. The construction of Tagalog pain as a quality is through the *ma-* adjectives, which Schachter and Otnes (1983) and De Guzman (1996) defined as having an abundance or characterized by what is expressed by the noun or the base. In this construction, the pain terms, which serve as the word base, are attached with the adjectival *ma-* affix. In the present study, the adjectival construction of pain only applies to the three pain terms of *sakit* 'pain,' *kirot* 'stinging pain,' and *hapdi* 'excruciating pain.' Examples of these are represented by sentences (7), (8), and (9) below.

- (7) Mahapdi ang sugat ko.  
 pain(adj) the(n) wound(n) my  
 'My wound is painful.'
- (8) Kadalasan nagubublur 'yung paningin ko, na parang namumula na  
 often blur(v.act) the(n) vision my that like red(v.pass) that  
 makiroto.  
 pain(adj)  
 'Often my vision blurs, gets red, and is painful.'
- (9) a. Masakit siya na parang tinutusok na may something sa loob.  
 pain(adj) it that like pierce(v.pass) that have something in inside  
 'It is painful, as if something is piercing you and as if there is something inside.'
- b. Masakit ang pilay.  
 pain(adj) the(n) sprain  
 'The sprain is painful.'

As shown in these sentences, the pain experience is construed by the adjectival construction as a quality. This means that the pain, according to Halliday's (1998) framework, is a quality assigned to the part of the body that the pain adjective modifies. He stated that, in this case, the adjective functions, among others, as an epithet or an attribute. In the former, the adjective functions as a quality attached to the body part as in the phrases "a sore throat" or "my sore throat" (Halliday, 1998, p. 13). The latter, on the other hand, regards the pain adjective as a characteristic or a feature of the body part, as in "the stomach didn't seem to be particularly tender" (Halliday, 1998, p. 13). In terms of these two functions, the pain adjectives in Tagalog language functions as an attribute as shown in sentences (7), (8), and (9). Notice the resemblance of sentences (7) and (9) to sentence (10). Sentence (10) is cited from Schachter and Otnes (1983).

- (10) Maputi ang bulaklak.  
 white(adj) the(n) flower  
 'The flower is white.'

The sentences (7) and (9) are similar to that in (10) in which the adjectives are attributes of the subjects. The *maputi* 'white' in sentence (10) is an attribute of *bulaklak* 'flower,' while the painful quality in (7) and (9) are attributes of *sugat* 'wound,' of the experience referred to by *siya* 'it,' and of *pilay* 'sprain.' Thus, based on these data and configurations, the painful quality in Tagalog language becomes part of the body in the sense of an attribute, as in Halliday's framework.

The subjects of these sentences (7-9) signify that the possessors of the qualities of the Tagalog pain adjectives are only (a) the parts of the body (such as the wound or eye) and (b) the whole experience (realized by the pronoun 'it' and by *pilay* 'sprain'). As seen in (7) and (8), the pain characteristic is an attribute of the wound and of the eye (along with the blurry vision and the redness), respectively. The pain in (9a) on the other hand is an attribute of the pain experience in the ear, as realized by the pronoun *siya*, which in Tagalog corresponds and also functions as the English *it* (Schachter & Otones, 1983). Thus, the antecedent of *siya* in this example is the different experiences when pain occurs in the ear. As in the context of when the researcher asked if Consultant C already experienced pain in his ear, the consultant answered with the scenarios that caused his ear to hurt. The researcher then asked how the pain in his ear felt at that time, to which the consultant answered by referring to the experiences he just mentioned. Thus, his answer can be understood as "The experience of pain in the ear in those situations is painful." Finally, in (9b), the painful quality is an attribute of the sprain.

Overall, the subjects of the Tagalog pain adjectives are the parts of the body and the experiences in which pain occurs. Unlike in English wherein pain can be an attribute of the whole person as in "he's sore there, he's a bit more tender" (Halliday, 1998, p. 13), there is no adjectival construction in the Tagalog set of data that takes a person or a pronoun referring to a person as the subject, as in (11a), (11b), and (11c). The sentences in (11) are constructed by changing the subjects of (7), (8), and (9) into person pronouns. According to language consultants, these sound semantically incorrect. The third person *siya* 'it' and *sila* 'them,' however, can be subjects of the pain adjectives since the first also corresponds to the English neuter third person singular *it* (Schachter & Otones, 1983), while the second may be used to plural non-person antecedent. For an example, compare (11b) and (11d).

- (11) a. # Mahapdi ako.  
       pain(adj) I  
       'I am excruciatingly painful.'
- b. # Masakit sila (referring to people).  
       pain(adj) they  
       'They (people) are painful.'
- c. # Makirok ka.  
       pain(adj) you  
       'You are piercingly painful.'
- d. Masakit siya/sila (referring to a body part, e.g., leg/legs).  
       pain(adj) it/they

'It/they (referring to a body part, e.g., leg/legs) is/are sore.'

In conclusion, the *ma-* adjective configuration of the pain terms in Tagalog construes pain as a quality in the sense of an attribute, particularly of, and limited only to, a body part and the pain experience itself. This means that pain becomes a part of the body, similar to the 'white' as part of the 'flower' in (10).

#### 4.2.3 Pain as an Entity in Tagalog

The construal of pain as an entity also comes secondarily in Tagalog as it occurs as frequently as the construal of pain as a quality. Pain as an entity is linguistically realized as the underived forms of the pain terms (i.e., no verbal or adjectival affixes attached). The analysis of this construal reveals that pain in Tagalog can be: an undesired possession like in English (Halliday, 1998) and Thai (Patharakorn, 2010), the actor that causes pain, a noun modifier modifying the subject, or the subject of the sentences. Sentence (12) below represents pain as an undesired possession in which the subject is the possessor. In this construction, the nominal pain follows the Tagalog existential verb *may* 'to have,' as in *may balis* 'have *balis* (stomachache)' below.

- (12) *May mga tao kasi na may balis din.*  
 have PL people because that have stomachache(n) too  
 'Some people have stomach ache.'

Apart from being an undesired possession, pain as an entity in Tagalog also has the possibility to be the actor that causes pain in the body as shown by the pain term *kirot* in sentence (13). Here, *kirot* 'pain' is preceded with the phrase [*dahil*] *sa* 'due to' and modified by the adjective *sobra* 'extreme, too much' to mean 'due to extreme pain' or *due to too much pain*.

- (13) '*Pag pinulikat ka, para bang hindi ka makaunat sa*  
 when cramp(v.pass) you like (int.part) (neg) you stretch(v.act) due to  
*sobrang kirot.*  
 too much pain(n)  
 'When you cramp, it feels like you can't stretch due to too much pain.'

Moreover, pain as an entity in Tagalog also modifies its subject. In this construction, pain in Tagalog becomes an additional information to the pain experience, as in sentence (14a). Here, the term *kirot* 'stinging pain' modifies the subject 'level' to specify that it is its intensity that is being talked about. In (14b), the noun modifier *maga* becomes a characteristic of the subject *panga*, denoting that the jaw is swollen.

- (14) a. '*Yung level naman ng kirot, hindi naman gaano.*  
 the(n) level while of pain(n) (neg) (dim) much  
 'While the level of pain is not too much.'

- b. Maga ang panga mo kasi sumasakit ang ngipin mo.  
swollen(n) the jaw your because pain(v.act) the(n) teeth your  
'Your jaw is swollen because your teeth hurt.'

Lastly, pain as an entity in Tagalog also occurs as the subject of sentences as in (15) below. It can be intensified using the adjective *sobra* 'great' as shown in (15c) and by the intensifier *ang* (also the nominative marker) as presented in (15d). In the former, the adjective *sobra* and the nominative *ang* contracted, hence *sobrang sakit* 'the pain is too much.' In the latter, the pain adjective *makirot* 'painful' is nominalized due to the nominative marker.

- (15) a. Umiikot 'yung sakit, 'yung kirot, sa tiyan mo  
move(v.act) the(n) pain(n) the pain(n) in stomach your  
'The pain, the (stinging) pain moves around your stomach.'
- b. Tumatagal din ng isang minuto ang sakit niyan.  
last(v.act) also(adv) of one minute the(n) pain(n) of that  
'The pain of that also lasts for a minute.'
- c. Tumitigas siya kaya sobrang sakit niya.  
hard(v.act) it so too pain(n) its  
'It stiffens that the pain is too much.'
- d. Ang kirot naman ng sugat ko, parang pumipintig-pintig.  
the(n) pain(n) (adv) of wound my like tingle(v.act)  
'My wound is too painful; it feels like throbbing.'

In sum, unlike the construal of pain as a process and a quality in which pain is located within the self, the pain experience implied by its construal as an entity in Tagalog is that pain is detached from the body. Notice first the sentence construction of pain as an undesired possession. Although it is possessed, as realized by the existential verb *may* 'have,' it is constructed as a condition that is contracted by, but not part of, the self. This is due to the lack of the body's active relationship or connection with pain, that it appears to be only carried by the body, but is not part of the body, nor is it within the body. This is more directly implied in the finding of pain as the actor which causes the change in the body's state. Pain as its own actor implies that it is another agentive entity that is different from the body and therefore detached from the body and the self. The same can be said for pain as an additional information and pain as the subject of the sentence. In the former, pain is linguistically realized as a nominal modifier of the head noun, thus serving only as additional/complementary information or description of its head. In contrast, pain as the subject of the sentence projects the focus on its own experience, without the mention of the person experiencing it. It can be intensified with an adjective and an intensifier. This clearly shows detachment from the person and existing as its own entity.

### 4.3 Other Observations: Tagalog Metaphors for Pain

The scope of the present study is only within the concept and language of pain in Tagalog. The concept of pain is analyzed through a semantic network which represents the knowledge and concept structure of pain in Tagalog language (see Section 4.1). The language of pain in Tagalog, on the other hand, is analyzed with Halliday's (1998) and Lascaratou and Hatzidaki's (2002) frameworks on the grammar and function of pain language respectively, to understand the experience of the speakers through their utterances (see Section 4.2). However, in the middle of the data gathering and analysis, the researcher observed a high frequency of metaphor occurrence in the speakers' descriptions of their painful experiences. Although this is expected due to the claims of previous pain and language literature, the analysis of metaphors is not within the scope of the present study. Still, the partial interpretations regarding these metaphors are presented in this section.

The two initial observations regarding the speakers' use of metaphors to describe pain in many parts of the body are that (a) pain is a violent force or actor that violates the body, and that (b) pain is seen as an object or a person present in everyday lives. The following paragraphs and examples illustrate these two.

To describe the pain in the head, the metaphors used have something to do with violently splitting and breaking the head open such as in (16), and violently pulling the head or the insides of the head out such as in (17). These sentences show pain as a violent actor which causes change in the state of the head. Also, the following examples presented pain as objects present in everyday lives like a needle or a driller.

- (16) a. parang tinutusok ng karayom  
like prick(v.pass) by needle  
'as if being pricked by a needle'
- b. parang binabarena  
like drill(v.pass)  
'as if being drilled'
- c. parang binibiyak  
like split(v.pass)  
'as if being split'
- (17) a. parang humihiwalay ang utak sa ulo  
like detach(v.act) the(n) brain in head  
'as if the brain detaches from the head'
- b. parang may ugat na hinihila  
like have vein that pull(v.pass)  
'as if there is a vein being pulled'

The pain in the eyes is described as being taken out of its sockets by falling or by being violently scooped out. The vision is also described as blurry.

- (18) a. parang nalalaglag 'yung eyeball  
like fall(v.pass) the(n) eyeball  
'as if the eyeball is falling (out of the socket)'
- b. parang dinudukot 'yung mata mo  
like gouge(v.pass) the(n) eye your  
'as if your eye is being gouged out (of the sockets)'

The metaphors used for chest pain in Tagalog are described as something heavy that thumps, pounds, or pins down on the chest. Here, one example represented pain as a 12-year-old kid. Also, interestingly, there is one metaphor used by Consultant B that describes pain as a form of punishment (see 19c below). This is significant as it was observed by Selzer (1994) and Visser and Davies (2009) that pain is viewed in the past by many cultures as a form of punishment, repentance, redemption, and such.

- (19) a. parang sinuntok ng batang 12-year-old  
like punch(v.pass) by child 12-year-old  
'as if punched by a 12-year-old child'
- b. mabigat sa dibdib  
heavy(adj) in chest  
'heavy in the chest'
- c. Akala mo may kasalanan ka na hinahabol ka.  
thought you are have sin you that chase(v.pass) you  
'As if you are being chased for your sins.'

In terms of back pain, speakers use metaphors to describe it as something that pricks, pounds, or beats the back which causes an impact that penetrates through. In these metaphors pain is also heavy and impactful that burdens the back of the sufferer, as in (20c) which represented pain by a 10-kilo sack of rice to illustrate the heaviness.

- (20) a. parang sinuntok  
like punch(v.pass)  
'as if punched'
- b. parang tinutusok-tusok  
like prick(v.pass)-prick(redup)  
'as if being pricked'
- c. parang may pasan na 10 kilong bigas  
like have carry that 10 kilo rice  
'as if carrying a 10-kilo sack of rice'
- d. tumatagos hanggang dibdib  
penetrate(v.act) through chest  
'penetrating through the chest'

The pain in the stomach is described with metaphorical devices meaning bloated and twisting/moving as in:

- (21) a. parang bloated  
like bloat(v)  
'as if bloated'
- b. Parang namimilipit ka rin.  
like twist(v.pass) you too  
'It feels like you're being twisted too.'

The pain felt in the legs are described by metaphors which signify pulling, twisting, stretching the muscle as in (22). In contrast, the pain in the feet is described in two ways depending on the cause of pain as in (23). Here, the first pain is described as piercing, while the other is described as pulling. The causes of pain referred to in these sentences are high uric acid and cramps respectively.

- (22) a. Parang naninigas 'yung mga ugat mo sa binti.  
like stiff the(n) PL vein your in legs  
'The veins in your legs feel like getting stiff.'
- b. parang naextend 'yung daliri ng paa  
like extend(v.pass) the(n) finger of feet  
'As if the fingers in the feet are being stretched.'
- (23) a. parang tinutusok-tusok ng maraming pako  
like pierce(v.pass)-pierce(redup) by many nail  
'as if being pierced by many nails'
- b. parang may mga ugat na hinihila sa binti hanggang buong katawan  
like have PL vein that pull(v.pass) in leg through whole body  
'as if there are veins being pulled in the legs through the whole the body'

These metaphors provide the study with the following observations. First, pain is a violent actor or force which violates or causes painful changes in the state of the body. As presented from the metaphors used for pain in the head through the other parts until the feet, pain is seen as something that violates the body by splitting, breaking, pulling, twisting, or cramping its parts, among others. These sensations present similarities and differences with the sensations described by the semantics of Tagalog pain lexicon represented by Figure 1. For example, the eye in the semantic network is described as smarting and burning, while the metaphors describe eye pain as falling and as violently scooped out of the sockets. This difference may have been due to their causes of pain, which the semantic network revealed to affect the kind of sensation felt by the sufferer (see Section 4.1.1). On the other hand, the kind of pain felt in the head, chest, and feet are not described by their Tagalog terms, thus no assumptions can be made as to whether the semantic network and the metaphors used in these parts

agree. However, the pain in the stomach and legs seem to agree with the kinds of sensations presented by the semantic network. Figure 1 presents stomach pain as caused by *hangin* 'gas/flatulence' and by mesenteric movement, which explains the bloated and twisting/moving feeling of pain in this area. Figure 1 also presents that the pain in the legs have spasm and cramping qualities, which explains the twisting, pulling, stretching sensations described by the metaphors. Second, apart from pain as a violent actor, it is also seen as something or someone from the speakers' daily lives. Interestingly, whatever or whoever they represent in the metaphors help describe its intensity. As shown in sentences (16a) and (16b), for example, pain in the head is seen as a needle or a drilling device that pricks and penetrates the head to split or break it open. If the pain is represented as a needle, its intensity is seen as less intense than pain as a drill in that the former only pricks while the latter penetrates. The same interpretation applies to (19a), (20c), and (23a).

With these findings, it can be concluded that the metaphors used in Tagalog to describe the pain experience reveal that pain is perceived by Tagalog speakers as a violent actor or some invisible force that violates the body by causing painful changes in its state. It is found to be an invisible force since its sentence configuration did not specify the actor. Instead, it is expressed in the data set through the Tagalog existential verb *may* 'have' and followed by a verb such as 'pull' for example. This configuration results in the meaning of *may humihila* 'something is pulling'; this 'something' is the invisible force. Second, when the force is identified, pain as a violent actor is represented as the objects present in the daily lives of the speakers. The representation of pain also represents its intensity in the body. In this set of data, pain is a needle, a nail, a drill, a 12-year-old child, and a 10-kilo bag of rice. All of these represent different levels of pain intensities. Moreover, the use of metaphors depends on the sensation which is also influenced by the cause, as shown in the difference between (23a) and (23b). This provides the explanation as to why some of these metaphors agree or disagree with the sensations presented by the semantic network in Figure 1. In conclusion, the metaphors used by Tagalog speakers reveal the kind of pain sensation, its intensity, and how it is perceived. Thus, metaphors are great linguistic devices to translate and communicate pain. This observation agrees with Fabrega (1989) who claimed that pain and language have a close and inseparable relationship as the latter, along with culture, are crucial operating factors in the expression of the former. According to him, the influence of language and culture are salient in pain behavior and these can be traced back to what he called *secondary terms* which are pain descriptors with metaphoric qualification. These secondary terms used for pain expression are subject to linguistic- and cultural-specific constraints, meaning the metaphors and descriptors used to communicate pain also depend on the context, culture, and language of the speaker. This claim is also supported in the study of Bending (2006): the translation of pain into language is argued to be primarily through analogies or metaphors. She recognized that in linguistically expressing pain, metaphors or analogies are necessary as there is the impossibility of direct translation. Bending also recognized the complex nature and variety of pain, and therefore argued that the reality of pain cannot be fully conveyed through direct translation but through multifaceted approach. This argument shows that the experience of

pain that was deemed as inexpressible (Scarry, 1985; Selzer, 1994) can still be delivered by and translated into language through the indirect approach of analogy or narrative representation.

## 5 Conclusions and Recommendations

The linguistic study of the Tagalog pain concept and language is primarily motivated by the need to better understand and communicate pain particularly in doctor-patient settings. In that, although pain seems to be a universal human phenomenon, its concept, perception, and expression are governed by cultural and linguistic constraints (Fabrega, 1989; Wierzbicka, 2012).

In this study, the Tagalog pain concept and expression are delineated by analyzing the Tagalog pain language, particularly through semantic and syntactic analyses.

The semantic analysis and network representation of the Tagalog pain language reveals that in the concept of Tagalog, pain is not a single sensation nor is it a single meaning. It is a complex nature with a variety of experiences that vary according to sensations, locations, and causes. Thus, it is vague to state that something hurts, is in pain, or is painful. This finding is similar to the kind of pain presented in the literature review regarding its scope, in which the definitions of Visser and Davies (2009) and IASP (2020) presented pain as complex and has high dimensions with no single meaning and experience. Pain in Tagalog is also seen as an invader or an actor of pain which violates the body. This is according to the external and internal factors which inflict pain to the sufferers. This finding is somewhat similar to the interpretation of Visser and Davies (2009) regarding pain as “an evil punitive experience” (p. 29).

The qualities, locations, and causes of pain in Tagalog are presented in the semantic network in Figure 1. This representation suggests that the qualities of pain in Tagalog are unpredictable as it varies according to its locations and causes. Pain in the eye, for example, can be smarting, stinging, and burning if the cause is due to smoke or soap. If it is due to inflammation or infection, the quality of pain can be itchy. Muscle pain, on the other hand, shows gripping, tightening, tingling, and inflamed sensations. The first three sensations may be caused by beating and numbness among others. While, in the present set of data, inflamed sensations in muscle pain can be due to coldness. The locations of pain based on Tagalog language occurs anywhere in the body—eyes, wounds, muscles, head, stomach, and others. However, as presented in the syntactic analysis, it can also occur in the entirety of the self and to the experience itself.

It can be concluded that pain experience in Tagalog is construed primarily as a process (worded as a verb) and secondarily as a quality (worded as an adjective) or as an entity (worded as an entity). Similar to the finding of the semantic analysis, it is concluded that these types of construal reveal that pain in Tagalog has a variety of experiences and perceptions. Pain as a process reveals active and passive experiences of pain in Tagalog. Thus, the degree of involvement of the subjects in the experience also depends on whether the experience is active or passive. Pain can also be experienced as part of the body, when it is perceived, thus constructed, as an attribute of the body

part. This is realized through the construal of pain as a quality through adjectival construction, in which the possessors of the attribute are only either a body part or the pain experience itself (realized with *siya* 'it' as the subject). However, pain in Tagalog can also be detached or separated from the body when it is construed as an entity. In Tagalog, pain as an entity reveals that pain can be experienced as an undesired possession, an invader or actor of pain, an additional information, and its own agentive entity. Overall, in all of these construal, pain is experienced in these locations when the following are the subjects of the sentence constructions: in a specific body part, in the self, and in the pain experience itself.

The construal of pain by Tagalog language and the variety of pain experiences presented in the sentence-level analysis in the previous paragraph differentiates the Tagalog pain experience from other languages. English, Greek, Thai, and Tagalog are significantly different from each other in their preference of construing pain experience. This implies that speakers of different languages experience pain significantly differently. English primarily construe pain experience as an entity while Tagalog, Greek, and Thai primarily construe pain experience as a process. However, Tagalog, Greek, and Thai also differ significantly in their second preference of construal. The construal of pain as a quality in Greek (Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002) and Thai (Patharakorn, 2010) occurred only marginally, while in Tagalog, it occurred secondarily along with pain as an entity. Apart from that, the locations and actors in the construal of pain, realized as the subjects of the sentences, also vary according to culture and language. For example, in its construal of pain as a process, Tagalog takes body parts as a grammatical subject unlike Thai. When pain is construed as a quality, Tagalog does not take a person unlike in English, as in (11). This variation delineates the Tagalog pain concept and language. These findings confirm that there is indeed an interplay between pain and language. Therefore, to grasp more appropriately the experience of pain being shared by others, it is important that it is being understood according to the context of its own language.

Finally, the data of this study found that Tagalog speakers utilize metaphors as another way of expressing pain. In this finding, it can be concluded that pain in Tagalog is an invisible yet violent force that violates and changes the body. When it is not invisible, the metaphors show that pain is an object or a person present in the daily lives of the speakers. The representation of the metaphors also means the intensity of the pain experience. For example, pain viewed as a nail is less intense than pain that is identified as a drilling device. Lastly, the metaphors are also telling of the qualities of pain.

As presented by these findings, the concept, language, and experience of pain is culture- and language-specific. It suggests that there are some aspects of pain in one language that are non-translatable to another. Therefore, in the practice of identifying and treating pain, it is important to understand and assess it according to the context of its culture, setting, and, most especially, language. In other words, by having a conversation on pain with a patient, the gist of their pain experience can be deciphered by analyzing their preferred linguistic configuration. Understanding how the patients perceive their pain experience puts healthcare professionals in the positions of their patients which could help them with a clearer picture of the patients' experiences. More

importantly, it could help healthcare providers to know how to ask better questions about the pain, that is, questions that are intelligible to their patients. All in all, linguistic understanding of pain experience is proven to be important in breaking the possible communication barrier between healthcare providers and patients and in facilitating healthcare communications in doctor-patient settings.

The present study is among the first few studies of pain language in the Philippines. It provides a preliminary analysis of the Tagalog pain language, one of the major Philippine languages, to contribute a complementary perspective which could facilitate better healthcare communication about pain. There are still many areas in Philippine pain language research that need to be studied; among them are metaphors. It is recommended that future research further analyze the metaphorical devices utilized by the speakers since it is observed that speakers infinitely use metaphors for pain experiences that cannot be concretized with a pain term. Metaphors, as explained by Fabrega (1989), also vary according to culture and language. So, it is possible that the metaphors for pain in Philippine languages could also reveal the Philippine pain experience and concept. Culture and language influence the perception, experience, and expression of pain. Thus, pain cannot be appropriately assessed by using only the knowledge and language of Western biomedicine.

### **Acknowledgments**

The researcher would like to express her great appreciation and indebtedness to the following:

To Associate Prof. Jesus Federico Hernandez, my research adviser, who has always been so helpful, kind, supportive, and understanding throughout the research process.

To Prof. Michael Manahan, my adviser in my four years in UP, whose research inspired me to conduct this pain language research.

To my friend, Kyla Venice Lerio, who I can always count on.

To my language consultants who offered their help.

To my loving and ever-supportive family, especially my mom, Anie Jamindang.

Above all, to God Almighty, for His love, strength and wisdom.

## **6 References**

- Bending, L. (2006). Approximation, suggestion, and analogy: Translating pain into language. *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 36(1), 131–137. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3508741>
- Bourke, J. (2021). 'me' and 'my pain': Neuralgia and a history of the language of suffering. In *Encountering pain: Hearing, seeing, speaking* (pp. 255–268). UCL Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv15d8195.25>
- Bowern, C. (2008). Eliciting: Basic morphology and syntax. In *Linguistic fieldwork: A practical guide* (pp. 73–92). Palgrave Macmillan London. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230590168>

- Constantino, E. (2015). Ang “Universal Approach at ang wikang pambansa ng Pilipinas. *Daluyan: Journal ng Wikang Filipino Espesyal na Isyu*, 13–25. (Reprinted from *Filipino o Pilipino? Mga bagong babasahin sa pambansang wika at literatura*, by E. A. Constantino, R. Sikat, & P. D. Cruz, Eds., 1974, Rex Book Store)
- Crowley, T. (2007). *Field linguistics: A beginner’s guide*. Oxford University Press.
- Dallenbach, K. M. (1935). Somesthesia. In E. G. Boring, H. S. Langfeld, & H. P. Weld (Eds.), *Psychology: A factual textbook* (pp. 154–187). John Wiley & Sons. <https://doi.org/10.1037/13517-000>
- De Guzman, V. P. (1996). Lexical categories in Tagalog. *Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Language and Pan-Asiatic Linguistics*, 307–321.
- Fabrega, H., Jr. (1989). Language, culture and the neurobiology of pain: A theoretical exploration. *Behavioural Neurology*, 2, 235–259. <https://doi.org/10.3233/BEN-1989-2405>
- Ferber, I. (2019). *Language pangs: On pain and the origin of language*. Oxford University Press.
- Goddard, C. (2009). The natural semantic metalanguage approach. In *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199544004.013.0018>
- Gomez, M. F. C. S., Gomez, M. F. A. S., Gomez, M. H. S., Que, J. C., & Rosales, R. L. (2019). painDETECT questionnaire Filipino version: Transcultural adaptation and validation in two widely spoken regional languages (Tagalog and Cebuano). *Neurology Asia*, 24, 21–30.
- Halliday, M. (1998). On the grammar of pain. *Functions of Language*, 5(1), 1–32. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1075/fol.5.1.02hal>
- International Association of Study for Pain. (2020, July 16). *Iasp announces revised definition of pain*. <https://www.iasp-pain.org/publications/iasp-news/iasp-announces-revised-definition-of-pain/>
- Jonassen, D. H., & Reeves, T. C. (1996). Learning with technology: Using computers as cognitive tools. In D. H. Jonassen (Ed.), *Handbook of research for educational communications and technology*. Macmillan Library Reference. <http://members.aect.org/edtech/ed1/24/index.html>
- Katz, J., & Melzack, R. (2011). The McGill pain questionnaire: Development, psychometric properties, and usefulness of the long form, short form, and short form-2. In D. C. Turk & R. Melzack (Eds.), *Handbook of pain assessment* (3rd ed., pp. 45–66). The Guilford Press.
- Lascaratou, C., & Hatzidaki, O. (2002). Pain as process in modern greek. *Journal of Greek Linguistics*, 3(1), 53–82. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jgl.3.04las>
- Melzack, R., & Torgerson, W. S. (1971). On the Language of Pain. *Anesthesiology*, 34(1), 50–59. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00000542-197101000-00017>
- Melzack, R. (1975). The McGill pain questionnaire: Major properties and scoring methods. *Pain*, 1(3), 277–299. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-3959\(75\)90044-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-3959(75)90044-5)
- Merskey, H. (1994). Logic, truth and language in concepts of pain. *Quality of Life Research*, 3, S69–S76. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4035074>

- Nettleton, D. (2014). Data representation. In D. Nettleton (Ed.), *Commercial data mining* (pp. 49–66). Morgan Kaufmann. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-416602-8.00004-2>
- Panganiban, J. V. (1972). *Diksyunaryo-tesauro: Pilipino-Ingles*. Manlapaz Publishing Company.
- Patharakorn, P. (2010). *Pain language: A Thai case study* (Master's thesis). University of Queensland.
- Rubrico, J. G. U. (1998). *The metamorphosis of Filipino as national language* [Unpublished manuscript]. [http://languagelinks.org/oldsite/pdf/fil\\_met.pdf](http://languagelinks.org/oldsite/pdf/fil_met.pdf)
- Rui, L., Xinchun, S., & Cun, J. (2014). Pain-describing words and linguistic representation of pain experience. *International Journal of Knowledge and Language Processing*, 5, 1–11.
- Santos, V. C. (1978). *Vicassan's Pilipino-English dictionary*. Philippine Graphic Arts Inc.
- Scarry, E. (1985). *The body in pain: The making and unmaking of the world*. Oxford University Press.
- Schachter, P., & Otones, F. T. (1983). *Tagalog reference grammar*. University of California Press.
- Selzer, R. (1994). The language of pain. *The Wilson Quarterly*, 18(4), 28–33. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40259125>
- Sosa, K. E., Ravarra, P. D., Serra, M. A., Delfin, M. K. M., Lapid, N. C., Lee, Y. H., Perez, P. L., Reyes, E. B., Rosales, A. P., & Velasquez, S. K. (2021). Translation to Filipino and validation of the Victorian Institute of Sport Assessment Patella (VISA-P) questionnaire for patellar tendinopathy. *Philippine Journal of Allied Health Sciences*, 5, 28–38. <https://doi.org/10.36413/pjahs.0501.005>
- Sussex, R. (2009). Review article of Chryssoula Lascaratou's the language of pain. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 32(1), 6.1–6.14. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2104/ara10906>
- Visser, E. J., & Davies, S. (2009). What is pain? I: Terms, definitions, classification and basic concepts. In R. Riley (Ed.), *Australasian anaesthesia* (pp. 29–33). McKellar Renown Press.
- Wierzbicka, A. (2012). Is pain a human universal? A cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective on pain. *Emotion Review*, 4(3), 307–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1754073912439761>
- Wilson, D., Williams, M., & Butler, D. (2009). Language and the pain experience. *Physiotherapy Research International*, 14(1), 56–65. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pri.424>
- Wittgenstein, L. (1958). *Philosophische Untersuchungen* [Philosophical investigations] (G. E. M. Anscombe, Trans.; 2nd ed.). Basil Blackwell. (Original work published 1953)
- Woolf, V. (1994). *The essays of Virginia Woolf* (A. McNeillie, Ed.). Hogarth Press. (Original work published 1926)
- Yoon, K.-J. (2007). My experience of living in a different culture: The life of a Korean migrant in Australia. In M. Besemeres & A. Wierzbicka (Eds.), *Translating lives:*

*Living with two languages and cultures* (pp. 114–127). University of Queensland Press.

Yu, G. L. T., & Rosales, R. L. (2018). Filipino version of Penn facial pain scale: Phase 1 validation study. *Journal of Medicine, University of Santo Tomas*, 2, 136–154. <https://doi.org/10.35460/2546-1621.2017-0075>

# LF (Looking for) a Sociolinguistic Analysis of K-pop BNS Twitter in the Philippines

Gertrude Beatriz D. Lim

## Abstract

The global popularity of K-pop has meant a growing market and an increasing demand for idol (group) goods. K-pop fans have established a buy-and-sell or BNS community for merchandise on social media and even created their own jargon. This research specifically investigates the Filipino K-pop BNS group which has a notable presence on Twitter. It aims to produce a general profile of the members, to study their used and preferred language and communication style, and to analyze whatever linguistic influence on their transactions. Public tweets and online survey responses are examined for this study. It has been learned from these that the community is made up of people of different ages, socioeconomic backgrounds, and genders. Nonetheless, the common K-pop BNS participant would be a middle-class female young adult who collects merchandise. The members use English, Tagalog, and Taglish depending on their message and have varying attitudes towards each language and code-switching. Taglish is the norm, however, and their communication style is informal. The communication-related factors that affect transactions are found to be rudeness, overfamiliarity, and unclarity. These are reflected in the omission of some terms and the use of non-standard linguistic forms.

## 1 Introduction

The steady rise of Korean media and culture all over the world is unmistakable and palpable, with more content becoming accessible thanks to translators and streaming platforms and both local and international brands getting idols and actors as ambassadors. In the Philippines, K-pop and K-dramas are so popular that it is hardly surprising anymore to see billboards of Korean celebrities on EDSA, fan-organized cupsleeve events at coffee or milk tea shops, and a wide array of K-food products at grocery stores. These seem to be familiar sights at this point, and *Hallyu* or the Korean Wave in the country is more apparent than ever.

Focusing on K-pop, fans of this genre as a whole or of certain idols and groups attend concerts and fan-meetings and start an album or merchandise collection if they can. These activities naturally involve money and importing. However, physical stores for

official K-pop albums and goods in the Philippines can probably be counted on the fingers of one hand. Fans resort to ordering from South Korea- and Philippines-based websites directly by themselves or joining group orders (GOs) to save on shipping costs and to pay through convenient means. These are the typical ways fans are able to procure albums and merchandise.

But where can fans look first to find what is on their wishlist and build their collection? Veterans will most likely recommend a trustworthy shop or individual seller from Twitter. The said platform is a space for fans to interact with each other and their idols, but it is also a place for simple non- to low-profit trading of goods or conducting small- to large-scale businesses, even for non-official items. Twitter's 280-character limit for tweets and overall nature affect how the people communicate in this marketplace, however. For example, K-pop fans have jargon, most of which are acronyms. This research looks into the community of Filipino K-pop fans engaging in buy-and-sell (BNS) on Twitter and their linguistic behavior and preferences.

## 1.1 Background of the Study

The K-pop BNS community in the Philippines is not new, but it is relatively young. In the early 2000s, K-pop groups began to gain followers in the country (Vergonia, 2018). However, official merchandise was difficult to come by, and it was only during the 2010s that collecting became a possibility and a practice, with offline stores and online sellers starting to distribute merchandise (Gloria, 2021).

Fans would understandably want to be in possession of albums and idol goods which are "products or mementos that are manufactured to gratify the desires of fandoms and include the facial images of stars, such as on cups, towels, or souvenirs" (p. 4) as defined by Kim et al. (2018). Purchasing merchandise is a form of support, and just owning some type of it can reinforce fan identity. Collectible merchandise has already been suggested before to act as "an object for trade, nostalgia, and personal identity" (Geraghty, 2014, as cited in Xiong, 2020, p. 9).

On the topic of the K-pop BNS domain, it would have changed over time due to emerging social media and e-commerce platforms. Based on Statista (2022), the top five most used social media platforms here are Facebook, Facebook Messenger, Instagram, TikTok, and Twitter. Only Facebook and Twitter will be discussed in this section because these are arguably where K-pop BNS is thriving the most.

In contrast to Facebook, Twitter lacks an actual marketplace feature, although it once tested out a buy button and recently unveiled plans for "Live Shopping" and other e-commerce functions (Hoang & Rao, 2021; Miranda, 2021). Facebook users either follow pages, join groups or explore a literal marketplace where products on sale can be displayed the same way on shopping websites, and commerce profiles can be viewed. Pertinent information like the location of the seller and the option to turn on alert notifications are also available on Facebook. On the other hand, product listings on Twitter are generally seen by potential buyers when they purposefully search using the appropriate tags or keywords or when a tweet shows up on their feed as a retweet, quote retweet, or as a paid advertisement. To know more about the person one is transacting

with, referring to a pinned tweet where customer feedback and more are linked or visiting another website like Carrd which contains basic information may be necessary. It might seem inconvenient then for both buyers and sellers.

Yet because Twitter is home to K-pop stans, it is the ideal place for BNS. For context, the word *stan* originated from the American rapper Eminem who had a song with that title about an obsessive fan; and although originally a blend of stalker and fan, it has evolved semantically and undergone amelioration (Bellos, 2018; Holt, 2020). Stans are dedicated fans who are on social media, usually collectors of merchandise, and highly knowledgeable and updated about their idols; but they do not literally follow them around during unofficial schedules. The idea of a stan being a stalker is lost, which can help explain the term's widespread use today.

With the meaning of stan clarified, we can now go back to how Twitter is apt for BNS due to its function as a community space for K-pop stans. Basically, the target market is already there, and with tweets being public, these can easily gain decent engagement. On Facebook, K-pop BNS groups and posts tend to be private and regulated, whereas the opposite is true for Twitter.

In an article on Preen.ph, a local women's lifestyle website, K-pop BNS Twitter is described as a "sub-community of K-pop stan Twitter" and distinguished from other marketplaces with its offer of anonymity and opportunity for friendship (Cruz, 2022). K-pop BNS as a whole rests on the foundation of stan culture and the hobby of collecting so it can be said that between the buyer and seller, there is a sort of personal connection brought about by a shared interest. K-pop BNS can be further divided into sub-communities as well based on the same interview-formatted article. Every K-pop group has its own, and this is reflected in the existence of many BNS groups on Facebook and merchandise retweet (RT) bots on Twitter.

K-pop BNS is diverse not only because of the great number of K-pop groups but also the socioeconomic classes and age groups participating in it, which is something the researcher wants to look into more, as these variations would have an impact on language.

What is known about K-pop BNS language is that it has an expanding and predominantly English jargon. This is even put together by the community in dictionaries. Some examples are *payo* and *mod*, which stand for 'pay as you order' and 'mode of delivery' respectively. Acronyms and abbreviations are common presumably as the number of characters in a tweet must not exceed 280. A few terms and expressions may occur in other BNS contexts too, but that of K-pop would still have its unique vocabulary with the type of products being circulated in this marketplace.

Articles related to K-pop BNS focus on defining acronyms and calculating numbers, while studies on the fandom deal with economic, sociological, and political elements. This research strives to dissect the sociolinguistic aspects of the Filipino K-pop fandom on Twitter, its BNS subgroup to be specific. With Filipinos code-switching regularly, leading different lifestyles, and having cultural expectations, how all of this translates into their online interactions and transactions is interesting.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The researcher intends to find the answers to three questions which are as follows:

1. What are the background and the identity of K-pop BNS community members?
2. What kind of language can be observed on K-pop BNS Twitter?
3. Are the members' buying and selling decisions affected by the language used by the person they are interacting with? In what way and to what extent?

## 1.3 Research Objectives

This research aims to accomplish three objectives. The first is to identify and describe the K-pop BNS community on the social media platform Twitter. Therefore, the researcher considers some personal information, mostly with regard to socioeconomic status and K-pop BNS experience. The second is to examine the standard and preferred language and communication style of the members of this community in the context of their online marketplace. Whether the members use English or Tagalog or code-switch (Taglish) more is studied. The level of formality is additionally touched on. Lastly, the third is to determine the influence of language on the transactions between them. The researcher is interested in how the members' linguistic preferences tie into their choices to buy or sell an item.

## 1.4 Significance of the Study

This research is important as it can help people understand one facet of K-pop fandom subculture and language. K-pop fans are known to use jargon such as *bias* (favorite member of a group) and the like, but they have a set of terms and expressions reserved for buying and selling goods in particular. These do fall within the scope of the research.

Going beyond such jargon, the research concentrates on the use of English and Tagalog and the phenomenon of code-switching on K-pop BNS Twitter as explained in the previous section. It will thus prove to be of value to future researchers of these linguistic topics, not only of the K-pop fandom in the Philippines.

The research also explores Twitter as a unique online marketplace. The exchanges on K-pop BNS Twitter are different from those on other social media platforms and appear to be more personal and direct. This side of Twitter deserves to be studied.

