

LINGUISTICS IN THE PHILIPPINES: ITS HISTORICAL SETTING<sup>1</sup>

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**Introduction.**

It is a most signal honor to be invited to give the keynote address to this assembly of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. Because of my association with linguistics in the Philippines for the past 25 years, I am taking this opportunity to encourage you, my colleagues, to increase your linguistic activity, to move forward in your contributions to the study of language, and to urge you to be distinctive in so far as possible in those contributions.

In order to do this, I am taking an historical approach. I want us to see linguistics in the Philippines in the wider context of linguistic history over the past two centuries. Perhaps as one grows older, the historical view becomes more attractive. It may even give some stability to a very fast changing picture. In any case, it is my intention to give you a setting of international scope in order to better encourage you in your linguistic responsibilities here in the Philippines.

**The Neogrammarians.**

Modern linguistics has its setting in the 19th century historical-comparative research, so well espoused by the Neogrammarians in Leipzig, Germany. Names like Brugmann, Osthoff, Leskien, Delbrück, and Paul are well-known to all of us. These men stressed the rigor of the empirical approach to language study. They developed the ideas of Rask and J. Grimm on language relationship, demonstrating the regularity of sound change over time. We owe our knowledge of genetic relationships, the development of the comparative method, and the basic classifications of languages of the world to these men.

The neogrammarians became the teachers of my teachers' teachers. Men like De Saussure, Boas, Bloomfield, Hjelmslev, Jakobson, Sapir, and Trubetzkoy and many others studied and taught under the influence of the tradition of the neogrammarians. Linguists like Bloch, Hall, Harris, Haas, Hockett, Lopez, Martinet, Nida, Pike, and Voegelin and others were taught by them, and some of these were my teachers as no doubt they were for some of you. So we are not as far from our forefathers as one might think. We owe the neogrammarians a great debt for the rigor they fostered in their attempts to make linguistics a science.

**The Geneva School.**

Structural linguistics was fostered by the Swiss scholar, Ferdinand de Saussure. He is the founder of the Geneva School as well as the instigator of the basic lines of linguistics as we know them today. His contributions came mainly from his teaching rather than his publications, and include such themes as synchrony and diachrony, *langue* and *parole*, *signifiant* and *signifié*, and syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations.

The importance of some of these contributions is almost lost on us today in that we take them so for granted. Synchronic linguistics now holds a place that is undisputed.

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It is hard for us to realize that in the early 20's and 30's of this century linguists had to justify doing synchronic linguistics, since the historical view was considered by the neogrammarians to be the only scientific approach to language study.

*Langue* and *parole*, language in the abstract and speech in the specific manifestation of language, are paralleled today by form and substance, by 'emic' and 'etic', and by competence and performance, basic concepts to linguistics whatever the approach.

Saussure conceived of language as a sign system, but the sign was thought of as uniting a concept with an acoustic image rather than standing for something. The concept is what is signified (*signifié*), and the acoustic image is the signifier (*signifiant*). The sign itself is arbitrary, and since the signifier is linear, so are the signs.

The syntagmatic versus the paradigmatic relations were taken up after Saussure in various ways. The first is the linear arrangements of elements while the second views relationships in a class or between items in a class. Pike talks of a function-form correlation where the forms having a certain function are members of the same class. The members of such classes are in paradigmatic arrangements. The form-function correlate is a tagmeme in Pike's terminology. The arrangements of tagmemes in sequences (strings) would be in syntagmatic relation by Saussure's terminology. Firth follows Saussure, and talks of structures being syntagmatic, and systems being paradigmatic.

#### The Prague School.

In 1926 several scholars in Czechoslovakia founded the Prague Linguistic Circle. The two best known of these were Trubetzkoy and Jakobson, both trained in their youth in Moscow. Among their early contributions, the most outstanding was in phonology. Trubetzkoy elaborated his principles in his *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (1939) published a year after his death. His observations on the phoneme have been considered basic, especially the oppositions of distinctive features which were said to characterize the phoneme. This took the linearity out of segmenting sounds into letter-sized phonemes.

Roman Jakobson has continued working with distinctive features, setting up 12 oppositions such as tense/lax, grave/acute, and compact/diffuse to describe all known sounds. He takes these basically from an acoustic point of view rather than the articulatory, and suggests that they are universal. Jakobson emigrated to the U.S. during the war years and thereby brought the Prague school influence to American linguists. The Jakobsonian distinctive features are being used by linguists today, some of them thereby by-passing the phoneme as being a transcriptional device rather than a needed linguistic unit. Martinet continues the Prague tradition with an emphasis on function in all of linguistics. He gave the impetus to initiate the Linguistic Circle of New York with its journal *Word*.

#### The Copenhagen School.

The Copenhagen Circle of Linguistics was founded in 1934 and its journal, *Acta Linguistica*, in 1939. The subtitle of this journal is *International Review of Structural Linguistics*. The Danes have produced some famous linguists, including Rask, the forerunner of the neogrammarians, and O. Jespersen. The two setting the tone of the Copenhagen School were Brondal and Hjelmslev. These men applied logical procedures to the explanation of language data. Hjelmslev died in 1965. He saw the need of a metalanguage, a logical instrument for scientific definitions. His views are best represented in his *Prolegomena to a theory of language* (1943 in Danish and 1953 in English). Hjelmslev called his approach *Glossematics* from the Greek *glossa* 'tongue', believing it to be unique enough to deserve a special name.

One of the main features of glossematics is the rigor with which Hjelmslev combines expression (*signifiant*) versus content (*signifié*). He postulates four strata: content form (how we receive and conceive living reality), and expression form (how we receive and conceive the language sign in the process of communication); content substance (the living reality in itself: objects, people, the world around us), and expression substance (the physical sound aspect of language). Form and substance may be valid for any object to be studied scientifically, but the distinction between content and expression is specific to language. The real objects of linguistic analysis, or any science, Hjelmslev insisted, are not the things, but the relationships between the things or elements. These relationships are dependencies or *functions*, and Hjelmslev's theory goes into detail about the kinds of functions that are possible in all languages.

### The London School.

What can be called a London School has grown up around Malinowski and Firth's approach to linguistics. The emphasis of these men has been characterized as 'context of situation'. Malinowski maintained that the sentence is the basic datum of language and that the word is a secondary abstraction, a result of linguistic analysis. The meaning of an utterance (the sentence) comes from its effect on the environment or context. So the meaning of an utterance has been stated when we have put it into its context of situation, and we have seen what it *does*. *Meaning is therefore use*.

Firth has extended Malinowski's approach by treating all linguistic descriptions as the statement of meaning, meaning being viewed as function in context, covering both phonological and grammatical analysis. Giving the syntactic uses of the Latin inflectional affixes states the meaning of those affixes.

Firth's studies were more in phonology than grammar, and we have from him what is called prosodic phonology. Phonologists before Firth had confined their observations to segmental items. In fact another Englishman, Daniel Jones, working in the tradition of the great English phonetician Henry Sweet, had limited the phoneme to segments in the word. To Firth the phoneme is of transcriptional value, but it does not display the functional interrelations of sound features in the utterance. So he developed the phonematic unit and prosodies. He allowed for *polysystemic* orientations, believing that initial consonants, for example, need not be correlated with finals, each constituting its own system. Here it must be noted that Firth defined system as Saussurian paradigmatics, and structure as his syntagmatics; i.e. class or list relations versus sequence or linear relations as mentioned earlier.

Neo-Firthians have extended the approach to grammar, working with what is called 'scale and category' linguistics. In this view there are three scales: rank, exponence, and delicacy, and four categories: unit, structure, class, and system. Halliday gives the best exposition of this approach in his *Categories of the theory of grammar* (1961).

It is almost with a Firthian 'context of situation' in mind that we are discussing some of the recent linguistic historical high points. Linguistics in the Philippines to have meaning must fit into a larger context. Be sure to note that a survey of the history of linguistics in the last two centuries is one that includes linguistics from many countries and from various centers.

We have mentioned so far centers in Germany, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and England. Were we to cover the field, we would have to speak of India, China, Greece, and Italy from antiquity to the present, and then Russia, France, and many other countries where there have been or are important linguists and linguistic centers. Linguis-

tics is international in scope, belonging to no one country, center, or for that matter, to any particular school of thought.

### **American Structuralism.**

I emphasize the international scope of linguistics because many of us, if not most of us here, have been brought up in linguistics through the American tradition starting with Boas, Bloomfield, and Sapir. American structuralism emphasized linguistic elements, their identification, variation, and distribution. The last of these, distribution, was emphasized to the point that with Zellig Harris, post-Bloomfieldians began to be called 'distributionalists' by some. A technical terminology dealing with the phone, allophone, and phoneme in phonology, and the morph, allomorph, and morpheme in grammar grew up around a taxonomic approach to language analysis. This approach placed so much importance on identification of units that it came to emphasize discovery procedures. Method became almost more important than the elements being described, a trend that has received severe criticism in the last decade.

A model of describing an item in its various arrangements was promulgated, especially by Bloch, Hockett, Nida, Harris, and Trager. These men, and others, held to a dichotomy of phonology and grammar for language. The phoneme was the discovery of the era, and methods for defining and describing this unit were applied to defining and describing the morpheme, the basic unit of grammar.

### **Modern American Theories.**

Offshoots of American structuralism have been introduced by Pike, Lamb, Fillmore, Chomsky and several others. In fact the multiplicity of models available for the student of linguistics today can be bewildering and perplexing, to say the least. Pike's tagmemics emphasizes a trimodal structure to language: phonology, grammar, and lexicon. Each of these is a hierarchy of linguistic elements starting from a minimal basic unit and going to higher and larger forms. The basic units in the three hierarchies are the phoneme, the morpheme, and the lexeme respectively. The hierarchical units in the grammar mode are the morpheme, word, phrase, clause, sentence, and paragraph.

Case grammars (Fillmore) and transformational grammars (Chomsky) are generative rather than taxonomic as are the traditional (now) structural approach and tagmemics. The aim of the generative approach is to state a series of ordered rules in such a way that from them all sentences of a language can be generated, but no strings will be generated that are unacceptable or ungrammatical. Stratificational grammar (S. Lamb) sees language in interacting levels or strata. Strata are hierarchically related so that a lexemic stratum represents the sememic and is represented by the morphemic stratum which in turn is represented by the distinctive features of the phoneme at the lowest level.

### **Linguistics and other Disciplines.**

I need not go further into the latest developments in linguistics. You know them, in your classes. Suffice it to say that our body of literature on theories of linguistics is growing perhaps too rapidly. And in addition to the emphasis on the theory related to describing languages, we have the beginnings of a sizeable amount of research on linguistics as related to some of the other (social) sciences: Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, and Mathematical or Computational linguistics to name three important areas.

