



THE EVOLUTION AND DISAPPEARANCE OF THE “Ĝ” IN
TAGALOG ORTHOGRAPHY SINCE THE
1593 DOCTRINA CRISTIANA

RICHARD C. SIGNEY

Instituto Cervantes

Manila, Philippines

The ĝ was a feature of Philippine orthography from the time the Doctrina Cristiana was printed in Manila in 1593 until around the 1960s, but no literature could be found that pertained to the rules that governed the usage of this letter or that explained its disappearance. This study was undertaken to determine the grammatical rules of its usage, as well as to document its origin, evolution, and eventual disappearance in the 1960s. Four samples of Tagalog literature (from the 16th, 19th, and 20th centuries) were obtained from which the occurrences as well as the non-occurrences of the ĝ, were tabulated for analysis. It was determined that the usage of the ĝ was dictated by how the words were pronounced and, as a consequence, it eventually fell into disuse when changes occurred in the way words containing the letter “ng” were spelled. In the end, the ĝ was determined to have followed the life cycle of linguistic elements in that it is the need to represent speech sounds in writing that created it, and that its obsolescence caused its demise.

1. Introduction

Whenever two cultures interact, especially if one eventually dominates the other, changes in certain elements of the conquered culture are inevitable. Such has been the case with Philippine culture since it was colonized by Spain in the latter half of the 16th century. Of the numerous cultural changes that have resulted from this colonization, one of the most interesting has been Spain’s impact on the Philippine languages, particularly on Tagalog. The most obvious impact has been on the spoken language, notably in the vocabulary. However, only a few people, particularly the scholars, are actually aware of the true impact that Spain has had on the written Tagalog language.

In the late 16th century, a book was published, called the *Doctrina Cristiana en lengua española y tagala, corregida por los Religiosos de las Ordenes. Impresa con licencia, en S. Gabriel, de la orden de S. Domingo. En Manila, 1593* (Quirino, 1973, p. iii). This book, simply called the *Doctrina Cristiana*, is believed to be the first book published in the Philippines, and “was meant to speed up the conversion of heathen souls” (Mendoza de Leon, 1992, p. vii). The man to whom the printing of this book has been attributed is Tomás Pinpín (Gomez Rivera, 2001), who was the first Filipino printer (Soriano, 1987, p. 89), and who has been considered “the patriarch of Philippine typography” (Retana, 1910, p. 199).

The printing procedure of this era consisted in carving out characters from a flat wooden board. Ink was later sprinkled to reproduce the characters on a piece of rice paper that was laid and pressed over the same board. This was known as the **xylographic** method of printing that originated from the Chinese (Gomez Rivera, 2001).

The Filipinos at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards were observed to possess a native syllabary which has come to be called the *Alibata*, a term coined in 1914 by Dean Paul Versoza of the University of Manila (Christus Rex, 2005). The Spanish missionaries

encountered problems in trying to use the *Alibata* in the process of religious conversion in representing the sounds of the languages in symbolic form, as indicated in the script (Francisco, 1973, p. xii). Gomez Rivera (2001) stipulated that:

It is clear from historical and linguistic evidence that to save himself the awesome trouble of manually making different sets of *Alibatas* for every major language of the Islands,...Tomás Pinpín did decide...to adopt...the Spanish-European Alphabet and system of writing (§ 9). It was, then, the need to print the *Doctrina Cristiana* in the native languages that, wittingly or unwittingly, made [him] introduce for Tagalog, Ilocano and Visayan, the Western letters of the Spanish Alphabet and their respective sounds (§ 11).

This historical account, then, suggests how Tomás Pinpín contributed to the orthographical issue through the representation of Tagalog sounds using the Spanish alphabet.

The dictionary (<http://dictionary.reference.com>, 2005) lists **orthography** as a noun with the following definitions:

1. The art or study of correct spelling according to established usage
2. The aspect of language study concerned with letters and their sequences in words
3. A method of representing a language or the sounds of language by written symbols (spelling).