## 1.5 Scope and Delimitations

The available resources and ethical factors were considered to easily narrow down the scope and decide on the limits of the study.

The researcher found that there are already community-made BNS "dictionaries" accessible on Twitter. Web articles likewise have lists albeit not as comprehensive. Thus, jargon is not the primary concern of this research. Not every existing term or expression is defined in the body. This study briefly discusses select common acronyms and

notes interesting or new jargon encountered in the data, but its focus is the overall language and the communication style in the context of a transaction. Nonetheless, a glossary developed from the tweets, articles, dictionaries, and survey data is provided (see Appendix).

Username are not examined in the paper either. Although these would make a good topic, one should keep in mind the privacy and anonymity of the community in question.

It should be noted here as well that no attempts to contrast Standard American English (SAE) and Philippine English (PE), which is assumed to be the variety dealt with in this study, are made. Lastly, tweets with words from Philippine languages aside from Tagalog are excluded.

## 2 Review of Related Literature

Presently, the information on K-pop BNS Twitter is limited, coming only from web articles which are cited in this literature review. However, works that have to do with the linguistic situation in the Philippines and the place of language in business are consulted and considered here as well. The discussion of the pertinent information in these makes up the first part of the section.

### 2.1 On the K-pop BNS Community, Its Culture and Language

This subsection sheds light on the culture and language of the K-pop BNS community. A number of acronyms have been integrated here and enclosed in parentheses.

Looking closely at who participates in K-pop BNS, many are young females (Cruz, 2022). Twitter's age requirement is 13 years old and above which means minors use the app. The community might consist of people as young as that.

Although a bit about merchandise has been mentioned in the beginning, it is further tackled here for a clearer picture of K-pop BNS. A variety of items are sold to fans of K-pop. The most collectable and in demand though would be the *photocards* (PCs) followed by the *albums*. Photocards are standard inclusions of albums but may also come with other merchandise or are preorder benefits (Gloria, 2022). These are normally random which encourages fans to buy more albums and have been compared to NBA cards (Gloria, 2021). If fans want a certain photocard, they can turn to traders or sellers who have it.

It has been pointed out that collecting is a hobby that a lot picked up over the pandemic as a way to cope and/or to beat boredom (Cruz, 2022; Gloria, 2022). Those on K-pop BNS Twitter are generally photocard collectors, a mix of newbies and the experienced, and they may be template collectors or "sparks" collectors (Cruz, 2022). What distinguishes them is whether they get all their bias' photocards or not. A template is a digital fan-made compilation of every officially released photocard of an idol. It serves as a checklist for collectors. Some collect everything there, whereas others focus on what would "spark joy" or cause *kilig*, which is a feeling similar to butterflies in the

stomach. The concept of *prio*, an abbreviation of ‘priority,’ is related to this. It is the photocard that a collector wants to have the most.

Because K-pop BNS forms a subset of the K-pop stan population, it can be fun but toxic, exhibiting *cancel culture* and misusing private information (Abad, 2022). In a Rappler article, these two negative practices of the community are expounded.

On K-pop BNS Twitter, threads detailing an issue with message screenshots and other supporting evidence are rather common, and people can be vicious in their comments. The reasons someone is canceled vary, but to name a few, scamming, item pricing, and poor packaging can put a person in a bind. Scamming is inexcusable, of course, and the threads related to it are for awareness. These are meant to warn others so they do not have bad transactions.

As for K-pop BNS pricing, it can be shocking to non-fans and non-collectors as photocards are sold for as low as two-digit prices to tens of thousands of pesos depending on demand, rarity, and origin among others; some are bought from fans abroad, typically residing in South Korea, Japan, and Thailand where the market price is different (Gloria, 2022). It is often debated by the community itself too. This is one reason why more people are learning about K-pop BNS.

Photocards can be *overpriced* (op) but still be bought. The buyer and the seller risk being criticized though. Member pricing is frowned upon also, but unfortunately, it is undeniable that certain group members’ photocards are not easily sold. Hence, to make up for possible financial losses or to avoid being *lugi* ‘(financial) loss,’ sellers decide to increase the price of the more in-demand photocards. Then, there is *bidding* which is a practice that not all community members approve of (Abad, 2022). The aforementioned observations on K-pop BNS indicate the diverse socioeconomic backgrounds of the community. Others can afford to sell at cost price or less, and well-off collectors can splurge and bid.

When it comes to packaging, what matters is its ability to protect the item yet whether it is aesthetic is important to some buyers; the inclusion of freebies similarly affects their satisfaction (Abad, 2022; Cruz, 2022). Packing and unboxing pictures and videos on Twitter and TikTok arguably have a part in the construction of the ideal package which should look cute or tasteful. While these are subjective adjectives, here is an example of what a photocard buyer might look forward to receiving: a photocard inside a topper that is decked with stickers or taped onto a card cut out from an official album photobook page, covered with colored heart bubble wrap, and finally placed in a carton box also containing many freebies and a thank-you note. Sellers with a *packing/package fee* (pf) on top of the item price are especially expected to beautify parcels and offer gifts. However, they ask for extra payment because even the basic and often less *aesthetic* materials (e.g., corrugated cardboard, card sleeve, bubble wrap, mailer) cost something; they cannot always shoulder the additional expenses.

Speaking of the actual materials used, this is where a positive characteristic of K-pop BNS comes in. The community is conscious of its activities having consequences on the environment. In the Preen.ph article, one interviewed collector comments on that (Cruz, 2022). Overall, the environmental concern is demonstrated by the people’s suggestions and efforts to invest in eco-friendly materials and to recycle as much as

possible.

On the misuse of information, this is connected to scams and threats (Abad, 2022). It pays to be careful when interacting with anyone online because the person on the other end is a virtual stranger who might not keep your information confidential and use it for bogus orders and other bad purposes.

To navigate K-pop BNS, it is imperative that one is familiar with its language. Perusing the relevant articles and community-made dictionaries, the following acronyms seem to be the most essential:

|     |                       |
|-----|-----------------------|
| wtb | want/willing to sell  |
| lfb | looking for buyer     |
| wtb | want/willing to buy   |
| lfs | looking for seller    |
| wtt | want/willing to trade |
| lft | looking for trader    |
| mop | mode of payment       |
| mod | mode of delivery      |

(Abad, 2022; acornragi, 2021; Perez, 2021; yonkaibnz, 2022)

Everything besides the last two explains what the poster intends to do with the item, and these terms hasten the search process or ideally do. Some community members may want a wider reach so they add tags despite not being applicable to the item. This is a bigger problem on Twitter than Facebook because in the groups, administrators monitor and reject posts with misused tags.

The list above only has English terms, but a small number of words are in Taglish. For example, *payo* can be *bayo* or ‘bayad as you order’ (Perez, 2021). Photocards are alternatively called *papels* (Abad, 2021a). It is a clear combination of the Tagalog word for paper *papel* and the English pluralizer *-s*. Another would be *kilabot line*, and while *kilabot* means ‘goosebumps,’ this has been described to be “a term of endearment that Filipino fans use to refer to the more popular members of a specific group” (Abad, 2021a, para. 21). These members’ photocards also quickly sell out, regardless of the price. *Pi* is one more interesting word that exclusively occurs in the K-pop BNS context; it is a misspelled version of the Tagalog respect or politeness marker *po* (Cruz, 2022). Such terms evidence the linguistic background and creativity of the community.

## 2.2 On Bilingualism/Multilingualism and Code-switching in the Philippines (Oral and Digital)

In consideration of the second research objective which is to study the language on K-pop BNS Twitter, literature about the Philippines’ linguistic situation is reviewed.

In a country where there are 186 native languages, with two having gone extinct (Eberhard et al., 2022), the notion that society would be bilingual or multilingual is easy to grasp. They would need to know a lingua franca besides their mother tongue at

some point in their lives. This is usually Filipino, the national language also commonly referred to as Tagalog.

Tagalog and English, another official language, are widely spoken and mixed as can be observed in the streets, institutions, and mass media. The K-pop BNS terms cited in the previous section are proof of this too. According to Bautista (2004) who has extensively studied this code-switching phenomenon, Taglish is “the language of informality among middle-class, college-educated, urbanized Filipinos” (p. 226) and has the functions of building rapport and signaling solidarity. It can be deficiency- or proficiency-driven, meaning people code-switch to make up for the lower competence level in one of the two languages or to take advantage of their command in both and maximize “communicative efficiency” (Bautista, 1999, as cited in Bautista, 2004). This, she explains through function words, content words, idioms, and linguistic play. To add, a much older work, that of Goulet (1971, as cited in Bautista, 2004), states that code-switching is done for “for precision, for transition, for comic effect, for atmosphere, for bridging or creating social distance, for snob appeal, and for secrecy” (p. 228).

Diving into the more technical aspects of Taglish code-switching, Bautista (1980, as cited in Bautista, 2004) conducted a study on radio broadcast interviews and discovered that the points of switching involve structural convergence. Essentially, similarity and compatibility are necessary. When the structures of the two languages have something in common, switching is permitted. She also mentions the need to identify the base language through word order and major and minor constituents.

Bautista (2004) revisits these concepts, looking at them from the more recent and fleshed out perspectives of Poplack and Sankoff (1988) and Myers-Scotton (1998) on code-switching. She notes that “switching at equivalence points” and “smooth switching” are the terms that the first two aforementioned scholars use for the convergence-rooted switches she previously described. From Myers-Scotton, it is the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model which Bautista remarks on. The matrix language that serves as a grammatical frame corresponds to the base language in her dissertation, and she admits that system morphemes are more telling indicators than major and minor constituents.

Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model (1998) is also relevant, and with this, a return to sociolinguistic motivations is made. Under this framework, five maxims guide the speakers’ code decisions. To simplify and summarize these, there are the *marked* and *unmarked* maxims applied by speakers when they reinforce or deviate from certain rights and obligations. An *exploratory choice* is available as well, in which switching is done on the occasion of ambiguity with respect to the unmarked choice. The last two maxims are *deference* and *virtuosity*. The former is rather self-explanatory, with positions and context influencing the expression of respect through a certain code. The virtuosity maxim pertains to sustaining and encouraging speaker participation. Now, to differentiate the *marked* and *unmarked* codes, the latter would have higher frequency and therefore be the expected choice. Markedness is about divergence in the linguistic sense. In the case of the Philippines, Taglish is believed to be unmarked as opposed to straight English or Tagalog (Bautista, 2004; Sanchez, 2013; Smedley, 2006).

Because this research deals with language on Twitter, it is important to understand

code-switching in the online context, and Dorleijn and Nortier (2009) have reviewed literature and written about this. They say that computer-mediated communication (CMC) is deemed informal; hence, the occurrence of colloquial forms and features of spoken language. It then makes sense that code-switching, likewise having an informal nature, is observed in CMC. Dorleijn and Nortier acknowledge also that since CMC is written, the author is conscious to an extent, and so code-switching's connection to identity can be brought to the fore. They mention the concepts of "we-code" and "they-code" that Gumperz (1982) proposed. These are for the insider and outsider or group distinctions. On markedness, they refer to the work of Hinrichs (2006) among others which analyzed English-Jamaican Creole exchanges and saw that English is unmarked in the digital sphere. That does not hold true for the CMC of Filipinos. Bautista (2004) identified the code-switching in the emails she looked at as unmarked, and Smedley (2006) had a similar observation and analysis for web blogs. In general, the literature has described Taglish as unmarked regardless of whether it is spoken, written, or CMC. With that said, considering the context is always necessary in order to determine what is marked or unmarked.

Delving into the language on Philippine Twitter, several studies have been done. Notable would be that of Andrei et al. (2015). Although it deals with tweets posted during Super Typhoon Haiyan and focuses on emotions as expressed through language, the findings can be of use. After all, both papers are concerned with data from the same social media platform and the use of English, Tagalog, and code-switching. With the help of Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) and other tools, Andrei et al. (2015) were able to collect a huge amount of data, around 1.2 million tweets, and from these, they learned what the Filipino people felt and talked about pre-, mid- and post-typhoon disaster in 2013. Their analysis aligns with that of Bautista (2004) in terms of the reasons behind code-switching, communicative efficiency. Their main argument though is that English is a "broadcast language," as well as a transnational one. Many of the English tweets were said to be from international users, and pre-typhoon ones were public service announcements. The tweets made after the typhoon communicated support and sympathy. By labeling English as a broadcast language, the authors seem to imply a heightened awareness of an audience. On the other hand, Tagalog or Filipino as they prefer to call it is a "visceral language," as it facilitates emotional and cultural expression, highlights the connection to home, and exudes nationalism.

This research analyzes the language of a fan community and presumes its passionate character manifests in how they communicate. However, given that the primary activity is BNS in which the market is fundamentally the audience, English may be the preferred medium.

### **2.3 On Language and the Marketplace**

Because BNS is a form of business, works on the language of marketing and advertising would still provide valuable information.

Dayag (2008) studied 74 ads for non-consumer durables from the *Corpus of Asian Magazine Advertising: The Philippine Database* and observed a tendency to employ par-

ticular structures and linguistic features in these. Dayag presents the following structures:

- Identifying Product Name/Features + Citing Positive Benefits;
- Creating a Need/Purpose + Recommending Course of Action;
- Describing Company/Product + Identifying Product Name;
- Creating a Need + Identifying Product Name; and
- Giving Reason/s for Buying + Citing Positive Benefits (or Cause + Effect)

The linguistic features include introducing, lexical novelty, lengthy noun phrases, code-switching, and speech acts. Dayag states that even though only 12 ads demonstrated Taglish code-switching (both inter- and intra-, and interchanged matrix languages), they were for different product types. Regarding speech acts, it is assertives and directives that appeared. Dayag says that the ads “reason,” alluding to the typology of Simpson (2001). Rather than “tickle” or indirectly attract buyers through humor, emotion, and mood, the ads have to do with rationalizing. Despite that analysis, Dayag brings up Tanaka’s (1994, 1999) concept of “covert communication” and the turn to informative, persuasive tactics that involve manipulating the language.

K-pop BNS may differ in this respect with the motivation for a purchase being the desire to complete a collection. Moreover, on Twitter, the lengthy noun phrases are not appropriate due to the character limit. However, code-switching is relevant, and perhaps, so would the use of directives in print ads. The generic structures that Dayag lays out in his work can be helpful for when the K-pop BNS tweets are examined as well.

From Pogacar et al. (2018) is an illuminating and concise chapter that references many researchers and describes how marketing language affects brand attitudes and choice specifically. The linguistic devices they write about are plenty, but the focus here would be assertive language, politeness, bilingualism, and code-switching.

For the first, Pogacar et al. suggest to hedonic brands the use of such as it has been found to be more persuasive. Hedonic products are “associated with experimentation, enthusiasm, satisfaction and pleasure, typically leading to emotional gratification” (do Vale and Matos, 2016, p. 224), and K-pop merchandise would belong to this category. When people are in a positive mood, assertiveness is preferred (Pogacar et al., 2018). It would then be believable that the language in K-pop BNS reflects that.

Politeness is also a step forward in persuading consumers to pay for a product (Pogacar et al., 2018). A request communicated in the way a listener expects it to be is more likely to be fulfilled. The authors mention dispreferred markers as an example since they can demonstrate politeness and etiquette and improve attitudes towards the speaker and product, resulting in a sale. People who looked at reviews with these markers preceding negative information were willing to pay more compared to when the softening words or phrases were absent. However, politeness in the Philippines

is first seen in the usage of the markers *po* and *opo*. These would have an effect on consumers which is similar to that of dispreferred markers.

On bilingualism, what Pogacar et al. (2018) say is that the native language has a significant link to sentiment and the self overall, therefore positively influencing a consumer's attitude and behavior. This actually reiterates the "visceral language" idea of Andrei et al. (2015) despite the varying context. For code-switching though, valence and direction make a difference. For example, between Spanish and English, the association with affluence would be pinned to the latter. Thus, when the ad switches from Spanish to English, the attitude tends to be better than the reverse situation.

Finally, for communication style in social media marketing, the research of Deng et al. (2020) is important. They analyzed the language used in nearly 6000 Facebook posts of 42 brands and the consumer engagement (likes, comments, shares). They referred to the communication accommodation theory (CAT) and considered the linguistic styles of informality, emotionality, complexity.

CAT relates to bridging or widening social distance, and it can be split into the strategies of convergence and divergence (Giles & Ogay, 2007). Convergence involves adapting with the aim of similarity in terms of communicative behavior whereas divergence is about emphasizing differences. The former strategy is generally associated with positive evaluation, efficiency, and cooperation. How does this fit into the study? Again, CMC is largely informal or casual (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009), and Deng et al. (2020) initially proposed that the brands' consumer engagement would improve when they choose to accommodate that linguistic style. However, they found that it did not have much of an impact possibly because of the consumers being accustomed to informality already. Meanwhile, emotionality is significant when the like count is examined. More consumers liked posts which expressed positive emotionality. The last factor of complexity is something to mind also. The more complex the post, the less engagement it receives.

Deng et al. (2020) used LIWC for emotionality and measured informality and complexity based on the features below (which were adopted from other researchers):

- Informality
  - Percentage of emojis
  - Percentage of contractions
  - Percentage of informal punctuations
  - Percentage of personal pronouns
- Complexity
  - Post length
  - Average sentence length
  - Long words (six characters or more)
  - Percentage of hashtags
  - Percentage of at-mentions

These findings and criteria are useful, as the research explores the communication style on K-pop BNS Twitter.

### 3 Research Methodology

The entirety of this research was done online because of the persisting COVID-19 pandemic. The data came from two sources: Twitter and a survey.

The researcher copied onto a spreadsheet 520 tweets and quote retweets made from January to March 2022 with the following acronyms: *wts*, *lfb*, *wtb*, and *lfs*. These were used in pairs as search keywords. *Kpop* (without a hyphen) and/or *PH* (the abbreviation of Philippines) were included as well for filtering purposes. The former excluded tweets from other fandoms, and the latter those from the international community.

The researcher also saved and examined 60 screenshots published from July 2021 to February 2022 by the public Twitter account @bnsstruggles. Tweets published in this account were submitted by the K-pop BNS community through direct message (DM) and anonymized by either the sender or @bnsstruggles when the content is originally part of private correspondence. The account states in its pinned tweet that it takes down a screenshot if any of the involved requests its deletion. Twitter threads, DMs, Messenger conversations, and Shopee chats are posted there, but only data from Twitter was collected.

The researcher organized and analyzed the screenshots mainly to determine the common languages and structures of K-pop BNS tweets. These were the references for the mock tweets and DMs needed in the survey. Terms and expressions that do not appear in the previously mentioned BNS dictionaries but occur in the data were studied too.

Equally vital as the first source of data is the survey created on Google Forms and shared on Twitter and Facebook. Ethical considerations led to the standard inclusion of the research and participation details and the question for consent at the beginning of the survey. These were no longer placed in another document. Although names were optional, emails were noted for the limiting of responses and the sending of personally filled-out forms. The total number of respondents reached 82, and they met the following criteria: (a) at least 18 years old; (b) living in the Philippines; and (c) has an active K-pop BNS account on Twitter.

To justify the age requirement, although minors are present on BNS Twitter based on the researcher's knowledge and consulted articles for this paper, they must first obtain their parent's or legal guardian's permission before answering the survey. The process would have been difficult and inconvenient for the respondents and their guardians, hence this decision.

For the third criterion, bearing in mind the respondents' indispensable exposure to and use of K-pop BNS language in the space it can be observed best, they should be using an account that is separate from their primary fan or stan account.

With closed and open-ended elicitation questions, the survey was designed to take roughly 20 to 25 minutes of the respondents' time and had four major sections: "Profile," "K-pop BNS Twitter," "Transactions," and "Language and Communication."

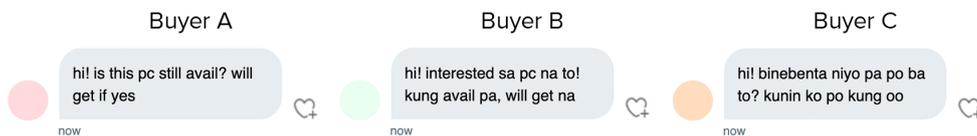
The respondents first had to provide personal data like their age, sex, occupation, languages, and monthly household income. In the succeeding section, the questions pertained to the respondents' K-pop BNS Twitter experience and estimated expenses on products and services including but not limited to photocards and delivery. This information contributed to the description of the group being researched. The third section focused on imagined transaction scenarios where the respondents acted as buyers and sellers and helped the researcher gauge language use and attitudes. They were shown simulated selling tweets and buying DMs (made with Fake Details Online Generator and TweetGen) and picked who they would interact with first out of three options.

**Figure 1**  
*Mock Selling Tweets in the Survey*



The tweets were identical for the most part. One short sentence that expressed highly similar meanings served as a distinction as seen above. Seller A used English exclusively, while Seller B and Seller C code-switched. However, Seller C's sentence has one more Tagalog word than Seller B's. The verb *get* was substituted with Tagalog *bilhin* 'buy.'

**Figure 2**  
*Mock Buying DMs in the Survey*



The buying DMs were different, with clearer language choices and a more personal approach. Buyer A's and Buyer C's DMs were completely monolingual, and Buyer B was the sole code-switcher in this case. Like with the selling tweets, some changes in meaning can be detected in the texts. Buyer B's DM lacks the explicit question regarding availability and the respect marker. Buyer C asked if the person is still selling the item. None of the phrases and sentences were literally translated and modified from English so as to avoid markedly unnatural constructions.

The respondents were asked to cite the reasons behind their selection, which would reveal language attitudes to a degree. Composing tweets and DMs of their own was another stage they passed in the same section of the survey. They were given prompts and situations where they inquired about a product and sent an offer to a potential buyer. The purpose of this elicitation activity was to have data demonstrating one-on-one communication in private (DMs), not only in public (tweets).

Lastly, the respondents answered a few more direct open-ended questions about the language on K-pop BNS Twitter, from styles to jargon. There was space for additional information in case they had anything else to share.

As a whole, this research is of a descriptive nature. The Twitter and survey data are analyzed in relation to the various models and theories in the literature review.

## 4 Key Findings and Discussion

In this chapter, the findings and analysis are presented together. Noteworthy tweets and screenshots are included, and the major results of the survey are summarized and explained. There is a subheading that addresses each of the three research problems. To simplify the content, the information here indicates who is part of K-pop BNS Twitter, how they verbally communicate, and what impacts their transactions. Remarks on language motivations and attitudes are also naturally incorporated for a rich discussion.

### 4.1 The Background and the Identity of the K-pop BNS Community

The survey revealed that the K-pop BNS community is dominated by young female merchandise collectors who belong to the middle class and speak Tagalog and English.

To discuss the participating age groups, the periods of development in other research (i.e., Simpson, 2018) are used as the primary reference:

**Table 1**  
*Age Groups of the Survey Respondents*

| Period          | Age Range         |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| Adolescence     | Puberty to 18     |
| Young Adulthood | 18 to 22 or 25    |
| Later Adulthood | Mid-20s and older |

Ninety-six percent of the respondents are young adults aged 18 to 24. The most common age is 18 followed by 20 then 19. The minority have already entered their later adulthood; the three oldest respondents are 28, 30, and 31 respectively. Adolescents comprise the community as well, however. According to respondents, they have seen minors on K-pop BNS Twitter, and the youngest is merely 9 years old. Given the leading age group, not to mention the presence of minors, it is logical that most respondents are students and are still dependent. The remaining older adults are employed professionals.

Regarding biological sex, the number of females is 78 while that of males is 3. One out of 82 preferred not to say. Relatively connected to this is who they stan. More respondents were found to collect merchandise of boy groups, although some girl groups were also in the data.

Shifting the focus to the socioeconomic status of the respondents, this research adapted the income classification/data from the Philippine Institute of Development Studies (PIDS) (Padillo, 2022). In the survey, the values were rounded up and adjusted appropriately. The following table shows how many respondents are part of households receiving a certain amount of income every month and their corresponding class.

**Table 2**  
*Income Classes of the Survey Respondents*

| Monthly Household Income   | Income Classification | Respondent Count |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Php 11,000 or less         | Poor                  | 15               |
| Php 11,001 to Php 22,000   | Low Income            | 14               |
| Php 22,001 to Php 44,000   | Lower Middle Class    | 14               |
| Php 44,001 to Php 77,000   | Middle Class          | 20               |
| Php 77,001 to Php 132,000  | Upper Middle Income   | 9                |
| Php 132,001 to Php 220,000 | High Income           | 5                |
| Php 220,001 and up         | Rich                  | 5                |
| Total                      |                       | 82               |

Tallying the three levels of middle class, they form 52% or roughly half of the sample. As the income increased, the number of respondents decreased.

For language, each and every respondent unsurprisingly speaks Tagalog and English and code-switches. Eight of them know another Philippine language or foreign one: Bisaya, Kapampangan, Hiligaynon, Bahasa Indonesia, Mandarin Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. The last four would be useful to those doing international K-pop BNS.

In addition to the basic demographic information, the data suggest when the K-pop BNS Twitter community was at its peak in terms of account creation. More than half of the respondents joined the space in 2021, while the preceding year seemed to mark its official beginning. A respondent pointed out that prior to the pandemic, trades and transactions were still processed under stan accounts. Therefore, from this, it is justifiable that K-pop BNS Twitter was not formally launched until 2020.

This 2022, new people are taking part though, so the community is visibly continuing to grow. However, the same respondent above has a profound comment on this, wondering about the implications of the eventual return of concerts on the community. They said that collectors bought photocards since they “can’t spend on concerts.” Indeed, the fate of the K-pop BNS community on Twitter, specifically once pandemic-related restrictions are finally lifted and concerts are possible here, is something to ponder. Several K-pop groups are already holding or announcing world tours, and soon, Filipino fans might hear that the Philippines is one of the stops. Would the community easily collapse or proceed albeit operate differently? Quitting sales, ticket scalping, and the like could become prevalent. Door-to-door deliveries might drop as buyers and sellers can just communicate online but meet up and complete their transactions in person, which was done in the past anyway and may have reduced the risk of scamming. The products and processes of the marketplace are likely to evolve.

This photocard-to-concert preference when spending due to recent circumstances is neither the common nor the sole reason that the respondents are on K-pop BNS Twitter. The major motivations are personal, economic, and/or social. They are collectors and appreciate the convenience of buying, selling, and trading on this platform. They intend to generate income and funds. They like to establish clear distinctions, limiting the type of content on a certain account or facilitating transaction tracking. Boredom was mentioned again too. Others are influenced by family or friends or want social interactions.

## **4.2 Language and Communication on K-pop BNS Twitter**

The tweets, screenshots, and survey responses exhibit the K-pop BNS community’s use of English and Tagalog, code-switching tendencies, and informal communication style. While sticking to one language exclusively is observable, this is not always standard and inconspicuous in public tweets, and more so in actual conversations between buyers and sellers. It is Taglish that can be labeled the norm, but each language, along with code-switching, is associated with particular contexts and purposes and regarded with varying attitudes. As for communication style, it is informal but arguably, attempts to give a sense of formality can be noticed sometimes. In this section, the components of a buying or selling tweet are set out first before the specifics on language and communication are further discussed.

### **4.2.1 The Content and Structure of K-pop BNS Tweets**

The structure of a tweet on K-pop BNS Twitter is composed of most if not all of the following elements: main tags, account-specific hashtags, item name, item price, item status, item source, item condition, other fees (e.g., packing, international shipping), payment method, payment scheme, location, delivery method, ordering or offering instruction, other item-related tags, and additional messages. Their presence may depend on the purpose of the tweet, and their order is flexible. Some of the elements are not so straightforward and are elucidated below.

The main tags are the ones in the research methodology and used for filtering: *wts* and *lfb* or *wtb* and *lfs*. The other item-related tags are usually the expanded or longer versions of the acronyms and abbreviations in the same tweet. These tags notably do not have a preceding # symbol. If they do, space is kept between it and the first word. The account-specific hashtag categorizes a user's tweets so that their item catalog, wish-list, or feedback can be easily located and accessed. This is evidence that the community maximizes the features of Twitter and has a creative and systematic nature. There are lexical trends as well, with the hashtags being a combination of a username and often, the same English, Tagalog, or Taglish words: *sells*, *sales*, *onhand(s)*, and *bentables* 'item for sale.'

In *wts lfb* tweets, the additional messages can be a call for help to retweet, a statement or question for gauging interest, a simple directive to inquire or purchase, a reason why the seller is marketing a product or why someone should get it. On the other hand, the *wtb lfs* tweets can have a directive, but the interest check is inapplicable; what's more, the reason is addressed to sellers only, convincing them to make an offer to the one who tweeted. The message can also be anything else a buyer wants to say, usually an expression of their desire to have an item. Out of the types of additional messages, Dayag (2008) previously observed the directive speech act and the common citing of a reason in print ads. It is interesting that tweets, despite their need to be as concise as possible, would still include such.

Looking into why the elements are not always complete in the text, the reason could be that the omitted details are already in an attached picture, a pinned tweet, or Carrd. The poster is conscious that these might just add to the character count of a tweet or may simply not want to keep typing information that can be found on their profile with a few clicks.

The background of the study touched on the website Carrd, and a new relevant acronym was discovered in the data: *rcbyt* 'read Carrd before you transact.' Alternatively, the first two words of the sentence may be spelled out and followed by *byt*. The acronym must have been created because the sentence became mainstream and easily decipherable based on context.

What has been discussed thus far is all about linguistic text. However, it is essential to know that emojis and symbols are commonly embedded in the community's buying and selling tweets (and DMs to be tackled in a later section). These are for aesthetic purposes but have practical functions too. Each line has either, and it separates and possibly hints at the kind of information that follows.

☎ wts lfb ph | #██████sells ☎

comix a4 binder and 10pcs of preloved 9p hihaba sleeves

- 👉 P300 + lsf
- 👉 used but not abused
- 👉 dop: payo prio / 3 days res.
- 👉 mop: gcash
- 👉 mod: sco / ggx

(1) ☎ kpop photocard pc binder collection collect onhand

#██████\_sells

☎ wts lfb wanna one ph

- 👉 ₱350 + pf + sf
- 👉 ₱100 dp & rb on Friday
- 👉 rcbyt ██████████.carrd.co

☞ reply mine or dm to claim/ more info ☺

(2) 📦 unsealed onhand kpop album ph w1 power of destiny romance version

wtb | lfs | ph

- a5 lucalab pink composition binder
- ok with used but must be in good condition
- budget is 800 if unused, 600 if used
- have sco or flash express as mod sana for cheap sf 🙄

dm me or reply if u have!

(3) 📦 kpop compo book photocard pc

#### 4.2.2 Language Use and Attitudes

This part explains what languages are used on K-pop BNS Twitter and why and whether these are marked. It additionally deals with the respondents' views on the mock tweets, which tell of their attitudes towards the English, Tagalog, and code-switching.

**English.** Regardless of the source and the tags, K-pop BNS tweets that are only in English outnumber those that have Tagalog here and there or demonstrate code-switching. The published tweets and elicited ones are consistent in this.

It can be said that the prevalence of English is rooted in the official status of the language and the practice of borrowing. The jargon of the community is more English than Tagalog because some marketplace terms or expressions do not have succinct and

widely utilized translations into the native tongue. Instead of finding equivalents or resorting to any of the other translation techniques, the buyers and sellers who are English speakers anyway tend to just use the vocabulary as they see it, as in the mode acronyms and *used and abused* in (4). The latter is a common expression for pre-loved or secondhand goods that are still in decent condition.

#██████\_sells

- ✿ WTS LFB PH
- ✿ 1P and 2P binder SET for 150 php
- ✿ MOP | GCASH
- ✿ MOD | SCO
- ✿ RSF | switching back to A5

These are used but not abused, if sensitive to scratches, please don't claim. Please manage your expectations. Pcs not included

(4)  Kpop binder colbook

The community borrows and expands the meaning and class of certain English words too, for example, *mine* in the ordering instruction of (5). The possessive personal pronoun is treated as a verb stem for an infinitive and means to claim or order the item in the selling tweet. There is also the *miner* variant, the noun form for it. Apparently, buyers may want assistance in *mining* an item. They would then look for a *god miner* or a person who a respondent said, “types fast, usually has a stable internet connection.” They would be “knowledgeable about third party apps such as Tweetdeck.” A *god miner* is implied to quickly and successfully secure an order because of these.

wts lfb

DECORATED TOPLOADERS

♥ ₱40 ea

mod: sco

mop: gcash

dop: payo / 4 days

tags: deco sticker ph for photocard pc kpop stray kids

(5) reply to mine

Considering the collected tweets, whether skeletal or packed with details and for selling or buying, English is used to convey information and appears to set a formal tone. In a way, this really does match the “broadcast” and “transnational” description of Andrei et al. (2015). The content of a K-pop BNS tweet, apart from the optional or addi-

tional message, is product or transaction specifics and frequently expressed in English which also allows the international market to connect with the local community.

The language should generally be deemed unmarked in this highly public context. However, incorporating private or two-way communication from the screenshots posted by @bnsstruggles and the elicited data from the survey in the analysis, English would be the marked language. DMs with pure English constructions totaled less than those with Tagalog or code-switched constituents. Nonetheless, here are two sample DMs composed by respondents, with (6) coming from a “sure buyer” and (7) from a seller:

(6) irene pc still avail? mine pls

(7) hi! i have this pc on your wishlist~ just reply if you're interested~!! 😊

The markedness of English is indicated by mixed attitudes towards it as well. Few respondents opted to engage with the entirely English mock selling tweet in the survey, and the way others felt about it was not that positive. Only nine respondents picked Seller A whose additional message was “pls get this.” This is already a small number, but five of them did not even pay attention to the language. They based it on the order of the mock tweets or the color of the seller’s profile. The rest described Seller A’s tweet as professional, clean, and formal, and one apologetically admitted to finding English speakers more trustworthy. Meanwhile, the negative comments are that Seller A sounded demanding, intimidating, unfriendly, and unnatural. These weaken the preliminary analysis that English is unmarked.

Yet switching perspectives from a buyer to a seller, English is seen differently, and the prestige factor cannot be ignored. Buyer A was the most popular among the respondents. Their DM was “hi! is this pc still avail? will get if yes.” Although some did refer to Buyer A as the first to DM, general thoughts on them were that they seemed trustworthy, credible, polite, kind, professional, and direct. Buyer A being perceived as trustworthy is undoubtedly relevant to the English speaker stereotype in the Philippines. To quote Hau and Tinio (2003), “English is the most prestigious language in the Philippines, and proficiency in English is associated with the Filipino elite” (p. 344). Individuals who communicate in straight English would then be seen as having high socioeconomic standing and wealth. A respondent actually said that Buyer A is an “Englsher” and “most likely won’t haggle.”

**Tagalog.** It is hard and uncommon to forgo using English in a marketplace where terms are naturally in that language. Although a completely Tagalog construction could undeniably occur on K-pop BNS Twitter, it does so much more rarely than English, this happening mainly in the DM context and with limits. Buying and selling tweets necessitate the English jargon after all. Nonetheless, the tweet component that usually has the potential to be expressed exclusively in Tagalog would be the additional message. This is best illustrated by *wtb lfs* tweets like (8) and (9).

wtb | lfs ph only !

ni-ki ☆≡

border: hakanai blue solo jacket pc

kailan ka uuwi saken 🌀🌀🌀

- (8) 📦 enhypen engene enha kpop album photocard da dd bdo bc jay  
heeseung sunghoon sunoo jake jungwon polo noot noot pout riki

wtb lfs ph svt

mingyu attacca carver wink

budget 1-1.2k slightly flexi

pauwiin niyo na 😊

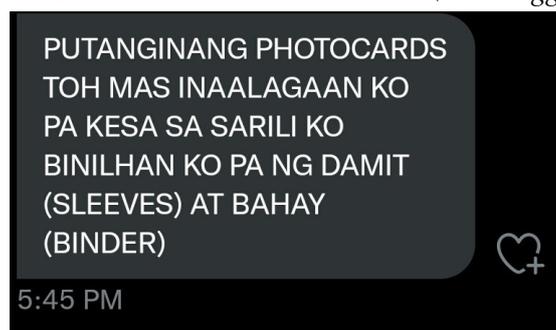
- (9) 📦 carat ver attacca pc photocard mingyu gyu seventeen bns kpop

*Kailan ka uuwi saken* can be translated rather literally as ‘when will you come home to me,’ and *pauwiin niyo na* as ‘let it [the photocard] come home already.’ The two sentences share the use of the Tagalog verb *uwi* ‘go/come home.’ The second has it sandwiched between the affixes *pa-* and *-in* though, and the message becomes a causative and directive.

This *uwi* concept is one of the significant parts about K-pop BNS Twitter language. Expressions with it are widespread. It is also related to two more Tagalog metaphors that the community has. In Figure 3, the person basically said that they take care of their photocards more than themselves by buying “clothes” and a “house” for them. These are individual plastic sleeves and a binder, important collector goods.

### Figure 3

Screenshot of a DM About Photocard Sleeves and a Binder (bnsstruggles, 2021)



Once again, the analysis of Andrei et al. (2015) works here. It is possible to connect the *uwi* expression and the topic of home to the reason why the cited researchers dubbed

Tagalog as a visceral language. *Pauwiin niyo na* particularly hints at eagerness to buy something or frustration over not having the desired item yet. It is not only the emoji, a paralinguistic cue, which indicates the emotional content of the tweet (Aldunate & González-Ibáñez, 2017). If English is the language for information, then Tagalog is for emotion. For *damit* and *bahay*, these are personal like emotions and related to home.

On the markedness of Tagalog on K-pop BNS Twitter, it is rather variable at first glance. A selling or buying tweet is chiefly English, but the additional message may contain Tagalog terms and expressions such as those noted above which would not stand out and be analyzed as marked because they are already established and accepted by the community. In DMs, there are all-Tagalog texts and although scarce, these do look and feel normal, especially when the interlocutors are code-switching. Yet taking into account the analysis for English, communicating in one language wholly—Tagalog in this case—is just going to be the marked choice.

As for language attitudes, these were still mixed based on the survey data, comparable to the case of English. The Tagalog mock selling tweet was “*bilhin nyo na pls.*” It retained a single English word but was otherwise a monolingual construction. This was the second most chosen tweet by respondents. Friendly, approachable, familiar, considerate, trustworthy: these were some of the promising descriptions for Seller C given by the respondents. The sentence was also said to be ordinarily seen on K-pop BNS Twitter. However, it apparently had a tone of desperation, which can put off buyers. A couple of respondents avoided interacting with Seller C because of that. The opposite occurred too though. Those who recognized that desperation but were still willing to buy from Seller C thought of the urgency to get funds and the possibility to negotiate prices.

The DM “*hi binebenta niyo pa po ba to? kunin ko po kung oo*” garnered the least number of interested “sellers,” but the gap between the Tagalog and Taglish options is minimal. The most significant point from the data is that the addition of the enclitic *po* equated to respect won Buyer C respondents. The surveyed community members of K-pop BNS Twitter put much emphasis on respect, so this explanation is expected.

**Code-switching.** On K-pop BNS Twitter, code-switching is the conventional means of communication. Even without explicit confirmation from the respondents, this can be easily concluded from the other data. The finding is like that of Bautista (2004) and Smedley (2006). The emails and web blogs they analyzed had unmarked code-switching.

What the survey results notably prove is that Taglish is a middle-class language spoken by those who went to college like what Bautista (2004) stated. Many respondents were students, and at their ages they would be finishing senior high school, entering university, or taking undergraduate courses already. The lingua franca status of Taglish that Bautista claimed is also reflected in the data. Respondents whose first language is not Tagalog were in the sample, thus supporting yet another idea of Bautista (1999, as cited in 2004): that code-switching can be deficiency-driven.