**Applied Linguistics.**

In addition to theory there is the whole area of applied linguistics. Here I am thinking specifically of language development, language planning, bilingualism or multilingualism in education and in society, and language teaching in general. It is this area of linguistics that I believe needs more emphasis in our current context in the Philippines.

**Linguistics in the Philippines.**

And so I come to my purpose in this discussion. What about linguistics in the Philippines? Here we have the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, started in 1969, and its journal, the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*. We also have the Diliman Linguistic Circle and its occasional publications. What should these groups concentrate on with so much general activity in linguistics in the world around us?

First, let me again emphasize that linguistics is international in character. I repeat, it is not the province of one country or one society within any country. I belong to the Linguistic Society of America, the Linguistic Circle of New York, the Linguistic Society of Hawaii, and I hope the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. All of these groups contribute to linguistics in general and in particular ways. They are not in competition really, but should be mutually supportive in gaining new knowledge.

Perhaps it would be helpful at this point if we draw parallels to some of the aspects of the theories we have been discussing. For example, linguistics will have meaning in the Malinowski sense in the Philippines as it is used ('meaning is use'); further, perhaps there should be distinctive features in the linguistics of the Philippines; maybe we will even generate new patterns in our discipline if we follow some of the rules (ordered) of our science. I leave other parallels to your imagination. But one of the rules I would like to order first here and elsewhere is that our language 'experts' should be trained in the science of linguistics before they plan and develop new rules.

I believe also that linguistics in the Philippines should be selectively excellent. I take the phrase from my own University of Hawaii background where in a small state in the middle of the Pacific Ocean we cannot afford to be excellent in all fields of study. So we try to pick those fields where our natural resources give us an edge over other places, where we have an obligation placed on us by our 'context of situation'. We therefore emphasize the Marine Sciences at the University of Hawaii. We also emphasize Tropical Agriculture, Astronomy, Pacific and Asian Languages and Linguistics, and certain of the Social Sciences that can be geographically oriented to our area of the world (Anthropology, Sociology, and Political Science).

The Philippines is one of the world's best language laboratories. It has natural resources for language research rarely duplicated anywhere else where there is as much potential for linguistic analysis and description. In the context of the historical survey given above, I submit that historical-comparative linguistics should still hold an interest and be a valid area of research in the Philippines. The history of Philippine languages still has not been fully written.

Then there is the descriptive area of linguistics. Many of the languages of the Philippines remain undescribed, and their descriptions will no doubt add much to our general knowledge of language. It should be remembered that Bloomfield's early work on Tagalog, his grammar published in 1917, had an important influence on his linguistic insights, especially in holding that each language must be described on its own merits rather than in the framework of another. Interpreters of theory, and contributors there-

to, often refer to Philippine languages for examples to illustrate surface structure characteristics not found in the more referenced Indo-European languages (e.g. focus marked by verb morphology, see Stockwell 1977). Descriptions of Philippine languages using whatever model will furnish further illustrations and may also furnish new theoretical insights since much of the theory building today is being done on the better known European languages.

But there are other areas of linguistics besides the comparative-historical and the descriptive, areas whose traditions are just beginning, and which may be even more important for the Philippines. I refer specifically to sociolinguistics and bilingualism. Here it seems to me that you have much to offer. Your language contact situation nationwide is rarely duplicated elsewhere. This contact situation runs from contact with a foreign language in the case of English, to Metro-Manila's variety of dialects of Tagalog influenced by the native languages of those coming from the provinces. Here in Manila I hear about 'Taglish' or 'Engalog', and I think I also hear 'Cebuanog', 'Tagano', and a few others. What is the Pilipino as spoken by the masses in Metro-Manila; what is Pilipino as taught in the schools; what is English as spoken by the university student, or by the high school graduate, or by others?

I do not believe we need linguistic theoreticians in the Philippines as much as we need those who understand theory and (1) can describe what the language situation is here now and (2) can assist in language planning and development on the basis of sound linguistic principles. I urge the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and others such as the Diliman Linguistic Circle to continue sponsoring research in these areas. I also urge the training of young people for the very great and complex task before you. I am most pleased with the cooperative developments between Philippine Normal College, Ateneo and De La Salle in the graduate linguistic program, between the University of Santo Tomas and the University of the Philippines in a similar way, and with the current availability of top level linguistic instruction in several other universities in the Philippines.

#### Conclusion.

You are already a part of linguistic history. My desire in this keynote address is to encourage more of you to intensify your research efforts in the areas we have been discussing. I urge faculty to carefully plan MA thesis topics to further linguistic information on the languages students speak, be they the result of this contact situation, or one from one of the outlying provinces.

Let me close by congratulating you on your progress to date. The recent Festschrift to Dr. Lopez (1973) and the one to be launched this afternoon to Bishop Fonacier, both sponsored by LSP, your official journal, your lecture series, and meetings like this are marks of your progress. Your faculties offering academic programs, and students who have completed them and those that are in them are all to be highly congratulated and encouraged. However, there is still a big job to be done. It is very complex. May you have success in doing it and may you have an important impact on international linguistics in that success. I believe you will have such an impact, and I look forward to reading and hearing about it in the days ahead.

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(See especially chapter 1, and pp. 17.27)

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VERBAL PARTICLES, DEMONSTRATIVES, AND  
ZERO ANAPHORA IN THE MAUMERE LANGUAGE

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1.1 Introduction: a statement of the problem

This paper is about Maumere, a language of central Flores, Indonesia, which has been described previously by Father Arndt. While examining conversations recorded in Maumere, I was struck by the fact that previously mentioned or understood subjects and objects were not represented by anaphoric pronouns in many cases, but were simply deleted in the context in which they were understood to occur. The question then arose as to why or how an element could be deleted without being represented by an anaphoric pronoun and without loss of understanding or difficulty in understanding for the listeners.

Behind this question are assumptions that are related to *information theory*, which has been discussed by Shannon and Weaver. One assumption of this theory is that language must convey a certain amount of information and that if information is not heard by the participants in a conversation (or by extension of Shannon and Weaver's theory if information is systematically deleted by syntactic rules), then there must be compensatory devices in the language so that the basic message in a conversation will not be lost.

1.2 Assumptions behind the approach to this problem and general theoretical significance

There is a property of language, according to Shannon and Weaver, called *redundancy* by which the information in a message is repeated, so that if part of the message is obscured by noise the people who hear the message can still understand it. Shannon and Weaver do not discuss the role of syntactic rules in redundancy, but seem to confine their discussion to the phonological level. However, the inclusion of syntactic and semantic rules in this discussion is merely, I think, a logical extension of Shannon and Weaver's ideas and should be of interest to linguists.

1.3 The thesis of this paper

An ideal aim of linguistics could be to try to account for a language in terms of information theory and to try to explain the sources and types of redundancy in a language. However, as far as I know, such a study of language has never been made. The general approach of this paper is taken in the above-mentioned framework. To state the approach more concretely: we know that pronominalization is a frequently occurring phenomenon in many languages, including English, Indonesian, and Javanese. In pronominalization or anaphora, part of the information of a sentence is left out, i.e. the statement of the full identity of a particular NP is omitted. However, enough information is usually retained so that there is no confusion in a discourse about the identity of the NP which is referred to. We are all familiar with this phenomenon of pronominalization or anaphora. However, when there appears to be little anaphora in a language, such as occurs in the Maumere language, then we may wonder how the participants in a conversation can understand each other if NP's are simply deleted. There must be another grammatical device or other grammatical devices which permit the deletion of NP's without anaphora, or zero anaphora, to occur without loss of understanding of the basic message of the discourse. It is the thesis of this paper that zero anaphora is possible in Maumere, in part because of the wide range of functions and of the semantic implications of the verbal particles *leu*, *mora*, *na.in*, and *man*.

<sup>1</sup>Note on the transcription used in this paper:

1. /ʔ ɿ/, /ʔ ɿ/, /ʔ w/ These symbols represent laryngealized resonants, which are phonemically distinct from their non-laryngealized counterparts.
2. /V/ Vowels which are underlined are murmured vowels. Murmured vowels are phonemically distinct from non-murmured vowels.
3. /E/ This represents a sound which is between the English sounds /e/ and /ɛ/.
4. /O/ This represents a sound which is between the English sounds /o/ and /ɔ/.
5. /e/ This represents schwa /ə/.
6. /a.a/ The period is used to indicate a syllable boundary between two vowels.
7. /a:/ A colon is used to indicate that a vowel is long.
8. /I/ This symbol is used to represent a sound between the English sounds /i/ and /ɨ/.
9. /U/ This symbol is used to represent a sound between the English sounds /u/ and /ʊ/.



1.4. Illustration of conversations in which NP's are deleted without anaphora

- Conversation 1:
- A: *ata pile apa reta lalang is?*  
 people see what on road that  
 'What are people looking at up there on the road?'
- B: *ata ni.a lora ular gēte ha.*  
 people look pt. snake large one  
 'They are looking at a big snake.'
- A: *ular apa , blng?*  
 snake what kind probably  
 'What kind of a snake (is it)?'
- B: *rupanimung ganu ular blarat*  
 appearance-its like snake spotted  
 (a very poisonous snake)  
 'It looks like a spotted snake.'
- A: *rimu tola leu (X) , ko e.on?*  
 they hit pt. or not  
 'Have they hit it or not?'
- Note: (X) = the deleted object, *ular* 'snake'.
- B: *rimu tola leu (X) ba.a. da.a mate.*  
 they hit pt. past until die  
 'They hit it until it died.'
- Note: (X) = the deleted object, *ular* 'snake'.

In conversation 1 above the deleted object is *ular* 'snake' and I believe it should be fairly clear that neither of the speakers would have any trouble understanding. Further illustrations are as follows:

- Conversation 2:
- Lukas: *Maria, au na.i buku a.ung e pa<sup>i</sup>s?*  
 name you place book my-poss. at where  
 'Maria, where did you put my book?'
- Maria: *buku apa na?*  
 book what ques. pt.  
 'What book?'
- Lukas: *buku ha? lo da.ang is.*  
 book which green that  
 'The book which is green.'
- Maria: *a.u øle na.i (X) , ge.*  
 I not place emphatic pt.  
*pora au meti leu (X) lau*  
 maybe you take pt. to  
*sēkola , blng.*  
 school probably/suggestion pt., softener
- Note: (X) = *buku aung* 'your book'  
 'I did not put your book (anywhere). Maybe you took it to school'
- Lukas: *ø.ong. au tota (X) oti, loning a.u*  
 no you look for first because I  
*ra.Intang a.u øle ŗti (X) lau sēkola,*  
 know I not take to school  
*di ø.ong.*  
 also not  
 'No. You look for it first, because I know I did not take it to school, indeed I didn't.'