The first definition implies the inherent problem Tomás Pinpín faced in printing the *Doctrina Cristiana* in that there were absolutely no conventions established in the 16th century with regard to how Tagalog words should be spelled. Over time, established usage gave rise to rulebooks. Linguists continuously made their contributions throughout the centuries that followed the printing of the *Doctrina Cristiana*, such as the following: Fr. Francisco Blancas de San José's *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala* of 1610; Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín's *Compendio del Arte de la Lengua Tagala* of 1703; Fr. Sebastian Totanes' *Arte de la Lengua Tagala y Manual Tagalog* of 1787; in the 19th century were Fr. Toribio Minguella's *Ensayos de Gramática Hispano-Tagala*, Fr. José Hevia Campomanes' *Lecciones de Gramática Hispano-Tagalog*, and José Rizal's *Nueva Ortografía del Lenguaje Tagalog* (Wolfenden, 1961, foreword). Other works include the following:

1. *Ortografi ng Wikang Filipino*, Ernesto A. Constantino, 1996.
2. *Simposyum sa Repormang Ortograpiko*, Ponciano B. P. Pineda, 1985.
3. *Mga Tuntunin ng Ortograpiyang Filipino*, Juan L. Manuel, 1977.
4. *Facts and Issues on the Pilipino Language*, Apolinar B. Parale, 1969.
5. *A Restatement of Tagalog Grammar, Appended with José Rizal's Nueva Ortografía del Lenguaje Tagalog*, Elmer Wolfenden, 1961.
6. *Disquisiciones Histórico-Bibliográficas*, José López del Castillo y Kabangís, 1956.
7. *Philippine Orthography*, Norberto Romuáldez, 1918.
8. *Diccionario Tagálog-Hispano*, Pedro Serrano Laktaw, 1914.

This study, however, is not concerned with the general development of Tagalog orthography, but only with the specific evolution of how the nasal sound [ŋ] came to be represented by the letter *g* written with a *tilde*, or “~”, above it (thus making it like the Spanish letter *ñ*), and how it came to disappear. This sound will be represented throughout this study as the letter *ĝ*, as there is no font type that contains this letter today. The [ŋ] has also been written in its variants as *ñg*, *nĝ*, or even as *ng* with a horizontal line drawn above it (Rizal, 1890 in Serrano Laktaw, 1914, p. XV). Morillos’ publication in 1998 (p. 46) has helped show that this last form was what the Filipinos seemed to use in their daily writing as evidenced by a facsimile of the handwritten organization papers of the *Katipunan*. On the other hand, the “connective” [ŋ], which always occurs as a final consonant, has always been represented as a plain *ng*. This is also known as the “linker” in Tagalog reference grammar (Schachter & Otones, 1972, p. 118).

Nowadays, all occurrences of [ŋ] are represented solely by the plain *ng*. All the previous variants that had existed since the printing of the *Doctrina Cristiana* have fallen into disuse. For purposes of this study, an early hypothesis made on the orthographic rule that governed the *ĝ* was that it was used, depending on which part of speech a word belonged. An extensive, although not exhaustive, research has yielded no literature on (1) the grammatical rules that governed the usage of the *ĝ*, and (2) how it came about that this letter has been eliminated from use, thus making it necessary in this study to use the letter *ĝ* to represent the *g*-. The most recent bodies of work noted by the author where the *ĝ* was used date back to the late 1960s.

2. Methodology

It was initially hoped that an analysis could be made on at least one body of work in Tagalog for every century since the publication of the *Doctrina Cristiana* in the late 16th century. However, this was not possible as no copies of the rare books could be found due to the obvious difficulty in maintaining them, the humid tropical climate of the Philippines, the ravages of war throughout the centuries, “the poor quality of the paper used ...the destructive intrusion of book-worms and the carelessness of our ancestors in keeping collections” (Aparicio, 2001, p. 555).