However, K-pop BNS Taglish is more proficiency-driven; it is used for rapport and

communicative efficiency. The respondents liked friendly, comfortable, yet still polite communication which they achieved with Taglish, hence the normalcy of code-switching and preference for it. There are those who would really still adjust depending on the language of the other interlocutor though, and this particular survey finding corroborates CAT. Then, to reiterate, communicative efficiency is relevant. For example, in (10), the additional message would be longer if fully expressed in either Tagalog or English only (*kung parehong ver kukunin, 270 na lang and if getting both ver[sion], they'll just be 270 instead*). As for (11), it is not so much about reducing the words or the text length, but the message demonstrates a clearly cultural aspect through *po* and natural constituent insertion or proficient code-switching overall.

Actually, the respect marker is highly important. Some data were fundamentally English, and the code-switch was limited to the use of *po* as in (12) and (13). While this, along with a few survey responses, suggests that English is the matrix language in instances of code-switching on K-pop BNS Twitter, it is not absolute. Tagalog can be the matrix language instead.

wts lfb ph interest check!

VIVIZ Beam of Prism Unsealed Album

- P150 ea
- pb + cd + folded poster + postcard
- normal eta
- dop: payo
- if both ver kukunin, 270 na lang 🌟

reply/dm if interested! 💖

pls help rt

wtb lfs ic ph viviz sinb umji eunha kpop

(10)

may interested po ba sa txt unsealed albums? mostly chaos chapter albums pero we'll give random version po for each slot taker since limited lang po siya :)

t. bts enhypen skz exo nct astro twice itzy blackpink wts lfb wtb lfs ph onhand kpop

(11)

(12) Hi po!! can I see po the condi?? thank uuu!!

(13) hi po, mine can payo ^^  
thank you so much po~

There are more examples of efficient Tagalog borrowing. *Kahati* in (14) is a Tagalog content word which if translated into English would have a less compact equivalent: someone you will share the set with. The idea is that buyers will split the total cost to get either of the items offered. *Hatian* 'the act of sharing or dividing (a whole)' is closely linked to but not identical to *tingi* culture on K-pop BNS Twitter. *Tingi* is defined

as “selling or sold at retail” (Tagalog-Dictionary.com, n.d.). In (15), through the phrase “can do *tingi*,” the seller indicated willingness to transact with a buyer who is interested in ordering only one of the two photocards.

---

WTS | LFB PH

Sunoo no selca and yet pola- 540

Selling as set but can look for kahati  
On hand

Mop: gcash  
Dop: payo / 3 days reservation  
Mod: ggx / sco

(14) 📎 Enhypen Sunoo

☞ ic check! wts/lfb ph ☞ ...

- ☞ op2 & carat ver pc
- ☞ ₱380 set / 360 if payo
- ☞ can do tingi 200 ea
- ☞ on hand

- \* mint condition
- \* mop: gcash
- \* mod: ggx

— rts are much appreciated

(15) 📎 seventeen dino lee chan future of kpop carat ver pc

Communicative efficiency is shown by the use of *pasalo* in (16) and (17) as well. This term is not unique to K-pop BNS Twitter. It is “loan assumption,” “assume balance,” or literally “bearing someone else’s debt” in English (Lamudi, 2020). Buyers become sellers when they do *pasalo*. The practice is common but probably not tolerated or allowed by all because it may complicate transactions. The original seller or shop might not agree to ship out an item to the new buyer. There would be a middle man to take care of the process.

wts lfb ph

1 pasalo slot Enhypen Dimension : Senkou Solo Jacket - Heeseung

- from a trusted Kpop shop
- will give discount for slot taker (will send thru gcash)
- Weverse Global

dm me! ^^

(16) 🛒 enhypen dimension senkou solo jacket heeseung wv global

wtb lfs nct ph

- chenle reso kihno
- 700-800 max budget
- pabili po 🤔🤔🤔 desrb ko naman to chariz
- can do pasalo but for feta lang sana

(17)

The *can do* + Tagalog verb combination in (15) and (17) is reminiscent of *make* + Tagalog verb, a distinct pattern in Conyo English. For context, this is a sociolect associated with the upper classes and differentiated from Taglish for its less smooth code-switches and exaggerated and playful quality (Borlongan, 2015). When Conyo English speakers use a Tagalog verb, they may either directly apply English conjugation rules to it or insert *make* before the native term which is “low frequency,” often in root form or possibly with the causative affix *pa-* (Borlongan, 2015; Lim, 2019).

The English pluralization of Tagalog content morphemes is a Conyo English feature (Lim, 2019) that materialized in the data too. To illustrate, *lapags* takes the pluralizer *-s*. (Abad, 2021b) says that *lapag* is “used to describe when a seller is about to sell several photocards or merchandise (usually unsealed), hence, they are ‘up for claims’” (para. 20). According to a respondent, it is the “act of posting a willing to sell tweet.” With the pluralizer, the word *lapags* refers to the multiple selling tweets or the different products. One more example would be *bentables* or “things for sale” (Gloria, 2022, para. 9). Dissecting this, it is the Tagalog verb *benta* ‘sell,’ the suffix *-able*, plus the pluralizer *-s*. The term *pasabuys* can be considered Taglish linguistic play and is also pluralized according to English grammar. It is derived from *sabay* ‘simultaneous’ or ‘together.’ The change in spelling results in a clever meaning: ‘to buy together.’ *Pasabuy* is Taglish for *group order*.

One last construction that would be regarded as Conyo English is “so much” or “saur much” because of its exaggerated tone in the K-pop BNS Twitter context. It acts as an intensifier and follows a phrase, adjectival in many cases. The examples from the tweets and survey and their translations are as follows:

|                          |                        |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| inch so much             | very interested        |
| need <i>pera</i> so much | I really need money    |
| <i>pabili</i> so much    | I’d really like to buy |
| <i>pogi</i> so much      | so handsome            |

Conyo English is worth mentioning not only because of the linguistic evidence above but also two respondents' reference to it, looking at the Taglish mock tweet "get *nyo na pls*" and DM "hi! interested *sa pc na to! kung avail pa, will get na.*" They had relatively implicit socioeconomic assumptions about Seller B and Buyer B respectively. Being "more Conyo," Seller A was considered trustworthy and having "more personality." The second description reinforces the statement of Borlongan (2015) regarding Conyo English—that it is felt to be exaggerated and playful. For Buyer B, the remark was that they seemed to be a Conyo English speaker who had obviously been on Twitter for long so the probability of scamming was lower.

Going back to the broader type of Taglish code-switching, it was viewed positively. The mock selling tweet was the pick of most, with 44 respondents. Seller B was friendly, natural, casual, warm, and approachable to them. The respondents themselves used similar constructions also, so it was the relatable choice and what resonated. This was the explanation of some respondents who gravitated towards Buyer B, and one noted that they experienced being messaged like that by many buyers.

**The Communication Style.** Together with the recurring acronyms and abbreviations, emojis and symbols cement the notion that K-pop BNS Twitter utilizes an informal communication style. Recall how Deng et al. (2020) evaluated informality. They examined the percentage of emojis, contractions, informal punctuations, and personal pronouns, though only the first three were considered in this study. Emojis and symbols can be plentiful because of a conventional tweet's bullet format, and in DMs, these help make a person come across as sociable rather than stiff. CMC is said to be "cold" oftentimes; emoticons thaw it and compensate for the missing facial expressions and social cues (Aldunate & González-Ibáñez, 2017). Interestingly, in one research, they were used by friends more than strangers and frequency increased when the context was positive (Derks et al., 2008). With K-pop BNS Twitter, the relationship seems irrelevant, or perhaps, the core stan identity breaks down the stranger barrier a little, so emoticons as a whole are ordinary to the community. Contractions have a different definition from acronyms and abbreviations, but the fact is that they are shorter forms and likewise ordinarily appear. Informal punctuations are used by the community as well.

Lastly, the flouting of capitalization rules is something to consider. Lowercase letters were typically utilized even for proper nouns. While Deng et al. (2020) are not concerned with this, it is significant in tweets and contributes to the informality.

Despite these observations, some word choices such as the adverb *hence* and the verb *disclose* in (18) and (19) respectively have to be acknowledged. These suggest that there are buyers and sellers who may favor a formal style. This could be due to the nature of their activity; they are doing business, which is generally formal.

LIM

wts lfb| ph  
🛒 Mark Arrival PC  
🛒 Php 1,000  
🛒 clean! Bought from Mercari Japan hence the price  
🛒 MOP: Gcash  
🛒 MOD: shopee c/o via J&T

👉 wts mark arrival nct 2020 resonance pt 2 pc ph

(18) Help rt!

wtb lfs ph

soobin tcc: freeze you photocard

- budget: 280-300: can payo :>
- minimal flaws are okay as long as they are disclosed
- pls dm me offers or reply below
- will take lowest offer

(19) # txt freeze you soobin version kpop pc photocard

### 4.3 Factors Affecting Transactions

Apart from lack or absence of feedback and warning signs of scamming like unresponsiveness, rudeness and overfamiliarity are the primary factors that would make the respondents think twice about pushing through with a transaction and cancel the order.

Rudeness is felt by interlocutors in different kinds of situations: when they are not addressed with *po* or *opo*, when they are exposed to profanities or any inappropriate words, and when they are being patronized or even bossed around. The survey sample mostly used Tagalog respect markers; for some, it depended on the age difference or level of closeness. Just the omission of *po* and *opo* is probably not enough to prevent a transaction. However, there were respondents who were self-aware that they may appear rude if they did not add these to their messages. Filipino culture is responsible for the habit and expectation of these markers. Buyers and sellers recognize the importance of maintaining polite and respectful communication, and *po* and *opo* are two linguistic forms that allow this. Regarding profanities and inappropriate words, these are simply unacceptable and offensive, in or outside the K-pop BNS context. For the act of patronizing and demanding, one respondent mentioned *ha*. They must have meant the Tagalog particle which requests repetition and clarification and expresses a hint of surprise or reproach (Tagalog-Dictionary.com, n.d.). The respondent did not elaborate, but they said it would be placed at the end of a sentence. A possible example for this would then be “send me the picture *ha*.” The given description does not capture how the particle is utilized here though. *Ha* functions like English *okay* with a question mark

in the sentence. The speaker wants the listener to acknowledge and confirm their understanding of the instruction, and a sense of impatience and insistence may be there.

Meanwhile, overfamiliarity has to do with slang and gendered terms that are usually reserved for close friends only and plain oversharing. Below are example terms provided by the respondents, with explanations from a Reddit post and Urban Dictionary. A respondent claimed that most scammers they encountered had used the like. This is an interesting point because scammers are possibly from a lower socioeconomic level, and slang is commonly attributed to or at least linked to it (Guzman, 2017). From another perspective, the set of terms originating from *mommy* is feminine and may not sit well with a person with a different gender identity. Part of the community is critical of non-gender sensitive language.

|                      |                                      |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| beh/bhiee            | shortened forms of <i>baby</i>       |
| bes                  | shortened form of <i>best friend</i> |
| ma/mamsh/mi/mii/mhie | shortened forms of <i>mommy</i>      |

(midziie, 2021; Samwan Ober Da Reynbow, 2016)

On oversharing, to quote a respondent, “that’s just uncomfortable since I’m here as a seller, not a friend.” This shows that even if those on K-pop BNS Twitter may be drawn to a friendly and casual communication style, they would still expect and hope for consideration of personal boundaries and formality. For the sake of a smooth professional transaction, some distance should still be kept between the buyer and seller.

Generally unclear communication would also deter the respondents from continuing a transaction. For example, the way a message is typed or presented can be too unconventional and hard to read. One respondent put the following example: “mH3r0n p1 4Qu0h nuNg pH07oc4rD n4 h1n4h4n4p n3o.” In Tagalog, the text is ‘meron po ako nung photocard na hinahanap niyo’; in English, ‘I have the photocard that you’re looking for.’ This is Jejenese, the slang of the Jejemon subculture of the Philippines that formed in the 2010s (The Freeman, 2016). The respondent’s Jejenese example is significant, given most of the subculture’s socioeconomic status; jejemons are usually from the lower classes. It is like the analysis about the correlation between gendered terms and scamming, although a buyer or seller who uses Jejenese may just seem unserious. Perhaps, they would be perceived as pranksters rather than complete scammers. One might either play along or ignore the Jejenese user altogether.

## 5 Conclusion and Recommendations

The study aimed to inquire into the identity and general communication of the Filipino K-pop BNS Twitter community. With hundreds of tweets and elicited data from a sample, notable characteristics and linguistic behavior and preferences were realized. Composing the community are fan-turned-collectors of different age groups, socioeconomic classes, and genders who speak Tagalog and English, mixing and alternating between the two. However, many of them are young female middle-class individuals.

They have their own reasons for joining and staying on K-pop BNS Twitter; these include conveniently finding sources of and markets for idol (group) merchandise and socializing with friends whether met online or known personally. The community primarily code-switches and uses an informal communication style. Nonetheless, straight English can be observed on the social media platform. Much of K-pop BNS jargon is in this language. It carries essential information to local and international buyers and sellers of K-pop goods, through public tweets which are distinctly structured and patterned. Tagalog, on the other hand, is used to express emotions and reflect what is personal, native, or cultural (e.g., *po*, *tingi*). Code-switching is done to get messages across efficiently and amicably in general, regardless of the fluency of the speaker in either of the discussed languages. It is the unmarked and preferred way of communicating on K-pop BNS Twitter, and there are two varieties present: standard Taglish and Conyo English. When a person does not code-switch, they may seem unnatural, distant, or demanding. It should be noted that in connection with socioeconomic classification, English and Conyo English are associated with those who have the financial capability to purchase a product, and so the speaker of such could appear trustworthy. The opposite applies to Tagalog as it may receive a less positive reaction when gendered terms and slang, usually traced to lower socioeconomic classes, are used. Focusing on communication-related factors that affect transactions though, the following would be the major ones: rudeness, overfamiliarity, and unclarity.

Overall, the research explained the general language use and attitudes of a particular online group and provided more knowledge about Taglish code-switching in CMC. The data pointed to the relevance of prestige and stigma, reflected cultural aspects, and showed language's potential impacts on business. Other unique terms and constructions such as *so much* were also described. The research is essentially a pioneering sociolinguistic guide to K-pop BNS Twitter and an additional reference for code-switching, both Taglish and Conyo English. It would be most helpful to future researchers of the K-pop BNS subculture, primarily linguists, sociologists, and anthropologists.

The study admittedly has weaknesses. With a manual tweet collection method and limited time, the total amount of analyzed data was not as extensive, and so the points were more generalized. The survey was flawed as well. The L1 and L2 of the respondents were not clarified, but this could have been related to the income classes. For the sample, having a bigger number of male respondents would be advantageous; perhaps there are researchers interested in using a gender-centric approach. Focus group discussions are especially recommended as a data gathering method in this case.

What else future researchers can look into would be linguistic trends and patterns in the terms and conditions or Carrd of those on K-pop BNS Twitter. The way individual sellers write and present information can be compared and contrasted with that of big, established shops. Specifically, the degree of formality of the text would be interesting.

### **Acknowledgments**

I have many whom I am grateful to for helping me—in different ways—write my last undergraduate research.

To my parents, sister, and friends who always offer encouragement and advice and

tell me to believe in myself, thank you.

To my research adviser Sir Igno who saw the potential in my preferred topic and provided the much needed guidance, thank you.

To my former professors from the department who taught me a lot of what I now know about linguistics and gave me incredible opportunities, thank you.

To the editorial team of the *UP Working Papers in Linguistics* who found my work promising, showed me how I could further improve it, and worked towards sharing it alongside other research with the world, thank you.

To every K-Pop group I have liked and followed (from Seventeen to NCT) and the Filipino BNS community that I myself am part of (and have, on a few occasions, competed with for a photocard of my ult), thank you.

This research would not exist if it were not for you all. Once again, thank you so much.

## 6 References

- Abad, Y. (2021a, October 11). 'Papels' as investments? An introductory guide to K-pop photocards. *Rappler*. <https://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/arts-culture/things-to-know-k-pop-photo-cards-papels-guide/>
- Abad, Y. (2021b, October 17). Let's be budol besties: The insider's guide to buying K-pop photocards. *Rappler*. <https://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/arts-culture/things-to-know-starting-k-pop-photocard-collection/>
- Abad, Y. (2022, February 6). It's not always fun in K-pop buy-and-sell communities. Here's why. *Rappler*. <https://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/arts-culture/things-to-know-toxic-stan-buy-and-sell-communities>
- acornragi [@acornragi]. (2021, June 14). *dictionary ng kpop bns ~ a helpful tweet to learn the terms or abbreviation that is commonly used in bns twt* [Image attached] [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/acornragi/status/1404313164963999744>
- Aldunate, N., & González-Ibáñez, R. (2017). An integrated review of emoticons in computer-mediated communication. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.02061>
- Andrei, A., Elson, S. B., & Zarrella, G. (2015). Language and emotion in Philippine Twitter use during Typhoon Haiyan. *MITRE Technical Report*. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.4671.5923>
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2004). Tagalog-English code switching as a mode of discourse. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 5(2), 226–233. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ720543>
- Bellos, A. (2018, December 17). Did you solve it? Can you speak Twitter? *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2018/dec/17/did-you-solve-it-can-you-speak-twitter>
- bnsstruggles [@bnsstruggles]. (2021, November 10). [Screenshot of a direct message about photocard sleeves and a binder]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/bnsstruggles/status/1458264109607120897>

- Borlongan, A. M. (2015, October 8–10). *Conyo English: Explorations of Philippine English sociolects* [Paper presentation]. The 21st Conference of the International Association for World Englishes, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Cruz, A. (2022, February 22). Diving into K-pop BNS Twitter—where a car can be a photocard freebie. *Preen.ph*. <https://preen.ph/129508/k-pop-bns-twitter-where-a-car-can-be-a-photocard-freebie>
- Dayag, D. T. (2008). The discourse of print advertising in the Philippines: Generic structures and linguistic features. *Proceedings of the 22nd Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, 1–15. <https://aclanthology.org/Y08-1001>
- Deng, Q., Hine, M., Ji, S., & Wang, Y. (2020). Investigating the impacts of brand social media posts' linguistic styles on consumer engagement. *Proceedings of the 53rd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*, 2741–2750. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/64077>
- Derks, D., Bos, A. E. R., & von Grumbkow, J. (2008). Emoticons in computer-mediated communication: Social motives and social context [PMID: 18275321]. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 11(1), 99–101. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cpb.2007.9.926>
- Dorleijn, M., & Nortier, J. (2009). Code-switching and the internet. In B. E. Bullock & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching* (pp. 127–141). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511576331.009>
- do Vale, R. C., & Matos, P. V. (2016). Does packaging matter? Private labels' dress codes and consumer choice. In M. Gómez-Suárez & M. P. Martínez-Ruiz (Eds.), *Handbook of research on strategic retailing of private label products in a recovering economy* (pp. 209–224). IGI Global. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-0220-3.ch009>
- Eberhard, D. M., Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (Eds.). (2022). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (25th ed.). SIL International. <https://www.ethnologue.com/>
- Giles, H., & Ogay, T. (2007). Communication accommodation theory. In B. B. Whaley & W. Samter (Eds.), *Explaining communication: Contemporary theories and exemplars* (pp. 293–310). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Gloria, G. (2021, May 31). Are K-pop photocards the new NBA cards? *CNN Philippines*. <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/life/entertainment/music/2021/5/31/kpop-photocards-nba-cards-economy.html>
- Gloria, G. (2022, February 21). Why K-pop fans are buying, trading, and selling photos of their idols. *VICE*. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/qjbenx/what-kpop-photocard-why-collect-price-expensive>
- Guzman, J. C. (2017). Slang as a means of language in low-socioeconomic status individuals: A cross comparison of multicultural individuals in the United States. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 4(4), 36–40. [https://ijllnet.com/journals/Vol\\_4\\_No\\_4\\_December\\_2017/5.pdf](https://ijllnet.com/journals/Vol_4_No_4_December_2017/5.pdf)
- Hau, C. S., & Tinio, V. L. (2003). Language policy and ethnic relations in the Philippines. In M. E. Brown & Š. Ganguly (Eds.), *Fighting words: Language policy and ethnic*

- relations in Asia* (pp. 319–349). MIT Press Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/2988.003.0015>
- Hoang, J., & Rao, S. (2021, November 22). Watch, chat, shop: Live Shopping on Twitter. *Twitter*. [https://blog.twitter.com/en\\_us/topics/product/2021/watch--chat--hop--live-shopping-on-twitter](https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/product/2021/watch--chat--hop--live-shopping-on-twitter)
- Holt, B. (2020, February 8). “Stans” have changed what it means to be a music fan—for better and worse. *Quartz*. <https://qz.com/1788143/stans-have-changed-what-it-means-to-be-a-music-fan/>
- Kim, Y. J., Lee, J., & Lee, M. (2018). Purchasing behavior of K-pop idol goods consumers in Korea. *Journal of Fashion Business*, 22(6), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.12940/JFB.2018.22.6.1>
- Lamudi. (2020, July 7). Pasalo (assume balance): What you need to know. *Lamudi Philippines*. <https://www.lamudi.com.ph/journal/pasalo-assume-balance/>
- Lim, G. B. D. (2019). *Conyo English: A linguistic analysis* [Unpublished manuscript]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.
- midziie [u/midziie]. (2021, January 22). *what does bhie mean?* [Online forum post]. Reddit. [https://www.reddit.com/r/Tagalog/comments/12hm7d/what\\_does\\_bhie\\_mean/](https://www.reddit.com/r/Tagalog/comments/12hm7d/what_does_bhie_mean/)
- Miranda, L. (2021, July 29). Twitter is testing out a feature that allows users to shop directly from a brand’s profile. *NBC News*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/business/consumer/twitter-testing-out-feature-allows-users-shop-directly-brand-s-n1275333>
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1998). A theoretical introduction to the markedness model. In C. Myers-Scotton (Ed.), *Codes and consequences: Choosing linguistic varieties* (pp. 18–38). Oxford University Press.
- Padillo, M. A. (2022, May 19). Who are the middle class in the Philippines? *iMoney.ph*. <https://www.imoney.ph/articles/middle-class-sector-philippines/>
- Perez, Z. (2021, November 4). Korean fever newbie? Here’s a list of trusted online shops for all your merch needs + dictionary of terms. *One News*. <https://www.onenews.ph/articles/korean-fever-newbie-here-s-a-list-of-trusted-online-shops-for-all-your-merch-needs-dictionary-of-terms-1>
- Pogacar, R., Lowrey, T. M., & Shrum, L. J. (2018). The influence of marketing language on consumer perceptions and choice. In M. R. Solomon & T. M. Lowrey (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to consumer behavior* (pp. 263–275). Routledge.
- Samwan Ober Da Reynbow. (2016, September 15). Bes. *Urban Dictionary*. <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=bes>
- Sanchez, V. (2013). *Bakit-why? An analysis of the sociolinguistic motivations behind Taglish* (Bachelor’s thesis). Swarthmore College. <http://hdl.handle.net/10066/10917>
- Simpson, R. (2018). *Changes in young adulthood*. MIT Young Adulthood Development Project. <https://hr.mit.edu/static/worklife/youngadult/changes.html>
- Smedley, F. (2006). *Code-switching and identity on the blogs: An analysis of Taglish in computer mediated communication* (Master’s thesis). Auckland University of Technology. <http://hdl.handle.net/10292/186>

- Statista. (2022, February 15). *Leading social media platforms used each month by internet users in the Philippines as of 3rd quarter 2021*. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1127983/philippines-leading-social-media-platforms/>
- Tagalog-Dictionary.com. (n.d.). *Tagalog English dictionary*. <https://www.tagalog-dictionary.com/>
- The Freeman. (2016, April 12). The jejemon phenomenon. *The Philippine Star*. <https://www.philstar.com/the-freeman/cebu-lifestyle/2016/04/12/1572422/jejemon-phenomenon>
- Vergonia, J. P. (2018, December 26). Why K-pop is huge in the Philippines. *Korea.net*. <https://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/HonoraryReporters/view?articleId=166661>
- Xiong, A. (2020). *K-pop connection: Maintaining fandom loyalty in K-pop and V Live* (Bachelor's thesis). Dickinson College. <https://dickinson.hykucommons.org/concern/etds/5ebae4c1-7195-460b-a4b5-1bc566a04fd5?locale=en>
- yonkaibnz [@yonkaibnz]. (2022, January 26). *kpop bns dictionary ! feel free to bookmark & share w others ^^ a thread of common terms & abbrevs used in bns* [Image attached] [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/yonkaibnz/status/1486214920094240768>

## 7 Appendix

### Glossary of K-pop BNS Jargon

K-pop BNS terms and expressions encountered during the research are shown below. These are arranged alphabetically, presented with related forms, and defined based on various sources. The main ones are the community's compilations and online articles, but other tweets, dictionaries, and the survey responses also greatly helped in the making of this list.

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| avail              | available   |
| <i>bahay</i>       | photocard binder  |
| bayo               | <i>bayad</i> 'pay' as you order   |
| bb                 | buying ban  |
| ebbg               | extreme buying ban game; a person will temporarily halt buying activities for a certain time period |
| <i>bentable(s)</i> | item for sale   |
| bidding            | item is sold to the buyer with the highest offer  |
| binder             | storage for photocards or other paper goods   |
| bns                | buy and sell  |
| clean              | item without flaws or damage  |
| coll book          | collect book  |
| coll break         | collection break  |
| condi              | condition   |
| <i>damit</i>       | (archival) photocard sleeves  |
| deets              | details   |

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| digibook            | a type of album where the photobook and CD case are combined   |
| doo                 | deadline of orders   |
| dop                 | deadline of payment  |
| dp                  | downpayment  |
| ea                  | each   |
| equiv               | equivalent   |
| eta                 | estimated time of arrival  |
| feta                | fast estimated time of arrival; 1 to 4 weeks   |
| leta                | long estimated time of arrival; 4 to 7 months  |
| neta                | normal estimated time of arrival; 1 to 3 months  |
| faq(s)              | frequently asked questions   |
| feedback(s)         | transaction comments from a customer   |
| filler              | paper used as a substitute for a photocard yet to be bought or something to merely fill the empty space on a binder<br>page/sleeve |
| flexi               | flexible   |
| ga                  | giveaway   |
| ggx                 | Gogo Xpress (a mode of delivery)   |
| go                  | group order  |
| gom                 | group order manager  |
| ic                  | interest check   |
| inch                | interested   |
| iso                 | in search of   |
| jc                  | jewel case (for CDs)   |
| <i>kahati</i>       | someone to split a set with  |
| <i>kilabot</i> line | the more popular members of a K-pop group  |
| <i>lapag(s)</i>     | item for sale; selling tweet; to sell and post an item   |
| ld                  | lucky draw; an official event where a buyer gets a random variation of an item   |
| lf                  | looking for  |
| lfb                 | looking for buyer  |
| lfs                 | looking for seller   |
| lft                 | looking for trader   |
| lowballer           | one who gives an offer that is lower than acceptable   |
| lyric book          | a pamphlet containing the lyrics of all the songs on an album  |
| mail                | a common term included in a buyer's hashtag for feedback on other sellers  |
| Mercari             | an online Japanese marketplace where K-Pop goods can also be found   |
| mine                | to claim or order an item  |
| miner(s)            | person who claims or orders an item  |
| god miner(s)        | someone who claims or orders quickly   |
| mint                | item is new or has no flaws  |

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| mm                | Metro Manila  |
| mod               | mode of delivery  |
| moot              | mutual; someone who is following the speaker back                           |
| mop               | mode of payment   |
| mp                | market price  |
| nfs               | not for sale  |
| snfs              | strictly not for sale   |
| ob                | outbox  |
| oc                | order confirmation  |
| onhand(s)         | item that is already with the seller  |
| oomf(s)           | one of my followers   |
| non oomf(s)       | someone who is not a follower of the speaker                                |
| oop               | out of print  |
| oos               | out of stock  |
| op                | overpriced  |
| <i>papel(s)</i>   | photocards and other paper goods (e.g., postcards)                          |
| <i>pasabuy(s)</i> | group order; to order together  |
| <i>pasalo</i>     | to assume balance   |
| payo              | pay as you order  |
| pb                | photobook   |
| pc                | photocard; postcard   |
| pf                | packing fee which covers needed materials                                   |
| <i>pi</i>         | misspelling of the Tagalog respect marker <i>po</i>                         |
| po                | preorder; to order an item before its actual production or official release |
| pob               | preorder benefits; a benefit limited to preorders                           |
| poca              | photocard   |
| prio(s)           | priority; one's most desired merchandise                                    |
| proof(s)          | customer feedback (for credibility)   |
| qs                | quitting sale   |
| qyop              | quote your own price  |
| rb/rembal         | remaining balance   |
| rcbyt             | read Carrd before you transact  |
| res               | reserve; reservation  |
| rfs               | reason for selling  |
| saur/so much      | emphasizes a statement; follows an adjective or verb                        |
| sco               | Shopee checkout (a mode of delivery)  |
| sdd               | same-day delivery   |
| sf                | shipping fee  |
| cbsf              | combined shipment; multiple orders will be delivered together when onhand   |
| isf               | international shipping fee  |
| lsf               | local shipping fee  |

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| sg                | season's greetings; an annually released merchandise package with assorted inclusions like a calendar and photocards |
| sleeve            | a flat plastic protective cover for photocards   |
| sparks collector  | one who collects photocards that "spark joy" or cause <i>kilig</i>   |
| stbo              | soon to be on hand   |
| t                 | tags   |
| tc                | trading card   |
| t&c(s)            | terms and conditions   |
| template          | a regularly updated digital compilation of (all) the photocards of an idol   |
| <i>tingi</i>      | to sell at retail  |
| toploader         | a plastic case for photocards and other paper goods (thicker and harder than a sleeve)                               |
| trader            | one who trades merchandise   |
| ufs               | up for selling/sale  |
| uft               | up for trading/trade   |
| ums               | Universal Music Store  |
| up                | update post  |
| wl                | wishlist   |
| wt                | want/willing to  |
| wtb               | want/willing to buy  |
| wts               | want/willing to sell   |
| ww                | worldwide  |
| yd/ <i>yangdo</i> | Korean BNS   |
| zyy               | <i>Yizhiyu</i> , a Chinese company that sells albums with exclusive benefits   |
| zyy r(number)     | <i>Yizhiyu</i> round; the sales/fansign round which the exclusive benefit is from                                    |

# Error Analysis of Written Compositions of Filipino Learners of Korean as a Foreign Language

James Dominic R. Manrique

## Abstract

Despite the increasing interest in the Korean language in the Philippines over the past decade, Korean language acquisition of Filipino students in the Philippines is still a relatively understudied field. As such, linguists turn to error analysis to obtain clues about how Filipino learners learn Korean and what strategies are employed by learners to aid their acquisition of the language. In addition to creating a linguistic model of Filipino learners' acquisition of Korean as a foreign language, the analysis of errors present in the learners' interlanguage allows (a) language teachers to know where the learners are in terms of their language learning progress and what steps to take in order to increase the learners' proficiency; and (b) language learners to become aware of the errors that they commit, thus allowing self-correction and improvement. The present study gathered written essays from college students taking Korean language courses of varying language proficiency levels offered by a select Philippine university. Errors present in these compositions were identified and then classified by type and scope, and a discussion on some recurrent omission, addition, selection, and ordering errors and their possible sources was provided. The quantitative analysis of these errors suggests that advanced learners committed significantly more errors compared to beginner and intermediate learners. While this conflicts with the hypothesis that advanced learners commit less errors, some possible explanations for this finding were also presented in this study.

*Keywords:* Korean as foreign language, error analysis, language acquisition, writing

## 1 Introduction

Interest in the Korean language has increased across the globe since the dawn of the millennium. Having more than 640 Korean language departments at universities around the world and hundreds of thousands of foreigners who take the Test of Proficiency in Korean (TOPIK) annually as of 2009, it may be said that "the Korean language is no longer restricted to the Korean people" (Kim, 2009, para. 1). In the Philippines, there

are two main reasons for the rise of interest in the Korean language. First, foreigners are required to pass a practical Korean language proficiency examination to work in factories (Kim, 2009). Filipinos interested in working in Korea undergo language trainings to be eligible for application under South Korea's Employment Permit System (EPS). Second, South Korea has become an international cultural power with the so-called "Korean Wave." Fans have taken to learning Korean to be able to understand Korean content and to interact with the Korean celebrities they follow. With these, many higher education institutions have been offering Korean language courses, including but not limited to the University of the Philippines, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippine Normal University, and Polytechnic University of the Philippines. Through the initiatives of the Korean government, the Korean Cultural Center in the Philippines and King Sejong Institute have also promoted Korean language education in the country. Moreover, the Department of Education announced in 2018 that Korean will be one of the five languages to be taught in select junior high schools through the Special Program in Foreign Language (Department of Education, 2018).

Despite the rising ubiquity of Korean language education in the Philippines, there has not been much research on Korean as a foreign language (KFL) in the country. As English is one of the Philippines' official languages, language acquisition research has long focused on learning English as a second language (ESL). Research on KFL mostly explored learner motivations and attitudes and the state of Korean language education in the Philippines (Ancho, 2019; Bae & Igno, 2012; Domingo-Lipura, 2012; O.-J. Noh, 2012). However, two studies delved into the linguistic aspects of learning and teaching Korean in the country. Motivated by the Filipino learners' difficulty in learning Korean grammar, Montalvo (2014) presented a comparative analysis between Korean particles and Tagalog case markers. Guided by this comparison, teaching strategies and model grammar lessons were also proposed, citing that "Korean case particles should be selectively instructed with concrete explanations on their basic meanings and semantic function to the target learners" (p. 173). Furthermore, Chua (2020) in an analysis of the reading fluency of college-level Filipino learners of Korean as a foreign language showed that the most frequent error in reading is mispronunciations. The difficulties in pronunciation were determined to be caused by interlingual transfer and are attributed to the differences in the phonological systems of Filipino and Korean. Chua's research ultimately suggests that guidance in proper pronunciation is important for a learner to be able to read fluently, that is, accurately and expressively.

On the other hand, KFL research has been done extensively in other countries, particularly those involving learner errors. Lexical errors made by Chinese (B.-H. Noh, 2015), American (Kang & Chang, 2014), and Australian learners (S.-C. Shin, 2002), to name a few, were identified and classified. Similarly, other studies focused on grammatical errors, such as in the case of Japanese and English (L. Brown & Iwasaki, 2013), Myanmarese (Jee & Kim, 2013), Malaysian (Yoon, 2017), Chinese (Jin, 2010), and Mongolian learners (C. Shin, 2020). Some researches not only classified the errors but also identified their sources: whether they stem from either native language transfer or unfamiliarity with the target language system. More importantly however, that they were informed by prior analyses on errors committed by foreign learners of Korean

language is what these studies have in common, allowing researchers to focus on one specific part of the language. The present research, as one of the first studies targeting Filipino learners of Korean, hopes to pave the way for more detailed studies focused on the acquisition of Korean by Filipino learners like those mentioned above.

## 1.1 Significance

This research then addresses the gap in the study of foreign language acquisition in the Philippines. The analysis of errors committed by Filipino learners of Korean is also vital in that it can (a) inform language teachers where the learner is in terms of their language learning progress and what steps to take in order to increase the learner's proficiency, and (b) make language learners aware of the errors they commit, thus giving them the opportunity of using these errors as tools for improvement through correction and feedback (Corder, 1967/1974b). This research may also serve as a starting point for the description of an emerging variety of the Korean language as spoken by Filipino learners. With this, we may be able to "uncover the features of non-nativeness of learner language" and "gain a better insight into the nature of interlanguage" (Granger, 1998, p. 13).

## 1.2 Objectives

This research intends to look at the most salient element of language learning: the language itself. Considering that the journey of language learning is not a path without mistakes, analyzing errors or the systematic deviations from the rules of the target language made by a language learner has shown efficiency in exploring the process of second and foreign language acquisition and the strategies employed by learners to aid their discovery of the language. Insights found in the analysis of errors present in the interlanguage of Filipino learners (i.e., the learner's intermediate linguistic system between Filipino and Korean) as revealed by their written compositions in the target language will provide clues to understanding Filipino learners' acquisition of KFL.

Specifically, this study aims to provide relevant quantitative and qualitative explanations on patterns of errors present in the written interlanguage of Filipino learners of Korean by attempting to (a) identify the errors in written texts of Filipino learners of Korean across different target language proficiency levels, and (b) classify these errors according to type, level, and occurrence rate.

## 2 Research Methodology and Design

This section discusses the research process, the decisions and rationale behind it, and its impact on the analysis and outcomes of the current research.

## 2.1 Theoretical Framework

The present study is informed by interlanguage and error analysis, both commonly used in learner language and target language acquisition research.

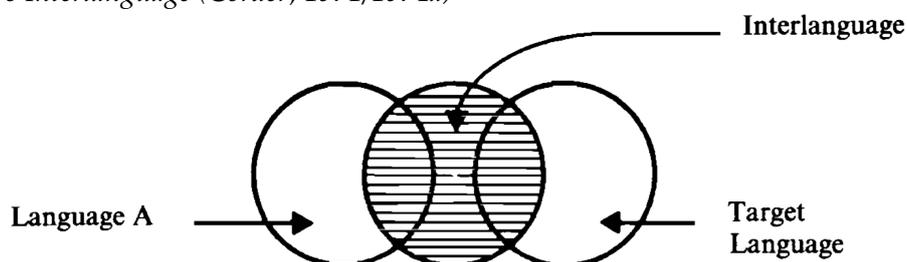
### 2.1.1 Interlanguage

The idea that the language system of language learners is a separate system distinct from both their first and second languages was developed at about the same time by three scholars. William Nemser called this system an “approximative system” while Stephen Pit Corder (1967/1974b) called it “transitional competence.” The term “interlanguage” is what caught on, coined by Larry Selinker (1972/1974) (as cited in Tarone, 2006).

The concept of interlanguage stems from the observation that the utterances produced by a learner as attempts to say sentences in the target language are “not identical to the hypothesized corresponding set of utterances which would have been produced by a native speaker of the [target language] had he attempted to express the same meaning as the learner” (Selinker, 1972/1974, p. 34–35). Specifically, the relevant information in identifying the interlanguage are: (a) the learner’s utterances in their native language, (b) the learner’s utterances in their interlanguage, and (c) the native speaker’s utterances in the target language. Interlanguage may then be seen as an intermediary system between the linguistic systems of the native and target languages.

**Figure 1**

*Selinker’s Interlanguage (Corder, 1971/1974a)*



Corder (1971/1974a) takes the point of view that the language of second language learners—the interlanguage—may be viewed as an *idiosyncratic dialect* with rules that are particular to the individual, as opposed to an idiolect with rules that can be “found somewhere in the set of rules of one or another social dialect” (p. 159). More important in the analysis, however, is the instability of idiosyncratic dialects. The difficulty in interpretation arising from seemingly erroneous constructions lies upon the knowledge of the idiosyncratic conventions underlying the construction. Therefore, Corder clarifies that the “errors” in the interlanguage of second language learners do not result from performance failure. It is not that case that a learner knows the rules of the target language but just has not applied them; these errors arise “because the rules of the

target dialect are not yet known" (p. 162).

Pallotti (2017) distinguishes two uses of "interlanguage" in language acquisition research: (a) to treat *interlanguage as an object* is to name the language of learner's production as "interlanguage," describing this language with reference to the target language; while (b) to use *interlanguage as an approach* is to analyze the learner language "in its own terms, independently of not only the target language but also of the native language" (Lakshmanan and Selinker, 2001, p. 408). The former is often used in language education research as it can readily be applied in the identification and reduction of the gap between the learner's interlanguage and the target language, that is, a teacher can say what a student's interlanguage lacks in order to become more target-like. Moreover, making references to another language also opens the potential for the explanation of interlanguage, as opposed to its description (Pallotti, 2017). For the purposes of the current research, the term "interlanguage" will be used in line with the first definition: "a separate linguistic system, clearly different from both the learner's native language (NL) and the target language (TL) being learned but linked to both NL and TL by interlingual identifications in the perception of the learner" (Tarone, 2006, p. 747).