In conversation 2 we see two different types of zero anaphora: 1) that in which the object is deleted after a verb without the presence of the verbal particle *leu* after the verb, 2) that in which the object is deleted after *leu*. In this paper we will not concentrate on type 1), but will limit ourselves to discussion of type 2) and the possible reasons why it may occur. In conversation 3 which follows we can find examples of object deletion after two other Maumere particles *mora* and *na.in*. (The latter has the form *na.ing* in the particular dialect below.)

Conversation	3:						
A:	wa./r water togang bambu container	norang exist	ko or	ə.on, not	lau in		
			ig? that				
	'Is there any water in that bambu container, or not?'						
B:	au you	ma go	regang shake	mora pt.	(X)	,ko. suggestion pt.	
	Note:	(X) =	togang ig			'that bambu container'	
	'Go and look for yourself.'						
A:	nəlar empty	,ge stress	? pt.	ele not	norang exist	lěgo drop	ha, one
	di also	ə.ong. not					
	'What!?! It's empty. There is not even a drop left, no indeed.'						
B:	ha? (surprise)	əpa why	na, na,	nəlar? empty	a.u I	ta'u fetch	
	? ne.ing pt.-1st pers.	(X)	togang bambu container		ruə two	na, earlier	
	ge. stress pt.						
	Note:	(X) =	wa./r			'water'	

Please note that in the conversation above there are two examples of object deletion after a particle. The first occurs after the particle *?ne.ing* (*?n* occurs only with the first person singular. *n* occurs elsewhere.) which in other Maumere dialects is *na.in*.

Examples of sentences in isolation in which objects are deleted after *LEU, MORA, NA.IN*:

Following are further examples in which objects have been deleted after *leu, mora and na.in*. These sentences are grammatical and in the context of discourse a native speaker would be able to know what object is being referred to.

Examples with *leu*:

(4)	rimu they	tola hit	leu pt.	(X)	da.a until	mate. die
	'They hit (something or someone) until it died.'					

In sentence (4) above the deleted object could be *gta* 'person' or it could be some other animate noun.

(5)	a.u I	ěti take	? leu pt.	(X)	lau to	škola. school
	(X) could be <i>buku</i>	'I take (something) to school.'				

(6)	a.u I	nehEk move	? leu pt.	(X)	wali to	bawo above	walong more
	(X) could be <i>jarang</i>	'I move (something) farther up.'					

(7)	au you	běpi pound	leu pt.	(X)	lu:k broken	rakang. too much
	(X) could be <i>gja tig</i>	'You pound (something) until it becomes too crushed.'				

Examples with *mora*:

(8)	ami we-excl	bupu pick	mora try pt.	(X)	kata basket	ha. one
	(X) could be <i>paŋ</i>	'We try to pick a basket of (them).'				

(9)	ami we-excl.	běpi strike	mora pt.	(X)	nane long	ha. one (enough)
	(X) could be <i>gja ig</i>	'We have been striking it long enough.'				

(10)	ami we-excl	dola hit	mora pt.	(X)	na/ long	ha. one (enough)
	(X) could be <i>ular</i>	'We hit it for quite a long time.'				

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Examples with *na.in*:

- (11) rimu            hering        na-ing        (X)        lau            sedang        tia.  
 they            store        pt.            in            veranda      that  
 (X) could be *wa.lɾ* 'water'.
- (12) a.u            ? lasa        ? ne.ing     (X)        wali            wolong.  
 I                hang        pt.            on            hill  
 (X) could be *o aɟ* 'ubi kayu', 'casava'  
 'I hang it on the hill.'
- (13) ami            lo.ɾ        ne.ing        (X)        e.i            gěpfung  
 we            leave        pt.            in            sampan  
 wali            une.  
 to                inside  
 (X) could be *i.ang ~ i.an* 'fish'  
 'We leave them in the sampan.'

In the examples above we saw that objects could be deleted after the particles *lau*, *mora*, and *na.in*. There is another verbal particle in Maumere, *man*, which has inchoative functions among others. With this particle we do not find object deletion without anaphora, but subject deletion.

Examples of subjection deletion with *man*:

- (14) jarang    ia    lahing    běrat    rimu    soba  
 horse    that    wound    severe    they    try  
 tapar    lora    (X)    di    rehi.    (X)  
 treat    to        also    not able  
 mate    nang    ba.a    ɛna    kawu.  
 die     pt.     already    earlier    morning  
 (X) = *jarang* 'horse'  
 'That horse was severely wounded. They tried to give it medicine, but were not able to. It died this morning.'
- (15) ro.ang    tia    bau            nora    ɬhu    te  
 monkey    that    be afraid    of    dog    thus  
 (X) lema nang    e.i    ai.  
 climb inchoat. to    wood (tree)  
 Note:    bau ~ blau    (dialect variation)    'fear'  
 (X) = *ro.ang* 'monkey'  
 'That monkey was afraid of a dog, so as a result it climbed the tree.'

In example (14) we find object deletion in the second sentence and subject deletion in the third sentence. The identity of the NP deleted in both cases is the same, i.e. *jarang* 'horse'. Sentence (15) represents a frequently occurring case in which the subject of the second clause is deleted if identical with the subject of the first clause. The following sentence seems to be of a slightly different type, since the NP which follows *ko* 'but' in the second clause does not seem to be a simple NP.

- (16) rimu urkur    ne.ing    ba.a    ai    tia  
 they measure pt.    past    wood that  
 bong    buluk    nimung,    ko    (X)    gaso  
 length    shortness its    but        wrong  
 nang sawe.  
 pt.    all.

'They measured the dimensions of the wood, but their results were all wrong.'

In sentence (16) above it is possible that (X) could be *rimu* 'they', the subject of the first clause. It could also be (X) = 'the results of their efforts to measure the wood' where (X) would not refer to a simple NP like *rimu* 'they', but to an entire sentence or to an NP which is understood by the participants in the conversation.

### 2.0 The functions of verbal particles

In the previous sections we have seen that objects and subjects may be deleted in Maumere without being represented by an anaphoric pronoun as they would be in English. This deletion may occur: 1) in the absence of verbal particles, and 2) in the presence of verbal particles. Therefore, we cannot assume that the entire explanation of zero anaphora lies with verbal particles, but only a part of it. It would appear that WORD ORDER must also be an important factor in explaining zero anaphora. However, we will not deal with word order here except to

say that it appears to be the case that if an object NP is deleted after a transitive verb in context, there seems to be no loss of understanding for the Maumere speaker. Since the verbal particles *leu*, *mora*, and *na.ln* usually imply the presence of an object, and since the particle *man* implies the presence of a subject, the occurrence of these particles in context probably helps the Maumere speaker to know that an object or subject was deleted, just as the suffixes *-i* and *-kan* help the speaker of Indonesian to know when an object is deleted without anaphora in Indonesian. Verbal particles in Maumere also give additional information besides the fact that the verb must be followed by an object. This information also contributes to redundancy in the Maumere language. In this section we will look at the particles *leu*, *mora*, *na.ln* and *man* in greater detail, and will describe some of the functions of each.

2.1 Some of the functions of LEU in Maumere

2.11 The speaker or the subject of the sentence disagrees with the action of the verb.

The reasons for the disagreement of the speaker may be:

*The subject does not have the right to do what is mentioned.*

Some examples of this type are:

- (17) rimu   odo   a.u       ala       ? leu   (X)  
 they   order me       take     pt.  
 'They order me to fetch something.'

In sentence (17) (X) represents the deleted object. The implication of *leu* in this sentence is that they are ordering me to do something which I have no right to do.

- (18) rimu   təri   leu       olang   a.un.  
 they   sit   pt.       place   my-poss.  
 'They sit in my place.'

The implication of *leu* in (18) is that they have no right to sit in my place.

*The speaker does not like the action.*

Often when the particle *leu* is used one gets the feeling that the speaker does not like what is happening. For example:

- (19) nimu   həna       leu       aja       a. ung.  
 he       fry       pt.       corn     my -poss.  
 'He fried my corn.'

The feeling in sentence (19) is that the speaker is not happy that he or she fried the speaker's corn. The speaker did not order the subject of (19) to fry his or her corn.

- (20) nimu   li? i       leu       ho.ang   a.ung.  
 she       select     pt.       money   my-poss.  
 'She selects my money.'

In (20) the speaker does not agree with the action of the verb and the idea is conveyed that after he selected the money he did not return it to the speaker.

*It is not the proper or expected time for the action to take place.*

- (21) rimu   odo       a.u       kantar   leu   (X).  
 they   order     me       sing     pt.  
 'They order me to sing (a song).'

The understood object in sentence (21) is 'song'. The feeling conveyed by *leu* is that it is not the proper time for the speaker to sing, someone else is supposed to sing first, and that the speaker is not quite prepared to sing, but is willing to do so.

2.12 The action of the verb is done with a specific intention

- (22) guru   kela       leu       ba.a   (X)   e surat,  
 teacher write     pt.       past           in book  
 (22) iana   dəna   ele       hulir.  
 so that cause .not     forget  
 'The teacher writes something in the book, so as not to forget it.'

In (22) the idea conveyed is that the teacher had a special reason to do the verb—perhaps she or he had never written in that book before.

Frequently when *leu* is done to indicate that the verb is done with a special intention, the intention referred to is a bad one, as can be seen in the example below:

- (23) a.u       tU:ng   ? leu       nimu.  
 I       escort   pt.       him  
 'I escort him away.'

The feeling behind sentence (23) is that the speaker has a special reason for escorting the object away from a particular place. Perhaps the people in that place did not want the object of sentence (23) to stay there, even though the object may have wanted to. Another example of the same type is:

- (24) rimu      řěti      leu      surat      a.un.  
 they      take      pt.      letter      my-poss.  
 'They take away my book (or letter).'

The implication in (24) is that they took my book on purpose and their intention in doing so was not good for me (the speaker). They had some bad intention toward the speaker when they took the book.

We have briefly given some of the functions of *leu* in the section above. It can be seen in each case that the use of *leu* not only implies the presence of an object, but it also gives additional information about the role of the object in the action described and of the feelings and intentions of the speaker and subject of the sentence respectively. If, for example, the object were deleted from sentence (23) above, we would know that the object was intentionally escorted away from a particular place for a particular (probably negative) reason. Therefore, the single morpheme *leu* actually carries a great deal of information.

## 2.2 Some of the functions of *mora* in Maumere

In this section we will give some of the functions of the particle *mora* which are relevant to the topic under discussion.