Another important reason involves the rarity of finding ancient works printed in Tagalog in the 17th and 18th centuries, as most of the books were printed either in Latin or in Spanish (Aparicio, 2001, p. 547). In addition, the libraries of the major institutions of learning of that era, such as that of the University of Santo Tomas, would not have maintained the early examples of non-scholarly local literature printed in Tagalog as they do today. This was because “in the early centuries of the colony the majority of books printed here were meant for rapid and constant circulation: catechisms, prayer books, sermons, vocabularies, grammars, etc., not to be kept in libraries but to be continually used by the people” (Aparicio, 2001, p. 555), and can be presumed to have been irretrievably lost.

Despite the odds against its survival, the world can still enjoy the existence of the *Doctrina Cristiana*, although it is now over four centuries old. Through a series of opportune events, the book found its way to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. in 1947 by way of American bibliophiles who had acquired it in Paris. Earlier, the book had been acquired in Italy “sometime late in 1942 or early 1943” from a school teacher. It had previously belonged to a “peasant family whose forebears had lived or visited the Philippines late in the 16th century” (Quirino, 1973, p. iii).

Aside from a copy of the *Doctrina Cristiana*, which was reprinted by the National Historical Institute of the Philippines in 1973 and 1991, a copy was obtained of one catechism book from the second-half of the 19th century, and of another from the early 20th

century, as well as that of a Bible from 1960. All of the Tagalog-language samples obtained for analysis were religious in nature (i.e. the Bible and books on catechism), which would be due to the importance that Filipinos have always placed on this particular subject since being colonized by Spain.

These four samples obtained for the study were from the years 1593, 1875, 1907, and 1960. Five pages from each body of work were selected for investigation. All occurrences, as well as non-occurrences, of the *ḡ* on words containing the letter *ng* (the ninth consonant, and the twelfth letter, of the Tagalog alphabet) were noted and tabulated.

It was decided that words which had a final-occurrence of the *ng* resulting from the “relative pronoun” (Cubar & Cubar, 1994, p. 95) or “linker” *na*, would be excluded. This is because, when used after a word that ends either in a vowel or in the letter *n*, it changes to *ng*. For example, *ang bata na mabait* becomes *ang batang mabait*, and *ang balon na malalim* becomes *ang balong malalim*. The initial observation that there were no occurrences of the *ḡ* in the final-position *ng* would also serve to simplify the investigation by eliminating words that would be included only because they contained a final-position *ng*, when their root word does not (e.g. *bata*, *balon*).

Owing to the nature of this study, neither statistical treatment nor questionnaires were considered to be applicable. Instead, the orthographic rules on the use of the *ḡ* were derived from logical observations made on the words that were tabulated according to the criteria described in the preceding two paragraphs. However, only the words were tabulated. The frequency of their occurrences in the five pages of each of the four samples was not tabulated since this was not necessary for the derivation of orthographic rules.

3. Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows all of the words containing the Tagalog letter *ng* encountered in the four samples that have been chosen for the study.