### 2.1.2 Error Analysis

Corder (1967/1974b) argues that we can look at second language acquisition as *learning*, like learning a first language, instead of *teaching*. Errors made by a child learning their first language are not treated as ill-formed or deviant; they are seen as a normal stage of a child's linguistic development. In the same vein, errors made by a second language learner "provide evidence of the system of language that he is using" (p. 25). Errors tell the language teacher how far towards the goal the learner has progressed, the researcher how language is learned or acquired, and the language learner what to improve on.

The ultimate goal of error analysis is to study typologies of errors that occur during different phases of second language acquisition (Hinkel, 2018). It is then crucial to make a distinction between mistakes and errors, both of which committed by learners. A *mistake* refers to a performance error that is a random guess or a failure to utilize a known system correctly, while an *error* is a direct manifestation of a system, albeit incorrect, within which a learner operates (H. D. Brown, 2006).

In order to explain the errors, one must first recognize and describe the errors in a learner's interlanguage. A number of categories for description of errors have been identified (H. D. Brown, 2006; Burt, 1975; Corder, 1981; Dulay et al., 1982; Lennon, 1991).

1. *Form*. The most common classification of errors is based on the ways surface structures are altered. Dulay et al. (1982) calls this the Surface Strategy Taxonomy; James (1998/2013) calls this Target Modification Taxonomy. These are (a) *errors of omission* where an element which should be present is omitted, (b) *errors of addition* where an element which should not be there is present, (c) *errors of selection* (or *error of formation* in other literature) where an element is wrongly chosen in

place of the right one, and (d) *errors of ordering* where the elements presented are correct but sequenced incorrectly. Analyzing errors as surface strategies allow researchers to identify the cognitive processes that underlie the learner's reconstruction of the target language system. However, while useful, these classifications are usually treated as superficial and only serve as a starting point for systematic analysis.

2. *Level*. Each error class is sometimes further classified according to the linguistic level affected by the error: phonology (pronunciation) or orthography (spelling), morphology and syntax (grammar), semantics and lexicon (meaning and vocabulary), and discourse (style). Lennon (1991) expands this by analyzing errors in two dimensions: (a) *domain* is the level that must be taken in context for an error to be recognized, and (b) *extent* is the level at which items would have to be modified in order to repair the sentence. Error domain and extent aims to classify and differentiate errors in a way that is rooted in both linguistic and psycholinguistic description.
3. *Scope*. Another perspective in error classification focuses on the errors' effect on the audience. Under the Communicative Effect Taxonomy (Dulay et al., 1982), errors may be either global or local (Burt, 1975). *Global errors* are errors that affect the overall sentence organization, significantly hindering communication. *Local errors* affect only particular constituents of a clause or sentence and does not affect the comprehension of an utterance.

Having identified the categories of errors in the production data of second language learners, the next step in the analysis is determining the sources of error. H. D. Brown (2006) recognizes four general sources:

1. *Interlingual Transfer*. Interlingual transfer (also referred to as *language transfer* or simply *interference* in other literature; see Richards and Sampson, 1974) is arguably the most obvious source of learner errors surfaced by contrastive analysis. Learners in the beginning stages of learning a second language are especially susceptible to interlingual transfer, as a learner can only draw from the native language system before becoming familiar with the target language system.
2. *Intralingual Transfer*. Non-contrastive analysis of errors have drawn attention to intralingual sources of errors, that is, errors committed by the learner based on incomplete familiarity with the target language. Richards (1971/1974) lists some reasons for intralingual errors, which include (a) overgeneralization, (b) ignorance of rule restrictions, (c) incomplete application of rules, and (d) building false systems and concepts.
3. *Context of Learning*. Context as a source of error often overlaps with the two types of transfer. H. D. Brown (2006) gives classroom context as an example, where false

concepts (as coined by Richards, 1971/1974; see above) may arise due to misleading explanation of a teacher, faulty presentation in a textbook, or improper contextualization of patterns or items drilled through rote memorization. Another example may relate to Corder (1971/1974a)'s idiosyncratic dialect: where a language is acquired in a natural, unstructured setting, the idiosyncratic dialect of a learner will be colored by different sociolinguistic factors based on the circumstances at which the target language is acquired.

4. *Communication Strategies*. Communication strategies refer to the use of verbal or nonverbal means to successfully communicate information. These strategies are typically subclassified into avoidance and compensatory strategies. Avoidance may be achieved by message abandonment or topic avoidance, while compensation may be achieved by circumlocution, approximation, and using prefabricated patterns, among others (H. D. Brown, 2006). These communication strategies help the learner to get their message across but sometimes can become source of errors themselves.

## 2.2 Data Collection

Data for this research were collected in May 2021 with the help of students who were enrolled in Korean language courses offered by the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman, Department of Linguistics during the academic year 2020–2021 (from September 2020 to June 2021). Students were divided into three proficiency levels—beginner, intermediate, and advanced—based on the highest level of Korean language course the student has taken (see Table 1). It should be noted that it can be reasonably assumed that the participating students are at least proficient in both Filipino and English. However, whether they speak languages other than Korean, Filipino, and English was not considered in this study.

Production data for analysis are of two types. Students under intermediate and advanced levels were asked for copies of written compositions submitted as course requirements. As writing exercises form part of the curriculum from Korean 100 onward, first drafts with the language teacher's feedback are available and were used as corpus data. On the other hand, students taking Korean 10 to 13, where course objectives focus mainly on oral communicative competence in Korean, are not yet required to write compositions. Thus, students under the beginner level were asked to write short compositions in Korean following prompts provided by the researcher (see Section 6.1). These prompts were crafted in such a way that students are able to sufficiently answer the questions only using grammar patterns and vocabulary learned in lower-level Korean classes. Errors in the data from the beginner level were identified and classified by the researcher; the researcher has received over 550 hours of Korean language instruction and has experience teaching basic Korean language to Filipino students. However, the identification of errors in the data from the Intermediate and Advanced levels was based on the feedback provided by the language teacher; these were then classified by the researcher. Consent of both the language teacher and the students

**Table 1**  
*Korean Language Courses and Equivalent Proficiency Level*

|              | Course                            | Clock-hours of Instruction <sup>a</sup> | Proficiency Level Equivalent |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Koreyano 10  | Elementary Korean I               | ≤ 192 hours                             | Beginner                     |
| Koreyano 11  | Elementary Korean II              |   |                              |
| Koreyano 12  | Intermediate Korean I             |   |                              |
| Koreyano 13  | Intermediate Korean II            |   |                              |
| Koreyano 100 | Advanced Korean I                 | 192–384 hours                           | Intermediate                 |
| Koreyano 101 | Advanced Korean II                |   |                              |
| Koreyano 110 | Advanced Composition in Korean I  |   |                              |
| Koreyano 120 | Advanced Reading in Korean I      |   |                              |
| Koreyano 111 | Advanced Composition in Korean II | > 384 hours                             | Advanced                     |
| Koreyano 121 | Advanced Reading in Korean II     |   |                              |
| Koreyano 112 | Basic Hanja                       |   |                              |
| Koreyano 123 | Korean Translation                |   |                              |

<sup>a</sup> Each Koreyano course is a 3-unit course carrying 48 hours of instructions (Office of the University Registrar, 2014).

were secured prior to the collection of class outputs for analysis.

Errors were then categorized according to type, largely following Dulay et al. (1982)'s Surface Strategy Taxonomy, and level, according to the framework presented by Lennon (1991). These categories were chosen as they are often used in error analysis literature and thus allow for comparison between the results of this research and other studies. Finally, a frequency analysis was done in order to compare error types across proficiency levels.

### 2.3 Scope and Delimitation

Proficiency levels of students were assumed based on the level of the course they are taking. A standardized proficiency test result is ideally criterial, but not all students have taken or aim to take the official proficiency examination, the Test of Proficiency of Korean (TOPIK). Fortunately, UP Diliman students are generally not allowed to enroll in higher-level courses without satisfying the requirements of lower-level prerequisite courses. This, together with the various assessments language instructors employ to determine whether students are prepared to take more advanced lessons, allows the assumption that the proficiency levels between groups are more or less defined and within groups homogeneous.

Another limitation of the research stem from the approach itself—there is an overemphasis on production data in error analysis (H. D. Brown, 2006), as opposed to comprehension data. By collecting data from essays, only one of four language skills (i.e., listening, speaking, writing, and reading) will be tested. However, this does not un-

dermine the objectives of this research as writing compositions can adequately reflect a learner's language competence.

### 3 Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

This section discusses the errors committed by Filipino learners of Korean as a foreign language across three proficiency levels: beginner, intermediate, and advanced.

#### 3.1 Error Density Across Proficiency Levels

The composition of corpus data used in this study is laid out in Table 2. A total of 38 documents containing 644 sentences from 16 students were collected.

**Table 2**

*Breakdown of Corpus Data*

| Proficiency Level | Number of Students | Number of Documents | Number of Sentences | Percentage of Total (%) |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Beginner          | 8                  | 14                  | 123                 | 19.10                   |
| Intermediate      | 3                  | 9                   | 266                 | 41.30                   |
| Advanced          | 5                  | 15                  | 255                 | 39.60                   |
| Total             | 16                 | 38                  | 644                 | 100.00                  |

As seen in Table 3, 383 out of 644 sentences, or 59.47%, were identified as containing at least one error. For beginners, 54.47% ( $N = 123$ ) of sentences has at least one error; for intermediate learners, 51.13% ( $N = 266$ ); for advanced learners, 70.59% ( $N = 255$ ).

**Table 3**

*Error Density Index by Proficiency Level*

| Proficiency Level | Number of Sentences ( $S$ ) | Number of Sentences with Error ( $S_E$ ) | Total Number of Errors ( $E$ ) | Error Density Index ( $EDI = \frac{E}{S}$ ) |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---|
| Beginner          | 123                         | 67                                       | 138                            | 1.12  |
| Intermediate      | 266                         | 136                                      | 217                            | 0.82  |
| Advanced          | 255                         | 180                                      | 457                            | 1.78  |
| Total             | 644                         | 383                                      | 809                            | 1.25  |

Error Density Index (EDI) is a metric that compares the number of errors a learner committed with the number of sentences they produce. With the goal of getting a near-zero EDI, a learner may either lessen the number of errors made or increase the number of sentences written (Malicsi, 2019). In pedagogy, it serves as a measurement of a learner's progression: for example, a language teacher may use EDI to quantitatively

assay the improvement (or lack thereof) from the original composition to the revised composition. As per Table 3, beginners have an EDI of 1.12, intermediate learners 0.82, and advanced learners 1.78. Since the EDI may also be interpreted as a probability, this suggests that advanced learners have twice the propensity to commit an error compared to intermediate learners.

### 3.2 Error Description

Expounding the data presented in Table 3, Table 4 shows the total count of errors committed per proficiency level classified by error type and extent. Discussions for each error type and a presentation of common errors are provided below.

**Table 4**  
*Frequency of Errors by Type and Extent per Proficiency Level*

| Error Type | Error Extent | Proficiency Level |              |          | Total |
|------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|----------|-------|
|            |              | Beginner          | Intermediate | Advanced |       |
| Omission   |              | 39                | 29           | 88       | 156   |
|            | Orthographic | 15                | 6            | 20       | 41    |
|            | Grammatical  | 15                | 6            | 22       | 44    |
|            | Lexical      | 9                 | 17           | 46       | 71    |
| Addition   |              | 24                | 47           | 67       | 138   |
|            | Orthographic | 11                | 3            | 9        | 22    |
|            | Grammatical  | 9                 | 15           | 19       | 43    |
|            | Lexical      | 4                 | 29           | 39       | 72    |
| Selection  |              | 67                | 138          | 286      | 491   |
|            | Orthographic | 8                 | 8            | 4        | 20    |
|            | Grammatical  | 26                | 41           | 99       | 166   |
|            | Lexical      | 33                | 89           | 183      | 304   |
| Ordering   |              | 8                 | 3            | 13       | 24    |
|            | Orthographic | 1                 | 0            | 1        | 2     |
|            | Grammatical  | 2                 | 1            | 4        | 7     |
|            | Lexical      | 5                 | 2            | 8        | 15    |
| Total      |              | 138               | 217          | 454      | 809   |
|            | Orthographic | 35                | 17           | 34       | 86    |
|            | Grammatical  | 52                | 63           | 144      | 259   |
|            | Lexical      | 51                | 137          | 276      | 464   |

#### 3.2.1 Omission

An error of omission is committed when an item that must be present in a well-formed utterance is absent (Dulay et al., 1982). It is distinguished from both ellipsis and zero which are allowed by grammar, whereas omission is ungrammatical (James, 1998/2013).

**Omission of Space.** Spaces are often erroneously omitted in auxiliary verb constructions (e.g., -고 싶다, -아/어 있다), as in (1), and bound nouns (e.g., 이상, 동안), as in (2).

- (1) ✗ 저는 한국에서 살고싶어요.  
 ✓ 저는 한국에서 살고 싶어요.  
 'I want to live in Korea.'
- (2) ✗ 왜냐하면 제가 3년동안 좋아했던 남자와의 추억이기 때문이다.  
 ✓ 왜냐하면 내가 3년 동안 좋아했던 남자와의 추억이기 때문이다.  
 'Because it is a memory with a man I liked for three years.'

**Omission of Particle.** In colloquial speech, some Korean postpositions, or particles, are often dropped when the grammatical status of the noun to which they are attached to is deducible from context (Yeon & Brown, 2011). However, abbreviations like particle deletion are disfavored when writing (Hyun & Choi, 2018), as in (3) and (4).

- (3) ✗ 그것에 불구하고 언급한 인터넷 언어~~는~~ 부정적인 점도 있다.  
 ✓ 그럼에도 불구하고 인터넷 언어에는 부정적인 점도 있다.  
 'Nevertheless, internet language also has negative aspects.'
- (4) ✗ SMS 송신 요금~~을~~ 아껴서 글자 수가 줄어들기 위해 개발된 문자 언어  
 ✓ SMS 송신 요금을 아끼기 위해 글자 수를 줄여 개발된 문자 언어  
 'a text language created to save on SMS transmission charges by reducing the number of characters'

**Omission of Complementizer.** Direct speech in both English and Filipino do not use the complementizers *that* and *na*, respectively, while indirect speech do (LaPolla & Poa, 2005; Li, 1986). On the other hand, complementizers are required in Korean in both direct and indirect speech (Yeon & Brown, 2011), as in (5).

- (5) ✗ 남아 완구 코너에 구경하게 돼서 종업원이 “어떻게 오셨습니까?”~~은~~ 물어볼 때  
 ✓ 남아 완구 코너를 구경할 때마다 종업원이 “어떻게 오셨습니까?”라고 물어볼 때  
 'when the employees ask “How can I help you?” every time I go to the boys' toys section'

**Omission of Adverbs.** Conjunctive adverbs serve as transitional devices to link sentences together, making it easier for a reader to follow the writer's ideas in composition. Omission of such are then considered global errors, affecting overall comprehension. Examples of transitional devices in Korean include 또한 'and,' as in (6), 역시 'as well,' as in (7), and 먼저 'first.'

- (6) ✗ ~~또한~~ 필리핀어도 사회 환경의 영향을 받는다.  
 ✓ 또한 필리핀어는 사회 환경의 영향을 받는다.  
 'Furthermore, the Filipino language is also influenced by social environment.'

- (7) ✗ ∅ 여성으로서 그런 답은 현실이라고 생각한다.  
 ✓ 나 역시 여성으로서 그런 답은 현실이라고 생각한다.  
 ‘As a woman, too, I think those answers are reality.’

### 3.2.2 Addition

Errors of addition are the opposite of omissions: they occur when an item that should not appear in a well-formed utterance is present. This often occurs due to overgeneralization or the “all-too-faithful use of certain rules” (Dulay et al., 1982, p. 156).

**Unnecessary Space.** Contrary to space omissions are unnecessary spaces. Spaces can be erroneously added before 이다 ‘to be,’ in compound verbs of 가다 ‘to go’ and 오다 ‘to come,’ as in (8), and in 하다 ‘to do’ and 되다 ‘to be, become’ verbs and adjectives, as in (9).

- (8) ✗ 벌써 몇 분이 지났지만 아직 돌아 오지 않았기 때문에 많이 걱정했다.  
 ✓ 벌써 몇 분이 지났지만 아직 돌아오지 않았기 때문에 많이 걱정했다.  
 ‘Minutes had already passed but he had not come back yet, so I was so worried.’
- (9) ✗ 게다가 인터넷에서 다양한 사람들이 서로 계속 연결 되고 인터넷 언어는 만들어졌다.  
 ✓ 게다가 인터넷에서 다양한 사람들이 서로 계속 연결되면서 인터넷 언어도 등장하기 시작했다.  
 ‘Moreover, as people continued to connect with each other on the internet, internet language began to emerge.’

**Failure to Omit Particles.** Case particles can occur with special particles—particles which express additional meanings—with some exceptions. For example, the special particle -도 ‘also’ cannot be used with subject particle -이/가 or object particle -을/를. -도 replaces the subject or object particles when the case arises (Yeon & Brown, 2011), as in (10).

- (10) ✗ 같은 케이팝 노래를 듣는 것도 같은 한국 드라마를 보는 것도 했고 우리는 SNS를도 많이 사용했어요.  
 ✓ 같은 케이팝 노래를 듣는 것도 같은 한국 드라마를 보는 것도 했고 우리는 SNS∅도 많이 사용했어요.  
 ‘We listened to the same K-pop songs, watched the same Korean drama, and used social media a lot as well.’

**Unnecessary Pronoun.** There is no strict requirement in Korean to use pronouns when the referent is already established in discourse. In addition, it can be inappropriate to use second- and third-person pronouns, preferring the use of the name or title of the referent. In (11), three instances of 나 ‘I’ was found in the student’s sentence, when one would have sufficed.

- (11) ✕ 그러므로 내가 그런 비슷한 글을 볼 때마다 나도 리트윗과 공유를 통해 나만의 방법으로 도와준다.  
 ✓ 그러므로 ~~나~~ 그런 비슷한 글을 볼 때마다 ~~나~~ 리트윗과 공유를 하는 것은 나만의 방법으로 그들을 도와주고 싶은 나의 작은 행동이다.  
 ‘Therefore, retweeting and sharing such posts whenever I see them is my own little act of help.’

**Redundancy.** Not only particles and pronouns can be dropped in discourse. Omission of entire constituents are allowed, sometimes preferred, if they can be retrieved from context. These constituents are often marked by the topic marker -은/는. In (12), the phrase 인터넷 언어 ‘internet language’ has been established as topic in the earlier part of the sentence through the addition of -는; as such, mentioning it in the latter part is not needed in the interest of brevity.

- (12) ✕ 제 생각에는 인터넷 언어가 사람들의 창의성을 보인다. 언어가 역동적이어서 인터넷 언어는 표준어를 오염시키는 거 아니라고 생각한다.  
 ✓ 내 생각에는 인터넷 언어는 사람들의 창의성을 보여주며 언어는 역동적이어서 ~~나~~ 변화하므로 표준어를 오염시키는 것은 아니라고 생각한다.  
 ‘In my opinion, internet language shows people’s creativity and I think that it will not pollute the standard language because language is dynamic.’

### 3.2.3 Selection

Errors of misselection (as in James, 1998/2013) or misformation (as in Dulay et al., 1982) occur when the wrong form of the morpheme or structure is used. This definition covers only errors of grammatical extent and is hence expanded for the purpose of this research. Spelling errors may be categorized as selection errors whose extent is orthographic. Substitution errors like assumed synonymity, or using synonyms interchangeably in contexts where substitution is not applicable, and collocation errors, or the wrong choice of collocations or idioms (Kang & Chang, 2014), are categorized as selection errors whose extent is lexical.

**Misspellings.** In (13), the grapheme for the voiceless velar plosive ⟨ㄱ⟩ in 조금씩 ‘little by little’ was replaced with its tense counterpart ⟨ㄱㅏ⟩, and the grapheme for the tense voiceless alveolar fricative ⟨ㅍㅏ⟩ was substituted with its plain counterpart ⟨ㅍㅏ⟩. This error may be due to the phonic and orthographic similarities between the segments concerned.

- (13) ✕ 그래서 지금도 조끔씩 조끔씩 그 꿈을 위해서 제가 할수있는 만큼 연습하고있고 한국어 열심히 고부해요.  
 ✓ 그래서 지금도 조금씩 조금씩 그 꿈을 이루기 위해서 제가 할 수 있는 만큼 연습하고 있고 한국어를 열심히 공부해요.  
 ‘So even now, I practice as much as I can and study Korean hard in order to achieve that dream.’

Loanwords are also susceptible to misspelling. In (14), the word *dress* was transliterated as 드레시 (*deuresi*) instead of 드레스 (*deureseu*).

- (14) ✗ 특히 신부는 보통 하얀 드레시를 입어요.  
 ✓ 특히 신부는 보통 하얀 드레스를 입어요.  
 ‘In particular, brides usually wear a white dress.’

**Misselection of Particle.** Case particles are often a source of confusion for Korean learners (see L. Brown & Iwasaki, 2013; Montalvo, 2014, among others) and related particles can be erroneously used in place of another.

In (15a), 만화 ‘manhwa’ was appended with the subject particle -가 instead of the object marker -을; this would have been correct had the predicate used been the adjective 좋다 ‘to be good,’ with no change in meaning. This case assignment is similar with Filipino *gusto* ‘like,’ where *manhwa* would typically take the phrase marker *ang*. However, since the predicate was the verb 좋아하다 ‘to like,’ 만화 ‘manhwa’ must take an object particle, mirroring the English construction. The case in (15b) is the reverse, where the object particle -을 was used with 영향 ‘effect’ instead of the subject particle -이. The subject marker particle is always used with passive 되다 verbs, as in 부각되다 ‘to be magnified.’

- (15) a. ✗ 그리고 만화가 너무 좋아해요.  
 ✓ 그리고 만화를 너무 좋아해요.  
 ‘Also, I really like manhwa.’  
 b. ✗ 우리의 언어생활에 미치는 부정적인 영향을 부각돼서  
 ✓ 우리의 언어생활에 미치는 부정적인 영향이 부각돼서  
 ‘its negative effects on our language become prominent’

Learners also often confound the location and motion particles -에 and -에서. First, -에서 is used to mark the location where an action occurs, as in (16a). Meanwhile, -에 is used to mark the goal of a movement, as in (16b). The confusion arises from the similarity in meaning established when we consider their other use cases: -에서 can also mark the source of a movement, while -에 can also mark the location where an entity exists. In Filipino, these are all expressed by locative phrase marker *sa*.

- (16) a. ✗ 한국의 장례식은 장례식장에 해요.  
 ✓ 한국의 장례식은 장례식장에서 해요.  
 ‘Funerals in Korea are held at funeral halls.’  
 b. ✗ 한국 장례식에서 도착하면  
 ✓ 한국 장례식에 도착하면  
 ‘when you arrive at a funeral in Korea’

Due to the similarity between the subject marker -이/가 and topic marker -은/는, they are often confused even across proficiency levels. While the main functions of the two can be differentiated, this distinction blurs with the consideration of Korean information structure. The subject marker -이/가 is used to focalize relationally new

information (in contrast with referential givenness), while the topic marker -은/는 can be used to either topicalize relationally old information or mark contrast between two statements, one of which may be implied (Jun, 2015; Yeon & Brown, 2011). As such, the analysis of -이/가 versus -은/는 must be made at a global, discoursal level.

- (17) a. ✗ 군도에서 다른 언어가 많이 있어도 필리핀어는 널리 사용된다  
 ✓ 군도에 다른 언어가 많이 있어도 필리핀어가 가장 널리 사용된다  
 ‘Filipino is the most widely spoken even though there are many other languages in the archipelago’
- b. ✗ 이제는 인터넷이 소수의 사람들만 있을 수 있는 특권이 아니라, 사치보다 인터넷이 기본적인 욕구이다.  
 ✓ 이제 인터넷은 소수의 사람들만 있을 수 있는 특권이 아니라 기본적인 욕구이다.  
 ‘Now, the internet is not a privilege or luxury that only a few people can have but a basic need.’

**Misselection of Allomorph.** Many bound morphemes in Korean have two forms, the selection of which typically depends on whether the preceding sound is a vowel or a consonant barring some exceptions. The two-shape particle -과/와 ‘and’ in (18) takes the form *-gwa* when preceded by a consonant and *-wa* otherwise. This pattern is unique in that in other two-shape particles like -이/가, -을/를, and -(이)랑, the shape with an onset attaches to vowels while the shape without attaches to consonants; the reverse is true with -과/와. The lative marker -(으)로 also follows this general rule: *-euro* if succeeding a consonant and *-ro* otherwise. As an exception however, *-ro* is used when preceded by ⟨ㄹ⟩ [l~r], as in (19).

- (18) ✗ 요즘 텔레비전과 선풍기와 냉장고과 다른 유용한 가전도 줘요  
 ✓ 요즘 텔레비전과 선풍기, 냉장고와 다른 유용한 가전제품도 줘요  
 ‘they also give televisions, fans, refrigerators, and other useful appliances these days’
- (19) ✗ 인터넷 언어의 특징은 신조어, 은어, 이모티콘, 동영상, 줄임말로 이루어진다.  
 ✓ 인터넷 언어의 특징은 신조어, 은어, 이모티콘, 동영상, 줄임말로 이루어진다.  
 ‘Distinct features of internet language include neologisms, slang, emojis, videos, and abbreviations.’

Verbs and adjectives in the present tense take the same sentence endings in polite and formal speech, that is, -아/어요 and -(스)ㅂ니다 respectively. However, in the plain style used in impersonal writing, the ending for verbs is -(느)ㄴ다, while the ending for adjectives is -다. Focusing on oral communication skills, beginners are first introduced to polite and formal speech styles; the plain style, on the other hand, is learned only during the upper-intermediate level when formal writing forms part of the course objectives. As such, intermediate and lower-advanced learners may show signs unfamiliarity with the proper use of the plain style endings.

- (20) ✗ 확실히 더 많은 지원이 필요하다.  
 ✓ 확실히 더 많은 지원이 필요하다.  
 ‘Surely, more support is needed.’

**Misselection of Tense.** In (21), the past form of the negative existential 없다 was used yet the sentence discusses a present observation.

- (21) ✗ 보통 교회 근처에는 식당이 없었습니다.  
 ✓ 보통 교회 근처에는 식당이 없습니다.  
 ‘Usually, there is no restaurant near the church.’

In (22), 창작되다 ‘to be created’ was conjugated in the present tense. By virtue of the existence of the adverb 계속 ‘continuously’ however, the present progressive tense must be used, as in ‘are being created continuously.’ The error may have stemmed from the interference of the preferred English construction *continue to be created*, where the verb *continue* is in the simple present tense.

- (22) ✗ 사용자들 사이에 새로운 단어와 표현과 서로 대화하는 방법이 계속 창작된다  
 ✓ 사용자들 사이에 새로운 단어와 표현과 서로 대화하는 방법이 계속 창작되고 있다  
 ‘expressions and ways of talking to each other continue to be created among users’

**Misselection of Change of State.** Expressing change of state in Filipino is straightforward: one can simply add verbal affixes to the base form *ganda* ‘pretty’ and say *gumanda* ‘became pretty’ and *gaganda* ‘will become pretty.’ To do the same in Korean however, 예쁘다 ‘to be pretty’ becomes 예뻤다 ‘was pretty’ and 예쁠 것이다 ‘think will be pretty (as supposition).’ To express a non-causative change of state, -아/어지- must first be added to the verb stem.

- (23) ✗ 그런데 집에서 일을 할 수 있는 직업에 경쟁률은 높아고 있을 거예요.  
 ✓ 그런데 집에서 일을 할 수 있는 직업이 경쟁률은 높아질 거예요.  
 ‘But the competition for work-from-home jobs will increase.’
- (24) ✗ 21세기의 컴퓨터, 휴대폰, 노트북 등은 많이 나타나서 당연히 사람들이 인터넷을 사용하는 것도 더 광범위하다.  
 ✓ 21세기 컴퓨터, 휴대폰, 노트북 등의 기기가 많이 나타나서 사람들이 인터넷을 사용하는 것도 더 광범위해졌다.  
 ‘In the 21st century, people’s use of the internet became more widespread with the emergence of devices such as computers, cell phones, and laptops.’

On the contrary, in writing causative constructions, -아/어지- may be added erroneously instead of using the causative form of the verb. In (25), 없애다 ‘to remove’ should be chosen in preference to 없어지다 ‘to disappear’ (both from the negative existential 없다), owing to the marking of 장벽 ‘wall, barrier’ as an object and the explicit mention of the agent 이모티콘 ‘emoji.’

- (25) ✕ 이모티콘은 언어의 장벽을 없어질 수 있는 강한 도구라고  
 ✓ 이모티콘은 언어의 장벽을 없앨 수 있는 강한 도구라고  
 ‘that emoji is a powerful tool for removing language barriers’

**Assumed Synonymity.** Some synonyms were used interchangeably, although such may not be appropriate to do so in the context where they were used. For example, 정력 was used instead of 힘 in (26). Both words mean ‘energy’ but the former is often used to refer to virility; to idiomatically express tiredness one must use the latter, which can also translate to ‘strength, power.’

- (26) ✕ 정력 없어요.  
 ✓ 힘이 없어요.  
 ‘I am tired.’ lit. I have no energy.

In (27), 포함되다 ‘to be included’ was used despite its collocations often being things, referring to its inclusion in a bigger unit. Given that the experiencer is human, 소속감 ‘sense of belonging’ is preferred; it also often appears with 느끼다 ‘to feel,’ the verb already used in the sentence.

- (27) ✕ 또한 이것들을 사용할 때 상냥한 분위기를 가지고 있으므로 사람들이 이것을 사용할 때는 그들이 포함되었다고 느낀다.  
 ✓ 또한 이것들을 사용할 때 상냥한 분위기를 나타내므로 사람들이 이것을 사용할 때는 그들이 소속감을 느낀다.  
 ‘Moreover, people feel a sense of belonging when using [emoji] because it creates a friendly atmosphere.’

**Collocation and Idiomaticity Error.** Related to above are collocation and idiomaticity errors or the incorrect selection of collocates. They often arise due to word-for-word translations of idiomatic expressions in the native language (Kang & Chang, 2014). In (28), the English phrase *feel stressed* was literally translated as 스트레스를 느끼다; in Korean, the collocate of 스트레스 ‘stress’ is 받다 ‘to receive.’

- (28) ✕ 저는 건강이 좋은데 스트레스를 많이 느껴요.  
 ✓ 저는 건강이 좋은데 스트레스를 많이 받아요.  
 ‘I am in good health but I feel really stressed out.’

Korean also has some set constructions for certain expressions: the construction literally meaning ‘started a long time ago’ was used in (29) instead of the set pattern -ㄴ 지 오래 되다 ‘has been a long time since.’

- (29) ✕ 사람들이 인터넷을 사용하기가 오래 시작하기 때문에  
 ✓ 사람들이 인터넷을 사용한 지 오래 되었기 때문에  
 ‘because it has been a long time since the people started using the Internet’

**Circumlocution.** Learners may try to use paraphrases to express a specific idea as a strategy to avoid lexical gaps in production. In (30), the phrase ‘friend you are talking to’ was used to describe 상대방 ‘the other person’; in (31), 비언어적 ‘nonverbal’ was expanded into ‘without using words.’ Since these constructions make sense, it may be argued that they are not errors and that replacing these is a stylistic choice. However, they were considered errors inasmuch as more appropriate and concise alternatives are available (see Kang & Chang, 2014).

- (30) ✘ 당신과 이야기하고 있는 친구가 줄임말 모르면 이유를 설명해야 하기 때문에 대화가 더 길게 된다.  
 ✔ 상대방이 줄임말 모르면 이유를 설명해야 하기 때문에 대화가 더 길어진다.  
 ‘If the other person does not know the abbreviations, the conversation will be longer because you have to explain.’
- (31) ✘ 이런 인터넷 언어는 대부분 말을 쓰지 않으니까 다른 언어 공동체 멤버들은 서로를 이해할 수 있다.  
 ✔ 이런 인터넷 언어는 대부분 비언어적이므로 다른 언어 공동체 멤버들도 서로를 이해할 수 있다.  
 ‘This kind of internet language is mostly nonverbal, so even members of other language communities can understand one another.’

**Register Mismatch.** Korean systematically encodes honorification and politeness in an utterance through the use of grammatical markers and special vocabulary (Yeon & Brown, 2011). As such, some items may occur only in some speech styles and not in others.

In (32), the singular first-person polite pronoun 저 was used; this form is the humble, self-lowering form used only in honorific speech. However, the sentence was written in the plain form, indicated by the sentence ending -는다; hence, the plain form 나 of the singular first-person pronoun must be used.

- (32) ✘ 시간이 별로 없기 때문에 저는 친구들과 가족들과 거의 이야기하지 않는다.  
 ✔ 시간이 별로 없기 때문에 나는 친구들과 가족들과 거의 이야기하지 않는다.  
 ‘I rarely talk to my friends and family because I don’t have much time.’

Some grammar patterns can be used only in spoken Korean, some only in written Korean (Hyun & Choi, 2018). Beginners and early-intermediate learners are often exposed only to the spoken language and may carry its features over when writing. For example, Korean has three sets of comitative particles with the same basic function: -(이)랑, -하고, and -과/와, in increasing formality. The first one, as seen in (33), is only used in speech and should be avoided in formal writing.

- (33) ✘ 친구나 모르는 사람이랑 채팅할 때마다 목소리를 들리지 않고 사람의 생각이 몰라서 오해 할 수 있다.  
 ✔ 친구나 모르는 사람과 채팅할 때마다 목소리가 들리지 않고 사람의 생각을 몰라서 오해 할 수 있다.

‘Whenever we chat with our friends or strangers, we cannot hear their voice nor know their thoughts so it is possible to misunderstand.’

Both clausal connectives -(으)니까 and -(으)므로 largely mean the same thing. Aside from some nuance and restriction differences, the latter is preferred in formal writing.

- (34) ✗ 필리핀은 군도이고 다른 나라가 필리핀을 식민지로 삼았으니까 언어가 많다.  
 ✓ 필리핀은 군도이고 다른 나라가 필리핀을 식민지로 삼았으므로 언어가 많다.  
 ‘The Philippines has many languages because it is an archipelago and was colonized by other countries.’

Lastly, the use of abbreviations that arise from speech, often to facilitate ease of articulation, is discouraged in formal writing. One common form of this is the contraction of the bound noun 것 ‘thing’ and particles, as in (35) where 것은 (*geoseun*, 것 + topic particle 은) was shortened to 거는 (*geoneun*).

- (35) ✗ 인터넷 언어 사용한 거는 좋지만 과도하게 쓰면 좋지 않는다.  
 ✓ 인터넷 언어 사용하는 것은 좋지만 과도하게 쓰면 좋지 않다.  
 ‘To use internet language is good, but to use it excessively is not.’

### 3.2.4 Ordering

An error in ordering is committed when a unit or group of units are incorrectly placed in an utterance (Dulay et al., 1982).

**Misplacement of Particle.** Like in English and Filipino, Korean particles -도 ‘too, also’ and -만 ‘only, just’ closely attach to the unit being stated in addition or being limited, respectively (McCawley, 1998; Nagaya, 2007; Yeon & Brown, 2011). In (36), -도 was originally attached to 저 ‘I’ when it should attach to 만들어 보다 ‘to try making’ given its context. Similarly, -만 in (37) occurs with 새로운 단어 ‘new word(s),’ but it is more appropriate to limit the entire phrase 새로운 단어에 대한 것 [a thing] about new word(s).’

- (36) ✗ 그리고 저도 영감을 때 음악도 노래를 만들해 봐요.  
 ✓ 그리고 영감을 받을 때 노래를 만들어 보기도 해요.  
 ‘I make music too when I am inspired.’
- (37) ✗ 그런데 인터넷 언어는 새로운 단어만 대한 것이 아니다.  
 ✓ 그런데 인터넷 언어는 새로운 단어에 대한 것만이 아니다.  
 ‘But internet language is not just about new words.’

**Failure to Split Negated 하다 Verbs.** Sino-Korean nouns and other loanwords are typically verbalized by adding 하다 ‘to do’ (Yeon & Brown, 2011). These verbs are usually written as one word but must be written separately when negated using 안 ‘not,’ as in (38), or 못 ‘can not,’ as in (39). 하다 adjectives are not negated in this way (i.e., 안 or 못 is placed before the entire adjective).

- (38) ✗ 인터넷 언어를 사용할지 안 사용할지 선택이 있다.  
 ✓ 인터넷 언어를 사용할지 사용 안 할지 선택할 수 있기 때문이다.  
 ‘It is because one can choose whether to use internet language or not.’

- (39) ✗ 이 남학생은 어떤 감정을 하나도 못 표현해서 비난을 받았다.  
 ✓ 이 남학생은 자신의 감정을 하나도 표현 못해서 비난을 받는다.  
 ‘The male student received criticism for not expressing any of his feelings.’

**Using Adjectives Instead of Adverbs.** It is said that English is a noun-oriented language and Korean is a verb-oriented one; English has a preference for nouns and adjectives in expressions, while Korean prefers verbs and adverbs (Houston, 2019; Miyajima, 2019). In (40), the original phrase literally reads ‘studying is passionate.’ It is more natural to say ‘passionately studies’ in Korean and this can be achieved by reversing the order of 열정적 ‘passionate’ and 공부하다 ‘to study,’ supplying additional morphemes as needed.

- (40) ✗ 또한 헤이즐 씨는 다른 나라 언어를 공부하기 열정적이에요.  
 ✓ 또한 헤이즐 씨는 다른 나라 언어를 열정적으로 공부해요.  
 ‘Moreover, Hazel passionately studies foreign languages.’

Similarly in (41), the original phrase translates to ‘has a lot of superstitious beliefs’ while it is preferred to phrase it as ‘believes in a lot of superstitions’ in Korean.

- (41) ✗ 필리핀 사람들은 미신적인 믿음이 많기 때문에  
 ✓ 필리핀 사람들은 미신을 많이 믿기 때문에  
 ‘because Filipinos have a lot of superstitious beliefs’

**Misplacement of Adverbs.** In Korean, complements and modifiers always come before the unit they modify. This can pose a problem in object-verb constructions where adverbs may be misplaced before the object instead of the verb, as in (42) where 더 ‘more’ was placed before 시간 ‘time’ rather than 단축하다 ‘to reduce.’

- (42) ✗ 줄임말을 사용하면 하고 싶은 말을 더 짧게 쓸 수 있어서 더 시간을 단축할 수 있다.  
 ✓ 줄임말을 사용하면 하고 싶은 말을 더 짧게 쓸 수 있어서 시간을 더 단축할 수 있다.  
 ‘If you use abbreviations, you can shorten what you want to say and save more time.’

In (43), three adverbs are used consecutively: 많이 ‘much,’ 아직 ‘yet, still,’ and 안 ‘not.’ In such cases where multiple adverbs are used in succession, Korean follows a general pattern: demonstrative (e.g., place, time), descriptive (e.g., manner, degree), then negation (zzangdol57, 2020). The correct order should then be 아직 많이 안 ‘yet-much-not.’

- (43) ✗ 하지만 게으려서 많이 아직 안 끝나요.  
 ✓ 하지만 게으려서 아직 많이 안 끝나요.  
 ‘But I am not done yet because I am lazy.’

**Word Order.** Errors of misordering spanning a wide range of units may also occur in complex sentences with embedded clauses, as in (44).

(44) ✗ 다른 취미가 음악을 듣는 것은 특히 한국어와 일본어 노래예요.

✓ 다른 취미는 음악, 특히 한국과 일본 노래를 듣는 거예요.

‘As for my other hobbies, I also listen to music, especially Korean and Japanese songs.’

### 3.3 Qualitative Analysis of Errors

As sample sizes vary between groups, the frequencies in Table 4 must be standardized in order to be comparable. Table 5 shows the EDIs for each error type and extent per proficiency level. A quantitative analysis of per-document EDIs was also done to identify differences among groups.