*Mora may function as a connecting element between verb and object, and it must obligatorily follow certain verbs.* For example:

- (25) a.u      tabe      ora      nimu.  
 I      respect      for      him  
 'I respect him.'
- (26) a.u      sir      ora      nimu.  
 I      love      to      her  
 'I love her.'

*Explicit Conjunction:*

*Mora may connect two nouns as subjects of the same verb, for example:*

- (27) nimu      lora      rimu      mogan      matang      tola      ami.  
 she      with/and      they      all      plan      hit      we  
 'She and they plan to hit us.'
- (28) rimu      walong      lora      nimu.  
 they      go home      with      her  
 'They go home with her.'

*Mora, when occurring in the 3rd person singular form nora, may connect two nouns as objects of the same verb.* For example:

- (29) a.u      putar      gula      nora      třlo.  
 I      mix      sugar      with      egg  
 'I mix sugar and egg together.'
- (30) a.u      ? woter      bol      nora      roti.  
 I      buy      cake      and      bread  
 'I buy cake and bread.'

We have presented explicit conjunction first, since it seems that another phenomenon, which we call implicit conjunction, is directly related to it, except that in implicit conjunction one of the conjuncts has been deleted.

*Implicit Conjunction:*

- (31) ami      břli      rimu      (X)      nora      i.ang.  
 we      give      them      with      fish  
 'In addition to other things we also give them fish.'
- (32) nimu      piara      (X)      nora      ami.  
 she      take care of      with      us

Sentence (32) can have two meanings: 1) It can mean 'She and other people take care of us.' 2) The second meaning is 'In addition to us she also takes care of something else (which is not mentioned).' In the example above we can see that either two subjects or two objects may be conjoined, and that either one of the subjects or one of the objects is not mentioned.

*Implicit Conjunction of Verbs:*

*In this section implicit conjunction can have the meaning: "In addition to X the subject also carries out other activities." Some examples are:*

- (33) *aw*      *kela*      *leu*      *surat*      *ia*      *sawe*      *oti*  
 you      write      pt.      letter      that      finish      later  
*ko,*      *běre*      *leu*      *nora*      *lampung*      *ia.*  
 first      put out      pt.      pt.      lamp      that

'Write that letter first and then put out the lamp in addition to doing other things.'

If *nora* were deleted from sentence (33), there would only be two verbs in the sentence. However, since *nora* is present it is understood that the person spoken to must do many things.

Another example of the same type is:

- (34) *a.u*      *po.Ok*      *nora*      *ai.*  
 I      cut      also      wood

'In addition to doing other things I also chop wood.'

In the two examples above the other activities in which the subject is engaged or is to be engaged are not mentioned.

In examples of another type we can see that *mora* can be used to conjoin explicitly mentioned verbs.

*Explicit Conjunction of Verbs:*

*Mora may be used to conjoin several explicitly mentioned verbs.*

Sentence (34) above could be derived from sentence (35) below:

- (35) *a.u*      *ta? u*      *wa.Ir,*      *oni*      *Ku.Ut*      *sawe*      *a.u*  
 I      fetch      water      sweep      garbage      finish      I  
*po.Ok*      *nora*      *ai.*  
 cut      also      wood

'I fetch water, sweep out the garbage and after that I also chop wood.'

Another example of the same type is as follows:

- (36) *nimu*      *na*      *tea*      *nora*      *boter*      *ngawung*  
 she      go      sell      and      buy      things  
*lau*      *rěgang.*  
 at      market

'She goes to buy and sell things in the market.'

In this section we have given some, but not all, of the functions of the particle *mora*. It should be fairly clear from the examples given that knowledge of the structure of sentences and of the functions of the particle itself enable speakers of Maumere to understand sentences, even when objects, subjects and verbs are deleted or remain elliptical, i.e. when they remain unstated.

2.3 Some of the functions of *na.in* in Maumere

Although in many cases *na.in* functions as an aspect marker in Maumere to indicate an action which has begun in the past and which continues or whose results continue to be felt into the present, it can also be used to emphasize the subject and can be used where an object is known or visible.

*Na.in may be used to emphasize the subject of a sentence. In this function it is similar to the pseudo-cleft construction in English. For example:*

- (37) *a.u*      *těna*      *na.in*      (X),      *ge.*  
 I      make/do      pt.      emphatic pt.  
 'It was I who did it.'

*Na.in may be used where an object is known or visible:*

- (38) *hai*      *ata*      *na.o*      *ne.ing*      *ngawung*      *e.i?*  
 who      person      steal      pt.      thing      this  
 'Who stole this thing?'

Note: *na.in* ~ *ne.in* ~ *ne.ing* dialect variation

Sentence (38) would be used if someone finds a strange object in his chest or somewhere among his belongings and asks about it.

- (39) *hai*      *ata*      *na.o*      *ba.a*      *ngawung*      *e.i?*  
 who      person      steal      past      thing      this  
 'Who stole this thing?'

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Sentence (39) would be used when the speaker sees that some object she or he is familiar with has been stolen. In the case of sentence (38) the object is not known, but is present and visible. Another example of this type is represented by (40):

- (40)    *hai*        *əta*        *hU:k*        *ne.ing*        (X)        ?  
           who        person      think        pt.  
           'Who has thought of (the answer)?'
- (41)    *hai*        *əta*        *hU:k*        *ba.a*        (X)        ?  
           who        person      think        past  
           'Who has thought of it?'

In many cases, such as in sentences (40) and (41), the use of *na.In* (~ *ne.ing*) seems to imply the existence of an object. Sentence (40) might be used in a classroom situation if the answer to a question has been written on the board and the teacher asks the students who among them has also gotten the same answer. In that context the object referred to by the use of *na.In* (~ *ne.ing*) would be both known and visible to the participants in the discourse. In sentence (41) the action of thinking is stressed and not the answer to the question, so that in (41) the object is not considered important. Therefore, *na.In* is used where the object is visible to the speakers.

*Na.In* may be used to stress the result of the action of the verb rather than the action itself.

- (42)    *ami*        *řgang*        *ne.ing*        *rimu*        *əna*        *kawu*  
           we        meet        pt.        them        earlier      morning  
           'We met them earlier this morning.'

In sentence (42) the result of the meeting is stressed and not the simple fact that they (the actors in the sentence) met.

*Na.In* may be used to indicate that the result of the action is for a special purpose.

- (43)    *ami*        *na.i*        *ne.ing*        *tua*        *kumbang*        *ha/*  
           we        place      pt.        tuak        container      one  
           *lau*        *higung*      *tia//*        *da.a*        *au*        *pla*        (X)  
           in        corner     that        until      you        ask  
           *oti/*        *ko*        *ami*        *doneng*        (Y).  
           later     just then   we        point out  
           (X) = 'tuak (an alcoholic drink)'  
           (Y) = 'to you'

'We have stored the tuak in that corner, when you ask for some later, then we will point it out to you.'

When the verb is followed by *na.In* (~ *ne.ing*) there is a feeling that the alcohol (*tuak*) is being stored for a special purpose which the speaker knows of and should be used for some special event. Please note that in sentence (43) not only is the understood NP *tuak* deleted, but 'to you' (Y), another element implied by the word order of the sentence, is also deleted.

*Na.In* may imply the existence of an entire sentence, or the deleted NP may be an entire sentence and not just a single noun.

- (44)    *ə.u*        *tota*        *Goris/*        *loning*        *a.u*        *ga.i*  
           I        seek        name        because    I        want  
           *pla/*        *bIn*        *nimu*        *bo.u e maj*      *ganu*  
           ask        maybe     he        come to come    like  
           *a.u*        *no*        *na.In*        (X).  
           I        ask        pt.

(X) = *Goris bo.u e maj* 'Goris come here'.

'I am looking for Goris, because I want to ask whether he came here like I asked him to.'

In sentence (44) (X) represents an entire sentence which in this case has been transposed to the front of *ganu* 'like', 'as'. We may find other sentences of this type with verbs of speaking and thinking.

### Theoretical Comment:

Thus far we have seen that the verbal particles *leu*, *mora*, and *na.In* not only imply the existence of an object, but also define the relation of that object to the verb, just as *-i* and *-kan* define the relation of the object to the verb in Indonesian. In addition to that, *leu* and *mora* give us information about the attitude and feelings of the speaker at the moment of the speech act,

and *na.in* can be used to make special implications about the use to be made of an object or the purpose for doing something. *Mora* can also imply the existence of unmentioned verbs and subjects. We can also see in sentence (43) that not only are explicitly mentioned objects deleted, but other NP's such as 'to you' can be deleted when their existence is implied by other grammatical devices and by the context of the sentence. In the case of sentence (43) word order is an important factor in clueing the listeners in to the fact that there is an indirect object in the sentence.

2.4. Some of the functions of *man*

In general *man* is used with verbs of movement (the concrete manifestation of change or process), change of state and verbs which indicate a process or the result of a process. It can also occur with verbs for involuntary and accidental acts. In general verbs which are followed by the particle *man* do not seem to take an object. There are apparent exceptions to this, however, which will be discussed briefly here.

*Man with Verbs of Motion:*

(45) *a.u*      *pano*      *an.*  
 I            go            pt.            (first person singular form of *man*)  
 'I go.'

(46) *rimu*    *abo*            *rang*      *ena*      *kawu.*  
 they        sail            pt.        earlier    morning

Note: *rang* 3rd person pl. form Sika dialect.  
 'They sailed this morning.'

*Man* generally occurs with verbs of movement to convey the feeling of motion.

*Man with Verbs for Change of State:*

(47) *a.u*      *ɔ̃pang*      *ang*      ,      *loning*      *poi*  
 I            good        pt. (1st pers)    because    just  
*a.u*      *ra.Intang*    *pire*      ? *wi.ing.*  
 I            know        eat            self

Note: *pire* = not to eat food that will cause illness  
*ɔ̃pang* = to become well

'I got better, just because I know what foods not to eat when I'm ill.'

This category and the following category seem to be closely related.

*Man with Verbs that Indicate a Process:*

(48) *a.u*      *mosa*      *ang.*  
 I            fat            pt.  
 'I become fat.'

(49) *ata*      *wi*            *blugung-blaping*      ,      *odi*      *lulus*  
 people    who            industrious                    later      pass  
*rang*      *ropo*            *ha.*  
 pt.        fast            one      (enough)

Note: *rang* = 3rd person pl. Sika dialect

'People who are industrious will pass rather fast.'

The first three categories under *man* above seem actually to be very closely related semantically, if we regard motion as the concrete physical manifestation of process.

*Man with Verbs for Involuntary and Accidental Acts:*

(50) *a.u*      *dɔ̃sor*      *ang.*  
 I            slip            pt. (1st person sg)  
 'I slip.'

We could also regard accidental acts as being related to processes.