THE "Ġ" IN TAGALOG ORTOGRAPHY

TABLE 1. Words containing occurrences of ng

Source	Year	Initial "ng"	Mid-position "ng"		Final "ng"
<i>Doctrina Cristiana</i>	1593	ng=aion, ng=alā	*domingo, *mangagaua, sangpouo, fangpouo, fumāgpalataia	lang=it, magsonōgaling, mang=a, mang=ilin, nang=amatai, pang=inoon, ypanalang=in, ***ypinanganac	āg, ang, cāg, magparating, magsonōgaling, mōg, nang, ygalang
<i>Devocion cay poong San Jose</i>	1875	nġ, nġa	capangyarihan, catungculan, *hinguil, mangyari, *nangagaling, sangdali, *tatangapin	bunġa, cailanġan, calibanġan, capanġaniban, cautanġan, hingi, lanġit, mag-inġat, manġa, manġilag, mġa, nanġaglalachad, pagsisimunġaling, panġalaua, panġinġilagan, panġinoon, paquiquinabanġan, quinacailanġan, tinatanġi	ang, culang, iguinagalang, lamang, macahahadlang, magaling, nagcacapatong- patong, naguing, nang, pagcapagaling, pagsalang, pagsisimunġaling, taning, tumulong
<i>Ang ABC nang Cristia-nong Filipino</i>	1907	nġ, nġa, nġayon	*bilangnan, casangbahay, catungculan, *hangang, mangmang, *tangapin	cabanġisan, cailanġan, carununġan, casinunġalingan, hanġad, manġanġalunya, manġumpisal, mġa, panġinoon, sabunġan	ang, cung, galing, icarurunong, lamang, makinabang, malibing, mangmang, nang, parang, upang
<i>Ang Banal na Kasulatan</i>	1960	nġ, nġa, nġayon, nġuni't	**hanggang, kapangyarihan, mangbubukid, mangyayari, pinangyarihan sanglibutan, tanglaw, tumanglaw, **tumanggap, tungkol	bunġa, hininga, ingatan, ipinagpahinġa, ipinanġilin, ^lalanġin, lanġit, manġanġanak, mġa, nagniningas, nagpahinġa, namumunġa, ^^nasumpunġan, nilinġap, panġalan, panġanay, panġinoon, paninġin, patunġo, pinanġanġanlan, sanġa, silanġanan, wanġis	ang, dumadaing, hanggang, himbing, ilong, kung, magiging, magulang, ^^makasumpong, naging, nang, ^nilalang, parang, sakong, silong, tadyang, tulong, upang

The words in Table 1 have been classified according to the position in which they occurred in the word. As can be seen, the ġ could only occur in the initial- and mid-positions, never in the final. What rules governed the usage of the ġ could not easily be determined without first tabulating the words. Finally, as the nature of this study did not

allow for traditional data analysis to be performed, the following sections would serve to take the reader through the detailed analysis that was done to interpret the tabulated information.

3.1 Observations on the words from the *Doctrina Cristiana*

1. The origin of the **ḡ** could be traced from a particular diacritical mark placed atop the letter **g** (shown in Table 1 as “g~”), which Tomás Pinpín presumably created by carving it into a wooden board in preparation for printing using the *xylographic* method. This mark was executed as two diagonal lines going from left to right. However, it could also be observed that a *tilde*-like mark atop a vowel, whether or not it was preceded by the letter **g**, indicated that the particular vowel was followed by a letter **n**, as in the following words: *caſalanā*, *bigyā*, *namī*, *Sācta Maria*, *nasactā*, *fūtos*. The readers of this study who are familiar with the prayers of the Catholic faith in Tagalog would be able to immediately confirm this observation. Moreover, this *tilde*-like mark atop a vowel that preceded a letter **g** meant that the [ŋ] sound was being represented. Examples of this are the words in Columns 4 and 6: *āg*, *cāg*, *mōg*, *sumāḡpalatāia*, and *magsonōḡaling*, pronounced as [aŋ], [kaŋ], [moŋ], [sumaŋpalataya], and [magsonoŋaliŋ], respectively. These orthographic representations, however, were no longer observed in the words contained in the 1875, 1907, and 1960 samples.
2. However, upon reading through Retana’s 1910 publication entitled *Orígenes de la Imprenta Filipina* (Origins of the Philippine Press), one would encounter on page 145 a facsimile of a page of an early 17th-century book on the instruction of the Castillian language to the Tagalogs. This was printed by Tomás Pinpín in 1610 and shows the Tagalog words “**LIBRONG PAGAARALAN nang manḡa Tagalog nang uicang Caſtilla.**” It can be seen from this example that within Tomás Pinpín’s lifetime, and 17 years after he printed the *Doctrina Cristiana*, the original diacritical mark had already evolved to the form (i.e. the “g~” or **ḡ**) that was used until the 20th century. A facsimile of a page of an Ilocano *Dotrina* (sic) *Cristiana* dated 1621 on page 153, as well as another one in Tagalog dated 1610, and dedicated to “*La Pvrissima Virgen y Verdadera Madre de Dios...*” (The Virgin Most Pure and True Mother of God) on page 176 of the same publication, would confirm the consistent application of this orthographic change.
3. This change, between the printing of the *Doctrina Cristiana* in 1593 and the early 17th-century facsimiles exhibited in Retana’s publication, could be attributed to the shift in the method of printing from that of *xylography*, employed in the Philippines since around 1590 (and described in the introduction section of this paper), to that of *typography*, used since 1604 (Aparicio, 2001, p. 547), which is the method used in modern-day publishing.