**Table 5**

*Error Density Indices by Type and Extent per Proficiency Level and Kruskal–Wallis H Test on Per-document EDIs*

| Error     |         | Proficiency Level |      |      | Total | $\chi^2$ | df | p      | $\varepsilon^2$ |
|-----------|---------|-------------------|------|------|-------|----------|----|--------|-----------------|
| Type      | Extent  | Beg.              | Int. | Adv. |       |          |    |        |                 |
| Omission  |         | 0.32              | 0.11 | 0.35 | 0.24  | 9.918    | 2  | 0.007  | 0.2681          |
|           | Orthog. | 0.12              | 0.02 | 0.08 | 0.06  | 0.715    | 2  | 0.699  | 0.0193          |
|           | Gramm.  | 0.12              | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.07  | 5.025    | 2  | 0.081  | 0.1358          |
|           | Lexical | 0.07              | 0.06 | 0.18 | 0.11  | 10.773   | 2  | 0.005  | 0.2911          |
| Addition  |         | 0.20              | 0.18 | 0.27 | 0.22  | 3.632    | 2  | 0.163  | 0.0982          |
|           | Orthog. | 0.09              | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.04  | 0.770    | 2  | 0.680  | 0.0208          |
|           | Gramm.  | 0.07              | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.07  | 0.720    | 2  | 0.698  | 0.0195          |
|           | Lexical | 0.03              | 0.11 | 0.15 | 0.11  | 11.212   | 2  | 0.004  | 0.3030          |
| Selection |         | 0.54              | 0.52 | 1.12 | 0.76  | 15.124   | 2  | < .001 | 0.4088          |
|           | Orthog. | 0.07              | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.03  | 1.416    | 2  | 0.493  | 0.0383          |
|           | Gramm.  | 0.21              | 0.15 | 0.39 | 0.26  | 9.804    | 2  | 0.007  | 0.2650          |
|           | Lexical | 0.27              | 0.33 | 0.72 | 0.47  | 14.143   | 2  | < .001 | 0.3822          |
| Ordering  |         | 0.07              | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.04  | 2.538    | 2  | 0.281  | 0.0686          |
|           | Orthog. | 0.01              | —    | 0.00 | 0.00  | 0.638    | 2  | 0.727  | 0.0172          |
|           | Gramm.  | 0.02              | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01  | 0.461    | 2  | 0.794  | 0.0125          |
|           | Lexical | 0.04              | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.02  | 1.913    | 2  | 0.384  | 0.0517          |
| Total     |         | 1.12              | 0.82 | 1.78 | 1.26  | 12.204   | 2  | 0.002  | 0.3298          |
|           | Orthog. | 0.28              | 0.06 | 0.13 | 0.13  | 0.832    | 2  | 0.660  | 0.3298          |
|           | Gramm.  | 0.42              | 0.24 | 0.56 | 0.40  | 9.629    | 2  | 0.008  | 0.2606          |
|           | Lexic.  | 0.41              | 0.52 | 1.09 | 0.72  | 15.867   | 2  | < .001 | 0.4288          |

The computation of EDIs as seen in Table 5 shows that students at the beginner level typically make 1.12 errors per sentence, intermediate level 0.82 errors, and advanced level 1.78 errors. This suggests that an advanced learner is twice more likely to commit an error compared to an intermediate learner; the beginner learner’s probability

is only somewhat higher than that of the intermediate learner's. Moreover, Kruskal–Wallis H test was done to check for difference between levels. A parametric test like one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) would have been preferable but the data failed to meet the normality assumption required by it. Nevertheless, the Kruskal–Wallis H Test shows that this difference in total EDIs between proficiency levels is statistically significant and non-negligible,  $\chi^2 = 12.204$ ,  $p = 0.002$ ,  $\varepsilon^2 = 0.3298$ . A post hoc pairwise comparison of EDIs by error type and extent (see Section 6.4) points that overall, beginner learners commit less lexical additions, intermediate learners commit less omissions, and advanced learners commit more selection and lexical errors.

## 4 Conclusion and Recommendations

Filipino learners of Korean as a foreign language commit several kinds of errors in composition. Errors of omission may take the form of omission of spaces, omission of particles, omission of complementizers, or omission of conjunctives. Errors of addition may occur as unnecessary spaces, failure to omit particles, unnecessary pronouns, or redundancies. Errors of misselection may be realized as misspells, misselection of particles, misselection of allomorphs, misselection of tenses, misselection of change of state, assumed synonymy, collocation and idiomaticity errors, circumlocutions, or register mismatch. Finally, errors of misordering may take the form of misplacement of particles, failure to split verbs, using adjectives instead of adverbs, misplacement of adverbs, and general word order errors. The typology presented is not exhaustive but provides a general overview of the errors committed by Filipino learners nonetheless. Inferences on the possible sources of these errors, whether interlingual or intralingual, were also discussed.

One may expect that the occurrence rate of errors will decline as proficiency level goes up. However, the data suggests otherwise: advanced learners committed more than twice as many errors as intermediate learners. Specifically, beginner learners committed less lexical additions, intermediate learners committed less omissions, and advanced learners committed more selection and lexical errors. Some hypotheses as to why this is the case may be formulated. First, advanced learners can convey more information within a single, longer sentence. With the denominator of the EDI being the number of total sentences produced, the metric will inevitably be higher if a learner joins multiple clauses to form a single, more complex sentence. Second, beginners have less lexicon and grammar patterns available to them, hence the tendency to be conservative with production. Learners of higher proficiency have more tools allowing for generalization and experimentation, but in doing so they expose themselves to higher chances of committing errors. Lastly, the data on advanced learners were taken from courses which specifically aim to improve writing (and reading) skills. On the other hand, the courses taken so far by beginner and intermediate learners focus on oral communicative skills. Some constructions in the advanced levels may be grammatically correct but infelicitous, or felicitous but would be deemed awkward by a native speaker and were marked as errors.

Moving forward, a couple of improvements may be made in future research. First, the corpus data must be expanded in order to identify more systematic errors in the learners' compositions. This will also allow the application of more robust statistical tests, which in turn might allow for more meaningful interpretation of the quantitative data. The present study used a non-parametric test as the data was not normally distributed and the sample sizes for each proficiency level were too small. Second, instead of an individual judge, a panel of native speakers or language teachers may be invited to evaluate the compositions in order to avoid ambiguous errors in the analysis (i.e., correctness versus acceptability; see Lennon, 1991). Third, the compositions may be specifically chosen such that a longitudinal analysis is possible, that is, a comparison between the error density of the first and the last outputs written in the semester may be done.

As the current research provides an preliminary analysis of the errors Filipino learners of Korean commit in written compositions, future studies may focus on specific kinds of errors in order to describe in detail how these errors arise, like particle usage, lexical choices, and the like. Ultimately, this study wishes to serve as a starting point for further research on the KFL acquisition of Filipino learners. Such may aid in the curriculum development and teaching of Korean as a foreign language to Filipino learners.

### Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to all research participants, to UP Arirang, and to Ms. Maria Concepcion Chua and Dr. Kyung Min Bae of UP Department of Linguistics for their help in data collection and verification for this research.

## 5 References

- Ancho, I. V. (2019). Meaning and value of learning Korean language in the graduate school. *Thai Journal of East Asian Studies*, 23, 12–25.
- Bae, K. M., & Igno, J.-A. M. (2012). A study on non-native teachers of Korean as a Foreign Language (KFL): Focused on Filipino KFL teachers. In *2012 Philippine Korean Studies Symposium proceedings* (pp. 61–76). UP Department of Linguistics.
- Brown, H. D. (2006). *Principles of language learning and teaching* (5th ed.). Pearson Longman. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431>
- Brown, L., & Iwasaki, N. (2013). Cross-linguistic influence in the L2 acquisition of Korean case particles by Japanese-speaking and English-speaking learners: L1-L2 proximity and learner perceptions. *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 10(2), 176–195.
- Burt, M. K. (1975). Error analysis in the adult EFL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly*, 9(1), 53–63. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3586012>
- Chua, M. C. (2020). *Pillipin nae chogesub hangug-eo hagseubja-ui ilggi yuchangseonggwa odog yangsang yeon-gu* [Modes of oral reading fluency and error patterns of beginner

- level Korean learners in the Philippines] (Master's thesis). Korea University. Seoul.
- Corder, S. P. (1974a). Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition* (pp. 158–171). Pearson Longman. (Original work published 1971)
- Corder, S. P. (1974b). The significance of learners' errors. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition* (pp. 19–37). Pearson Longman. (Original work published 1967)
- Corder, S. P. (1981). The role of interpretation in the study of learners' errors. In *Error analysis and interlanguage* (pp. 35–44). Oxford University Press.
- Department of Education. (2018, November 18). *DepEd: Korean and other foreign language classes elective, not replacement to Filipino*. <https://www.deped.gov.ph/2018/11/18/deped-korean-and-other-foreign-language-classes-elective-not-replacement-to-filipino/>
- Domingo-Lipura, S. (2012). Korean language education in the Philippines: A case study of Ateneo de Manila University's Korean language program. In *2012 Philippine Korean Studies Symposium proceedings* (pp. 76–91). UP Department of Linguistics.
- Dulay, H. C., Burt, M. K., & Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Language two*. Oxford University Press.
- Granger, S. (1998). The computer learner corpus: A versatile new source of data for SLA research. In S. Granger (Ed.), *Learner English on a computer* (pp. 3–18). Addison Wesley Longman.
- Hinkel, E. (2018). Error analysis. In J. I. Liontas (Ed.), *The TESOL encyclopedia of English language teaching*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118784235.eelt0058>
- Houston, T. (2019, March 11). *Hangug-eo pyohyeon-ui teugjing 2 myeongsa jungsim dae dongsa jungsim* [Features of Korean expressions 2: Noun focus versus verb focus] [Powerpoint slides]. SlidePlayer. <https://slidesplayer.org/slide/16481667/>
- Hyun, B., & Choi, J.-C. (2018). *Hot TOPIK 2 Writing*. Hanguk Park.
- James, C. (2013). *Errors in language learning and use: Exploring error analysis*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315842912> (Original work published 1998)
- Jee, H.-Y., & Kim, Y.-J. (2013). Miyanma-in hangug-eo hageubja-ui gu-eo-e natanan gyeogjosa olyu yeon-gu [A study on the case marker errors of Myanmarese KSL learners spoken language]. *The Education of Korean Language*, 31, 341–367. <https://hdl.handle.net/10371/87250>
- Jin, C. (2010). Junggug-eogwon hageubja-ui gwageo sije olyu bunseog ass eul jungsim-eulo [A study on the Chinese learners' errors in using past tense on “-ass-”]. *Grammar Education*, 13, 137–156.
- Jun, Y. (2015). Focus, topic, and contrast. In *The handbook of Korean linguistics* (pp. 179–195). John Wiley & Sons. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118371008.ch10>
- Kang, M., & Chang, S. (2014). An analysis of lexical errors of Korean language learners: Some American college learners' case. *Pan-Pacific Association of Applied Linguistics*, 18(2), 93–110.

- Kim, H.-J. (2009, September 11). The growing popularity of the Korean language. *The Chosun Ilbo*. [http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2009/09/11/2009091100859.html](http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2009/09/11/2009091100859.html)
- Lakshmanan, U., & Selinker, L. (2001). Analysing interlanguage: How do we know what learners know? *Second Language Research*, 17(4), 393–420. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026765830101700406>
- LaPolla, R. J., & Poa, D. (2005, June 8). *Direct and indirect speech in Tagalog*. Workshop on Direct and Indirect Speech, Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, La Trobe University.
- Lennon, P. (1991). Error: Some problems of definition, identification, and distinction. *Applied Linguistics*, 12(2), 180–196. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/12.2.180>
- Li, C. N. (1986). Direct speech and indirect speech: A functional study. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Direct and indirect speech* (pp. 29–46). De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110871968.29>
- Malicsi, J. (2019). Error density index analysis: A language teaching strategy. *Multilingua Bulletin*, 1–8.
- Mccawley, J. D. (1998). Some tests for deep and surface constituent structure. In *The syntactic phenomena of English* (2nd ed., pp. 55–84). University of Chicago Press.
- Miyajima, T. (2019). *Ilbon-in junggeub hageubjaleul wihan hangug-eo dongsaajeog pyohyeongjuo gyoyug yeon-gu* [A study on the methodology of verb-centered expression structure of Korean language for Japanese intermediate learners] (Master's thesis). Seoul National University. Seoul.
- Montalvo, J. S. (2014). The teaching of Korean grammar for Filipino beginner learners. In *Proceedings of the 3rd Philippine Korean Studies Symposium* (pp. 149–177). UP Department of Linguistics.
- Nagaya, N. (2007). Information structure and constituent order in Tagalog. *Language and Linguistics*, 8, 343–372.
- Noh, B.-H. (2015). Junggug-eo mo-eo hwaja-ui hangug-eo hageubja-ui sseugi-e natanan olyu bunseog eohwi olyuleul jungsim-eulo [Error analysis of Chinese learners of the Korean language: Focus on analysis of vocabulary]. *Journal of the Korea Convergence Society*, 6(5), 131–142. <https://doi.org/10.15207/JKCS.2015.6.5.131>
- Noh, O.-J. (2012). Korean language education in KCC. In *2012 Philippine Korean Studies Symposium proceedings* (pp. 93–96). UP Department of Linguistics.
- Office of the University Registrar. (2014). *University of the Philippines Diliman general catalogue*. University of the Philippines Press.
- Pallotti, G. (2017). Applying the interlanguage approach to language teaching. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 55(4), 393–412. <https://doi.org/10.1515/iral-2017-0145>
- Richards, J. C. (1974). A non-contrastive approach to error analysis. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition* (pp. 172–188). Pearson Longman. (Original work published 1971)

- Richards, J. C., & Sampson, G. P. (1974). The study of learner English. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition* (pp. 3–18). Pearson Longman.
- Selinker, L. (1974). Interlanguage. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition* (pp. 31–54). Pearson Longman. (Original work published 1972)
- Shin, C. (2020). Monggol-in hangug-eo hageubja-ui sije mich nop-imbeob sayong-ui munbeobjeog olyu bunseog yeon-gu [A study on the analysis of grammatical errors in the use of tenses and honorifications of Mongolian learners]. *Language and Linguistics*, 89, 89–106. <https://doi.org/10.20865/20208904>
- Shin, S.-C. (2002). *Error analysis: Lexical errors produced by Australian KFL learners*. Korea-Australasia Research Centre.
- Tarone, E. (2006). Interlanguage. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (2nd ed., pp. 747–752). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-044854-2/00618-0>
- Yeon, J., & Brown, L. (2011). *Korean: A comprehensive grammar*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203833001>
- Yoon, D.-B. (2017). *Malle-isi-a junggeub hangug-eo hageubjaleul wihan josa gyoyug bang-an yeon-gu* [A study on teaching methods of postpositions for intermediate Korean learners through writing-error analysis of Malaysian learners] (Master's thesis). Seoul National University. Seoul. <https://hdl.handle.net/10371/127771>
- zzangdol57 [한올다숨]. (2020, September 3). *Busa sayong-ui jeyag, busa-ui gyeolhab sunseo* [Constraints on the use of adverbs, order of adverb combinations]. *Naver Blog*. <https://blog.naver.com/zzangdol57/222078727726>

## 6 Appendix

### 6.1 Writing Prompts for Beginner-Level Students

#### Instructions

Choose two (2) questions from the list provided and answer them in Korean in not less than eight (8) sentences each. Feel free to expound your answers as necessary.

Of course, this is not graded. While not required, you are highly encouraged to use only what you have learned previously. You are also allowed to use dictionaries or consult your previous notes as aid in writing. However, you are NOT allowed to ask for help from other speakers of Korean nor use any machine translators, grammar checkers, and the like.

If you have questions or concerns, please feel free to contact the researcher.

#### Prompts

1. How are you doing? 잘 지내고 있어요?
2. Why do you study Korean? 왜 한국어를 공부해요?

3. What is your hobby? 취미가 뭐예요?
4. What food do you like? What food do you not like? 무슨 음식이 좋아요? 무슨 음식이 안 좋아요?
5. Introduce your favorite Korean celebrity. 가장 좋아하는 한국 연예인을 소개해 주세요.
6. What do you want to do in Korea? 한국에서 뭐 하고 싶어요?