*Contrasting leu and man:*

In general the feeling conveyed with *man* is much less strong than that conveyed by *leu*. In addition generally *man* does not occur with verbs in their transitive sense. In the few examples where a verb with *man* also takes an object, the state of the subject is most important and not the verb-object relationship. For example:

(51) *nimu*    *doe*            *nang*      *oto.*  
 he        hold            pt.        auto  
 'He has become a driver.'



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In the sentence above the most important thing is that he has just acquired a new profession, i.e. that of driver, and not that he drives a car. *Doe oto* may be regarded in a sense as a single verb and not as verb plus object in the normal sense. Therefore for the most part *man* occurs in objectless sentences, and as illustrated earlier in this paper, subject deletion may occur with *man*.

**2.5** Thus far we have seen that all the particles above define the relation of either the subject or the object to the verb.

**2.6** Verbal particles are often essential in a sentence and *cannot* be deleted.

In many contexts particles must occur and if they do not occur, the sentence becomes unacceptable. For example:

Ques.	* <i>haj</i>	<i>bitak</i>	<i>gēlas</i>	<i>e.i</i>	?
	who	break	glass	this	
	*‘Who broke this glass?’				
Ans.	* <i>a.u</i>	<i>bitak.</i>			
	I	break			
	*‘I broke.’				

The conversation above is not acceptable because the particle *leu* has been left out. If we insert *leu* after the verb, the conversation will be acceptable, as shown below:

Ques.	<i>haj</i>	<i>bitak</i>	<i>leu</i>	<i>gelas</i>	<i>e.i</i>	?
	who	break	pt.	glass	this	
	‘Who broke this glass?’					
Ans.	<i>a.u</i>	? <i>witak</i>	? <i>leu</i>	(X)		
	I	break	pt.			
	(X) = ‘glass’; ? <i>witak</i> and ? <i>leu</i> are 1st person sg. forms.					
	‘I broke it.’					

One of the reasons why verbal particles often cannot be left out of a discourse is that not all verbs in Maumere are unambiguously transitive. For example:

(52)	<i>a.u</i>	? <i>witak</i>	<i>an.</i>		
	I	break	inchoative	<i>pt.</i>	
	‘I (a part of my body) has become broken.’				

(52) can mean ‘I break a limb’, or ‘my arm (or leg, etc.) has become broken’. Therefore, *leu* is important as a clue to the fact that the verb is transitive and should be followed by an object. Another reason why verbal particles are often not deletable is that they give a great deal of information which is essential to the discourse.

**3.0** Not only verbal particles, but also other grammatical devices are related to zero anaphora.

In the preceding sections of this paper we have seen that a phenomenon which we call zero pronominalization or zero anaphora occurs in the Maumere language. In zero pronominalization a subject or object may be deleted and not be represented by a pronoun or anaphoric element. In many cases this type of deletion occurs in the presense of the verbal particles *leu*, *mora*, *na.in*, and *man*. Therefore we conclude that part of this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that verbal particles define the relation of the subject or the object to the verb in such a way that if a particle occurs without a subject or an object the fact of the presence of the verbal particle must be a clue to the native speaker that there is an object or a subject which has been deleted from the sentence. However, we also infer that there must be other grammatical devices present in the language which make this type of deletion possible, since language is a system consisting of many complementary processes. In this section we will look briefly at some grammatical devices that seem to be compensatory with zero anaphora.

**3.1** The use of demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns *tei* ‘this’ and *tia* ‘that’ have similar functions in Maumere. They both share function one below, but only *tig* seems to have function two, as a phrase marker. The demonstrative pronoun *ig* or *tig* ‘that’ can have the following functions (among others) in Maumere:

1. It may modify a noun. For example:
 

(53)	<i>surat</i>	<i>tia</i>	<i>ēpang</i>	<i>gawang.</i>
	book	that	good	very
	‘That book is very good.’			
2. It can function as a phrase marker for a relative clause. For example:
 

(54)	<i>ama</i>	<i>a.ung</i>	<i>lotik</i>	<i>ha,</i>	? <i>lo</i>
	father	my-poss.	small	one	who

děri	le	mage	pu.ang	lau
stay	at	tree	sour/asam	at
na	tiə	raning	rakang.	
there	that	brave	very	

'My uncle who lives near the asam tree there is very brave.'

*Tiə* in the sentence above refers to the head NP of the relative clause, *ama a.ung* 'my little father'. It also functions to mark the end of the clause and it frequently has this function in Maumere. *Tiə* has other functions which we will not discuss here. However, if we look at the functions of *tiə* as a whole, we get the impression that they are significantly different from the functions of 'that' in English. Please note that *tiə* does not seem to have anaphoric functions.

3.2 *Tiə* and *tei* do not seem to be able to occur in environments where subject or object deletion has occurred.

In this section we will try to demonstrate that *tiə* and *tei* may not be used to replace a deleted NP in many environments, and that it is essentially not anaphoric in nature. If the reader will look back to section 1.4, we will try to substitute *tiə* for the deleted NP's.

Conversation 1:

A:	rimu	tola	leu	{*te <i>j</i> /*tiə}	ko	ə.on?
	they	hit	pt.	this/that	or	not

\*'Did they hit {this/that} or not?'

Conversation 2:

Maria	:	a.u	ele	na.i	{*te <i>j</i> /*tiə}	ge.
		I	not	place	this/that	emphatic pt.

\*'I did not put {this/that} (anywhere).'

We can see from the examples above that neither *tei* nor *tiə* can be used to stand for *ular blarat* 'a poisonous snake' in conversation 1 or for *buku* 'book' in conversation 2. In section 1.4 we have already given examples where a previously mentioned or understood NP is deleted in context. Let us go back to those sentences and see whether *tiə* or *tei* can be used in place of the (X), i.e. in place of a deleted NP. If we substitute *tei* and *tiə* for (X) in sentences (6), (8), and (11) we get the following results:

(6a)

a.u	nehEk	? leu	{*te <i>j</i> /*tiə}	wali
I	move	pt.	this/that	to

bawo walong.  
high more  
(X) could be *jarang* 'horse'.

\*'I move {this/that} to a higher place.'

(8a)

ami	bupu	mora	{*te <i>j</i> /*tiə}	kata ha.
we	pick	try	this/that	basket one

(X) could be *pa*u** 'mango'.

\*'We try to pick a basket of {this/that}'

(11a)

rimu	hering	na.ing	{*te <i>j</i> /*tiə}
they	store	pt.	this/that

lau tedang tiə.  
in veranda that  
(X) could be *wa*r** 'water'.

\*'They store {this/that} on the veranda.'

It seems to be the case, therefore, that *tei* and *tiə* cannot be used as anaphoric elements and generally do not occur as such, since neither *tei* nor *tiə* can occur in place of the deleted NP's given in the examples on pages

3.3 *Nimu*, the third person singular pronoun cannot be substituted for non-human NP's.

We have seen that *tei* and *tiə* do not seem to have anaphoric functions. Now let us take a look at the pronouns *nimu* 'she' or 'he' and *rimu* 'they' in Maumere. Can they be substituted in places where the demonstrative pronoun cannot? Let us go back again to some of our previous examples for pages and try to substitute *nimu* for the deleted NP.

(10a)

ami	dola	mora	*nimu	na <i>i</i>	ha.
we	hit	pt.	X	long	enough

(X) = *ular* 'snake'.

\*'We hit it for rather a long time.'

(10b)

ami	dola	mora	nimu	na <i>i</i>	ha.
we	hit	pt.	her/him	long	enough

'We hit her for rather a long time.'

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From (10a) and (10b) above we can see that *nimu*, the third person pronoun, cannot be used in place of a non-human object, but it can be used to refer to a human object. A further example of the same type is as follows:

(12a)	a.u	?lasa	?ne.ing	*nimu	wali	wolong.
	I	hang	pt.	X	on	hill
	(X) =	o a <sub>i</sub>	'cassava'.			
		*'I hang it on the hill.'				

### 3.4 The functions of *etia* and *etei*.

Thus far we have seen that *tia*, the demonstrative pronoun 'that', and *tei*, the demonstrative pronoun 'this', do not have anaphoric functions and cannot replace deleted NP's in the examples given in the first part of this paper. We have also seen that *nimu*, the third person singular pronoun, cannot be used in place of a non-human NP. Although *nimu* can be substituted for human NP's, the tendency as we will see in a later section is to simply delete the NP without leaving a copy of it behind. In the next section we will look briefly at the functions of *etia* 'that' and *etei* 'this' in Maumere.

#### *Contrasting Etia and Tia; Etei and Tei:*

1. *Both tia and etia can follow a NP, however etia and etei are more stressed and more definite than tia and tei, respectively.*

(55)	ngawung	tia,	wi	ina	a.un	bĕler	na.In.
	thing	that	which	mama	my-poss.	tired	pt.
	'That thing is the result of my mother's hard work.'						
(56)	ngawung	etia,	wi	ina	a.un	bĕler	na.In.
	thing	that	which	mama	my-poss.	tired	pt.
	'That very thing is the result of my mother's hard work.'						

Sentences (55) and (56) differ in the use of *tia* and *etia*. (56) is felt by native speakers to be better than (55). The difference between them is that (56) is more stressed than (55) through the use of *etia*. *Etia* tends to refer to a definite object and to something which we already know about, whereas *tia* does not necessarily do so.

(57)	ami	gea	leu	kĕna	tia.
	we	eat	pt.	thing	that
	'We eat that thing.'				

In sentence (57) *kĕna* refers to a definite pronominal element.

(58)	ami	gea	leu	kĕna	etia.
	we	eat	pt.	thing	that
	'We eat that very thing.'				

We can see in (57) and (58) that *tia* and *etia* can both occur with *kĕna*. However, in the examples (59) and (60) below we can see that *tia* cannot occur without some supporting element to refer to something known or understood. *Etia* is therefore referentially definite, whereas *tia* is not.

(59)	ami	gea	leu	etia.
	we	eat	pt.	that
	'We eat that.'			
(60)	*ami	gea	leu	tia.
	we	eat	pt.	that
	*'We eat that.'			

The same statement about sentences (55)-(60) above also hold true for *etei* and *tei*.

2. *Etia and etei can have an anaphoric function.*

In the following examples *etia* and *etei* may be used to refer to something understood or to something which has been mentioned in previous discourse. *Tia* and *tei* will not work in the environments below. In the examples given here *etia* seems to refer to a deleted verb phrase.