3.2 General observations on the four sources

Based on the observations made on the tabulated occurrences and non-occurrences of the **ḡ**, the following could be determined:

1. A review of all the words in Column 3 of Table 1 (with **ng** in the initial position) showed the presence of the **ḡ** in all the occurrences of **ng**, except for those noted in Section 3.5 of this paper.
2. A review of all the words in Column 4 (with **ng** in mid-position) showed the consistent absence of the **ḡ** in all the occurrences of **ng**, without any exception.

THE “Ĝ” IN TAGALOG ORTOGRAPHY

3. A review of all the words in Column 5 (with **ng** in mid-position) showed the presence of the ĝ in all the occurrences of **ng**, except for that noted in Section 3.5.
4. A review of all the words in Column 6 (with **ng** in final position) showed the consistent absence of the ĝ in all the occurrences of **ng**, without any exception.

3.3 General orthographic rules on the use of the “ĝ” derived from logical observations made on the tabulated words

Although the [ŋ] in the words from the *Doctrina Cristiana* were represented slightly differently from those in the 1875, 1907, and 1960 samples, the orthographic rules that were derived from analyzing the table proved to be consistent for all of the samples.

1. Every time that the letter **ng** is followed by a vowel or, more accurately a vowel sound, the ĝ is used (note the words in Columns 3 and 5).
2. Every time that the letter **ng** is not followed by a vowel, that is, whenever it is followed by a consonant (Column 4) or occurs in final position (Column 6), the ĝ is not used.
3. Contrary to the observation in rule 1 above, however, a more careful analysis of the words in Column 4 shows that there are words where the letter **ng** is followed by a vowel but where the ĝ is not used. This is where one could note that, as pronounced in Tagalog, the letter **ng** of these particular words that are marked with a single asterisk (i.e. *domingo*, *mangagaua*, *hinguil*, *nangagaling*, *tatangapin*, *bilanguan*, *hangang*, and *tangapin*) is not followed by a vowel sound but rather by a [g] sound. For example, *domingo* which is the Spanish word for “Sunday” is actually pronounced as [domingo], *hinguil* as [hingil], and *bilanguan* as [bilangu’an]. This is consistent with the Spanish pronunciation of the combined letters “ng” as followed by a vowel sound.

This observation in rule 3 above is probably the key in understanding why the ĝ came to be developed by Tomás Pinpín when he was tasked by the Dominican Friars with printing the *Doctrina Cristiana* in 1593. It would be logical to assume that he would have had to devise a method to bridge the gap caused by this particular difference in pronunciation between the Spanish and the Filipino (i.e. Tagalog) tongues.

To prove this rule, the reader could focus on two conjugations each of two verbs from the 1960 Bible, found in Columns 5 and 6 of Table 1. The two verbs noted were *lalang* (meaning “to create”), marked by a single caret, and *sumpong* (meaning “to see” or “to chance upon”), marked by a double caret. As the letter **ng** in *lalanĝin* and in *nasumpunĝan* in Column 5 occurs in mid-position and is followed by a vowel sound, the ĝ is used. On the other hand, since the letter **ng** in *nilalang* and in *makasumpong* occurs in final-position, the ĝ is not used.

3.4 Possible reason for the disappearance of the “ĝ”

In reference to the data from the 1960 Bible, it could be noted under Column 4 that a spelling convention still in use today was already in use by that time, that is, writing the letter **g** after the letter **ng** in words like those marked in double asterisks: *hanggang* and *tumanggap*. In 1907 and in 1875, the conjugations of the verb *tanggap* were still being written without the ĝ (i.e. as *tangapin* and *tatangapin*, respectively). It is believed that this could be one of possibly several factors that contributed to the disappearance of the ĝ. Since there was now a way to differentiate, for example, between *bangá* (jar) and *bangga*

(collision) – originally represented as *banġa* and *banga* – without using the ġ, the way had been paved for its eventual disappearance.