## 6.2 Sentences with Errors

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Beg.  | 저는 1학년 언어학(→ 을 [OMM, GRAM]) <u>전정</u> 하는(→ 전공 [SEL, ORTH]) 라나_입니다(→ ∅ [ADD, ORTH]).   |
| Beg.  | 저는 한국어를 공부하는 이유는 <u>요</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 제가 좋아하는 연예인 <u>들이</u> (→ 연예인들을 [SEL, ORTH; SEL, GRAM]) 이해하고 <u>∅</u> 싶어서(→ 이해하고 싶어서 [OMM, ORTH]) 그래요.   |
| Beg.  | <u>웬</u> 하면 <u>는</u> 요(→ 왜냐하면 [OMM, ORTH; ADD, GRAM]), 저는 kpop을 엄청 좋아하고, 예능을 많이 보고, 드라마도 많이 봐요.   |
| Beg.  | 그리고 <u>요</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 저는 한국에서 살고 <u>∅</u> 싶어요(→ 살고 싶어요 [OMM, ORTH]).   |
| Beg.  | 한국에서 하고 <u>∅</u> 싶은(→ 하고 싶은 [OMM, ORTH]) 것들이 많은데요.  |
| Beg.  | 저는 솔직히 말하면 <u>는</u> 요(→ ∅ [SEL, GRAM; ADD, GRAM]) 한국에서 유명한 <u>그리고</u> (→ 하고 [SEL, GRAM]) 멋진 가수가 되고 <u>∅</u> 싶어요(→ 되고 싶어요 [OMM, ORTH]).  |
| Beg.  | 사람들이 제 음악을 들어 <u>면서</u> (→ 들으면서 [SEL, GRAM]) 힐링 받 <u>∅</u> 으면(→ 받았으면 [OMM, GRAM]) 좋겠어요.   |
| Beg.  | 음악, 노래, 춤 <u>∅</u> (→ 이 [OMM, GRAM]) 없으면 제가 누군지 모르겠어요.  |
| Beg.  | 그래서 지금도 <u>조끔</u> 씩(→ 조금씩 [SEL, ORTH]) <u>조끔</u> 씩(→ 조금씩 [SEL, ORTH]) 그 꿈을 <u>∅</u> (→ 이루기 [OMM, LEX]) 위해서 제가 할 <u>∅</u> 수 <u>∅</u> 있는(→ 할 수 있는 [OMM, ORTH; OMM, ORTH]) 만큼 연습하고 <u>∅</u> 있고(→ 연습하고 있고 [OMM, ORTH]), 한국어 열심히 공부 <u>해</u> 요(→ 공부 <u>해</u> 요 [OMM, ORTH]). |
| Beg.  | 저는 성장한 라나 <u>∅</u> (→ 가 [OMM, GRAM]) 될 <u>∅</u> 수 <u>∅</u> 있도록(→ 될 수 있도록 [OMM, ORTH; OMM, ORTH]) 노력하겠습니다.   |
| Beg.  | 아이스크림을 만들 <u>∅</u> (→ 어 [OMM, GRAM]) 봤어요.   |
| Beg.  | <u>누나</u> 가 <u>두 명</u> (→ 누나 두 명이 [ORD, GRAM]) 있어요.   |
| Beg.  | 요즘 <u>날</u> 에(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 제 취미는 <u>디지탈</u> (→ 디지털 [SEL, ORTH]) 아트를 연습 <u>해</u> 요(→ 연습하는 거예요 [SEL, GRAM]).  |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Beg.  | 다른 취미가(→ 는 [SEL, GRAM]) 음악을 듣는 것은 특히 한국어와 일본어 노래예요(→ 음악, 특히 한국과 일본 노래를 듣는 거예요 [ORD, LEX; SEL, LEX]).                   |
| Beg.  | 그리고 저도(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 영감을 ∅(→ 받을 [OMM, LEX]) 때 음악도(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 노래를 만들해 봐요(→ 만들어 보기도 해요 [SEL, GRAM; ORD, GRAM]).   |
| Beg.  | 하지만 게으르려서(→ 게을러서 [SEL, ORTH]) 많이 아직(→ 아직 많이 [ORD, LEX]) 안 끝나요.   |
| Beg.  | 하나 더 취미가(→ 는 [SEL, GRAM]) 게임하는 것은이에요(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]).   |
| Beg.  | 오랫동안 원신 임팩트가 마음에 들어니까 시간이 있으면 항상 게임하고 있어요(→ 해요 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Beg.  | 마지막으로 제 개들하고 놀아는(→ 노는 [SEL, GRAM]) 것은(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 취미가 제일 재미있어요.  |
| Beg.  | 학생 생활이 너무 어려워는데(→ 어려운데 [SEL, GRAM]) 개들을 볼 때에는(→ 마다 [SEL, LEX]) 벌써 편해요(→ 마음이 편해져요 [SEL, LEX]).                          |
| Beg.  | 제 가장 좋아하는 한국 연예인이 가수 방탄 소년단이에요(→ 그룹 방탄소년단이에요 [SEL, LEX; ADD, ORTH]).   |
| Beg.  | 일곱 ∅(→ 명의 [OMM, GRAM]) 멤버들∅(→ 이 [OMM, GRAM]) 있어요: 김_남준, 김_석진, 민_윤기, 정_호석, 박_지민, 김_태형 그리고 전_정국(→ ∅ [ADD, ORTH (×7)]).   |
| Beg.  | 팬(→ 팬덤 [SEL, LEX]) 이름이 아미 라고 하고 2016년부터(→ 아미고 제가 2016년부터 [SEL, GRAM; OMM, LEX; ORD, ORTH]) 오늘까지 응원하고 있어요.              |
| Beg.  | 모든 음악은 너무(→ BTS의 노래 다 [SEL, LEX]) 좋아하고 목소리가 예뻐요.   |
| Beg.  | 노래 가사가 편하고 (? [SEL, LEX]) 마음에 들어요.   |
| Beg.  | 그리고 여러분들은(→ 멤버들은 [SEL, LEX]) 아주 친절해요.  |
| Beg.  | 방탄을 만날 때는(→ 만나는 것은 [SEL, LEX]) 가족을 찾는 것 처럼(→ 과 같아요 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Beg.  | 방탄이 영감도 ∅(→ 을 주고 [SEL, GRAM; OMM, LEX]) 위로해∅주셔서(→ 위로해 줘서 [OMM, ORTH; ADD, GRAM]) 항상 응원하는 것을(→ 응원하겠다고 [SEL, LEX]) 약속해요. |
| Beg.  | 저는 건강이 좋은데 스트레스를 많이 느껴요(→ 받아요 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Beg.  | 수업을 아직 보지 않아서(→ 많이 들지 않아서 과제가 [SEL, LEX; OMM, LEX]) 그저 쌓여요.  |
| Beg.  | 이 학기는 필리(→ 빨리 [SEL, ORTH]) 끝나고 싶어요(→ 끝났으면 좋겠어요 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Beg.  | ∅(→ 저는 [OMM, LEX]) 정력∅(→ 힘이 [SEL, LEX; OMM, GRAM]) 없어요.  |
| Beg.  | 그∅(→ 것은 제 [OMM, LEX]) 목표_예요(→ 목표예요 [ADD, ORTH]).   |
| Beg.  | 멋있는데(→ 다고 [SEL, LEX]) 생각했어요.   |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Beg.  | 그런데 <u>∅</u> (→ 제가 [OMM, LEX]) 케이팝을 <u>시작 좋아했어요</u> (→ 좋아하게 됐어요 [SEL, LEX]).              |
| Beg.  | 노래와 아이돌들이(→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) <u>알고</u> (→ 이해하고 [SEL, LEX]) 싶어서 공부하고 있어요.                    |
| Beg.  | 그리고 만화가(→ 를 [SEL, GRAM]) 너무 좋아해요.   |
| Beg.  | 불법적으로 읽는 것이(→ 읽기 [SEL, LEX]) 때문에 기분은(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 안 좋아요.                              |
| Beg.  | <u>다음날에</u> (→ 앞으로 [SEL, LEX]) 번역하고 싶어요.  |
| Beg.  | 매일(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 원신 게임을 하고 있어요.  |
| Beg.  | 지난 주에(→ ∅ [ADD, ORTH]) 빈센조의 마지막 회 <u>방송분을</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 봤어요.                       |
| Beg.  | 빈센조가 너무 <u>시원한하고</u> (→ 시원하고 [SEL, GRAM]) 재미있어서 <u>좋아해요</u> (→ 좋아요 [SEL, LEX]).           |
| Beg.  | 그런데 요즘 온라인 수업에 <u>다니고 있는</u> (→ 다니는 [SEL, GRAM]) 것을(→ 은 [SEL, GRAM]) 너무 어려워요.             |
| Beg.  | 그래서 온라인 수업을(→ 에 [SEL, GRAM]) 안 가요.  |
| Beg.  | 그리고 숙제를(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) <u>많이 있어요</u> (→ 많아요 [SEL, LEX]).                                |
| Beg.  | 저는 곧 숙제해야 하면(→ 고 [SEL, LEX]) 수업을 <u>통과하고</u> (→ 에 합격하고 [SEL, LEX]) 싶어요.                   |
| Beg.  | 제 가장 좋아하는 한국 연예인을(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 나재민입니다.  |
| Beg.  | 재민이 <u>잘생긴하고</u> (→ 잘생기고 [SEL, GRAM]) 키가 큰 남자예요.  |
| Beg.  | 그리고 <u>깊은</u> (→ 굵직한 [SEL, LEX]) 목소리 <u>있고</u> (→ 가지고 [SEL, LEX]) 너무 재미있어요.               |
| Beg.  | 매일(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 커피를 많이 마셔요.   |
| Beg.  | 저는 재민을(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 한상 건강고 <u>싶어요</u> (→ 했으면 좋겠어요 [SEL, LEX]).                        |
| Beg.  | 스트레이 키즈(→ 도 [OMM, GRAM]) 좋아합니다.   |
| Beg.  | 엔시티(→ 도 [OMM, GRAM]) 좋아합니다.   |
| Beg.  | 케이팝(→ 을 [OMM, GRAM]) 너무 좋아합니다.  |
| Beg.  | 역시, 한국드라마(→ 한국 드라마도 역시 [ORD, LEX; OMM, ORTH; OMM, GRAM]) 좋아합니다.                           |
| Beg.  | 그래서, 한국어(→ 를 [OMM, GRAM]) 공부합니다.  |
| Beg.  | 저는 한국에서 하고 싶어요 그래서 엔시티 이제노 만나고(→ 엔시티 이제노 만나러 한국에 가고 [ORD, LEX; SEL, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) 싶어요. |
| Beg.  | 싸인을 (→ 받고 [OMM, LEX]) <u>싶어요</u> (→ 싶어요 [SEL, ORTH]).                                     |
| Beg.  | 이제노는 잘생겼어(→ 요 [OMM, GRAM]).   |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Beg.  | 이제노는 친절 <u>해요</u> 그리고(→ 하고 [SEL, GRAM]) 성실 <u>해요</u> 그리고(→ 하고 [SEL, GRAM]) 정직 <u>해요</u> .  |
| Beg.  | 왜냐하면 이 학기 <u>는</u> (→ 에 [OMM, GRAM]) 졸업하고 싶어요.   |
| Beg.  | 안 좋아하는 음식은, <u>많이</u> 있어요(→ 많아요 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Beg.  | 저는 <u>식성</u> 이(→ 입맛 [SEL, LEX]) 까다로워요.   |
| Beg.  | 그리고 <u>노래</u> 는(→ 노래하는 [OMM, ORTH]) 것을 좋아해요.   |
| Beg.  | 음악을 자주 듣거나 노래를 <u>해</u> 요(→ 노래를 해요 [OMM, ORTH]).   |
| Beg.  | <u>폐쇄</u> (→ 봉쇄 [SEL, LEX]) 전에, <u>자주</u> 쇼핑몰에(→ 쇼핑몰에 자주 [ORD, LEX]) 가요.   |
| Beg.  | 산책하는 것을(→ 도 [SEL, GRAM]) 좋아해요.   |
| Int.  | 일단 필리핀 결혼식 <u>에</u> (→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 남자는 보통 양복이나 ‘바롱’이라는 옷을 입고 여자는 드레스 입어요.  |
| Int.  | 특히 쉬부는 보통 하얀 <u>드레스</u> 를 <u>에</u> (→ 드레스 [SEL, ORTH]) 입어요.  |
| Int.  | 한국 결혼식 <u>에</u> 갈 때 남자는 양복을 <u>도</u> 입기 보지만(→ 입기도 하지만 [ORD, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) 여자는 바지 정장이나 치마를 입어요.  |
| Int.  | 필리핀에서 <u>그렇게</u> 아니 <u>예요</u> (→ 그렇지 않아요 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Int.  | 한국 <u>에</u> (→ 에서 [OMM, GRAM]) 결혼을 축하하는 뜻으로 주는 돈을 축의금이라고 해요.   |
| Int.  | 필리핀 결혼식에서도 손님들이 돈을 드리지만 요즘 텔레비전과 선풍기 <u>과</u> (→ , [ADD, GRAM]) 냉장고 <u>과</u> (→ 와 [SEL, GRAM]) 다른 유용한 가전 <u>도</u> (→ 가전제품도 [OMM, LEX]) 줘요.                 |
| Int.  | 한국에서 필리핀에서도 장례식장에 갈 때 사람들이 검은색이나 어두운 색 옷을 입는데 화장을 진하게 하거나 액세서리를 안 <u>했</u> 어요(→ 해요 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Int.  | 한국 장례식 <u>에서</u> (→ 에 [SEL, GRAM]) 도착하면 먼저 빈소에 들어가서 영정 앞에 향을 피우거나 흰색 꽃을 놓고 영정 앞에서 절을 두 번 반 한대요.  |
| Int.  | 필리핀 장례식 <u>에</u> <u>하면서</u> (→ 에서는 [SEL, LEX; OMM, GRAM]) 관에 다가가 기도하거나 고인에게 작별을 <u>고</u> 할 수 <u>있</u> 어요(→ 고하는 것이 일반적인 <u>예요</u> [SEL, LEX]).              |
| Int.  | 한국에서 장례식 <u>에</u> 가면 가족에게 인사를 하고 말없이 위로하지만 필리핀에서 가족과 손님들은 보통 <u>이미</u> (→ $\emptyset$ [ADD, LEX]) 이야기해요.   |
| Int.  | 한국 장례식에서 조의금을 <u>있</u> 기도(→ 내고 [SEL, LEX]) 준비된 음식을 먹기도 <u>있</u> 는데 <u>반대로</u> (→ 하는 반면 [SEL, LEX; SEL, LEX]) 필리핀에서 그럴 필요는 없어요.                             |
| Int.  | 헤이즐 씨가 한국 수업에서 반친구한테 우리는 동아리 <u>에</u> <u>세</u> (→ 에서 [SEL, ORTH]) 만났어요.  |
| Int.  | <u>자</u> 기는(→ $\emptyset$ [ADD, LEX]) UP SaLin 하고 대학교 언어학과에서 제 후배 <u>예요</u> .  |
| Int.  | 헤이즐 씨를 처음 봤을 때 이미 <u>누</u> 군에게(→ 누군가 [OMM, ORTH]) 이야기하고 <u>있</u> 기(→ 있었기 [SEL, GRAM]) 때문에 수다스러운 <u>사</u> 람이 <u>될</u> 것이라고(→ $\emptyset$ [ADD, LEX]) 생각했어요. |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Int.  | 자기는(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) <u>눈이도</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 큰 편이고 얼굴이 <u>각져요</u> (→ 각졌어요 [SEL, GRAM]).  |
| Int.  | 그리고 헤이즐 씨 키가 제 키를(→ 와 [SEL, GRAM]) 비슷한 것 같아요.  |
| Int.  | <u>저는</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 처음에 <u>조용하는</u> (→ 조용한 [SEL, GRAM]) 사람이지만 <u>편한 사람들한테</u> (→ 함께 [SEL, ORTH]) 있을 때 저는 많이 말해요.                                  |
| Int.  | 그래서 우리는 <u>같은</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 좋아하는 것을 <u>있기</u> (→ 것이 비슷하기 [SEL, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) 때문에 저는 헤이즐 씨를(→ 와 [SEL, GRAM]) 쉽게 친해졌어요.                          |
| Int.  | 같은 케이팝 노래를 듣는 것도 같은 한국 드라마를 보는 것도 했고 우리는 SNS를 <u>도</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 많이 <u>사용했어요</u> (→ 사용했어요 [SEL, ORTH]).  |
| Int.  | 또한 헤이즐 씨는 다른 나라 언어를 <u>공부하기 열정적이에요</u> (→ 열정적으로 공부해요 [OMM, ORTH; ORD, LEX]).   |
| Int.  | 저도 역시 <u>마찬가지예요</u> (→ 예요 [SEL, ORTH]).  |
| Int.  | 저는 우리 한국어 수업에는 동갑인 친구가 없기 때문에 질문이 있을 때 헤이즐 씨를(→ 에게 [SEL, GRAM]) 물어볼 수 있으니까 기분이 좋아요.  |
| Int.  | 헤이즐 씨 밝은 성격이 <u>있기</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 때문에 저는 헤이즐 씨 같은 친구가 있어서 기뻐요.   |
| Int.  | 많은 사람들은 또한 실적을 <u>당했어요</u> (→ 당했어요 [SEL, ORTH]).   |
| Int.  | 많은 의료 전문가들이 아픈 사람들을 돌보기 위해 <u>필요하다</u> (→ 필요해요 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Int.  | 그런데 집에서 일을 할 수 있는 직업에(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 경쟁률은 <u>높아</u><br><u>있을</u> (→ 높아질 [SEL, GRAM]) 거예요.  |
| Int.  | 지난 몇 달 동안 저는(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 많은 사람들이 집에서 나갈 수 없으니까 자주 온라인 쇼핑을 하기 <u>알아차렸어요</u> (→ 시작했어요 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Int.  | 이제 제품을 판매하려는 사람들은 SNS를 <u>이용_하고</u> (→ 이용하고 [ADD, ORTH]) 트위터 <u>랑</u> , 위스탁 <u>그램이랑</u> , Shopee <u>랑</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM (×3)]), Lazada 등에 상품을 올리고 있어요. |
| Int.  | 소비자들에게는(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 필요한 물건을 사기 위해 집에서 나가는 것을(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) <u>필요할 수</u> (→ 필요 [SEL, LEX]) 없기 때문에 온라인쇼핑은 더 편리한 것 같아요.                             |
| Int.  | 온라인으로 물건을 팔면 물리적인 가게의 임대료를 걱정 <u>하지말 필지</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) <u>않아요</u> (→ 도 돼요 [OMM, LEX]).   |
| Int.  | 제품을 판매하고 싶은 사람들이 단지 앱을 <u>∅</u> (→ 어떻게 [OMM, LEX]) 사용하는 <u>∅</u> (→ 지 [OMM, LEX]) 배우기 <u>아니면 익히야 해요</u> (→ 면 돼요 [SEL, LEX]).                             |
| Int.  | 이렇게 하면 자기의(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 다른 사람들에게(→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) 접촉이 줄어들게 될 수 있어요.   |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Int.  | 하지만 자기는(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 온라인으로 제품을 판매하고 싶으면 어떤 사람들은(→ 에는 [SEL, LEX; OMM, ORTH]) 같은 물건을 팔 수 있어(→ 파는 사람들이 있어서 [SEL, LEX]) 경쟁률이 높겠어요.                              |
| Int.  | 유행병의(→ 코로나 대유행 [SEL, LEX; ADD, GRAM]) 때문에 많은 사람들은 배달 서비스으로(→ 로 [SEL, GRAM]) 음식을 사기도 시작했어요.   |
| Int.  | 유행병의(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 때문에 배달 업체가 인기가 많알 되고(→ 높아지고 [SEL, LEX]) 더 많은 고객들도 얻었다고 생각해요.   |
| Int.  | 하지만 뉴스에서 사람들이 온라인 쇼핑을 할 때 사기를 당한다는 ∅(→ 것을 [OMM, LEX]) 봤어요.   |
| Int.  | 뉴스에서 소포들도 파손된으로(→ 되어서 [SEL, LEX]) 도착했으니까 많은 사람들이 불평한대요.  |
| Int.  | 더 많은 사람들이 배달 산업에 의존할 때 미래에 배달 회사들은 이상(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 이런 사건 일어나지 않도록 해야 하겠어요.  |
| Int.  | 사람들이 택배 회사를 신뢰하기 때문에(→ 하면 [SEL, LEX]) 택배기사(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) ∅(→ 더 [OMM, LEX]) 좋은 서비스를 제공해야 하고 부주의해서는 안 될 거예요.   |
| Int.  | 한국과 필리핀의 결혼식은 유사점들과(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 차이점들이 있어요.(→ 있지만 [SEL, LEX]) 요즘 한국과 필리핀의 결혼식은(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) ∅(→ 모두 [OMM, LEX]) 서양화 되어 가요(→ 가는 것은 유사한 것 같아요 [OMM, LEX]). |
| Int.  | 일찍 결혼식장에 도착한 사람들은 신부와 함께(→ 함께 [SEL, ORTH]) 사진을 찍기도 해요.   |
| Int.  | 근데 필리핀에는(→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) “pamahiin” 때문에 결혼식 전에 신랑이 신부를 보거나 만나면 안 돼요.   |
| Int.  | 한국에(→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 축의금은 보통 결혼을 축하하는 뜻으로 줘요.   |
| Int.  | 필리핀에도(→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 선물로 돈을 주지만(→ 주기는 하지만 [OMM, GRAM]) 가전제품을 주는 것이 더 흔해요.   |
| Int.  | ∅(→ 반면 [OMM, LEX]) 필리핀 결혼식에 갈 때는(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 손님들은 보통 결혼식을 모티브로 한 옷을 입어요.  |
| Int.  | 필리핀에는(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) ∅(→ 결혼식은 [OMM, LEX]) 보통 피로연장 가기 전에 결혼식을 하면서 성미사를 올리기 때문에 의식이 길어요.   |
| Int.  | 한국에는(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 결혼식이(→ 결혼식 [OMM, ORTH]) 끝나면 가족과 친척, 그리고 친구와 동료들은 신랑, 신부와 함께 사진을 찍고 피로연장으로 가서 식사를 해요.   |
| Int.  | 한국 결혼식에는 신부는 미리 약속한 친구에게 부케를 던지는데 필리핀 결혼식에는 신부가 자유롭게 부케를 던지고 부케를 잡는 성인 소녀가(→ 여자 [SEL, LEX]) 다음∅(→ 에 [OMM, GRAM]) 결혼할 거래요.                                      |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Int.  | 필리핀 사람이 사망할 때(→ 하면 [SEL, LEX]) 유족은 종교적 장례식을 해요.   |
| Int.  | Lamay에는(→ 동안 [SEL, LEX]) <u>Ø</u> (→ 돌아가신 분의 [OMM, LEX]) 시체는 집 안에 있고 보통 3-7일간 지속돼요.   |
| Int.  | 한국의 장례식은 장례식장에(→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 해요.  |
| Int.  | 장례식장에 갈 때 남자는 검은색 양복에 흰색 와이셔츠(→ 와이셔츠 [SEL, ORTH]), 여자는 검은색 정장을 입고 검은색 옷을 입는데 검은색 옷이 없으면 어두운 색 옷을 입어도 돼요.                      |
| Int.  | 필리핀 사람들은 미신적인 믿음이 많기(→ 미신을 많이 믿기 [ORD, LEX]) 때문에 관에 떨어지는(→ 위에는 [SEL, LEX]) 눈물을 피하고(→ 떨어뜨리지 않고 [SEL, LEX]) 목욕을 하거나 머리를 빗지 않아요. |
| Int.  | 왜냐하면 그것이 불운을 가져올 것이라요(→ 것이라고 믿기 때문이에요 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Int.  | “빙고”와 카드 게임과 같은 게임들이 있어서 그들이(→ Ø [ADD, LEX]) <u>Ø</u> (→ 밤새 [OMM, LEX]) 깨어있을 수 있어요(→ 깨어있기도 해요 [SEL, LEX]).                    |
| Int.  | 한국에는(→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 장례식장에 도착하면 먼저 빈소에 들어가서 영정 앞에 향을 피우거나 흰색 꽃을 놓고 영정 앞에서 절을 두 번 반 해요.                                      |
| Int.  | 유가족과 가까운 사이라면 하룻밤 묵고 <u>도울 수 있어요</u> (→ 돕기도 해요 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Int.  | 거의 모든 것이 가능한데 보통 <u>신체적으로</u> (→ 대면으로 [SEL, LEX]) 하는 일도 온라인에서 할 수 있다.   |
| Int.  | 그래서 요즘 사람들은 쇼핑을 하려고 온라인에 접속하고 있고(→ 하고 [SEL, GRAM]) 온라인 쇼핑에 익숙해지고 있다.  |
| Int.  | 특히 이 유행병 기간에 사람들은 자주 인터넷을 검색하는데 더 많은 사람들이 온라인 쇼핑에 대해 알게 되었다(→ 되었다 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Int.  | 구매자들이 품질을 결정할 수 있게 물건의 평가와 리뷰도 <u>포함되었다</u> (→ 보여준다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Int.  | <u>Ø</u> (→ 반면 [OMM, LEX]) 온라인 쇼핑은 장점이 많지만 단점도 있다.  |
| Int.  | 또한 온라인에서 사기를 당할 위험이 높고 제품의 <u>납기가</u> (→ ? [SEL, LEX]) 지연되는 경우도 있다.   |
| Int.  | <u>저는</u> (→ Ø [ADD, LEX]) <u>Ø</u> (→ 개인적으로 [OMM, LEX]) 온라인 쇼핑을 몇 번 해 보니까 너무 좋았다.  |
| Int.  | <u>개인적으로</u> (→ Ø [ADD, LEX]) 온라인 쇼핑을 할 때 집을 나갈 필요가 없기 때문에 더 편리해서 온라인 쇼핑은 더 좋은 것 같다.  |
| Int.  | 하지만 가끔은 산 물건의 품질이 예상과 좀 다른데 사진에(→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 보기보다 좋지 않다.   |
| Int.  | 그래서 만약 <u>여러분이</u> (→ Ø [ADD, LEX]) 온라인 쇼핑을 한다면 신뢰할 수 있는 사이트만을 이용해야 한다.   |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Int.  | 미래에 <u>∅</u> (→ 이런 [OMM, LEX]) 문제가 발생하지 않게 구매자와 판매자 모두 온라인 쇼핑 앱과 사이트를 책임감 있게와(→ 있고 [SEL, GRAM]) 안전하게 이용해야 한다.   |
| Int.  | 왜냐하면 <u>제가</u> (→ 내가 [SEL, LEX]) 3년 <del>∅</del> 동안(→ 3년 동안 [OMM, ORTH]) 좋아했던 남자와의 추억이기 때문이다.   |
| Int.  | <u>제가</u> (→ 내가 [SEL, LEX]) 3년 동안 좋아했던 그 남자의 이름은 켄트다.   |
| Int.  | 켄트 씨가 우리 친구들에게 “누가 나와 함께 교회에 가고 싶어?”라고 물었는데 <u>저</u> (→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 외에는 아무도 가고 싶지 않아서 우리 둘만 갔다.   |
| Int.  | 우리가 교회에 도착했을 때 늦었기 때문에 더 이상 자리가 없어서 <u>설교를</u> (→ 미사 [SEL, LEX]) 들으면서 교회 옆에서 있어야 했다.  |
| Int.  | 미사 <u>한가운데서</u> (→ 중 [SEL, LEX]) 켄트 씨는 <u>저</u> 에게(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 뭔가를 속삭였는데 <u>뒤에</u> (→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) 시끄러워서 켄트 씨가 말하는 것을 잘 듣지 못했지만 <u>제가</u> (→ 나는 [SEL, LEX; SEL, GRAM]) 그냥 고개를 끄덕였다. |
| Int.  | 그 후 켄트 씨는 떠났고 <u>저</u> 는(→ 나는 [SEL, LEX]) 켄트 씨가 방금 화장실에 간 줄 알았는데 벌써 몇 분이 지났지만 아직 돌아 <del>∅</del> 오지(→ ∅ [ADD, ORTH]) 않았기 때문에 많이 걱정했다.   |
| Int.  | 무슨 일이 갑자기 <u>생기느냐고</u> (→ 생겨서 [SEL, LEX]) 미사에 끝까지 참석하지 못한다고 생각했다.   |
| Int.  | 다음날 켄트 씨는 학교에서 <u>저</u> 를(→ 나를 [SEL, LEX]) 보고 “어제 왜 <u>나</u> 를 떠났나요(→ 먼저 갔어요 [SEL, LEX])?”라고 물었다.   |
| Int.  | 켄트 씨가 어제 먼저 간 사람이니까 켄트 씨의 질문이 조금 이상하다고 생각했지만 <u>저</u> 는(→ 나는 [SEL, LEX]) “어제 니가 나를 떠난 줄 알았는데요”라고 대답했다.  |
| Int.  | 필리핀과 한국은 둘 다 풍부한 문화를(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) 있으니까, 두 나라는 결혼식은 여러 가지로 <u>다릅니다</u> .(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 다르긴 하지만 물론 비슷한 점도 있습니다.   |
| Int.  | 한국에서는 결혼식에 갈 때 남자가 보통 양복을 입고 여자는 치마나 바지 정장을 입는데 필리핀 결혼식에서 남자는 보통 양복을 입고 여자는 드레스를 입는데, 세미 <u>퍼멀로나</u> (→ 정장 [SEL, LEX]) 스마트 평상복이면 괜찮습니다만 컬러 모티브가 있습니다.                                     |
| Int.  | 보통 교회 근처에는 식당이 <u>없었습니다</u> (→ 없습니다 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Int.  | 한국 결혼식에서는 신랑 신부의 부모님이 입장하시는 손님을 <u>맞이하고 있습니다</u> (→ 맞이합니다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Int.  | 손님들이 신랑과 신부 부모님께 “축하합니다”라고 인사를 <u>드린다</u> . <u>그리고</u> (→ 드리고 [SEL, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) 신랑에게도 “축하합니다. 행복하게 사세요”라고 축하 인사를 <u>한다</u> (→ 합니다 [SEL, LEX]).                                       |
| Int.  | 다음 차이점은 결혼식 <u>기간</u> 입니다(→ 시간 [SEL, LEX]).   |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Int.  | 보통 30분에서 최대 1시간 30분 정도 <u>걸린 데</u> (→ 걸리는데 [SEL, GRAM; ADD, ORTH]) 필리핀 결혼식은 더 오래 걸립니다.   |
| Int.  | 친척들도 공연합니다. <u>또한</u> (→ 을 하고 [SEL, GRAM]) 신혼부부의 춤, 돈 춤, 가터 잡기, 그리고 더 많은 재미있는 활동들이 있습니다.   |
| Int.  | 두 나라 모두 식사가 끝날 때쯤 신랑 신부가 테이블마다 다니면서 인사를 <u>한다</u> (→ 합니다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Int.  | 한국 결혼식에(→ 에서는 [SEL, GRAM; OMM, GRAM]) 신부가 미리 약속한 친구에게 부케를 <u>던진다</u> . 하지만(→ 던지지만 [SEL, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) 필리핀에서는 미리 약속한 친구가 없습니다.       |
| Int.  | 왜냐하면 돈을(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 아주 유용합니다.   |
| Int.  | ∅(→ 반면 [OMM, LEX]) 필리핀 결혼식에서는 보통 가전제품은 선물로 줍니다.  |
| Int.  | 냉장고, 텔레비전, 밥솥, 선풍기, 그리고 더 많은 가전제품이(→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) 선물로 주어집니다(→ 줍니다 [ADD, GRAM]).  |
| Int.  | 왜냐하면 장례식은 슬픈 순간이니까 그 색깔은 장례식을 <u>위해</u> (→ 에서는 [SEL, LEX]) 너무 <u>밝습니다</u> (→ 밝아서 어울리지 않습니다 [OMM, LEX]).                                |
| Int.  | 그리고 필리핀에서 장례식에 갈 때 화장을 진하게 하거나 액세서리를 하는 것은 좋지 <u>않다</u> (→ 않습니다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Int.  | 그리고 돌아가신 분에게 경의를 <u>표하세요</u> (→ 표하고 [SEL, LEX]) 그다음에 가족들이 준비한 음식이나 간식을 드세요.  |
| Int.  | 한국 장례식처럼 음식을 먹으면서 사함과과 함께 돌아가신 분에 대한 추억을 이야기하고 서로의 안부도 묻는다(→ 묻습니다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Int.  | 이번 학기는 4개월밖에 안 <u>걸리지만</u> (→ 걸렸지만 [SEL, GRAM]), 개인적으로 이번 학기는 지금까지 <u>제가</u> (→ 내가 [SEL, LEX]) 가장 힘들었던 <u>한</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 학기였다. |
| Int.  | <u>저는</u> (→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 그냥 마감일을 맞추기 위해 <u>무엇이든</u> (→ 어떻게든 [SEL, LEX]) 제출한다(→ 했지만 [SEL, LEX]) 최선을 다하지 않은 것 같았다.                     |
| Int.  | <u>저는</u> (→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 올해 많은 것을 <u>잃었다</u> . 그러나(→ 잃었지만 [SEL, LEX]) <u>또한</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 많은 것을 얻었다고 생각한다.                    |
| Int.  | 이제, 우리는 더 이상 걱정하거나 후회하지 <u>말아야 한다</u> . 하지만(→ 말고 [SEL, LEX]) 내년에는 거 나아져야 한다.   |
| Int.  | 온라인 학기가 어떻게 진행되는지 알게 됐으니까 <u>저는</u> (→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) <u>제</u> (→ 내 [SEL, LEX]) 공부 습관을 개선할 것이다.   |
| Int.  | 그리고 우선순위도 <u>정하겠다</u> (→ 정하겠고 [SEL, LEX]) 건강도 잘 챙기겠다.  |
| Int.  | 무엇보다, <u>저는</u> (→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) <u>제</u> (→ 내 [SEL, LEX]) 자신에게 더 잘 할 것이다.   |
| Int.  | 이제 <u>저는</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 오르지 내 행복과 평화에 집중하기로 했다.  |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Int.  | 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) <u>제</u> (→ 내 [SEL, LEX]) 자신을 잘 돌보지 않아서 이번 학기에 건강이 나빠졌다.   |
| Int.  | 지난 몇 달간 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 몇 시간밖에 자지 못하고, 살이 많이 빠졌고, 밥을 제때 먹지 않았고, 운동을 하지 않았다.  |
| Int.  | 시간이 별로 없기 때문에 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 친구들과 가족들과 거의 이야기하지 않는다.  |
| Int.  | 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 그들의 메시지에 답하는 데 <u>시간이</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 더 오랜 시간이 걸렸고, 가끔은 <u>제가</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 잊어버렸기 때문에 대답하지 않았다.  |
| Int.  | <u>제</u> (→ 내 [SEL, LEX]) 주변 사람들은 <u>저에게</u> (→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 사랑을 많이 주고 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) <u>그들에게</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 항상 고맙게 생각한다.  |
| Int.  | 이 친구들은 항상 <u>제가</u> (→ 내가 [SEL, LEX]) 어떻게 지내는지 묻고, 재미있는 것들에 대해 이야기하고, <u>제</u> (→ 내 [SEL, LEX]) 고민을 들어준다.   |
| Int.  | 마지막으로, 유행병 상황 때문에 <u>일어나지 않았던</u> (→ 이루지 못한 [SEL, LEX; SEL, LEX; ADD, GRAM]) 계획이 많이 있다.   |
| Int.  | 반 친구들과 회의가 있어서 비가 와도 도서관에 <u>가야한다</u> (→ 가야 했다 [OMM, ORTH; SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Int.  | 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 친구에게 우산이 없다고 말했는데 다행히 그 친구가 우산을 빌려주었다.   |
| Int.  | 그 친구의 우산은 검은색인데 검은색이 인기가 많아서 많은 사람들이 같은 색의 우산을 가지고 있다(→ 있었다 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Int.  | 친구에게 <u>감사하고</u> (→ 고맙다고 하고 [OMM, GRAM]) 적별 인사를 한 후에, 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 도서관에 갔다.   |
| Int.  | 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 빠르게 <u>대답하고</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) “도서관”이라고 말했다.   |
| Int.  | 그다음에 그 친구는 다시 답장을 하지 않아서, 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 더 이상 그것에 대해 생각하지 않았다.  |
| Int.  | 회의가 끝났을 때 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 밖에 나가서 검은 우산을 주웠다.   |
| Int.  | 하지만, <u>제가</u> (→ 내가 [SEL, LEX]) <u>그에게</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 우산을 돌려주고 있을 때,(→ 돌려줬고 [SEL, LEX]) 그 친구는 많이 놀랐다.  |
| Int.  | “야! 네 메시지를 읽은 후에 도서관에 갔어. 나는 어제 이미 <u>제</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 우산을 받았어”라고 그 친구가 말했다.(→ 말하면서 [SEL, LEX]) 그는 <u>저에게</u> <u>그의</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 우산을 보여 주었고 우리는 그때 정말 혼란스러웠다. |
| Int.  | “그럼, 이전 누구 우산이야?! 왜 나한테 말 안 했어?” 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 물었다.  |
| Int.  | 그 친구는 시험을 준비하느라고 나에게 말할 수 <u>없다고</u> (→ 없었다고 [SEL, GRAM]) 말했다.  |
| Int.  | 친구의 우산이 아니었고 다른 사람들의 우산이어서 친구와 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 많이 웃었다.   |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Int.  | 제가(→ 내가 [SEL, LEX]) 실수를 했다는 것을 알았을 때, 진짜 주인에게 정말 미안하고 부끄러웠다.  |
| Int.  | 저는(→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) “어떻게 그 사람이 우산 없이 집에 갔을까?”라고 생각했다.  |
| Int.  | 그래서 친구에게 <u>저와</u> (→ 나 [SEL, LEX]) 함께 도서관에 가자고 부탁했고 거기에 우산을 반납했다.  |
| Adv.  | 사람들이 각 생각을 표현을 할 때 <u>다른 방법으로 사용하도록</u> (→ ? [SEL, LEX]) 매일매일 새로운 어휘와 표현이 만들어지고 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 특히 사이버상에서 생각을 특별하게 표현하기 위해 독특한 용어를 <u>사용한다</u> .<br><u>이런</u> (→ 사용하는 [SEL, LEX]) <u>변화가 있어서</u> (→ 생기면서 [SEL, LEX]) 사람들이 일상생활에서도 다른 사람들과 소통할 때는(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 인터넷 언어를 사용한다.   |
| Adv.  | 그러나 <u>다른</u> (→ 어떤 [SEL, LEX]) 사람들은 인터넷 언어에 대한 강한 의견을 가지고 <u>있으므로</u> (→ 가지고 [SEL, LEX]) 표준어의 발달에 나쁜 영향을 미친다고 생각한다.  |
| Adv.  | 인터넷 언어의 특징은 신조어, 은어, 이모티콘, 동영상, <u>줄임말로</u> (→ 로 [SEL, GRAM]) 이루어진다.  |
| Adv.  | 이 특징을(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 통해 사람들이 더 편하게 생각, 감정, 반응을 표현할 수 있는 반면에 어떤 사람들을 위한 이러한 그렇지 않다. 따라서 인터넷 언어는 <u>긍정적인 측면과</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) <u>부정적인 측면이</u> (→ 도 [SEL, GRAM]) 있다.  |
| Adv.  | ∅(→ 먼저 [OMM, LEX]) 긍정적인 측면을 언급하면 일단 다른 사람들과 대화할 때 신조어나 은어를 통해 생각을 창의적으로 표현할 수 있으므로 자연스럽게 이야기하고 친한 관계를 형성할 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 또한 이것들을 사용할 때 상냥한 분위기를 가지고 <u>있으므로</u> (→ 나타내므로 [SEL, LEX]) 사람들이 이것을 사용할 때는 그들이 <u>포함되었다고</u> (→ 소속감을 [SEL, LEX]) 느낀다.  |
| Adv.  | 게다가 이모티콘이나 동영상을 통해 사람들이 말없이 정확히 생각이나 감정을 표현할 수 있어서 다른 사람들과 이야기하기∅(→ 에 [OMM, GRAM]) 더 효율적이다.   |
| Adv.  | 줄임말을 사용하면 하고 싶은 말을 더 짧게 쓸 수 있어서 <u>더 시간을</u> (→ 시간을 더 [ORD, LEX]) 단축할 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 둘째, 이모티콘이나 동영상을 사용하는 것을(→ 으로 [SEL, GRAM]) 확실히 감정을 잘 표현할 수 있지만 어떤 사람들을 위해 이런 것들을 오해할 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 마지막으로 다른 사람들이 줄임말을 이해하지 못하는 <u>것을 제외하고</u> (→ 것 외에도 [SEL, LEX]) 그것은 사람들의 읽고 쓰는 능력에 영향을 미친다.   |
| Adv.  | 이렇듯 인터넷 언어를 통해 사람들이 다른 사람들을 더 잘 이해하고 그들과 연결할 수 있지만 <u>이것도</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 서로를 오해하게 할 수∅(→ 도 [OMM, GRAM]) 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 이런 종류의(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 토론이 있어서(→ 을 통해 [SEL, LEX]) <u>사람들이</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 여전히 인터넷 언어가 이로운지 <u>논의하고 있다</u> .(→ 논의가 되는데 [SEL, LEX]) <u>개인적으로</u> (→ 언어는 [SEL, LEX]) 변화를 멈출 수 <u>없고</u> (→ 멈추지 않고 [SEL, LEX]) <u>사람들이 무엇을 하든</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 언어는 항상 발달할 것이다. |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Adv.  | 우리가 그저(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 해야 할 일은 인터넷 언어를 언제 어디에서 적절하게 사용해야 하는지 잘 확인하는 것이다.  |
| Adv.  | 그 언어를 사용하는 사람들의(→ 은 [SEL, GRAM]) 주로 자연환경과 사회 환경의 영향을 받기 때문이라서(→ 에 [SEL, LEX]) 사고를 표현하는 다양한 방법이 있다(→ 을 보인다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 필리핀인들은 농경지에 둘러싸여 있으므로 자연환경에서 보는 것을 바탕으로 표현을 사용한다(→ 한다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 심는 것을 가리키는 여러 어휘와 표현이 있다.(→ 있는데 [SEL, LEX]) 심기에 대한(→ 와 관계 있는 [SEL, LEX]) 표현의 예로는 분노를 심기(→ 심다 [SEL, GRAM]), 사랑을 심기(→ 심다 [SEL, GRAM]), 사랑의 열매(→ 를 맺다 [OMM, LEX]) 등을 들 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | ∅(→ 또한 [OMM, LEX]) 필리핀어도(→ 는 [SEL, GRAM]) 사회 환경의 영향을 받는다.   |
| Adv.  | 필리핀인들이(→ 은 [SEL, GRAM]) 신분과 성별에 대해(→ 을 [SEL, LEX]) 중요하게 생각하므로 다른 사람을 부를 때 이름 말고(→ 보다는 [SEL, LEX]) 호칭으로(→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) 부르고 존경을 표현한다.   |
| Adv.  | 이는 사람들에게(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 특히 낮은 사람을 대하는 어떤(→ 특별한 [SEL, LEX]) 방법이 있기 때문이다(→ 이기도 하다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 또한 친족에 관한 한 필리핀인들은 가족들에게(→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) 호칭으로 부른다.   |
| Adv.  | 지난 3월에 매년(→ 매년 3월 8일은 [ORD, LEX; ADD, LEX; SEL, LEX]) 기념하는(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 여성의 달이 열렸다.(→ 날로 [SEL, LEX]) 한 달 동안 계속되는 이(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 행사는(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) ∅(→ 이어지는데 [OMM, LEX]) 차별과 학대를 경험하는 여성들의 평등을 도모하기 위한 것이다. |
| Adv.  | 또한 이 행사를 통해 일반인들은 필리핀에서 양성평등의 현황과 진보를 알게 되 <u>도</u> 좋았다(→ 되는 시간도 가지게 된다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 인권위 대변인 재클린 드 기아씨가(→ 는 [OMM, ORTH; ADD, GRAM; SEL, GRAM]) 모든 사람들에게(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 평등을 위한 싸우라고(→ 위한 노력해야 한다고 [SEL, LEX]) 상기시키고 격려하여(→ 주장하며 [SEL, LEX]) 우리 사회가 발전하도록 하였다(→ 도움을 주고 있다 [SEL, LEX]).                   |
| Adv.  | 이런 옹호를 통해 나도 여성을 더 지켜주고(→ 지키고 [ADD, GRAM]) 평등을 위해 싸우고 싶은 동기를 느끼게 되었다.   |
| Adv.  | 며칠 후 코로나 바이러스의 건수가 증가해지기 때문에(→ 증가해 [SEL, LEX]) 온 나라가 검역에 처해졌고(→ 에 봉쇄령이 내려져 [SEL, LEX]) 모두가 밖으로 나가면 안 되었다.   |
| Adv.  | 따라서 탈출을 못 하거나(→ 구속되어 [SEL, LEX]) 도움 요청을 못 하는 여성을 도와주도록 웹사이트와 전화선을 개설하였다.  |
| Adv.  | 게다가 다른 관련된 기관들과 옹호자들은 피해자들을 도와주고 지원해주기 위해 보건소를 열고 있었다(→ 열기도 했다 [OMM, GRAM]).  |
| Adv.  | 내가 SNS에서(→ 를 [SEL, GRAM]) 둘러볼 때마다 집에 갇힌 피해자들이 도움 요청하는 것을 볼 수 있다.  |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Adv.  | 무엇보다 더(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 공무원들은 더 이상의 <u>위해로부터</u> (→ 문제가 생기지 않도록 [SEL, LEX]) 적절히 도와주고구해줄 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 그러므로 내가(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 그런비슷한 글을 볼 때마다 <u>나도</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 리트윗과 공유를 <u>통해</u> (→ 하는 것은 [SEL, LEX]) 나만의 방법으로 <u>도와준다</u> (→ 그들을 도와주고 싶은 나의 작은 행동이다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 21 세기 <u>에</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 디지털 매체 시대의 출현으로 인터넷이 우리 일상의 한 부분이 되고 우리가 인터넷에 의존하는 부분이 점점 더 늘어난다.   |
| Adv.  | 게다가 소통이 온라인 공간으로 옮겨가면서 <u>물론</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 서로에게 소통하는 방식도 달라지기 마련이다.   |
| Adv.  | 인터넷이 우리의 일상 <u>속을</u> (→ 일상 속을 [OMM, ORTH]) 파고들면서 인터넷 언어 사용도 우리의 언어생활에 미치는 영향도 커지는데 인터넷 언어가(→ 와 [SEL, GRAM]) 일상 언어 사용 <u>과의</u> (→ 간의 [SEL, LEX]) 차이가 크기 때문에 인터넷 언어가 언어에 파괴되는 데 기여하는지, 언어 진화하는 데(→ 발견을 [SEL, LEX]) <u>추진하는지</u> (→ 돕는지 [SEL, LEX]) 분석할 필요가 있다. |
| Adv.  | 따라서 이 보고서에서는 <u>앞에</u> (→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 말한 두 가지의 <u>갈라진</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 관점을 <u>알아보고자</u> 인터넷 언어가 우리의 언어생활에 미치는 <u>영향을</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 부정적 <u>과</u> (→ 이고 [SEL, LEX]) 긍정적 <u>을</u> (→ 인 [OMM, LEX]) 양면으로 살펴본다(→ 살펴보고자 한다 [SEL, LEX]).               |
| Adv.  | 하지만 이런 인터넷 언어 사용이 확산되면서 우리의 언어생활에 미치는 부정적인 영향을(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 부각돼서 언어 파괴로 <u>몰아붙이기도 한다</u> (→ 를 일으키기도 한다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 한 연구에 의하면 <u>면대면</u> 대화에 덜 익숙하지 <u>않는</u> (→ 익숙한 [SEL, LEX]) 청소년들이 주로 온라인 공간에서 사회적·의사소통 기술들을 개발하면 버릇없고 무감각으로 여겨질 수도 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 이러한 소통 수단이 온라인 공간을 넘어 일상생활에서까지(→ 일상생활 [OMM, ORTH]) 사용되고 익숙해지면 표현력과 사교 능력을 약화시키기 마련이다.  |
| Adv.  | 또한 <u>ميم이나 이모티콘</u> 같은 <u>걸로</u> (→ 것에 [SEL, GRAM]) 지나치게 의존하면 표현력이 떨어질 수 있을 뿐만 아니라 <u>면대면</u> 대화에서 쓰는 몸짓, 얼굴 표정, 억양 같은 구어의 비언어적 단서를 하기가 힘들어질 수도 있다.   |
| Adv.  | <u>앞에서</u> 얘기한 문제들로(→ 지금까지 [SEL, LEX]) 인터넷 언어가 언어생활에 미치는 부정적 측면을 살펴봤는데 그 반면에 인터넷 언어가 효율적인 의사소통을 추구하는 새로운 언어로서 긍정적인 영향도 많다.   |
| Adv.  | 하지만 인터넷 언어의 확산으로 인해 우리가 말하는 대로 글로 작성하기가 일반적으로 받아들여지기가 시작하며 인터넷 언어의 문어가 일반 문어와 달리 모든 각계각층을 포함하며 어느 <u>정보나</u> (→ 든 [SEL, GRAM]) 생각이든 바로 요점을 말할 수 있게 가능한 언어가 되었다.  |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Adv.  | 인터넷 언어에 생략하는 현상과 신조어를 쓰는 일을 흔히 볼 수 있기 때문에 일상 언어까지 사용하게 되면 큰 문제라고 볼 수 <u>있</u> (→ 있다 [OMM, ORTH]).  |
| Adv.  | 따라서 인터넷 언어가 우리의 일상 언어에(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 파괴되는 데(→ 에 [SEL, LEX]) 기여하는지, 진화하는 데(→ 발달을 [SEL, LEX]) 추진하는지 우리가 인터넷 언어를 적절한 상황에서 적절한 식으로(→ 방식 [SEL, LEX]) 사용하는지에 <u>따라</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) <u>달린다</u> (→ 달렸다 [SEL, GRAM]). |
| Adv.  | 하지만 언어가 시간에 걸쳐 소멸하고 진화하며 창조되는 특성이(→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) 갖고 있기 때문에 인터넷 언어가 현대에서 사용되는 일상 언어를 우리의 관점에서 ‘파괴’해도 미래 세대의 관점에서는 ‘진화’로 볼 수도 있다고 생각한다.  |
| Adv.  | 하지만 필리핀어의 방언은 다른 언어의 방언과 달리 비공식이고 격식에 얽매이지 않은 것으로 <u>지정되며</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 역사적이나 문화적인 영향을 대신(→ 보다는 [SEL, LEX]) 사회적인 영향을 크게 받은 사회 방언들이다.  |
| Adv.  | 이 방언의 독특한 어휘 목록은 70년대부터 기록되어 있고 일반 대화에서(→ 도 [ORD, GRAM]) 자주 들을 수 있는 단어도(→ 들 중 [OMM, LEX]) 이성애자들 <u>마저</u> (→ 역시 [ADD, LEX; OMM, LEX]) 비속어로 <u>쓰기도 한다</u> (→ 쓰는 것을 흔히 볼 수 있다 [SEL, LEX]).                             |
| Adv.  | Jejenese는 휴대전화가 처음 나왔을 때 문자 한 통에는 160 자까지만 들어갈 수 있기 때문에 SMS 송신 요금(→ 을 [OMM, GRAM]) <u>아껴서</u> (→ 아끼기 위해 [SEL, LEX]) 글자 수가 <u>줄어들기 위해</u> (→ 를 줄여 [SEL, LEX]) 개발된 문자 언어다.   |
| Adv.  | 이렇게 몇 가지의 소수집단이 자기만의 정체성을 표현하고자 하는 이 방언들의 독특한 어휘 목록과 <u>통사로 인해</u> (→ 를 통해서 [SEL, LEX]) 필리핀어의 유연성과 다양성을 볼 수 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 게다가 언어가 한 나라의 계층 장벽같은 사회적인 문제도(→ 를 [SEL, GRAM]) 반영하는 역할도 <u>있다</u> 는(→ 했다 [SEL, LEX]) 것을 알 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 세상에 대해 아무도 모르고 순수한 아이들의 눈에는 단순히 색깔별로 구분되어 있는 것으로 보이지만 전시대 있는 장난감의 종류를 살펴보면 남녀의 사회적 역할에 대한 기대는(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) 어려서부터 <u>도입한다</u> 는(→ 도입된다 [SEL, GRAM]) 사실을 <u>밝혀진다</u> (→ 알 수 있다 [SEL, LEX]).                        |
| Adv.  | 이 캠페인은 장난감이 아이들의 창의력과 상상력을 키우며 아이들의 교육에 보충하는 역할만 하면 되는 이유로 장난감들이 성별로 구분할 필요가 <u>없다</u> 고(→ 는 생각의 변화를 [OMM, LEX]) <u>추진한다</u> (→ 추진했다 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Adv.  | 장난감이 계속 성별로(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 구분하기가 지속되면(→ 을 유도하면 [SEL, LEX]) 여아들의 경우 직업 선택과 사회적인 역할을 제약하며 남아들의 경우 집안일이나 가족에 관한 일을 여자의 해야 할 일이라고 잘못된 인식을 가질 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 나는 내 어린 시절을 되돌아보면서 아이들이 성별 고정관념 없이 장난감을 갖고 놀지만 성인들의 선입견 때문에 성차별 장난감에 대한 문제를(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) 생기는 것을 깨달았다.  |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Adv.  | 자라면서 장난감을 통해 사회가 정한 남성과 여성의 차이에 대해 무의식적으로 배우게 된 나는 이제 성인이 되어서도 장난감 가게에 들러 남아 완구 코너에(→ 를 [SEL, GRAM]) 구경하게 되서(→ 할 때마다 [SEL, LEX]) 종업원이 “어떻게 오셨습니까?”(→ 라고 [OMM, GRAM]) 물어볼 때 잘못 온 것 같다는 느낌이 안 들 수_밖에(→ 수밖에 [ADD, ORTH]) 없고 자동으로 “제 남동생 선물 사려고요”(→ 라고 [OMM, GRAM]) 답하게 된다. |
| Adv.  | 인터넷이 발명될 때부터(→ 된 후 [SEL, LEX]) 지금까지 모든 사람들의 일상의 일부가 되었다.  |
| Adv.  | 이제는(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 인터넷이(→ 은 [SEL, GRAM]) 소수의 사람들만 있을 수 있는 특권이 아니라,(→ 이나 [OMM, GRAM]) 사치보다(→ 가 아니라 [ADD, GRAM; ORD, LEX]) 인터넷이(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 기본적인 욕구이다.  |
| Adv.  | 자유시간에도 사람들이 친구들과 이야기하거나 쇼핑하거나 영화 보거나 새(→ 새 곡을 [OMM, ORTH]) 들어나(→ 들거나 [SEL, GRAM]) 아무것도(→ 뭐든 [SEL, LEX]) 하고 싶으면 온라인으로 간다(→ 을 활용한다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 그런데 인터넷이 코로나(→ 바이러스 [OMM, ORTH]) 유행병보다 더 오래된다(→ 이전에 존재했다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 우리는 오랫동안 인터넷을 사용하기 때문에 사용자들 사이에 새로운 단어와 표현과 서로 대화하는 방법이 계속 창작된다(→ 창작되고 있다 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Adv.  | 인터넷 언어는 대부분 사람들이 다른 사람들과 상호 작용을 하면(→ 하면서 [SEL, LEX]) SNS에(→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 사용하는 언어이다.  |
| Adv.  | 그런데 인터넷 언어는 새로운 단어만(→ 에 [OMM, GRAM]) 대한 것(→ 이 [ORD, GRAM]) 아니다.   |
| Adv.  | 이제는 말하고 싶은 것이 있거나, 맞는 단어를 찾을 수 없으면 다른 소통할 방법이 많다. 사람들이 말하고 싶은 것이(→ 없을 때 [SEL, LEX]) 전달하도록 mim 같은 이미지(→ , [ADD, GRAM]) 동영상(→ , [ADD, GRAM]) 짧은 영상을(→ 영상 등을 [OMM, LEX]) 사용한다.   |
| Adv.  | 인터넷에서 사람들이 대화를 짧게 만들고 싶어서 줄임말 많이 사용한지만(→ 사용하지만 [ADD, ORTH]), 당신과 이야기하고 있는 친구가(→ 상대방이 [SEL, LEX]) 줄임말 모르면 이유를 설명해야 하기 때문에 대화가 더 길게 된다(→ 길어진다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 친구나 모르는 사람이랑(→ 과 [SEL, LEX]) 채팅할 때마다, 목소리를(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) 들리지 않고 사람의 생각을(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 몰라서 오해할 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 가끔은 이모티콘이나 ‘ㅋㅋㅋ’ 없으면 사람이 진심인지 아니면 빈정대인지(→ 빈정댐 [OMM, ORTH]) 알 수 없다.  |
| Adv.  | 어떻게 대화를 끝내야 할지 모를 때 보통 메시지에 ‘리액트’(반응)을 남길 수 있지만 리액트 선택이 몇 개만 있어서 잘 어울린(→ 어울리는 [SEL, GRAM]) 반응이 없으면 힘들다.   |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Adv.  | 옛날에 내가(→ 나는 [SEL, GRAM]) 채팅했을(→ 채팅할 [SEL, GRAM]) 때도 수필을 쓰는 것처럼 썼는데 줄임말과 단어를 짧게 만들기 시작했을 때 많은 시간을 절약한다는 것을 깨달았다.  |
| Adv.  | 인터넷 언어를 사용할지 <u>안 사용할지</u> (→ 사용 안 할지 [ORD, GRAM]) <u>선택이 있다</u> (→ 할 수 있기 때문이다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | <u>그런데</u> (→ 그러나 [SEL, LEX]) <u>우리가 여전히</u> (→ 사람들이 계속해서 [SEL, LEX]) 서로 더 잘 소통할 수 있는 방법을 찾기 위해 노력하는 것이 <u>아름답다고</u> (→ 필요하다고 [SEL, LEX]) 생각한다.  |
| Adv.  | 필리핀은 군도이고 다른 나라가 필리핀을 식민지로 <u>삼았으니까</u> (→ 삼았으므로 [SEL, LEX]) 언어가 많다.   |
| Adv.  | 필리핀에서 공용어가 필리핀어하고(→ 와 [SEL, LEX]) 영어인데 186 <u>개 이상</u> (→ 개 이상 [OMM, ORTH]) 언어가 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 필리핀어하고 <u>따갈로그어</u> (→ 따갈로그어는 [OMM, ORTH; OMM, GRAM]) <u>똑 같은</u> (→ 똑같은 [ADD, ORTH]) 언어라고 말할 수 <u>있다</u> (→ 있으므로 [SEL, LEX]) 헛갈리지 않도록 필리핀어라고 사용하겠다.   |
| Adv.  | 필리핀은 농업 <u>국가이니까</u> (→ 국가이기 때문에 [SEL, LEX]) 쌀을 구별하는 여러 개의 어휘가 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 껍질 벗기지 않은 쌀 (palay), 쌀 (bigas), <u>익는</u> (→ 익은 [SEL, GRAM]) 밥, <u>요리 중의</u> (→ 요리한 [SEL, LEX]) 밥 (sinaing), <u>쌀밥</u> (kanin), <u>불에 탄 밥</u> (→ 누룽지 [SEL, LEX]) (tutong) 등을 구별하여 사용한다.  |
| Adv.  | 옛날부터 지금까지 많은 필리핀사람들에게 밥이 진짜 <u>중요한다</u> (→ 중요하다는 것을 알 수 있다 [SEL, GRAM; OMM, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 한국어하고(→ 와 [SEL, LEX]) 필리핀어는 정말(→ 아주 많이 [SEL, LEX]) 다른데 비슷한 문화(→ 도 [OMM, GRAM]) <u>있어서</u> (→ 있어 [SEL, LEX]) 언어로 표현된다.  |
| Adv.  | 한국사람들이 나이 많은 사람이나 높은 <u>사람이랑</u> (→ 과 [SEL, LEX]) <u>얘기하면</u> (→ 이야기할 때 [SEL, LEX; SEL, LEX]) 존댓말을 <u>사용한데</u> (→ 사용하는 것과 마찬가지로 [SEL, LEX]) 필리핀어는 “po”하고 “opo”라고 사용한다.   |
| Adv.  | 한국에서는 인터넷이 진짜 빠르고 필리핀에서는 인터넷이 보통 안 좋은데 2018년 조사에 따르면 <u>세상에서 필리핀이</u> (→ 필리핀이 전 세계에서 [ORD, LEX; SEL, LEX]) 가장 높은 SNS <u>사용률이 있다</u> (→ 을 보였다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | <u>그래서</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) <u>두 나라에서</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) <u>∅</u> (→ 모두 [OMM, LEX]) 인터넷 언어는(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) 젊은 <u>사람들에게 아주 유명하다</u> . 따라서 두 언어는, 다른 살아있는 언어처럼(→ 의 언어 생활에 큰 영향을 미쳐, 언어는 살아 있는 생명처럼 [SEL, LEX; SEL, GRAM; OMM, ORTH]), 계속 변화하고 진화한다. |
| Adv.  | 언어의 장벽 때문에 가사를 이해하지 못해도(→ 이해하지못해도 [OMM, ORTH]) 음악은 우리 귀에서 심장으로 이동하며, 가끔 춤을 추게 하고, 가끔 울게 하고, 가끔 편안하게 <u>하다</u> (→ 한다 [SEL, GRAM]).  |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Adv.  | 스포티파이의 ‘Top Hits Philippines’ 플레이리스트 보면 이 차트가 외국 음악으로 <u>지배하고</u> (→ 지배되어 [SEL, LEX]) 있음을 쉽게 알 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | OPM을 죽어가는 음악 장르라고 생각했는데 <u>내가</u> (→ 나의 생각이 [OMM, LEX]) 틀렸다.   |
| Adv.  | OPM은(→ OPM 아티스트들은 [OMM, LEX]) 우리 <u>∅</u> (→ 생각보다 [OMM, LEX]) 과소평가된(→ 되어 [SEL, LEX]) 재능 <u>∅</u> (→ 을 [OMM, GRAM]) 많이 <u>있는</u> 필리핀 아티스트들의 얼굴에서 살아있다(→ 보여주지 못하는 경우가 많다 [OMM, ORTH; SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | <u>하지만</u> 해로운(→ 여기에는 부정적인 [SEL, LEX]) 아이디어가 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 사람들이 지역적인 것을 좋아하면 값싼 것이나 “제제몬”이라고 <u>부른다</u> .(→ 부르는데 [SEL, LEX]) <u>우리</u> 는(→ 이는 [SEL, LEX]) 다른 문화가 우리 문화보다 더 <u>좋은</u> <u>건</u> (→ 좋다고 [SEL, LEX]) 생각해서, 그런 좋지 않은 생각이 음악에서도 <u>나타나다</u> (→ 나타난다 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Adv.  | <u>증거에 따르면</u> (→ 우리가 볼 수 있듯이 [SEL, LEX]) OPM은 사실 <u>죽은 것이</u> <u>않지만</u> (→ 여전히 살아 있지만 [SEL, LEX]), 확실히 더 많은 지원이 <u>필요한다</u> (→ 필요하다 [SEL, GRAM]).  |
| Adv.  | 기술이 계속 <u>성장함에</u> (→ 발전함 [SEL, LEX]) 따라 SNS를 <u>쓴</u> (→ 쓰는 [SEL, GRAM]) 사람의 수도 매일 매일 증가한다.   |
| Adv.  | 사람들이 인터넷을 <u>사용하기가</u> 오래 시작하기(→ 사용한 지 오래 되었기 [SEL, LEX]) 때문에 인터넷 언어를(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) <u>생겼</u> 는다. 그래서(→ 생겼고 [SEL, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) 인터넷 <u>∅</u> (→ 공간에서는 [OMM, LEX]) <u>사용할 때</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 사람들이 인터넷 언어로 <u>통한다</u> (→ 의사소통을 한다 [SEL, LEX]).                               |
| Adv.  | 인터넷 언어는 보통 줄임말과 유행어와 은어로 구성 <u>되어</u> (→ 구성되어 [ADD, ORTH]) 있고 다른 언어처럼(→ 와 마찬가지로 [SEL, LEX]) 특징이 있다. 그런데(→ 있는데 [SEL, LEX]) 인터넷 언어는 완벽하지 않아서 인터넷 언어 사용의(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 긍정적 <u>그리고</u> (→ 이고 [SEL, LEX]) 부정적 <u>측면</u> 이 있다. 긍정적과 부정적 <u>측면</u> 은(→ 측면에는 [ADD, LEX; OMM, LEX]) 뭐가 있을까? |
| Adv.  | 사람들이 SNS를 사용할 때 줄임말과 두문자어와 이모티콘을(→ 이 [SEL, GRAM]) 많이 <u>나온다</u> .(→ 보이는데 [SEL, GRAM]) 예를 들어 “뭐 해”라고 물어보고 싶으면 영어로는 “what are you doing?” <u>∅</u> 말고(→ doing?” 말고 [OMM, ORTH]) “wyd”으로 쓴다.  |
| Adv.  | 나라마다 인터넷 언어가 다른데 인터넷 언어들의 비슷한 점은 표준어가 <u>짧아진다</u> <u>∅</u> (→ 는 점이다 [OMM, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 인터넷 언어 사용은(→ 에는 [OMM, GRAM]) 긍정적 <u>그리고</u> (→ 이고 [SEL, LEX]) 부정적 <u>측면</u> 이 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 표준어를 쓴 광고보다 인터넷 은어를 <u>있는</u> (→ 쓴 [SEL, LEX]) 광고는 사람들에게 더 많은 <u>관심</u> 이(→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) 받는다.  |
| Adv.  | 인터넷 언어 사용한 <u>거</u> 는(→ 하는 것은 [SEL, GRAM; SEL, ORTH]) 좋지만 과도하게 쓰면 좋지 <u>않는다</u> (→ 않다 [SEL, GRAM]).  |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Adv.  | 또 다른 긍정적 측면은 인터넷 언어를 쓸 때 긴 단어를 쓰지 않으니까 시간 <u>이</u> (→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) 절약할 수 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 반면에 더 쉽고 간단한 단어를 만들지만 인터넷 언어로 깊은 생각을 <u>통하면 못 된다</u> (→ 전달하는 데는 부족하다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 지금까지 인터넷 언어의 특징과 인터넷 언어 사용의 긍정적과 부정적 측면을 <u>살표보았는</u> 다(→ 살표보았다 [SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Adv.  | <u>제</u> (→ 내 [SEL, LEX]) 생각에는 인터넷 언어 <u>가</u> (→ 는 [SEL, GRAM]) 사람들의 창의성을 <u>보인다</u> .(→ 보여주며 [OMM, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) 언어 <u>가</u> (→ 는 [SEL, GRAM]) 영동적이라서(→ 역동적 [SEL, ORTH]) 인터넷 언어 <u>는</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) ∅(→ 변화하므로 [OMM, LEX]) 표준어를 오염시키는 <u>거</u> (→ 것은 [OMM, ORTH; OMM, GRAM]) 아니라고 생각한다. |
| Adv.  | ∅(→ 한 [OMM, LEX]) 언어는 다른 언어들과 ∅(→ 구별되는 [OMM, LEX]) <u>독특하게 만든</u> (→ 독특한 [SEL, LEX]) 특징이 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 필리핀에서(→ 는 [SEL, GRAM]) 100개 <u>의</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 이상 언어가 있고 <u>각자</u> (→ 각 [SEL, LEX]) 필리핀에 있는 언어 <u>가</u> (→ 는 [SEL, GRAM]) <u>통징이</u> (→ 특징 [SEL, ORTH]) 있는데 필리핀어의 특징에 대해∅만(→ 대해서만 [OMM, GRAM]) 이야기를 한다(→ 하겠다 [OMM, GRAM]).  |
| Adv.  | ∅(→ 첫째, [OMM, LEX]) 필리핀어는 자연환경∅(→ 의 영향 [OMM, LEX])을 받은 언어를 들 수 있다. 필리핀 <u>사람들이</u> (→ 받아 [SEL, LEX]) 농업과 관련된 표현을 많이 <u>사용한다</u> (→ 사용하는 것을 볼 수 있다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 농사의 과정, 식물, 과일을(→ 에 대한 [SEL, LEX]) 생각을 표현하기 위해 <u>쓴다</u> (→ 위한 언어가 발달되어 있다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 필리핀 사람들은 감정을 표현 할 때∅(→ 도 [OMM, GRAM]) 식물에 대해 이야기 하는 것과 <u>같다</u> (→ 과 관련된 단어를 사용한다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 예를 들어 필리핀에(→ 에서는 [SEL, GRAM; OMM, GRAM]) ‘ <u>마음에서</u> (→ 에 [SEL, GRAM]) 분노를 심었다’라는 말을(→ 표현은 [SEL, LEX; SEL, GRAM]) <u>원한을 품었은</u> (→ 품었다는 [SEL, LEX]) 의미가 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 게다가 동물이 <u>있는</u> (→ 을 사용한 [SEL, LEX]) 표현도 <u>있고</u> (→ 있는데 [SEL, LEX]) 예로는 돼지, 뱀, 물소, 개를 사용한다.   |
| Adv.  | ∅(→ 이렇게 [OMM, LEX]) 필리핀 사람들의 삶에 농업이 큰 영향을 미친다는 것을 알 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 최근에 한국인 ∅(→ 작가가 [OMM, LEX]) 쓴 아몬드라는 책을 읽었는데 책은 감정을 못 느낀 남학생에 관한 이야기다.   |
| Adv.  | ∅(→ 그 [OMM, GRAM]) 남학생 <u>이</u> (→ 은 [SEL, GRAM]) 반친구들과 <u>다르기 때문에</u> (→ 다르다는 이유로 [SEL, LEX]) 다른 학생들에게 괴롭힘을 당했다.   |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Adv.  | 남자들이 항상 <u>침착해야 하는데</u> (→ <u>참을성이 있어야 하는데</u> [SEL, LEX]) 이 남학생은 <u>어떤</u> (→ 자신의 [SEL, LEX]) 감정을 하나도 <u>못 표현해서</u> (→ <u>표현 못 해서</u> [ORD, GRAM]) 비난을 <u>바닷는다</u> (→ <u>받는다</u> [ORD, ORTH; SEL, GRAM]).   |
| Adv.  | 이런 <u>상황들에</u> (→ <u>을 보면 우리 사회가</u> [SEL, LEX]) 각 성별에 <u>대한 기대를 보인다</u> (→ <u>갖는 생각을 예측해 볼 수 있다</u> [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 우리는 무엇을 하든지 사회는 항상 <u>할 말이 있어서</u> (→ <u>정해진 시각으로 보지만</u> [SEL, LEX]) <u>∅</u> (→ <u>그것이</u> [OMM, LEX]) 나쁘지만 <u>않다면</u> 사람들이 하고싶은 것을 다 하고 마음대로 살아야 한다.  |
| Adv.  | 사람들의 삶처럼 언어는 점점 변하고 있고 발전하고 <u>있는다</u> (→ <u>있다</u> [SEL, GRAM]).  |
| Adv.  | 이 세계의(→ <u>는</u> [SEL, GRAM]) 빠른 기술이 계속 <u>전진하고 있으면서</u> (→ <u>의 발전과 더불어</u> [SEL, LEX]) <u>사람들의</u> (→ <u>∅</u> [ADD, GRAM]) <u>∅</u> (→ <u>역시</u> [OMM, LEX]) 의사소통을 위해 <u>필요하는</u> (→ <u>필요한</u> [SEL, GRAM]) 언어도 어떤 <u>상황에서도</u> (→ <u>과</u> [SEL, GRAM]) 어떤 방식으로 <u>사용해도</u> <u>자연히 적용한다</u> (→ ? [SEL, LEX]). |
| Adv.  | 21 세기의(→ <u>∅</u> [ADD, GRAM]) 컴퓨터, 휴대폰, 노트북 등은(→ <u>의 기기가</u> [OMM, LEX]) 많이 나타나서 <u>당연히</u> (→ <u>∅</u> [ADD, LEX]) 사람들이 인터넷을 사용하는 것도 더 <u>광범위하다</u> (→ <u>광범위해졌다</u> [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 사실(→ <u>∅</u> [ADD, GRAM]) Clement (2020)의 통계에 <u>따라</u> (→ <u>따르면</u> [SEL, LEX]) 2020년 <u>∅</u> 에(→ <u>현재</u> [OMM, LEX]) 4.57억 <u>명은</u> (→ <u>이</u> [SEL, GRAM]) 인터넷을 활발하게 <u>∅</u> (→ <u>사용</u> [OMM, LEX]) 한다고 한다.   |
| Adv.  | 게다가 인터넷에서 다양한 사람들이 서로 계속 <u>연결 되고</u> (→ <u>연결되면서</u> [ADD, ORTH; SEL, LEX]) 인터넷 언어는(→ <u>도</u> [SEL, GRAM]) <u>만들어졌다</u> (→ <u>등장하기 시작했다</u> [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 일상적인 언어와 좀 똑같지만(→ <u>와 비슷하지만</u> [SEL, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) <u>∅</u> (→ <u>특별한</u> [OMM, LEX]) 인터넷 언어의 종류의 <u>예로는</u> (→ <u>∅</u> [ADD, LEX]) 은어, 신조어, 줄임말, 이모티콘, 동영상, 밈 등을 들 수 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 세계에서(→ <u>에</u> [SEL, GRAM]) 언어가 <u>여러∅가지</u> (→ <u>여러 가지</u> [OMM, ORTH]) 있는 것처럼 인터넷 언어도 각각 언어마다 다른 점이 있다.  |
| Adv.  | <u>그래도</u> (→ <u>그렇다면</u> [SEL, LEX]) <u>어떻게</u> 사람들의 의사소통에 인터넷 언어를(→ <u>인터넷 언어는 어떻게 사람들의 의사소통에</u> [ORD, LEX; SEL, GRAM]) 긍정적이고 부정적인 영향을 미칠까?   |
| Adv.  | 우선 인터넷 언어란 인터넷에서 생각·느낌·감정 등을 명확히 전달_하고(→ <u>∅</u> [ADD, ORTH]) 수월한 대화를 하기 위해 사람들의 사용하는 언어이다.   |
| Adv.  | 인터넷 언어 종류 중 은어는 가장 잘 알려진 것 <u>같고</u> (→ <u>같은데</u> [SEL, LEX]) 미리암 웹스터에 <u>따라</u> (→ <u>따르면</u> [SEL, LEX]) 은어는 <u>평상복이고</u> (→ ? [SEL, LEX]) 특정 집단에서만 사용하는 언어이다.  |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Adv.  | 그리고 “sick”이라는 단어가 인터넷에서(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 특히 SNS에서 읽을 수 있고(→ 있는 [SEL, LEX]) “sick”이라는 은어로 쓰면(→ 는 [SEL, LEX]) 멋있고 싱기하다는(→ 신기하다는 [SEL, ORTH; SEL, GRAM]) 것을 의미한다.   |
| Adv.  | 이렇게 이미 존재하는 말은(→ 에 [SEL, GRAM]) 인터넷에서 새로운 의미를(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) 생길 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | ∅(→ 또 [OMM, LEX]) 다른 언어 공동체에서 단어의(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 글자는 재배열을 한다.(→ 하기도 하는데 [OMM, GRAM; SEL, LEX]) 예로는(→ ∅ [ORD, LEX]) 타카로그에(→ 따갈로그 [OMM, ORTH, ADD, GRAM]) “ebarg” (grabe) 또한 “nomi” (inom)라는 말을 쓰인다(→ 예로 들 수 있다 [SEL, LEX]).                 |
| Adv.  | 영어 예는 “IMO” (in my opinion) 그리고 “hangry” (hunger + angry) 또한 한국어 예는 “ㅇㅈ” (인정), “아아” (아이스 아메리카노), “ㄱㅅ” (감사합니다), “갑통알” (갑자기 통장을 보니 알바해야 할 것 같다) 등이다(→ 등이 있다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 인터넷에서 표준어 대신 일상적인 은어, 줄임말, 신조어를 사용하는 것은 대화를 재미있게 만들 수 있고 사람들이 언어를 통해 창의적으로 자신을 표현할 수 있다(→ 있는 방법이다 [OMM, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 그러므로 이것을 사용하는 것은 사람의 사회와 인지의 능력을 위해 좋은 영향을 준다(→ 준다 [SEL, GRAM]).  |
| Adv.  | 마지막은(→ 으로 [SEL, GRAM]) 인터넷에서 사람들이 말 대신 이모티콘이나 gif (동영상)이나 밈으로 어떤 느낌과 감정을 서로 전한다.  |
| Adv.  | 게다가 Brown (2017)가(→ 은 [SEL, GRAM]) 이모티콘은 언어의 장벽을 없애줄(→ 없앨 [SEL, LEX]) 수 있는 강한 도구라고 말한다.   |
| Adv.  | 이런 인터넷 언어는 대부분 말을 쓰지 않으니(→ 비언어적이므로 [SEL, LEX; SEL, LEX]) 다른 언어 공동체 멤버들은(→ 도 [SEL, GRAM]) 서로를 이해할 수 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 그것에(→ 그럼에도 [SEL, LEX]) 불구하고 언급한(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 인터넷 언어∅는(→ 에 [OMM, GRAM]) 부정적인 점도 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 예로는(→ 예를 들어 [SEL, LEX]) 인터넷을 하지 않은(→ 않는 [SEL, GRAM]) 사람들이 여전히 있으니(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]), 특히 어른들은 인터넷 말을 보거나 들으면 이해하지 못하는 경우가 있을 수도 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 그런 상황에서 혼선을 하고(→ 과 [SEL, LEX]) 많은 오해가 있다는 것은 인터넷 언어를 쓰는 것 때문이다(→ 생길 수 있다 [SEL, LEX]).   |
| Adv.  | 2017년에(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 영국에서(→ 의 [SEL, GRAM]) National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children은 인터넷 언어를 사용하는 젊은들에(→ 젊은이들 [OMM, ORTH]) 대해 부모님 1000 명을 설문조사를 했는데 45% 부모님은 다른 세대에게 더 자신이 있게 이야기할 수 있었으면 좋겠다고 말한다(→ 말했다 [SEL, GRAM]). |
| Adv.  | 이렇게 하여(→ 이는 [SEL, LEX]) 젊은들과(→ 젊은이들 [OMM, ORTH]) 어른들의 세대차이가 더 넓어지고 있는 것을 볼 수 있다(→ 보여준다 [SEL, LEX]).   |