(61)	biang	ia	ita	tutur	harang
	person	that	we	speak	advise
	rehi	,	ita	jaga	nimu lopa
	not able		we	forbid	him do not
	dĕna	}*tia/etia {		nimu	dĕna walong
	do/make		that that	he	do
	naruk				lĕrong-lĕrong
	affair				day RED
	nimu	dĕna	ita	mĕmu	-wa
	he	cause	we	mouth	mouth

- (61) blara poi.  
sick just  
'We cannot give that person advice, we forbid him from doing one thing and he does something else. Everyday he just makes us get a sore mouth.'
- (62) ra.lk nimu dēna } \*tia./ etia } , a.u  
if she do that that I  
ele mēgu ora nimu.  
not love pt. her  
'If she does that, I won't love her.'

In sentences (61) and (62) above *etia* refers to something previously mentioned. We might suppose that *dēna etia* could stand for 'to hit a dog' which could occur in the contexts above. It therefore seems that *dēna etia* is a verbal anaphoric, and that *etia* is as in the previous section acceptably anaphoric here. Please notice that as in the examples in sections 3.2-3.4, *tia* cannot be used anaphorically here. Another example of a similar type in which *etia* immediately follows a noun also suggests that *etia* itself can stand for an understood verb phrase.

- (63) ra.lk nimu doneng au } \*tia/etia } ,  
if she point out you that/that  
te kēnang nimu ga.i buhe au.  
indeed she want trick you  
'If she points that thing out to you, it means she must surely want to trick you.'

*Doneng* can also mean 'teach'. If *doneng* in the sentence above takes the meaning 'to teach'. then *etia* could perhaps stand for a verb phrase and not just for a single object NP. We can see from the examples above that *tia* does not have anaphoric functions.

Although *etia* has anaphoric functions as illustrated above, it cannot be substituted for the deleted NP's in the examples given in the first part of this paper. The same statements for the sentences in that section also hold true for *etei* and *tei*.

Conversation 1:

- A: rimu tola leu \*etia , ko e.on ?  
they hit pt. that or not  
'\*Did they hit that or not?'

Conversation 2:

- Maria: a.u ele nai \*etia , ge.  
I not place that emphatic pt.  
'\*I did not put that (anywhere).'

### 3.5 Conclusion

We can draw the conclusion that *tia*, *tei*, *etia*, *etei*, and *nimu* cannot, therefore, be freely substituted for deleted NP's and that in many contexts the most natural thing for a Maumere speaker to do is to simply delete an NP if it is frequently repeated in a conversation without leaving an anaphoric copy behind. Therefore other grammatical devices cannot really replace the function of NP deletion or zero anaphora.

### 4.0 NP deletion is obligatory in certain cases.

NP deletion is not an accidental happening in Maumere, but a process which is a systematic part of the language and which cannot be entirely substituted nor replaced by other grammatical processes. If the reader will look back to the first section of this paper (sentences (1) – (16) ), in cases where an NP is understood from the context it is often simply left out, and if it is not omitted in these cases, the resulting sentence will sound 'noisy', i.e. redundant, to the native speaker. An example of this is shown in sentence (14a) below.

- (14a) jarang ia lahing bērat. rimu  
horse that wounded heavy they  
soba tapar lora (X) di  
try give medicine pt. also  
rehi. \*jarang tia mate nang  
not able horse that die pt.  
ba.a ena kawu.  
past earlier morning

- (14a) 'That horse was severely wounded. They tried to treat it, but were not able. \*That horse died this morning.'

If we compare (14a) with (14), we can see that the insertion of *\*jarang tia* 'that horse' in the third sentence of (14a) makes the sentence redundant. In cases such as these, i.e. in the

examples given in the first part of this paper, the most natural thing for the Maumere speaker to do is simply to omit the NP, since it can be easily understood from the context.

5.0 The nature of pronominalization in Maumere

5.1 Even when pronominalization is possible in Maumere it is often not applied.

(14a) above is an illustration of the fact that in many cases an NP will simply be deleted in Maumere. Since the NP in (14a) is non-human, we know from previous discussion that *nimu* cannot be used to replace it. The reader may then ask: 'What happens in cases where the NP is human? Can it be replaced by a pronoun?' We find in many cases that even though pronominalization is applicable it is not used, if the subject or object referred to is clearly understood.

(64)	Lukas	bano	nang	ba.a	əna			
	name	go	pt.	past	earlier			
	ro.On	e.i.	ami	dopo	nora	(X),		
	just	this	we	call	pt.			
	di (X)	əle	mEnong	,	(X)	le	le	
	also	not	react			west	RED	
	na	ba.a						
	there	already						
	(X)	=	Lukas					

'Lukas left just now. We called to him, but he did not answer. He was already far to the west.'

In the sentence above, the X's stand for *Lukas*. In (65) below we see that it is also possible to use *nimu*'s instead of (X).

However, the *nimu*'s are usually not used.

(65)	Lukas	bano	nang	ba.a	əna			
	name	go	pt.	past	earlier			
	ro.On	e.i.	Ami	dopo	mora	<i>nimu</i> <sub>1</sub>		
	just	this	we	call	pt.	him		
	di	<i>nimu</i> <sub>2</sub>	əle	mEnong,		<i>nimu</i> <sub>3</sub>	le	
	also	he	not	react		he	west	
	le	na	ba.a					
	RED	there	already					

'Lukas left just now. We called to him, but he did not answer. He was already far to the west.'

One of the most frequent cases where NP deletion takes place without pronominalization seems to be where two sentences or clauses with the same subject are conjoined. Sentence (66) below is an example of this type.

(66)	Lukas	dani	sai	əna	ba.a,		
	name	cry	from	earlier	already		
	ko	e.i	(X)	bile	nang	ba.a,	
	but	this/now		quiet	become	already	
	loning	inat	beli	(X)	ho.əng.		
	because	mama-his	give		money		

'Lukas has been crying since earlier, but now he has become quiet since his mother gave him some money.'

In the example above the subject of the *ko* 'but' clause is clearly *Lukas* and the object of the *loning* 'because' clause is also clearly *Lukas*, therefore *Lukas* is simply deleted.

5.2 Explanation

Since we are faced with examples of the type represented by (64) above, we must ask ourselves what clues the Maumere speaker has to help her or him understand these sentences. If we take a look at sentence (64), we can see that *Lukas* is the object deleted after the particle *mora*. Therefore, the presence of the particle *mora* occurring after a verb is a sign that there should be an object in that particular context. Since the object is not mentioned explicitly, the Maumere speaker knows a noun has been deleted and in this instance the noun must be *Lukas*. Similarly the sentential particle *di* 'also' occurring before a verb phrase is a sign that the subject NP of the *di* clause has been deleted, and in this case the NP is understood to be *Lukas*. Therefore, knowledge of the word order of the language helps the listener to know what elements have been deleted. There is a pause after the verb *mEnong* 'respond, answer' and before the adverbial phrase of place *le le na*. This is a clue that the subject of the adverbial phrase has been deleted and the subject again must be *Lukas*. Therefore the placement of pauses is an important syntactic cue to the structure of clauses and

phrases. Word order, verbal particles, pauses, and knowledge of the operation of grammatical elements in the language all function as clues for the native speaker. However, we should keep in mind that we are not only dealing with grammatical elements, but also with grammatical processes. Therefore, in the following section we will take a brief look at several aspects of pronominalization as a process in Maumere.

5.3 Explanation of 'Command'

In this section we will take a look at pronominalization in Maumere. We will see that the restrictions on pronominalization in this language seem to be much stricter and more limiting than the restrictions on pronominalization in English. We will refer to the notion of command as defined by Ronald Langacker in 'On pronominalization and the chain of command' (1969).

In the above-mentioned article Langacker states the following major constraint on pronominalization in English:

NP<sup>a</sup> may be used to pronominalize NP<sup>P</sup> unless 1) NP<sup>P</sup> precedes NP<sup>a</sup>; and 2) either (a) NP<sup>P</sup> commands NP<sup>a</sup>, or (b) NP<sup>a</sup> and NP<sup>P</sup> are elements of separate conjoined structures. (168)

Let us take a look at the notion of command. The word 'command' refers to a relation between two nodes, and Langacker defines it as follows:

We will say that a node A "commands" another node B if (1) neither A nor B dominates the other; and (2) the S-node that most immediately dominates A also dominates B. (167)

5.4 The use of *nimu* in relative clauses

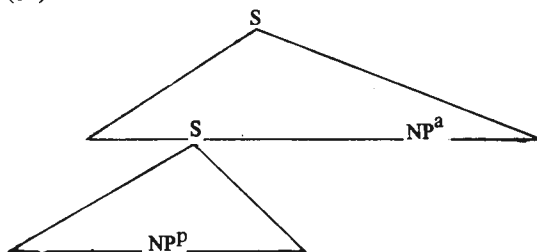
The use of the third person singular pronoun *nimu* in relative clauses in Maumere is much more restricted than that of pronouns in similar constructions in English. In English pronominalization, linear ordering and the relative depth of embedding are both relevant criteria for the acceptability of sentences. For example, both (67) and (68) are acceptable in English (Langacker: 165-6).

(67) The woman who is to marry *him* will visit *Ralph* tomorrow.

(68) The woman who is to marry *Ralph* will visit *him* tomorrow.

In both (67) and (68) *him* refers to *Ralph*. These sentences may be represented by the following trees:

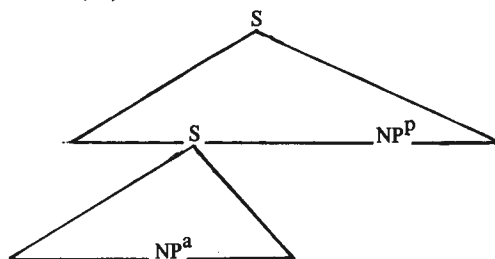
(67)



NP<sup>a</sup> = Ralph  
NP<sup>P</sup> = him

In (67) NP<sup>P</sup> precedes but does not command NP<sup>a</sup>.

(68)



NP<sup>a</sup> = Ralph  
NP<sup>P</sup> = him

NP<sup>a</sup> precedes but does not command NP<sup>P</sup>.

The identity of reference of *nimu* and an NP is frequently not possible in Maumere where it would be in English. If a Maumere speaker wishes to express either (67) or (68) above, she

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or he must repeat the name *Ralph*, since *nimu* in the Maumere version of those sentences cannot mean *Ralph*, but refers to a third person. Please see sentence (69) and (70) below.

(69)	*du.a	? lo	ga.i	kawit	nora	
	woman	who	want	marry	with	
	<i>nimu</i>	<i>ia</i>	odi	lako	<i>Ralph</i>	? lu.at.
	he/she	that	will	visit	name	tomorrow.

\*'The woman who wants to marry *him/her* will visit *Ralph* tomorrow.'

In sentence (69) *nimu* does not refer to *Ralph*, but to a third person.