It would not be a remote idea that this new spelling convention, that is, of writing a word like [tangap] as *tanggap*, was likely to have been triggered by all of the debates and mandates on Philippine orthography that accompanied the quest to establish a national language. This would be from the time President Manuel L. Quezon proclaimed in 1937 that Tagalog was to be the basis for the national language (Ramos, 2005) up until at least the 1960s. Unfortunately, for purposes of this study, no definite legislation was found that could clearly prove this assumption.

3.5 Exceptions noted

The results of the analysis done on Table 1 were generally consistent, except for two sets of exceptions noted. These were due to: (1) the words being used in title headings or written in italics for emphasis, both of which required a different font type; and (2) true errors.

1. Exceptions due to usage in titles: *mga* (one instance), *ng* (two instances)
 Exceptions due to italicization for emphasis: *bunga*, *ng* (five instances each)
2. Exceptions due to true errors: *ng* (one instance), *ypinanganac* (one instance, shown in Column 5 of Table 1 with three asterisks)

The “true” errors, only two words with one instance each, are deemed insignificant and should not affect the overall results of this study.

3.6 Other comments

Many other observations and conclusions could be made and drawn from the tabulation done but, at least for this study, the focus lies solely on the ġ. The reader, however, is invited to explore further the information presented in Table 1, including noting the evolution of other words (e.g. between *mġa* and *manġa*, which have exactly the same meaning), and observing the different orthographic changes that have taken place in the 367 years between the *Doctrina Cristiana* and the 1960 Bible used in this study.

4. Conclusion

The results of this study demonstrate that even some of the “unique properties” of language (Yule, 1996, p. 19) in general can be confirmed by a single orthographic item, in this case the ġ. The origin, evolution, and eventual disappearance of this single letter, perhaps something that was unique to the Philippines for over three centuries, show that human language, even in written form, truly is “arbitrary” and “productive” (Yule, 1996, pp. 21-22). These reiterate that language is productive in that Tomás Pinpín created the ġ to distinguish between the Filipino and Spanish differences in pronouncing the same letter, the ng, and that language is arbitrary in that it assumed several forms over the centuries (i.e. nġ, ñġ, ng with a horizontal line, as well as the original *Doctrina Cristiana* form with the double-lined diacritical mark on top of the letter g) to indicate exactly the same sound.

Again speaking of “arbitrariness,” and in reference to one of the two forms of representing the [ŋ] sound used in the *Doctrina Cristiana* (see Table 1, Columns 4 to 6 for examples), it is worth mentioning that José Rizal, himself a linguist, tried to revive this just over three centuries later. In 1894, he introduced a variation of this particular form when he wrote an unfinished draft of an English-Tagalog dictionary where he made clear use of just

THE “Ĝ” IN TAGALOG ORTOGRAPHY

the ĝ to represent the [ŋ] sound. Morillos’ 1998 publication shows a facsimile of a handwritten page of this dictionary that contained the following entry:

...a dog = isaĝ aso; a house = isaĝ bahay. Kuĝ aĝ kasunod nĝ a (*the English article, and not the letter*) ay vocal aĝ simula, nagdaragdag nĝ n, ito ĝa aĝ a ay nagigiĝ an; an eye = isaĝ mata, an oar = isaĝ saguan.
(p. 69)

Had Rizal succeeded in influencing Philippine orthography with this proposal, we might be writing in a slightly different way today.

Barring Rizal’s proposed treatment of the ĝ, the original assumption made at the start of this paper was that the part of speech to which a word belonged determined its usage. This was, however, eventually dispelled by the finding that it was, instead, determined by how the words are pronounced, a reason that is much less simple than originally thought. This study, therefore, also demonstrates through this single linguistic item that there is a clear and logical pattern in the rules that govern language use, and that it is both simple (in its application) and complex (in its development) at the same time.