| Level | Sentence  |
|-------|---|
| Adv.  | 게다가 인터넷 언어는 비공식적인 편이라서 자주 이 언어를 사용하는 것은 교육과 직업에 필요한 <u>형식</u> (→ 공적 [SEL, LEX]) 언어에 부정적인 영향을 미칠 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 정리하자면 인터넷 언어가(→ 는 [SEL, GRAM]) 시간이 경과함에 따라 계속 점점 변하고 <u>혁신하다</u> (→ 혁신한다 [SEL, GRAM]).  |
| Adv.  | 이제는 은어, 줄임말, 신조어, 이모티콘, 밈, 동영상이 있지만 미래에 <u>∅</u> (→ 또 [OMM, LEX]) 새로운 인터넷 언어 종류가 나타날 수도 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 그래도 부정적인 영향을 피할 수 있도록 사람들이 인터넷 언어를 사용하는 것에 주의해야 한다 <u>그렇다면</u> (→ 그렇지 않다면 [SEL, LEX]) 인터넷 언어는 사람들의 <u>형식</u> (→ 공적 [SEL, LEX]) 언어를 쓰는 것에도 부정적인 영향을 미칠 수 <u>없다</u> (→ 있다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 그리고 인터넷 언어를 사용하면서 어른들을 더 배려_할(→ ∅ [ADD, ORTH]) 필요가 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 필리핀어는 필리핀에서 사람들의 가장 사용하는 언어이다. 공식 언어니까(→ 언어라서 [ADD, LEX; SEL, LEX]) <u>군도에서</u> (→ 에 [SEL, GRAM]) 다른 언어가 많이 있어도 필리핀어는(→ 가 [SEL, GRAM]) <u>∅</u> (→ 가장 [OMM, LEX]) 널리 사용된다.            |
| Adv.  | <u>다양한 이유가 필리핀어를 특별하게 만든다</u> (→ 필리핀어가 특별한 데는 다양한 이유가 있다. [SEL, LEX])   |
| Adv.  | 우선은 문법에 대한 것은(→ 에서 [SEL, LEX]) 필리핀어 <u>∅</u> (→ 는 [OMM, GRAM]) 특징이(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 대명사가(→ 에 [SEL, GRAM]) 성별에 <u>차이점이 없다</u> (→ 이다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | 3_인칭(→ 3인칭 [ADD, ORTH]) 관점으로 사람에게 가리키면(→ 대명사는 [SEL, LEX]) <u>한국에</u> (→ 한국어로 [SEL, LEX; SEL, GRAM]) “그” 또는 “그녀” <u>대명사가 있는데</u> (→ 가 사용되지만 [SEL, LEX]) 필리핀어로 여자든 남자든 그냥 “siya”라고 말한다. |
| Adv.  | 필리핀 사회에서 성별에(→ 의 [SEL, GRAM]) 차이점은 <u>중요하게 별로</u> (→ 별로 중요하게 [ORD, LEX]) <u>∅</u> <u>않다는</u> (→ 생각하지 않는다는 [OMM, LEX]) <u>것으로 나타났다</u> (→ 을 알 수 있다 [SEL, LEX]).                        |
| Adv.  | <u>한편</u> (→ 또한 [SEL, LEX]) 자연환경은 언어에(→ 의 [SEL, LEX]) 영향에 대해 이야기하면 필리핀어에 쌀과 관련된 어휘가 많이 있다.  |
| Adv.  | 그것은 필리핀이 열대 나라이고(→ 국가 [SEL, LEX]) 농사가 사람들의 주요 생계수단 <u>∅</u> (→ 이기 [OMM, LEX]) 때문이다.   |
| Adv.  | 벼, 생쌀, 쌀 씨앗, 쌀 껍질, 밥, 누룽지, 쌀에 물을 많이 넣은 밥, 볶음밥, 남은 밥 등을 위해서(→ 의 [SEL, LEX]) 단어가 각각 있다.   |
| Adv.  | <u>∅</u> (→ 이렇게 [OMM, LEX]) 필리핀 사람들의 삶에(→ 에서 [SEL, GRAM]) 쌀이 <u>중요하는</u> (→ 중요하다는 [OMM, GRAM]) 것을 알 수 있다.   |
| Adv.  | 필리핀어 문법이나 이(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 언어가 자연환경과 필리핀 사람들의 삶과 어떻게 관련되는지 <u>∅</u> (→ 알 수 있는 [OMM, LEX]) 특징은 <u>아직도</u> (→ 여전히 [SEL, LEX]) 많이 <u>있다</u> (→ 찾아볼 수 있다 [SEL, LEX]).                    |

| Level | Sentence   |
|-------|--|
| Adv.  | “만약에 24 <u>시동안</u> (→ 시간 동안 [SEL, LEX; OMM, ORTH]) 이 세계에 남자가 없다면 뭐 할 거예요?”   |
| Adv.  | 최근에 페이스북에서 <u>올린</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 이 틱톡 질문의 댓글란이 <u>널리 퍼졌다</u> (→ 이 큰 화제가 되었다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | <u>슬픈 것은</u> (→ 안타깝게도 [SEL, LEX]) <u>∅</u> (→ 많은 [OMM, LEX]) <u>여성들이 대답은</u> (→ 여성들의 대답이 [SEL, GRAM; SEL, GRAM]) 비슷하게 <u>∅</u> (→ 나왔는데 [OMM, LEX]) “밤에 혼자 걸음”, “입고 싶은 옷을 입음”, 일반적으로(→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) “ <u>안전을</u> (→ 안전하다고 [SEL, LEX]) 느끼는 것”이라고 했다(→ 등이었다 [SEL, LEX]). |
| Adv.  | 여성들이 <u>그런</u> (→ 이런 [SEL, GRAM]) <u>∅</u> (→ 기본적인 [OMM, LEX]) 것을 못 하는게 남자 때문이다?(→ 이라고 [SEL, LEX]) 확인할 수 없어도 <u>그것에</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) 많은 사람들이 <u>공감할 수 있는</u> (→ 공감하고 있다는 [SEL, LEX]) 것을 볼 수 있다(→ 댓글들이다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | <u>∅</u> (→ 나 역시 [OMM, LEX]) 여성으로서 그런 답은 현실이라고 생각한다.   |
| Adv.  | 밤에 <u>어디서나</u> (→ 아무데서나 [SEL, LEX]) 혼자서 걷는 것은 위험해서 집에 돌아가는 길에 항상 친구하고 함께 걸어야 된다.   |
| Adv.  | 고향에 돌아갈 때 버스를 타고(→ 에서 [SEL, LEX]) <u>옆에서</u> (→ 옆자리에 [SEL, LEX; SEL, GRAM]) 남자가 앉으면 여행 내내 편할 수가 없다.  |
| Adv.  | 지하철 탈 때도 <u>남녀구역에서</u> (→ 남녀공동구역은 [OMM, LEX; SEL, GRAM]) 좀 불편해서 여성 전용 칸만 탄다.   |
| Adv.  | <u>∅</u> (→ 아마도 [OMM, LEX]) 여성마다 그런 경험을 했다고 생각한다.  |
| Adv.  | 통계도를(→ ∅ [ADD, GRAM]) 보면 남자들이 여자들에게(→ 을 [SEL, GRAM]) 폭행이나 괴롭힘을 하는 것은 더 가능하니까(→ 폭행하거나 괴롭히는 경우가 많으니 [SEL, LEX]) 그 틱톡 댓글란 같은 상황이 솔직히 <u>놀란 것이 아니다</u> (→ 놀랍지 않다 [SEL, LEX]).  |
| Adv.  | <u>그래도</u> (→ 그럼에도 불구하고 [SEL, LEX]) <u>2020 년도</u> (→ 2020년에 [ADD, ORTH; SEL, GRAM]) 어떤 사람들이(→ 은 [SEL, GRAM]) 이런 얘기를 들면(→ 이야기를 들으면 [SEL, LEX; SEL, GRAM]) “왜 항상 남자들을 비난한다(→ 비난하나 [SEL, LEX])?” 또는 “모든 남자가 그런 짓을 하는 것은 아니다.”라고 여전히 생각한다.                                |
| Adv.  | 여성들은 항상 남자들에게(→ 로부터 [SEL, GRAM]) 자꾸 <u>나쁜 것을 경험하기</u> (→ 나쁜 경험을 하기 [ORD, LEX; ADD, LEX]) 때문에 <u>이</u> (→ 우리 [SEL, LEX]) 사회에서 <u>생활하면서</u> (→ ∅ [ADD, LEX]) <u>∅</u> (→ 항상 [OMM, LEX]) <u>안전을 느끼는 것은 쉽지 않다</u> (→ 느낄 수 없어 안타깝다 [SEL, LEX]).                             |
| Adv.  | 그래서 남자들이 이 사실을 알고 <u>이해할 수 있으면</u> (→ 이해하게 되어 [SEL, LEX]) <u>성들에게</u> (→ 서로 [SEL, LEX]) 더 친절하고 사려 깊으면 <u>좋겠고</u> (→ 좋겠다고 [OMM, ORTH]) 생각한다.  |

### 6.3 Tally Sheet

| Level | Source | Document | S  | S <sub>E</sub> | E  | EDI  | Omission |      |      | Addition |      |      | Selection |      |      | Ordering |      |      |
|-------|--------|----------|----|----------------|----|------|----------|------|------|----------|------|------|-----------|------|------|----------|------|------|
|       |        |          |    |                |    |      | Ort.     | Gra. | Lex. | Ort.     | Gra. | Lex. | Ort.      | Gra. | Lex. | Ort.     | Gra. | Lex. |
| Beg.  | A      | 종합       | 13 | 10             | 29 | 2.23 | 11       | 4    | 1    | 1        | 4    | 0    | 4         | 4    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | B      | 음식       | 8  | 1              | 1  | 0.13 | 0        | 1    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 0    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | B      | 연예인      | 8  | 1              | 1  | 0.13 | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 0    | 0    | 0        | 1    | 0    |
| Beg.  | C      | 취미       | 10 | 8              | 21 | 2.10 | 0        | 0    | 1    | 0        | 2    | 3    | 2         | 7    | 3    | 0        | 1    | 2    |
| Beg.  | C      | 연예인      | 9  | 8              | 25 | 2.78 | 1        | 2    | 2    | 8        | 1    | 0    | 0         | 3    | 7    | 1        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | D      | 지냄       | 8  | 5              | 10 | 1.25 | 0        | 1    | 3    | 1        | 0    | 0    | 1         | 0    | 4    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | D      | 한국어      | 8  | 6              | 9  | 1.13 | 0        | 0    | 1    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 3    | 5    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | E      | 지냄       | 9  | 7              | 12 | 1.33 | 0        | 0    | 0    | 1        | 1    | 1    | 0         | 2    | 7    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | E      | 연예인      | 10 | 5              | 7  | 0.70 | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0        | 1    | 0    | 0         | 3    | 3    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | F      | 종합       | 16 | 9              | 15 | 0.94 | 1        | 6    | 1    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 1         | 3    | 1    | 0        | 0    | 2    |
| Beg.  | G      | 지냄       | 8  | 1              | 1  | 0.13 | 0        | 1    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 0    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | G      | 음식       | 8  | 2              | 2  | 0.25 | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 0    | 2    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | H      | 한국어      | 3  | 1              | 1  | 0.33 | 1        | 0    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 0    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Beg.  | H      | 취미       | 5  | 3              | 4  | 0.80 | 1        | 0    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 1    | 1    | 0        | 0    | 1    |
| Int.  | I      | 결혼식      | 21 | 11             | 18 | 0.86 | 0        | 2    | 1    | 0        | 1    | 1    | 1         | 4    | 7    | 0        | 1    | 0    |
| Int.  | I      | 묘사       | 20 | 12             | 23 | 1.15 | 2        | 0    | 0    | 0        | 2    | 6    | 4         | 7    | 1    | 0        | 0    | 1    |
| Int.  | I      | 온라인      | 24 | 17             | 35 | 1.46 | 1        | 0    | 5    | 1        | 6    | 6    | 1         | 6    | 9    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Int.  | J      | 결혼식      | 33 | 19             | 32 | 0.97 | 1        | 2    | 6    | 0        | 4    | 2    | 2         | 5    | 9    | 0        | 0    | 1    |
| Int.  | J      | 온라인      | 25 | 11             | 13 | 0.52 | 0        | 0    | 3    | 0        | 0    | 3    | 0         | 4    | 3    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Int.  | J      | 실수       | 14 | 9              | 16 | 1.14 | 1        | 0    | 0    | 1        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 2    | 12   | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Int.  | K      | 결혼식      | 57 | 22             | 26 | 0.46 | 0        | 1    | 2    | 1        | 1    | 1    | 0         | 9    | 11   | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Int.  | K      | 후회       | 49 | 19             | 32 | 0.65 | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0        | 1    | 6    | 0         | 1    | 24   | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Int.  | K      | 실수       | 23 | 16             | 22 | 0.96 | 1        | 1    | 0    | 0        | 0    | 4    | 0         | 3    | 13   | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Adv.  | L      | 보고서      | 25 | 17             | 27 | 1.08 | 0        | 2    | 1    | 0        | 1    | 7    | 0         | 3    | 12   | 0        | 0    | 1    |
| Adv.  | L      | 정보문      | 12 | 8              | 19 | 1.58 | 0        | 0    | 2    | 0        | 0    | 1    | 0         | 7    | 9    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Adv.  | L      | 기사문      | 16 | 11             | 28 | 1.75 | 1        | 1    | 1    | 0        | 2    | 6    | 0         | 4    | 12   | 0        | 0    | 1    |
| Adv.  | M      | 보고서      | 25 | 13             | 28 | 1.12 | 3        | 0    | 1    | 0        | 2    | 4    | 0         | 7    | 11   | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Adv.  | M      | 정보문      | 12 | 5              | 13 | 1.08 | 0        | 1    | 2    | 0        | 0    | 2    | 0         | 1    | 6    | 0        | 1    | 0    |
| Adv.  | M      | 기사문      | 10 | 5              | 13 | 1.30 | 0        | 2    | 1    | 1        | 1    | 0    | 0         | 5    | 3    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Adv.  | N      | 보고서      | 23 | 16             | 37 | 1.61 | 3        | 2    | 1    | 1        | 4    | 1    | 0         | 9    | 13   | 0        | 2    | 1    |
| Adv.  | N      | 정보문      | 15 | 11             | 31 | 2.07 | 3        | 2    | 2    | 1        | 1    | 1    | 0         | 4    | 16   | 0        | 0    | 1    |

| Level | Source | Document | $S$ | $S_E$ | $E$ | EDI  | Omission |      |      | Addition |      |      | Selection |      |      | Ordering |      |      |
|-------|--------|----------|-----|-------|-----|------|----------|------|------|----------|------|------|-----------|------|------|----------|------|------|
|       |        |          |     |       |     |      | Ort.     | Gra. | Lex. | Ort.     | Gra. | Lex. | Ort.      | Gra. | Lex. | Ort.     | Gra. | Lex. |
| Adv.  | N      | 기사문      | 11  | 8     | 18  | 1.64 | 2        | 1    | 3    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 3    | 9    | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Adv.  | O      | 보고서      | 22  | 17    | 40  | 1.82 | 2        | 3    | 4    | 1        | 0    | 4    | 2         | 12   | 12   | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Adv.  | O      | 정보문      | 9   | 9     | 27  | 3.00 | 0        | 4    | 5    | 0        | 1    | 0    | 1         | 5    | 11   | 0        | 0    | 0    |
| Adv.  | O      | 기사문      | 6   | 5     | 13  | 2.17 | 0        | 1    | 2    | 0        | 0    | 0    | 0         | 2    | 6    | 1        | 1    | 0    |
| Adv.  | P      | 보고서      | 41  | 30    | 80  | 1.95 | 4        | 1    | 9    | 3        | 6    | 5    | 1         | 21   | 29   | 0        | 0    | 2    |
| Adv.  | P      | 정보문      | 13  | 11    | 32  | 2.46 | 0        | 2    | 5    | 1        | 0    | 3    | 0         | 6    | 14   | 0        | 0    | 1    |
| Adv.  | P      | 기사문      | 15  | 14    | 47  | 3.13 | 2        | 0    | 7    | 1        | 1    | 5    | 0         | 10   | 20   | 0        | 0    | 1    |

## 6.4 Dwass-Steel-Critchlow-Fligner Pairwise Comparisons of EDIs

**Table 6**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Omission EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | -1.210 | 0.669 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 2.598  | 0.158 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 4.682  | 0.003 |

**Table 7**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Orthographic Omission EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 0.197 | 0.989 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 0.778 | 0.847 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 1.286 | 0.637 |

**Table 8**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Grammatical Omission EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | -1.083 | 0.724 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 1.524  | 0.528 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 3.436  | 0.040 |

**Table 9**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Lexical Omission EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 0.385 | 0.960 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 4.118 | 0.010 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 3.552 | 0.032 |

**Table 10**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Addition EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 2.275 | 0.242 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 2.238 | 0.253 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 1.223 | 0.663 |

**Table 11**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Orthographic Addition EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | -0.328 | 0.971 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 0.460  | 0.943 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 1.460  | 0.557 |

**Table 12**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Grammatical Addition EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 1.154 | 0.693 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 0.965 | 0.774 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 0.173 | 0.992 |

**Table 13**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Lexical Addition EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 4.379 | 0.006 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 4.126 | 0.010 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 0.127 | 0.996 |

**Table 14**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Selection EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 0.671 | 0.883 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 4.547 | 0.004 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 4.771 | 0.002 |

**Table 15**  
*Pairwise Comparison of Orthographic Selection EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 0.472  | 0.941 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | -1.069 | 0.730 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | -1.732 | 0.439 |

**Table 16***Pairwise Comparison of Grammatical Selection EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 0.090 | 0.998 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 3.627 | 0.028 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 3.880 | 0.017 |

**Table 17***Pairwise Comparison of Lexical Selection EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 1.523 | 0.529 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 4.737 | 0.002 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 3.965 | 0.014 |

**Table 18***Pairwise Comparison of Ordering EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | -0.943 | 0.783 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 0.731  | 0.863 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 2.569  | 0.164 |

**Table 19***Pairwise Comparison of Orthographic Ordering EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | -1.134 | 0.702 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 1.095  | 0.719 |

**Table 20***Pairwise Comparison of Grammatical Ordering EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | -0.456 | 0.944 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 0.469  | 0.941 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 1.974  | 0.770 |

**Table 21***Pairwise Comparison of Lexical Ordering EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | -0.309 | 0.974 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 1.165  | 1.688 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 1.988  | 0.338 |

**Table 22***Pairwise Comparison of Total EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 0.357 | 0.966 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 3.644 | 0.027 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 4.850 | 0.002 |

**Table 23***Pairwise Comparison of Orthographic EDIs*

|              |              | W      | p     |
|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | -0.592 | 0.908 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | -0.157 | 1.993 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 1.652  | 0.427 |

**Table 24***Pairwise Comparison of Grammatical EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 0.000 | 1.000 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 3.245 | 0.057 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 4.259 | 0.007 |

**Table 25***Pairwise Comparison of Lexical EDIs*

|              |              | W     | p     |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Beginner     | Intermediate | 1.296 | 0.630 |
| Beginner     | Advanced     | 4.946 | 0.001 |
| Intermediate | Advanced     | 4.388 | 0.005 |

# On Contact, Cultural Emphasis, and Linguistic Relativity

Miguel Lorenzo Tan

When I was little, I used to think that Tagalog, or at least the Metro Manila dialect I was accustomed to, was deficient. I thought, “Why does it seem like I can’t form a complete sentence without resorting to using an English word every now and then?” especially when it came to matters of technology, law, and bureaucracy. This was also before I even learned that many of the words I thought were Tagalog were actually of Spanish origin, or of Chinese, or of Indian (Sanskrit), and so forth (which also points to how well Tagalog has “claimed” them). Perhaps it was due to my own “deficiency” as an imperfect native speaker that I always needed to pull foreign words, or on the flipside, my “proficiency” as a budding bilingual. Still, language contact and borrowing were difficult concepts to grasp as a child, though much less than the fact how languages and speakers were hardly, if not never, really “pure.”

Of course, I know now that all languages borrow from or are at least influenced in some manner by the other languages they come in contact with. Contact is the natural state of things now, along with change, although I imagine this was not always the case. Way before the world went global, geographically and culturally disparate pre-historic societies who spoke different languages lived in vastly different environments and thus lived through different experiences. When specific experiences or objects occur enough times to become shared and salient among a community, these language-speaking communities naturally develop lexemes to refer to such things. When these specific experiences or objects recur enough times, we could be dealing already with a culture (although only simplistically speaking). What happens is that cultures have widely different sets of words and vocabulary items from each other, and some domains within the lexicon may reflect what is more salient or culturally emphasized. Basically, the salient features in a community’s environment and culture manifest in its language.

This aspect of our cultures and languages is truly fascinating, although sometimes our fascination with other cultures, relative to our own, may lead to exoticism or misguided beliefs about others. Such is the case of “the great Eskimo vocabulary hoax,” wherein it was mistakenly believed that the communities in Siberia had a large yet unspecified, even varying, number of words for snow (Martin, 1986). After all, they lived in the frozen tundra, so why wouldn’t they? But on a more grounded level, that is why the Eskimo *did* have words for snow. In reality however, the Eskimo lan-

guages merely had morphosyntactic processes that modified roots, like their word for snow, to produce semantic nuances that made it appear like they had many words for snow. Simultaneously, this is why we Filipinos, as inhabitants of an agricultural tropical archipelago to the left of the Wallace Line, have *bangka* 'boat' or *kalabaw* 'carabao' or words for the different states of rice, but not indigenous words for kangaroo, or laptop, or glacier, or snow (until we borrowed *nieve* from Spanish, or *snow* itself).

This does not mean that languages are deficient compared to others because they lack words that refer to certain things, nor does it mean that some cultures are superior, and vice versa. It simply means that our languages adapt to our needs and surroundings; it is constantly attuned to maintain its function of allowing us to talk about what we can talk about. And in this day and age of globalization, the internet, and social media, the question becomes more "what can't we talk about?"

Throughout human history, there have been millions of reasons and causes for cross-cultural-linguistic contact: coincidence, trade, warfare, colonialism, capitalism, and now globalism. In Philippine history for example, trade with Chinese merchants gave us many names for food, kinship, and the like. Spanish occupation profoundly influenced our languages and infused many more concepts and words than we probably realize. And as aforementioned, much of what we use to call new technologies and governmental and bureaucratic processes came under American imperialism and its continuing auspices. These concepts and words were initially absent in the indigenous languages simply because they were absent in the indigenous experience and worldview. And while languages are flexible and powerful enough to describe and refer to these "alien" things using their own lexemes, it is simply way more efficient and functional to just borrow the already existing and probably shorter terms for them.

Moreover, through mass media and the internet, we now have access to swathes of information like never before. We can now expose and even immerse ourselves in different cultures, foreign objects, and other typically inaccessible and unfamiliar concepts. Inter-continental-cultural-linguistic roads can now be crossed without having to be physically built.

At least on the lexical and vocabulary level, we can see how one would be hard-pressed to argue for an "essence" or for the "purity" of any single language, especially in our times. Language contact and borrowing are the norm. At the very least, can we say that general awareness of the co/existence of cultures and languages different from ours is at an all-time high? To borrow the metaphor of historical linguistics' wave model, languages and their variants are, now more than ever, like singular waves criss-crossing and submerging-then-consuming in a vast ocean. And with English emerging as a tidal wave of a global lingua franca, I wonder whether or not a language can "have it all" one day.

This brings into question the popularity of (or widespread misbelief in) the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis or linguistic relativity. Simply put: that the language we speak affects the way we perceive, think of, and view the world. Why is this concept so intriguing for the regular person and academics alike? I believe there are several factors. Not only is the concept hard to fully grasp and explain comprehensively; not only has it been largely "folklorized"; not only is it fun to ponder its possibilities; not only is it

fascinating to appreciate difference; not only is it useful to mark this “difference”; it is also relatively easier to leave all the disagreements and misunderstandings of the world to our perceived inherent differences. Yet numerous studies have already debunked the theory from its strong to strongest terms and instead call for a rethinking of the effect of language on cognitive activity and behavior (Gleitman & Papafragou, 2012; Slobin, 1996). Throughout multitudes of various experiments under very controlled conditions, the way our language affects our thought and thinking and behavior was found to be minute, or mere milliseconds worth of difference. The reality is that the language we speak would likely hardly really make a difference in how we think about and see the world.

So no matter how much we want the circular language of the time-traveling aliens in *Arrival* (2016) to be real, we are left with much more uncomfortable truths than “time travel isn’t real.” For all our preoccupations and speculations with matters of cultural emphasis, along with our exposure to the ways of life of the rest of the world and our awareness of others’ sufferings and struggles, maybe we subconsciously subscribe to linguistic relativity because we want to be different from each other. We want to be not like them. But the truth, the salient likelihood, is that we have much more in common with one another than we have differences. While we continue to carry the heavy history of human contact, linguistic relativity offers an alternative to that truth, one which is simply much less unsettling to the conscience.