(70)	*du.a	? lo	ga.i	kawit	nora	
	woman	who	want	marry	with	
	<i>Ralph</i>	<i>ia</i>	odi	lako	<i>nimu</i>	? lu.at.
	name	that	will	visit	him/her	tomorrow.

\*'The woman who wants to marry *Ralph* will visit *him/her* tomorrow.'

In sentence (70) *nimu* does not refer to *Ralph*, but to a third person. The only way to express what is needed here is by using the name *Ralph* twice, as is indicated in sentence (71) below.

(71)	du.a	? lo	ga.i	kawit	nora	
	woman	who	want	marry	with	
	<i>Ralph</i>	<i>ia</i>	odi	lako	<i>Ralph</i>	? lu.at.
	name	that	will	visit	name	tomorrow

'The woman who wants to marry *Ralph* will visit *him* tomorrow.'

We can see from the examples above that the use of the pronoun *nimu* in Maumere seems to be much more restricted than the use of pronouns in English.

### 5.5 Dominance and command relations in Maumere seem to be rather restricted.

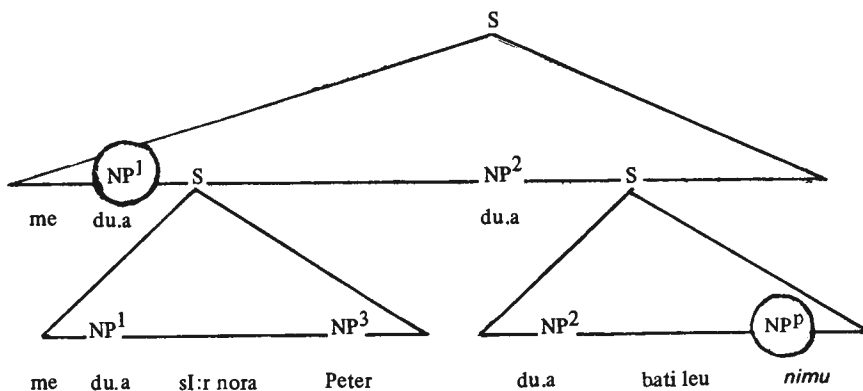
What type of command relations are important in Maumere? Let us translate the following English sentence into Maumere.

(72)	The girl who loved <i>Peter</i> thinks that the woman who killed <i>him</i> is not good.
------	--

If translated literally we get the following result:

(73)	*me	du.a	ha ?lo	sI:r	nora	
	child	female	one who	love	pt.	
	<i>Peter</i> ,	hU:k	běta	du.a	?lo	
	name	think	say	woman	who	
	bati	leu	<i>nimu</i>	ele	ěpang.	
	cut	pt.	him/her	not	good	

In sentence (73) above *nimu* does not refer to *Peter*, but to *me du.a ha* 'the girl'. Sentence (73) has the following structure:



In sentence (73) NPP *nimu* refers to the head or subject NP, NP<sup>1</sup> *me du.a* 'the girl' and not to NP<sup>3</sup> *Peter*, as it would in English. In other sentences similar to this one where a relative clause is embedded, pronouns often refer to the subject NP where the sense of the sentence allows, even though there may be other apparently 'eligible' NP's, such as NP<sup>2</sup> and NP<sup>3</sup> in the sentence.

We have therefore in the case of examples (69), (70), and (73) seen that the dominance and command relations that rule pronominalization in Maumere are apparently different from those in English and much more restrictive. In the case of sentence (69) we saw that the em-

bedded pronoun *nimu* could not refer to the object NP of the sentence that dominates it, and in (70) we saw that the object NP *nimu* could not refer to *Ralph*, an NP in the embedded relative clause. In sentence (73) we saw that an embedded pronoun (*nimu*) when it occurs in a relative clause will refer to the subject NP (*me dua*) of the sentence that dominates it. By Langacker's definition *me du.a* commands *nimu*. Therefore we could say that a pronoun in an embedded relative clause will tend to refer to the NP that both precedes and commands it, otherwise the pronoun will tend to refer to a completely different NP, i.e. one that is not mentioned at all in the sentence.

One may ask why pronominalization in Maumere seems to be so restrictive. Although it is not the purpose of linguistics to explain the 'why's' of language, I should like to suggest that the fact that *nimu* in Maumere is unmarked for gender, and therefore carries less information than the English pronouns 'she' and 'he', may go hand in hand with the greater restrictiveness in the use of pronominalization in the case of relative clauses. Of course, all the rules in a language must behave in a complementary manner. Therefore, pronominalization and zero anaphora should also be complementary in Maumere.

## 6. Summary and conclusion

In this paper we have tried to give evidence to support the thesis that zero anaphora in Maumere is in part possible, because of the wide range of functions of the verbal particles *leu*, *mora*, *na*, *In* and *man* in the language. We have seen that NP deletion often occurs in conjunction with the presence of verbal particles (1.4). These particles are essential to the language and often cannot be deleted (2.6). Other grammatical devices, even those which in some contexts may have anaphoric functions (such as *etei* and *etia* 'this' and 'that'), cannot really replace the function of NP deletion or zero anaphora (3.2,3.3,3.5). Zero anaphora is not just an optional process; it is often obligatory to avoid redundancy in a sentence (4.0). Not only do other grammatical devices not replace zero anaphora, but other grammatical processes also do not seem able to replace it. For example, even when applicable, pronominalization (with *nimu*, the third person singular pronoun for human beings) after does not apply (5.1). Identity and command restrictions on *nimu* seem to be more restrictive than constraints on pronouns in English. Therefore the process of pronominalization in the two languages (English and Maumere) is very different. We should regard the process of pronominalization in Maumere as being complementary to zero anaphora (5.4, 5.5).

At the beginning of this paper we mentioned Shannon and Weaver's *Mathematical approach to information theory*. In connection with their ideas we should like to propose the following general hypotheses for language:

1. Where there is greater vagueness in the definition of elements in a language, there will be greater restrictiveness in rules of the language.

This can be demonstrated by the functioning of pronominalization in Maumere; and by the absence of case endings in English, which leads to the increased importance of word order.

2. Where there is greater specificity in elements in a language, there will be greater freedom in rules.

Since English pronouns are marked with respect to gender, there may be greater freedom in command and dominance relations than is found in Maumere where pronouns are not marked for gender. Since case endings in Latin give syntactic information, word order is freer than in English, which has only residual case endings.

In conclusion, therefore, we should like to suggest that an information theory approach to language might lead to valuable insights and might be useful for heuristic reasons, even though one of the pre-requisites for an information theory based analysis of a language, an almost thorough understanding of the language, is very difficult to achieve.

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THE INTERPRETATION OF SEMI-VOWELS IN TAGBANUA<sup>1</sup> OF PALAWAN ISLAND

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1. Introduction – The Problem.

Crucial to the interpretation of semi-vowels in any language is an analysis of the non-suspicious syllable patterns. The predominant patterns in Tagbanwa are CV<sup>2</sup> and CVC, although V and VC also occur in more restricted environments.

1.1 Syllable patterns.

1.11 The CV pattern.

The CV pattern can be illustrated by such words as /si/ 'personal focused determiner occurring before names of people', /sa.bap/<sup>3</sup> 'because', /pa.naw/ 'walk', /taka<sup>4</sup>/ 'but', /da.kel/ 'many', /ba.nar/ 'very', /ba.sa.en/ '(will) read', /sim.na.kay/ 'rode', /<sup>?</sup>a.ba.ga/ 'shoulder', /ka.da/ 'every', /<sup>?</sup>ag.sa/ 'term of address used with one's peers', /mag.pa.sa.nap/ 'is landing' (the airplane), and /ba.lay/ 'house'. There is no limitation on the distribution of this pattern.

1.12 The CVC pattern.

There is likewise no limitation of distribution with the CVC pattern, which can be illustrated as follows: /pag.<sup>?</sup>a.but/ 'arrival', /sim.na.kay/ 'rode', /da.ku.la<sup>?</sup>/ 'big', /si.min.led/ 'went in', /<sup>?</sup>ag.dan/ 'stairway, ladder', /mag.<sup>?</sup>e.beg/ 'spinning', /lim.nam.pud/ 'went down', /da.kel/ 'many', /kak.se.gan/ 'strength', /ma.rang.ga<sup>?</sup>/ 'will get broken', /na.<sup>?</sup>gen/ 'satiated', and /ma.bang.lu<sup>?</sup>/ 'fragrant, sweet-smelling'.

1.13 The VC pattern.

Examples of the VC pattern are /ba.sa.en/ '(will) read', /tim.pu.an/ 'to time something', /mag.sa.<sup>?</sup>li.sa.<sup>?</sup>li.en/ 'going to and fro', /pag.pu.pun.du.an/ 'storage place', and /ki.a.<sup>?</sup>pu.san/ 'youngest child'. From this we can see that a VC syllable only occurs following a vowel, usually word final.

1.14 The V Pattern.

The V pattern is the most restricted in distribution, as can be seen from these examples: /pi.a.na.wan/ 'where someone walked', /mi.a.gad/ 'riches, wealth', and /pi.a.nga.<sup>?</sup>nan/ 'where someone went to eat'. We can say about this pattern that it only occurs following a CV syllable (where the vowel is /i/, although this may prove to be too restrictive as more data is gathered) and preceding a consonant.

1.15 The CCV pattern.

In indigenous words, consonant clusters do not occur except across syllable boundaries. In loan words, however, consonant clusters can occur within a single syllable. For example, /ma.is.tru/ 'teacher', /kum.pli.an.yu/ 'birthday', and /plin/ 'airplane'.

Thus, the inventory of Tagbanwa syllable patterns is (C)V(C)<sup>5</sup> with (CC)V(C) in loan words.

1.2 Rules for the formation of syllables.

The following rules emerge for the formation of syllables in Tagbanwa:

- a. A single inter-vocalic C always goes with the following V.
- b. In loan words inter-vocalic CC can go with the following V.
- c. V can be a syllable only in the environment (CV).CV.\_.C.<sup>6</sup>
- d. 
$$\left. \begin{array}{l} u \longrightarrow /w/ \\ i \longrightarrow /y/ \end{array} \right\} \text{ in the environments } \_V, V\_., \text{ or } V\_ \#.$$
<sup>7</sup>

Examples: /b an.wa/ 'town, country', /<sup>?</sup> a.wak/ 'waist', /ba.ya.wak/ 'lizard', /baw/ 'and', /may/ 'there is, there are', /ba.lay/ 'house', /na.saw.ri.an/ 'late', /kay.ti/ 'now', and /puy.di/ 'possible'.