Regardless of usage, the linguistic property of “cultural transmission” (Yule, 1996, p. 24) ensured that the ĝ was passed on from one generation of Filipinos to the next for more than three centuries, albeit in slightly differing forms. Perhaps national politics or natural causes were the reasons for its disappearance but, like other languages (e.g. Latin or even the Chabacano of Ermita) or elements of a language (such as specific words like the English “second-person singular” pronouns *thee*, *thy*, *thine*, and *thou*), the ĝ eventually died. Fortunately, it still survives in old books where the occasional Filipino reader might come across it, given the chance.

Everything changes, including languages. Global economic and political forces have often influenced the fate of many a nation’s language. This is a case that is very true of the Philippines. With this in mind, perhaps we Filipinos could be more appreciative of the implication that, because our various languages are constantly evolving (be it into *textspeak*, *taglish*, *swardspeak*, *pinoyspik*, *colegiala speak*, etc.), they are – at least for now – still very much alive.

REFERENCES

- Aparicio, A. (2001). *Catalogue of rare books: volume 1 (1492-1600)*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Library.
- Aurora, M. & Buencamino, G. F. (1907). *Unang aclat ang ABC nang cristianong filipino*. Manila: Limbagang Tagumpay.
- Christus Rex, Inc. (2005). Tagalog alibata: ancient Filipino script. U.S.A.: <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/pater/JPN-tagalog-baybayin.html>
- Constantino, E. A. (1996). *Ortograpi ng Wikang Filipino*. Manila: CSSP Publications.
- Cubar, E. H. & Cubar, N. I. (1994). *Writing Filipino grammar: traditions and trends*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers. Retrieved from <http://dictionary.reference.com>
- Francisco, J. R. (1973). *Philippine palaeography*. Manila: Philippine Journal of Linguistics.
- Gomez Rivera, G. (2001). The evolution of the native Tagalog alphabet: a commentary on Philippine language and politics. Manila: http://www.emanila.com/news/opinion/ggrivera_2001_04_10_opinion_tagalog.html
- López del Castillo, J. K. (1956). *Disquisiciones histórico-bibliográficas*. Manila: Imprenta del Gobierno.

- Manuel, J. L. (1977). *Mga tuntunin ng ortograpiyang Filipino*. Maynila: Surian ng Wikang Pambansa.
- Mendoza de Leon, B. (1992). *Baybayin: the ancient script of the Philippines*. New Jersey: Byncythium Treasures.
- Morallos, C. P. (1998). *Treasures of the national library: a brief history of the premier library of the Philippines*. Manila: The National Library.
- Paquinabang sa devocion cay poong San Jose*. (1875). Manila: Imprenta de M. Perez.
- Parale, A. B. (1969). *Facts and issues on the Pilipino language*. Manila: Royal Publishing House.
- Pineda, P. (1985). *Simposyum sa repormang ortograpiko*. Quezon City: Surian ng Wikang Pambansa.
- Quirino, C. (1973). *Doctrina Christiana: the first book printed in the Philippines*. Manila: National Historical Commission.
- Ramos, T. V. (2005). The Tagalog language. Retrieved from http://www.seasite.niu.edu/Tagalog/Tagalog_Homepage99/the_tagalog_language.htm
- Retana, W. E. (1910). *Origenes de la imprenta filipina: investigaciones históricas, bibliográficas y tipográficas*. Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suarez.
- Romuáldez, N. (1918). *Philippine orthography*. Bacolod, Philippines.
- Schachter, P. & Otones, F. (1972). *Tagalog reference grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Serrano Laktaw, P. (1914). *Diccionario tagalog-hispano: segunda parte*. Manila: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica
- Soriano, D. H. (1987). *The Roces family: publishers, with a history of the Philippine press*. Manila: Islas Filipinas Publishing Co., Inc.
- Wolfenden, E. (1961). *A restatement of Tagalog grammar: appended with José Rizal's nueva ortografía del lenguaje Tagalog*. Manila: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of National Language.
- Yahweh*. (1960). *Ang banal na kasulatan*. Manila: Philippine Bible Society.
- Yule, G. (1996). *The study of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.