## References

- Gleitman, L., & Papafragou, A. (2012). New perspectives on language and thought. In K. J. Holyoak & R. G. Morrison (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of thinking and reasoning* (pp. 543–568). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199734689.013.0028>
- Martin, L. (1986). “Eskimo words for snow”: A case study in the genesis and decay of an anthropological example. *American Anthropologist*, 88(2), 418–423. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/677570>
- Slobin, D. I. (1996). From “thought and language” to “thinking for speaking”. In J. J. Gumperz & S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity* (pp. 70–96). Cambridge University Press.

## Thoughts on Time

Miguel Lorenzo Tan

hinaharap natin ang kinabukasan

The baybayin text above reads: *hinaharap natin ang kinabukasan*. It's a play on the polysemy of the Tagalog word *hinaharap* in meaning 'the future,' 'the front of something,' or 'something which we face.' According to numerous cross-linguistic studies, peoples and cultures conceptualize time in a multitude of ways: "in whether they think of time as stationary or moving, as limited or open-ended, as horizontal or vertical, as oriented from left-to-right, right-to-left, front-to-back, back-to-front, east-to-west, and so on" (Boroditsky et al., 2011, p. 123). And this manifests in the usually spatial metaphors their languages employ. From the expression above, we can see that Tagalog, and thus Tagalog speakers, have extended a spatial metaphor to conceptualize time horizontally and from back-to-front. Specifically, that the future is in front of us and is something we face; somewhat paradoxically, it is something that we could supposedly see but not foresee, for it is still unknown. It follows that the past, which we call *nagdaan* or *nakaraan* (both literally meaning 'something which has passed by / through'), is behind us. It is something we now turn our backs and eyes on, despite or because of the fact that we are more familiar with it through our memories than the very future we now face.

I'm curious as to how early language speakers naturally connected their conceptions of space with their conceptions of time, even way before the connection between the two was formalized in the field of astrophysics as 4-D spacetime. Perhaps the connection was as clear as the sky is blue—quite literally. Before the days of light pollution, human ancestors from all over the globe, in an effort to compartmentalize their routine activities and rituals, made use of their environment, the most handy and available of which are the sky and its heavenly bodies. Of course, aside from these celestial time indicators, meteorological, botanic, faunal, and bodily changes were also tracked, like how the Mangyans did for example (Postma, 1985). But I doubt that there are things more uniform than the rising and falling of the sun in a day, the phases of the moon in a month, or the shifting of the stars and constellations in a year. These made them perfect markers of regularity, reliable guides for navigation, and important symbols of expectation and stability. And as these markers in the sky moved in their own directions and speeds, I guess it becomes clearer how the associations between space and time were

made.

But space is not the only way we conceptualize time. There is also value; we ascribe value to parcels of time. Though the question of whether or not this conception is a product of more modern times (i.e., after prehistory) is up in the air. In Tagalog for example, time is something that can be wasted: *sayang ang oras* 'time is wasted.' And thus time is temporary and limited: *ubos-oras* 'out of time,' *wala nang oras* 'there is no more time'; and one can also have or possess time, albeit with acknowledgment of its transience: *may oras ako ngayon* 'I have time now,' *sa paglipas ng panahon* 'with the passage of time' (this one uses movement too). And yet it is something we willingly share or devote to others or to an activity: *pahiram ng kaunting oras* 'let me borrow your time,' *paglaanan mo ng oras* 'allot your time.' Our lives aren't as eternal as the sky, and the finite time that we borrow is what gives it value. This is even taken up a notch in English, wherein time has become a form of currency itself: *spending time*, *buy us some time*, *time is gold* (an idiom which one can argue has been borrowed into Filipino culture), and so forth.

Time and number are also intricately linked. Woods's (2011) article surveying the interplay between counting numbers and telling time from the precolonial, then the colonial, and to now the contemporary Tagalog world shows us that the local native populations had agency throughout history in choosing which foreign conceptions of time were to be accepted or "indigenized." From the get-go, it seems that the Tagalogs, at least, numbered or counted their time. Using the present as a reference point, the past and the future were numbered into seemingly measured units, for example (p. 344):

... - camacalaua - cahapon (yesterday) - ngayon (now) - bukas (tomorrow) - macalaua - ...

This applied to not just the sequence of days but also months and years. The compartmentalization of days into hours, the 7-day *domingo* system, having names for days and months, and having numbers for years were eventual innovations from Spanish influence. The local Tagalog speakers also certainly chose for themselves which aspects of the foreign concept of time fit the needs of their time.

As our construal of time in Filipino, heavily Tagalog-based as it is, becomes more complex and demanding in this day and age of productivity and *maximizing time*, we see that we Filipinos are still very much attuned to its connection with space, value, and number. The expression *Filipino Time*, whether as a flaw, a stereotype, or a mere joke, attests to this. The acknowledgment of its existence (and sometimes a *pag-angkin* of its validity) is also an acknowledgment of the value of punctuality and *respecting others' time*. Yet this habit of always being late is nowhere to be found in our conceptions or metaphorizing of time; it is simply not a function of them. Contrary to Postma (1985), I believe that Filipino time is not a remnant of old conceptions of time, "that there is no need to know the time exactly to the last minute" (p. 239), especially if the expression is applied to mostly urban and modern contexts and situations. I believe that Filipino time is less of a cognitive product as it is a product of our material conditions and poor institutions. We would do better attributing Filipino time to traffic in our dusty, unsafe car-centric roads, pedestrian-unfriendly and PWD-hostile streets, decrepit public

transport system and infrastructure, weak internet connectivity and access, and so forth instead of as an inherent trait, because as we can see in our language, we Filipinos are aware, calculated, and sensitive when it comes to time.

In time, we hope that Filipino time will be nothing but a thing of the past. We look for drastic improvements in our standard of living conditions in the future. But as we face our uncertain *hinaharap*, it would no longer be enough to simply *look forward* to it, at some point we have to begin moving forward in that direction as well, and that point may as well be now.

## References

- Boroditsky, L., Fuhrman, O., & McCormick, K. (2011). Do English and Mandarin speakers think about time differently? *Cognition*, *118*(1), 123–129. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2010.09.010>
- Postma, A. (1985). The concept of time among the Mangyans. *Asian Folklore Studies*, *44*(2), 231–240. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1178509>
- Woods, D. L. (2011). Counting and marking time from the precolonial to the contemporary Tagalog world. *Philippine Studies*, *59*(3), 337–365. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42634686>

# **Beyond the Binary: A Reflective Essay on Language, Gender, and Socialization**

Jaira Alessandra Rodolfo

We humans have spent countless millennia differentiating ourselves from each other according to our biological differences. Our biological sex, assigned to us at birth, is expected to inform our gender identity growing up; it effectively affirms itself to be one of many social factors that directly influence the course of our lives (Macionis, 2018). Between the concepts of sex and gender, I have observed that the two have long been regarded as synonymous by many, so much so that the difference between the two is often not common knowledge. These terms, thus, are often used interchangeably in countless contexts, despite their significant differences in meaning.

Gender is a social construct different from one's biological sex, and the latter is not necessarily indicative of the former (Planned Parenthood, n.d.). The two shape a person's perception of themselves and of the people around them, and one of the factors that allow for this is the very language that the individual uses. With this, we are reminded that language exists not in a vacuum. Its use—and, in some cases, its very structure—is closely intertwined with innumerable social factors that determine the lives of the people who speak it. One could say that language is an extension of oneself and a dynamic medium for self-expression, but it is also through language that discrimination among genders and the reinforcement of detrimental stereotypes become possible. Depending on its use, it possesses a capacity to either be a powerful tool or a weapon. While it is mainly seen as an avenue for expression and communication, it is also within language itself that gender-related problems are embedded.

As someone who identifies as non-binary, our current society's perception of gender (and its prescription of how it ought to be) affects how I view and present myself, whether I want it to or not. My relationship with gender is a complicated one; I do not see my gender as a perfect alignment with one binary or the other, but rather a mark within a spectrum that fluctuates over time. I deviate from what is expected of me by simply existing; what I consider to be just one facet of myself is made political, and to simply be is unheard of. Ample conscious calculation is involved in choosing how I conduct myself around others, and I imagine that this may also be the case for many Filipino LGBTQ+ individuals.

Oftentimes, I find myself unconsciously subscribing to how I am expected to act, speak, and look like to fit in better, and to explain which rules or norms are "right" for me warrants an entirely different conversation of its own. It is a complex situation. I do

not feel that I am a woman, and yet it is impossible to detach myself from this identity. To have one's sex assigned as female at birth is to deal with the consequences, scripts, and socialization involved with being a woman, and I have long acknowledged that I am perceived as female regardless of how I feel about it, and I am thus expected to act as such.

As with everything else, everyone's experiences with gender are different and unique to them. The more common case is that there are people whose gender identity do align with their assigned sex and are comfortable with identifying as such. The status quo works for them, and I would understand if they show no interest or motivation in changing it any further. However, by aligning the cisgender heterosexual identity with the definition of what is normal and acceptable, we not only discriminate those who fail to fit into this interpretation of gender, but also discourage people from further examining their own gender identity and sexuality (Reinhard & Olson, 2017). This further suppresses people from assessing for themselves if this standard works for them. In this way, this concept of gender and the expected roles attached to it are held and maintained over time, further perpetuating the problem—one that we have been combatting for decades—right into the succeeding generations.

As I perceive gender to be a social construct, I hold some belief that we may only think the way we do about gender because this is how we have been socialized to view it growing up. Shaping one's views on gender and identity is a lifelong process of sifting through what is deemed appropriate or unacceptable by society (Lindsey, 2015), and to resist these socializations and the current norms is to call for an active and consistent reexamination of our own assumptions and biases.

Perhaps the reason we cling onto gender norms and the characteristics and performances associated with certain genders is because we find value in predictability. Knowing a person's sex gives us an idea of how this person may act, look, or what they may be like; this makes it easier to assume an individual's gender identity based on our perception of their appearance and actions, allowing us to recall and reuse scripts that we may have picked up from previous interactions (Bem, 1981). This way, it is easier to keep track of how to refer to people and what one might expect from interacting with them.

To put gender under a gray area—to view it beyond the binary—demands for a reconstruction of conceptualizations, assumptions, expectations, and the countless other aspects involved with how we live and communicate with each other. If we find ourselves adamant with concerning ourselves with this kind of change, what we need to internalize is the fact that everyone has a gender identity, and that each and every one of us has a preferred way of communicating who they are to other people (whatever this may be). In refusing to acknowledge this, we restrict ourselves and those around us from such options.

I believe that in the process of normalizing unconventional definitions of gender and making conscious efforts to assimilate inclusivity in our speech, we open gateways for people into exploring their own gender identities and getting to know themselves better. It is through this that they might also be able to develop a capacity for empathy and understanding for people who are different from them (Foresman, 2016; Ku et al.,

2010), allowing for progress in our struggle for renegotiating and reconstructing our current dominant concepts of gender.

The concept of gender is one so complex and diverse that it is even perceived differently across various cultures, languages, and groups of people (Macionis, 2018). To shape it into a single, definite way of seeing things proves itself to be a near impossible feat. Instead, we ought to head toward the opposite direction of expanding our definitions and updating our preconceptions of it. It is also important to properly educate the upcoming generations regarding this matter, as these conceptualizations will remain unless we do something to change it. The role of language, literature, and socialization in this regard is a major one, as to demand better views on gender is to demand for an extreme change for many aspects of life, starting with language. I find comfort in thinking of gender as something that is more malleable (like clay) than solid (like concrete). It is a social construct, a spectrum, and is not set in stone. The views on it can be reconstructed and reconceptualized. Same is the case for language.

Language greatly influences how we think, how we converse, and how we view the world around us. It is known to shift and change constantly and is almost never static. Found at the core of its purpose are communication and expression, and it evolves according to what the speakers need from it. Although many modern-day languages remain to be highly gendered, this insinuates possible and inevitable change. The semantics of terms associated with gender have and will continue to change over time, and the meaning we associate with it shapes the relationship between the perception and attitudes towards gender, and vice versa.

It goes without saying that we still have a long way to go from the ideal we have illustrated. However, that discourse like this has been ongoing, that there has been a shift into the acceptance of nontraditional and nonheteronormative identities, that there are better attitudes in recent times toward the identities of LGBTQ+ people, that we now have individuals openly defying gender norms and stereotypes solidified by countless of years of patterns and socialization, that there are people like me who are able to explore and express our truth, shows us that we are doing progress.

One's role in society has always been associated with their sex and gender. Perhaps this notion will never be fully erased even in the upcoming generations, but still, I persist in remaining optimistic. I persist in advocating for a much more progressive and accepting society, one that has successfully resisted (rather than reaffirm) our current conception of what gender is and what it ought to be.

### **Acknowledgments**

Foremost, I would like to give my most sincere thanks to Prof. Elsie Marie Or—without whom this piece would not at all be possible—for teaching me and for recommending my work for publication. My deepest thanks as well to the editorial team behind UPWPL for their interest in my piece and for patiently working with me. I am deeply grateful to the both of them for the opportunity they have given me.

I would like to extend my wholehearted thanks to my family—Oddie, Dinah, Kianna, and Samantha—for their love and neverending support. Warmest thanks also to my friends—most especially Willy, Deniere, Blessa, Ioana, and Jeanela—who have shown

me nothing but acceptance and encouragement amidst the toughest of times.

Lastly, I give my thanks to you, dear reader, for your time. May you find the courage to challenge how you are told to view yourself and the world around you.

## References

- Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, 88(4), 354–364. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.88.4.354>
- Foresman, D. B. (2016). *Representations and impacts of transgender and gender nonconforming ideals in children's literature for young children* (Bachelor's thesis). University of Central Florida. <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/honorstheses/119/>
- Ku, G., Wang, C. S., & Galinsky, A. D. (2010). Perception through a perspective-taking lens: Differential effects on judgment and behavior. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(5), 792–798. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.04.001>
- Lindsey, L. L. (2015). Gender development: The socialization process. In *Gender roles: A sociological perspectives* (6th ed.). Routledge.
- Macionis, J. J. (2018). Gender stratification. In *Sociology* (16th ed., pp. 345–369). Pearson.
- Planned Parenthood. (n.d.). Sex and gender identity. *Planned Parenthood*. <https://www.plannedparenthood.org/learn/gender-identity/sex-gender-identity>
- Reinhard, C. D., & Olson, C. J. (Eds.). (2017). *Heroes, heroines and everything in between: Challenging gender and sexuality stereotypes in children's entertainment media*. Lexington Books.

# On the Status of English in the Philippines

Francine Yvonne B. Dela Cruz

There is no denying how vast the space the English language has taken up in the Filipino consciousness. In my personal experience, the medium of instruction that I grew up learning in school has always been a combination of Filipino and English, and so, it has always been part of my worldview. While American colonial rule ended in 1946, English remains ever-so pervasive in many domains and institutions, including our schools, the media we consume, and in various job sectors. Seeing its pervasive use in the Philippine context, it is worthwhile to consider the position of Philippine English as a World English, which according to Kirkpatrick and Deterding (2011), reflects the local phenomena and cultural values found in the community where the language takes root. The coinage of the term *World Englishes* in itself exhibits the unmatched dominance of English beyond the bounds of being a lingua franca, used as an instrument for global communication, seeing how it has become adopted, modified, and integrated directly into the languages of other nations.

In the case of the Philippines, English is classified as a secondary language (Kirkpatrick & Deterding, 2011), primarily used for official partaking in administration, law, business, education, media, etc. It is also recognized as one of the two official languages of the country, the other of which is Filipino. This status of English in the Philippines as a secondary language corresponds to the Outer Circle classification in Kachru's Circles of English model (Schneider, 2011). It was explained that most countries in the Outer Circle, like the Philippines, were former English or American colonies that, through time, institutionalized their use of the English language. Schneider, however, cited several critiques of Kachru's model, which all point to the argument that looking at the sociolinguistic situation of these countries, in reality, there is no definite set of features or standards that could sharply demarcate the circles from one another. I agree with this common point of the said critiques; as I have learned in many social science classes, models only serve as convenient representations of complex relationships among different concepts. In reality, the clear-cut nature of these paradigms is not as simple as they seem to be. Hence, in the case of World Englishes, it is crucial to examine the actual way speakers use them. Given how pervasive English is, it is quite difficult to measure the extent of its actual reach and impact on the consciousness of speakers of World Englishes.

Going back to Philippine English, there have already been several studies examining the status of the English language in the Philippines. For instance, focusing on the politics of Philippine English, Tupas (2004) cited Llamzon's (1969) structural analysis

of what he identified as the *Standard Filipino English* variety. However, it is critical to note that this variety Llamzon was referring to was based on the English that educated Filipinos spoke at the time. We can see that the hierarchy in the languages that we favor and view as being prestigious in our country extends even to the variety of English that we use. With his focus on the English of the Filipino “educated” circle, we see how Llamzon’s basis for his proposed variety of Philippine English is primarily extracted from the variety of English that is closer to the Standard American English variety. Perhaps we can also attribute this inherent preference to the expectation of and aspiration for “native-like performance” in the language, something which we commonly observe among Filipino call center agents (Bolton, 2011). To illustrate, in my senior high school, we were required to take a class called Contact Center Services which in essence served as preliminary training for entering the call center industry. One tip I got during class on how to sound more “native” when taking calls is to substitute the word “three” with “free” if it’s difficult to pronounce the dental fricative [θ] sound. Apparently, at least according to our instructor in that class, “free” sounds more similar to the actual pronunciation of the word when talking on the phone compared to replacing it with the alveolar plosive [t] sound. From this, I was able to see early on how the pursuit of “perfecting” one’s English-speaking abilities and conforming with the Standard English variety are encouraged and praised in the Philippines.

Pefianco-Martin (2014) also brought to light the issue of the acceptability of Philippine English in the discourse of English in the country as it is used in scholarly and non-scholarly contexts. In my experience, for most college papers, students are expected to write in fluent and flawless English based on the Standard English variety, which assumes that it is expected of us to have that capability. Thus, most of the time, codeswitching is discouraged and corrections for the wrong use of the Standard English grammatical system are pointed out. Outside the academe, we can also see how varieties of English used in the Philippines that do not conform to the “standard” are often laughed at and derogatorily described as “barok” or “English carabao.”

Consequently, for those outside the educated circle of our society, access to certain things can be difficult because of their lack of proficiency in the “accepted” English variety among the educated. Due to years of education that heavily favors the use of English, there are many like me who find it more comfortable and are more attuned to reading scholarly texts written in the Standard English language. I find it challenging to digest works written in Filipino. Linguistic research written in Filipino, for example, tends to use hard-to-understand or rarely used Filipino terms. Additionally, to sum up my general experience, English is the commonly preferred medium for teaching technical concepts. If this is the dynamic that plays in education, then it makes the academe more and more inaccessible to those outside the educated circle, who belong to the Expanding Circle category in Pefianco-Martin’s (2014) proposed version of the Circles of English in the Philippine context. With this, we can see how the use of English drives stratification in Philippine society. This is evident from the fact that those with a more privileged status in society have more access to English, and in turn, opportunities for economic growth. As Schneider (2011) explained, English is economically useful as

an instrument to acquire a reputable and good-paying job, further proving how social struggles are reflected in our language use.

On the question of whether Philippine English will ever be institutionalized and accepted as a unique and legitimate English variety by Filipinos, the answer I have reached is: it is unlikely. As Tupas (2004) puts it, our use of English has translated into the appropriation of Western concepts and discourses in our local culture and practices. As a result, patronizing Americanized concepts and preferences is widely accepted—even encouraged—in the country, even if it is at the expense of our own Filipino ideals. This is also the reason why the English language can't be left out of the discourse on national language, language planning, and language policies in the Philippine context. It impacts not only education but also extends greatly into the conversation on nationalism, ethnolinguistic identity, and, at the socioeconomic level, our incessant focus on and pursuit for globalization. This just goes to show how English in the Philippines, at least for now, will continue to serve as a neocolonial language and instrument for shaping Filipinos' ideals.

## References

- Bolton, K. (2011). World Englishes and Philippine call centres. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of World Englishes* (2nd ed., pp. 543–557). Routledge. <http://doi.org/10.4324/9781003128755-37>
- Kirkpatrick, A., & Deterding, D. (2011). World Englishes. In J. Simpson (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of applied linguistics* (1st ed., pp. 373–387). Routledge.
- Llamzon, T. A. (1969). *Standard Filipino English*, Ateneo De Manila University.
- Pefianco-Martin, I. (2014). Philippine English revisited. *World Englishes*, 33(1), 50–59. <https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12054>
- Schneider, E. W. (2011). Colonization, globalization, and the sociolinguistics of World Englishes. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 335–354). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511997068.025>
- Tupas, T. R. F. (2004). The politics of Philippine English: Neocolonialism, global politics, and the problem of postcolonialism. *World Englishes*, 23(1), 47–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2004.00334.x>

# Making the Unknown Obvious: Why English Education Sets the Conditions for the OFW

John Joshua Noel L. Macapia

When it was discussed in our class how Filipinos are easily hired as workers and employees abroad, in large part due to their ability to speak in English, I remembered the situation of my family. My grandmother and all five of her remaining siblings (out of 10 if I remember correctly) have lived in the United States for more than 40 years. They first moved there in the 1980s. My mom's siblings, five out of eight, have also moved to the States a bit later, during the late 1990s. In search of a better life—one that would remove the burden of material need—many of them took jobs either outside of their college degree (I had aunts who graduated as medical technologists but took domestic care jobs to get into the US) or ones that they had to go to school again to have (many went back to school again in the US in order to get nursing degrees since nursing was a high-paying and in-demand job in the States at that time). Moreover, a lot of them found huge favor from their bosses because they were hardworking (for their families that they need to feed), they were easily able to communicate in the workplace (given that they have already completed their college degrees here in the country), and that they can be hired at a lower market salary (my relatives would take any job just to earn money, no matter how small the amount they would be compensated). I have a cousin-in-law there who I believe let go of his high-paying corporate job here in the Philippines to be a salesperson at a jewelry store because it simply pays more.

Looking at this situation at first, it may just actually seem to make sense to many that my family was willing to sacrifice their comfort of living here in the country to be able to provide a better life for their family. But there is more to this than just “making sense.”

Borrowing Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the habitus, much of the idea of going abroad for a better life is a conditioned response against the poverty, the corruption and the subpar economic status of the country in comparison to other countries. This conditioning happens through two channels: (1) our country's education system, which is focused on training would-be employees that, ideally, can be exported abroad so that these overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) will be able to send remittances, the largest form of government revenue; and (2) the government's messaging, which also promotes overseas employment of Filipinos, which would require proficiency in English.

There is little to no motivation to improve our local industries, and little is done to promote liberal education such as arts, history, linguistics, anthropology, and so on. Let me explain.

On the first point let me quote a report published by Asian Development Bank in 2009 where they said that

As one of the world's largest recipients of remittances, the Philippines received remittances roughly 12% of its gross domestic product in 2008. Remittances have become the single most important source of foreign exchange to the economy and a significant source of income for recipient families. (para. 1)

Given the overwhelming portion of the GDP of the country being that of remittances, there is much motivation for the government to cultivate more workers to be sent abroad. This has been happening since the late 1970s with the Marcos government's Labor Code of 1974, which established the Overseas Employment Development Board, which undertook the task of promoting overseas employment of Filipino. It was further reinforced by Corazon Aquino dubbing the migrant Filipino workers as *bagong bayani* 'new heroes' (Rodriguez, 2010). You might be thinking, "well that was 30 years ago, and 2009 was more than 13 years ago." However, there is still evidence which shows that not much has changed in our current situation. Nikkei Asia reported that in just the last year, "((" (Venzon, 2022) Filipinos working overseas sent home a record \$31.4 billion cash remittances, providing strong backing to the Philippines' economic recovery from the pandemic). Even at the onset of the pandemic, much of what saved our economy from collapsing was due to the remittances by Filipino workers abroad.

Local industries now suffer because of this focus on overseas employment. Industries, particularly agriculture (which made the Philippines famous in the 1970s as exemplified by the establishment of the International Rice Research Institute in UP Los Baños) has been facing a steady decline in produce quality and in the working and living conditions of farmers throughout the country (Philippine Senate, 2019).

When we look at our current situation, we can see how the government, through our education system, use different means to to train future workers for export. One important aspect of it is language, particularly that of English. With the Philippines ranking 18 out of 112 in the 2021 EF English Proficiency Index (Education First, 2021), and with the country still recognizing English as the official language of law and a main medium of instruction in our schools (along with Filipino), we can see the relative success of the continuous inculcation of Filipinos. Partner this with the negative attitudes that Filipino carry towards homegrown variations of English, and the prominence of English-based media mostly coming from the US, you now have produced a people whose cultural, linguistic, political, and economic aspirations are geared towards the Western part of the world and thus, the perfect *pambala sa kanyon* of the Philippine economy is born.

To be honest with you, I really feel saddened for many of our fellow Filipinos who must leave everything here to provide for a family, which they do not fully know when they would see again, and if the family will still be whole upon their return. My mother

was an OFW for a certain time and many problems arose—both personal and emotional, as well as relating to our education—in which my siblings and I had to face ourselves.

English in the Philippines is more than a language. It has sustained the large gaps between the powerful and the masses, and the discrepancies between our ideals of nationhood and our dreams of living abroad. I cannot imagine a world without English nor explain my whole being without it. But we, as those who are aware of this fact, have a responsibility to deal with this problem in the country. Do not get me wrong, yearning for a better life for your family or loving the English language is by no means a bad thing. But, when you understand that these things have been deliberately inculcated into people, which make them vulnerable to being taken advantage of, then you realize that it is an important issue that should be dealt with.

Until now, I still yearn for the day when no Filipino ever needs to go out of the country again because they feel that they cannot build a good life here. However, I do believe that I can do something about it. And this is the first step: making the unknown obvious.

### **Acknowledgments**

To my mother, who gave every bit of her being just to give my siblings and I a life to live. We never deserved your love, yet you gave it to us unconditionally.

To my family, who left everything they know and care about to let their loved ones live the best they can. You showed me that love knows no bounds.

To my professor, whose little requirement paved way for me to share a bit of my heart. I cannot be ever more grateful.

To the reader, may you find hope in the most hopeless of times.

My heart goes out to you all.

### **References**

- Ang, A. P., Sugiyarto, G., & Jha, S. (2009). *Remittances and household behavior in the Philippines* (ADB Economics Working Paper Series No. 188). Asian Development Bank.
- Education First. (2021). *EF English proficiency index: A ranking of 112 countries and regions by English skills* [Report]. <https://www.ef.com/wwen/epi/>
- Philippine Senate. (2019, March 25). *Angara urges gov't to address waning interest in agriculture among youth* [Press release]. [https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/press\\_release/2019/0325\\_angara1.asp](https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2019/0325_angara1.asp)
- Rodriguez, R. M. (2010). New national heroes: Patriotism and citizenship reconfigured. In *Migrants for export: How the Philippine state brokers labor to the world* (pp. 75–92). University of Minnesota Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.cttttb3s8>

Venzon, C. (2022, February 15). Philippines 'modern-day heroes' sent record remittances last year. *Nikkei Asia*. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Economy/Philippines-modern-day-heroes-sent-record-remittances-last-year>

# The Good and the Bad: The Social Role and Position of English in the Philippines

Nicko Enrique L. Manalastas

English is a relatively new institutionalized language in the Philippines. It has only been around since the 1900s with its introduction by our American colonizers. Through the Americans' implementation of a mass education program throughout the Philippines, English came to be used by Filipinos in all levels of their schooling as the sole medium of instruction up until the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Gonzalez, 1998). This led English to permeate through every aspect of Filipino life. From education, mass media, and the sciences, English came to be *the* medium of communication in the Philippines. Even to this day, English has a socially privileged status as it enables Filipinos to participate in an increasingly competitive global market (Bolton, 2020).

Despite these benefits, we can observe that some Filipinos still fall under the poverty line because they are not able to enter the workforce which places a premium on English language skills and proficiency. It may be said that this problem stems from the unequal quality of education across the archipelago, with urban centers such as Metro Manila having the most prestigious institutions that have complete access to quality learning materials. So, pervasive and prestigious as English may be, it is also a problematic marker of Filipino social mobility, for its use and the prevailing attitudes towards its use are among the factors that perpetuate the systematic social inequalities that hinder most Filipinos from ever rising above their socioeconomic class.

How problematic is the English-centric perspective in Philippine society? First and foremost, having a high-level of proficiency in English in the Philippines is largely pre-determined by one's birth. I say this because, more often than not, middle- and upper-class Filipinos—who are themselves exposed to and have high-level proficiencies in English—produce offspring who are then similarly exposed to the English language. This comes from the fact that people from these segments of society have more financial means to educate their children in institutions which unsurprisingly privileges English and inculcates in them the social value placed on English.

Moreover, because children from these socioeconomic classes have immediate access to Western, Anglophone media way before they start school, they immediately have a significant advantage over those who do not. As numerous sociolinguists such as Bernardo (2008) point out: “those who benefit most from education in the English language are those with good levels of proficiency in English to start with and/or those who grow up in environments that abound with English language inputs, materials,

and resources.” In the Philippines, these fortunate segments of society are the middle- and upper-class.

I, for one, admit that I have benefited from such a system, as I was fortunate enough to be born into a family who has immediate access to Western, Anglophone media. This exposure essentially paved the way for my competence in English at an early age. I would not exactly say that I was completely proficient in English, but it was enough for me to be accepted in a private school that, in turn, further improved my English language skills. This, however, is not without its faults. I was so exposed to English that my proficiency in Filipino was neglected. It was only in senior high school that I was able to sufficiently write well in Filipino. Even until now, in college, I still sometimes find it hard to articulate what I want to say in Filipino. While I have had the advantage of having quality education and access to Anglophone media, I also acknowledge that I and anyone from a similar educational background have the obligation to advocate for those who do not have the same privileges as we do.

Second, throughout the years, there has been a small but vocal community in our country who advocates for English to be the sole medium of instruction in all levels of schooling (Tupas, 2004). One of their reasons is that continuous use of English in education produces children who would be able to develop a high-level of English language proficiency through their prolonged exposure to the said language. While this may seem like a logical conclusion to make, it is not. This espouses a *maximum exposure fallacy*, which claims that “a more sustained and extensive education using English develop[s] better English language skills in students” (Bernardo, 2008). Even if we suggest that English should be replaced as the sole medium of instruction in favor of Filipino, the case would just be the same; the difference being that the roles of English and Filipino are merely reversed. It goes without saying then that favoring Tagalog-based Filipino disadvantages those whose mother tongue is a non-Tagalog Philippine language. Even though putting a premium on Filipino seems patriotic or even counter-colonial, the real crux of the matter is that such a linguistic system is still biased towards one language and one people. Without a doubt, it is an inadequate and elitist approach in dealing with a multilingual country such as ours.

It is my belief that any language, colonial or native, should not be imposed as the only medium of instruction in the Philippines. Instead, we should use the language that is already available to the student, that is, their mother language or L1, alongside Filipino, the national language. English, then, is relegated as a foreign language. This scheme, to a certain extent, reflects the Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) system already in place, and it is the very system that I advocate for. It acknowledges, for one, the diverse ethnolinguistic background of the Philippines, that not all students have the same L1 to begin with, and, among other things, it enables those who hail from minority ethnolinguistic communities to use and develop their language so that it may not be a victim of language death. The same goes with the idea of using English as our lingua franca. In my experience of going to different places in the country, people always talk to you in Filipino after finding out that you are a local tourist. It seems to me that Filipinos are more inclined to use Filipino as a lingua franca than English. The reason why this is so may be different for everyone. Personally, I find

it more friendly and courteous to speak to other Filipinos from different provinces in Filipino since speaking in English—particularly to other Filipinos—may often be seen as snobbish or *mayabang*.

All of these, of course, would not be effective if our attitude towards English does not change. Information drives are not enough to exact change. There must be systematic and institutional changes from within and without the educational setting. We can, as a start, include Filipino as a language in all institutions, public or private. This means that documents, proceedings, and road signages are written in both English and Filipino, much like in New Zealand where English and Maori are used side-by-side (Holmes, 2013). This essentially puts both languages on equal terms and equally represents them in the written aspects of our everyday lives. Aside from educational reforms, it is through simple steps such as these that we can truly change our collective attitude towards English.

All things considered, Filipinos should not deify English since the very act of privileging it in society perpetuates the very system which is not only socially unequal but also exclusionary. Educational and governmental institutions should therefore start the trend of advancing Filipino into the same status as English—if, of course, English cannot be ‘downgraded’ in terms of social prestige. While this endeavor may be challenging since proficiency in English is viewed as socially as well as economically advantageous, it is not entirely impossible. Through the right mindset and institutional reforms, we might just enable Filipino to compete with English on equal footing. And as someone who directly benefited from such a system, it is our collective job to break the cycle by being active advocates of change.

### Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to my Lingg 180 professor, Ma’am Elsie T. Or, for encouraging me to write about the social dynamics of English and Filipino in my paper and giving me the opportunity to publish it. Without her guidance and support, this paper would not have seen the light of day.

### References

- Bernardo, A. B. I. (2008). English in Philippine education: Solution or problem? In M. A. L. S. Bautista & K. Bolton (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary* (pp. 29–48). Hong Kong University Press. <https://doi.org/10.5790/hongkong/9789622099470.003.0003>
- Bolton, K. (2020). World Englishes and Philippine call centres. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of World Englishes* (pp. 543–557). Routledge.
- Gonzalez, A. (1998). The language planning situation in the Philippines. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19(5), 487–525. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434639808666365>
- Holmes, J. (2013). National languages and language planning. In *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (pp. 120–148). Routledge.

Tupas, T. R. F. (2004). The politics of Philippine English: Neocolonialism, global politics, and the problem of postcolonialism. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23(1), 47–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2004.00334.x>

## What Is the Role of Language Scholars in Solving Social Problems?

Jino Antonio Escudero, Simoun Rober Monzon, and Michaella Marie Tindog

We, Jino Escudero, Simoun Monzon, and Michaella Tindog of the class Linguistics 180: Language Problems of the Philippines, set forth the following roles and responsibilities that we believe should be adhered to by any scholar of languages and communication, especially with regard to investigating and resolving the language problems of English in the Philippines:

The first role of the language scholar is to diagnose the problem. The strength of any scholar lies in the precision and truthfulness of the analyses they formulate. It should therefore be the goal of all language scholars to generate better and more accurate descriptions of the linguistic situations and realities of their nation of study. After all, how can a language scholar begin to solve a language problem if the dimensions and unique characteristics of the problem have yet to be accurately assessed and identified? If we accept that a language scholar's job is to solve problems, the scholar must first, like a doctor before determining treatment, write up a diagnosis.

As an example of this role of the language scholar, the group submits the work of Isabel Pefianco-Martin and Ruanni Tupas. Both scholars develop more accurate diagnoses of the Philippine linguistic landscape by transforming or expanding upon the myopic and ossified conception of it held by previous scholars. Pefianco-Martin builds upon previous research to show our linguistic realities are much more complex: circles within circles (2014). Tupas meanwhile shatters the original boundaries of discussion to make room for further research by confronting the material conditions which give rise to the elitist tendencies behind the research of Philippine English (2004). Both scholars give us a better lay of the linguistic land, a better diagnosis of our social cancers. Given this knowledge, the language scholar is better enabled to undertake their second role.

The second role of the language scholar is to, to the degree allowed by their position, power, and influence as a scholar, attempt to solve problems they have diagnosed. After a scholar identifies and addresses these social problems of language, the next step they must take is to take it to the people and convey these issues to the masses. A scholar cannot solve a social problem alone, and so, attempting to solve the problem would be easier if we let the people be engaged in their reality. A problem of society is not the burden of one but of the many. After all, an individual should not bear the work of liberation alone; addressing these problems should be a collective movement. This is what underlies the role of a language scholar—emphasizing his perceived social

problems and solving them. From here, he must go out and engage with the larger population, seek out the masses and start descending the so-called “ivory tower” of the academy.

Prior to this, it should be one of the scholar’s responsibilities to convey and introduce to the masses the social problems that they have identified, such as problems associated with the status of English in the Philippines as stated in the previous paragraphs. In other words, a “work of enlightenment.” However, there remains a problem that we should be avoiding as scholars and that is to speak with a privileged tongue, look “arrogant,” and sound “condescending.” In this regard, a language scholar should not think of itself as a “savior” but rather also just a part of the community who shares the experience of bearing on the pressure of these social problems. So instead of, perhaps, using the experiences of the larger population, may the scholars of those in the community be a bridge to the academia, and at the same time, mobilize—take the initiative and the rightful measures so that the issue of academia should not continue to dwell exclusively in the academia.

In addition to our continued pursuit in finding answers, seeking solutions, and addressing the social problems we have identified as scholars of the academe, linguists’ persistence in the study of structure remains a relevant issue. As Tupas (2004) stated in his article, in the work of liberation and solving social problems, perhaps it would be better if the issue on the study of structure and going beyond its limits should go hand in hand to move towards the grasp and analysis of language in context of the material condition of Philippine society. In other words, we must also study the implications of language in society in terms of its politics. Simply stating, the focus on the politics of language. in a way, shifts the focus to the people and their centrality within the linguistic discourse as stated by Santiago (2021) because they take part in history making and are constituents in addressing and solving the issues of the society. And so, when descriptive study and of exceeding beyond the boundaries (Baumgarten, 2015; Tupas, 2004) are hand in hand in the study of linguistics, linguists and the community can work together in solving the issues that come with it. This is one of the possible contributions and roles that a linguist, or any other scholar can do, to bridge the academia and the community in a way that is not arrogant nor patronizing—that might be done through fellowship or in the sense of *pakikipagkapwa*.

The third role of the scholar is, finally, to recognize that at a certain point, mere scholarship is no longer enough to address the problems initially diagnosed. If the language scholar is truly dedicated to the cause of solving a language problem, then they may eventually reach the following conclusion: that their station as a scholar is limited and that theory must eventually turn into praxis. The scholar must cease primarily being a scholar and must become an individual of action. It is no longer enough to be a consultant to a body of legislators—one must become a legislator themselves. The scholar must access the levers of power and change. We see this in former scholars such as Professor Walden Bello (who has served a term in the Philippine Congress) and ex-academic and author Robert Francis Garcia (who works with NGOs and the Commission on Human Rights). Though Bello and Garcia are not linguists, they have come to a certain realization: that the change they want to create in the world can-

not fully be accomplished inside the ivory tower. As scholars of language, both aspiring and tenured, both beginning undergraduate and veteran postdoctoral fellow, there may come a point where we realize we must hang up our caps and togas, put down our pens and processors of words, and take up instead the call for public office and social outreach.

## References

- Baumgarten, S. (2015). Language, translation, and imperialism. In I. Ness & Z. Cope (Eds.), *The Palgrave encyclopedia of imperialism and anti-imperialism* (pp. 513–517). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pefianco-Martin, I. (2014). Philippine English revisited. *World Englishes*, 33(1), 50–59. <https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12054>
- Santiago, V. C. A. (2021, September 9). Paghahanap ng tao sa lingguwistika [Looking for the person in linguistics]. PakikipagKAPPwa Tao: Ugnayan ng mga Konsensya ng Bayan sa mga Komunidad at mga Sektor ng Lipunan, SANGKAPP Ang Ating Kapangyarihan: Isang Serye ng mga Talakayan. <https://www.academia.edu/51611483>
- Tupas, T. R. F. (2004). The politics of Philippine English: Neocolonialism, global politics, and the problem of postcolonialism. *World Englishes*, 23(1), 47–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2004.00334.x>



Palma Hall Pavilion 1  
University of the Philippines  
Diliman, Quezon City 1101  
Philippines

<https://linguistics.upd.edu.ph/>  
[linguistics.upd@up.edu.ph](mailto:linguistics.upd@up.edu.ph)