- e. 
$$\left. \begin{array}{l} u \longrightarrow /u/ \\ i \longrightarrow /i/ \end{array} \right\} \text{ in the environments } .C\_., \_C., \text{ or as a V syllable in the environ-} \\ \text{ment specified in rule c.}$$

Examples: /<sup>?</sup> a.gung/ 'brass gong', /pi.ung.gur/ 'blew down', /bu.at/ 'work', /ma.ma<sup>?</sup>.yu<sup>?</sup>/ 'will bathe', /si.u.dad/ 'town, city', /si.u.man/ 'whoever', and /mi.u.li<sup>?</sup>/ 'went home'.

1.3 The Problem.

Although the interpretation of semi-vowels is greatly aided by analogy with the non-suspicious syllable patterns and by using the rules above, there remains a problem. There are some words in which the syllable pattern is ambiguous, either of two alternatives being possible within the framework established by the non-suspicious patterns. Furthermore, which interpretation of the syllable structure one chooses has a bearing on how [u] and [i] will be written in those words.

2. The Solution – Methodology.

2.1 Checking native speaker reaction with a Test List.

In trying to solve this problem the first thing we did was prepare a Test List of forty-three words containing the problem being worked on. We then selected four of the more educated men of the community<sup>9</sup> and worked with each one independently on the Test List. Our procedure was to explain to each man the principle of each syllable in a word containing one and only one vowel, or peak. We then emphasized that the number of syllables one hears should govern the number of vowels one writes, and that, if there is any discrepancy, it is to be resolved by aural criteria. Having given this explanation we then read aloud each word on the List, without the language assistant seeing it, and asked him first to tell us how many syllables he had heard, after which he was told to write the word down. Having written it he was told to see if there was any discrepancy between the number of vowels he had written and the number of syllables he had said he had heard. If there was any discrepancy the word was read again in order to see if he still agreed with his previous statement of the number of syllables. If he did, the word was rewritten with the representation of the semi-vowel being altered in order to bring conformity between the number of vowels and the number of syllables heard.

Having worked in this way with each of the four language assistants, we found that, in all but one of the forty-three words, there was absolute conformity in the way in which they had interpreted the syllable structures. This conformity suggested that either the syllable structure of a word was something that native speakers of Tagbanwa intuitive-

ly knew about the words of their language, or that there was some system or set of rules whereby the syllable structure could be unerringly determined. If such a system failed to emerge, the former assumption would have to be made. This would leave the non-native speaker somewhat in the dark, however, requiring him to seek the opinion of a native speaker concerning the syllable structure of every ambiguous pair.

## 2.2 Grouping of words according to indeterminate syllable structure.

When the Test List was made, the rules for the formation of syllables were not as refined as they are in their presentation above. When they were refined we were able to eliminate eleven of the words from the Test List as having only one possible structure. The remaining thirty two words are listed below according to their alternative syllable patterns. There is an extra word, *nasawrian* 'late', which was not on the original Test List but which was tested with one of the four language assistants on another occasion. It is included here because it represents another pair of ambiguous syllable structures not represented by the other words. The words on the left are the ones which the language assistants chose as showing the correct syllable structure:

### CVC / CV.V

puy.(di) / pu.i.(di) 'possible'  
kay.(ti) / ka.i.(ti) 'now'

### CVC.CV.VC / CV.VC.CVC

(na).saw.ri.an / (na).sa.ur.yan 'late'

### CVC.CVC / CV.CV.VC

(ma).ma.?.yu? / (ma).ma.?.i.u? 'will bathe'  
(mag.pa).dib.wat / (mag.pa).di.bu.at 'is going up'  
(di.ku).ras.yun / (di.ku).ra.si.un 'decoration'  
(kun).dis.yun / (kun).di.si.un 'condition'  
? ab.wat / ? a.bu.at 'high'  
(nag).pab.wat / (nag).pa.bu.at 'went up'  
bin.wat / bi.nu.at 'did, made'  
(ti.li).bis.yun / (ti.li).bi.si.un 'television'  
(nag).pas.yar / (nag).pa.si.ar 'visited'  
(ka).? ab.wat / (ka).? a.bu.at 'height'  
dib.wat / di.bu.at 'on top'

### CV.V. / CVC

si.u.(dad) / siw.(dad) 'city, town'  
mi.u.(suy) / miw.(suy) 'left'  
mi.u.(li?) / miw. (li?) 'went home'  
si.u.(man) / siw.(man) 'whoever'  
bi.u.(tu? . bu.tu?) / biw.(tu? . bu.tu?) 'heel'

### CV.CV.V(C) / CVC.CV(C)

? i.pi.ag.(tul.du?) / ? ip.yag.(tul.du?) 'taught'  
? i.pi.al.(teg) / ? ip.yal.(teg) 'showed'  
? i.pi.ag.(li.but.-li.but) / ? ip.yag.(li.but.-li.but) 'went round and round'

VC.CVC / V.CV.VC  
 (tu).al.ya<sup>?</sup> / (tu).a.li.a<sup>?</sup> 'towel'  
 (mi).ap.yat / (mi).a.pi.at 'climbed up'

CVC.CV / CV.CV.V  
 (? i).nap.ya.(tan) / (? i).na.pi.a.(tan) 'climbed up'  
 (? a).rub.wa.(tay) / (? a).ru.bu.a.(tay) 'tall, high'  
 ? ab.wa.(tay) / ? a.bu.a.(tay) 'high'  
 mas.ya.(du) / ma.si.a.(du) 'very'

CVC.CV / CV.CVC  
 ? ul.yu / ? u.liw 'July'  
 (nag.pa).rad.yu / (nag.pa).ra.diw 'radioed'  
 pa<sup>?</sup>.yu.(? an) / pa.<sup>?</sup>iw.(an) 'will bathe'  
 (pag).pa<sup>?</sup>.yu.(? an) / (pag).pa.<sup>?</sup>iw.(? an) 'bathing place'  
 (pa).lag.yu / (pa).la.giw 'run'

### 2.3 Comparison of patterns to determine inconsistency.

The next step was to compare each pair of alternative patterns with each other in order to see if there were any which were the opposite of each other. This would reveal if the native speakers had always consistently chosen the same syllable structure when confronted with the same two possibilities. It was easy to see that the CVC / CV.V alternative is just the opposite of the CV.V / CVC choice. It was also apparent that the CV.CV.V(C) / CVC.CV(C) and CVC.CV / CV.CV.V alternatives are diametrically opposed. This means that, when confronted with a choice between CVC and CV.V, and CV.CV.V and CVC.CV, the language assistants did not always choose CVC and CV.CV.V as being the correct structure. They were all agreed, however, on which times the choice should be CVC and which times it should be CV.CV.V.

### 2.4 General hypothesis.

It is apparent that, in all cases except CV.V / CVC and CV.CV.V(C) / CVC.CV(C), the general pattern is reduction of the first reducible vowel. In other words the first occurrence of a semi-vowel in a word is written as a consonant unless this would produce an impossible syllable pattern. If such a pattern were produced, that semi-vowel is not considered reducible. It receives full vowel status. It is then possible to continue looking in the same word for the next reducible vowel in sequence, which is then reduced and written as a consonant.

The exceptions to this are the following words: si.u.dad, mi.u.suy, mi.u.li<sup>?</sup>, si.u.man, bi.u.tu<sup>?</sup>.bu.tu<sup>?</sup>, ? i.pi.ag.tul.du<sup>?</sup>, ? i.pi.al.teg, and ? i.pi.ag.li.but.li.but. According to our hypothesis we would expect the first /u/ in the first five words to become /w/, and the second /i/ in the last three words to become /y/.

It is worthy of note that the second /i/ of ? i.pi.ag.tul.du<sup>?</sup>, ? i.pi.al.teg, and ? i.pi.ag.li.but.li.but is a morpheme, namely the completed action infix (which is also the case with the first /i/ of mi.u.suy and mi.u.li<sup>?</sup>). Consequently we can add the restriction to our hypothesis that a vowel does not reduce if it is a morpheme in and of itself.

A further restriction can be gleaned from the other five exceptions si.u.dad, mi.u.suy, mi.u.li<sup>?</sup>, si.u.man, and bi.u.tu<sup>?</sup>.bu.tu<sup>?</sup>, namely that a vowel does not reduce following /i/.

## 2.5. Further testing.

Having come this far, our next step was to examine more data in order to check the hypothesis. From a 100-plus sentence text we were able to find further twelve examples of words with an ambiguous syllable structure. All of these we were able to incorporate into our previous data, using the syllable pattern pairs already established, as follows:

<b>CVC</b>	/	<b>CV.V.</b>
(si).kay.(tu)	/	(si).ka.i.(tu) 'here'
<b>CVC.CVC</b>	/	<b>CV.CV.VC</b>
(? i).nap.yat	/	(? i).na.pi.at 'climbed up'
(ki).min.yas	/	(ki).mi.ni.as 'scraped'
kin.yas	/	ki.ni.as 'scraped'
mis.yun	/	mi.si.un 'missionary'
<b>CV.CV.V(C)</b>	/	<b>CVC.CV(C)</b>
? i.pi.a.(ke? .pel)	/	? ip.ya.(ke? .pel) 'applied'
? i.ki.a.(? u.li?)	/	? ik.ya.(? u.li?) 'was able to go home'
? i.ti.a.(? en)	/	? it.ya.(? en) 'set'
? i.pi.ag.(? u.gad)	/	? ip.yag.(? u.gad) 'transferred'
? i.pi.ag.(tu.tu.ran)	/	? ip.yag.(tu.tu.ran) 'told stories'
<b>VC.CVC</b>	/	<b>V.CV.VC</b>
(si).ap.yut	/	(si).a.pi.ut 'carried'
<b>CVC.CV</b>	/	<b>CV.CV.V.</b>
put.yu.(kan)	/	pu.ti.u.(kan) 'bee'

Although these words were not tested with native speakers using the same technique as with the words on the Test List, they have, nevertheless, been seen by native speakers of Tagbanwa written in the above form, and no objections have been raised to their spelling. Up to this point, therefore, the hypothesis still stands, although it will be tested against future data.

## 3. Summary.

The inventory of Tagbanwa syllable types may be summarized as (C)V(C), with (CC)V(C) in loan words.

Several rules exist for the formation of Tagbanwa syllables:

- a. A single inter-vocalic C always goes with the following V.
- b. In loan words inter-vocalic CC can go with the following V.
- c. V can be a syllable only in the environment (CV).CV. \_ .C.
- d.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} u \longrightarrow /w/ \\ i \longrightarrow /y/ \end{array} \right\}$  in the environments \_V, V\_., or V\_#
- e.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} u \longrightarrow /u/ \\ i \longrightarrow /i/ \end{array} \right\}$  in the environments .C\_, \_C, or as a V syllable in the environment specified in rule c.
- f. In those cases where the syllable structure of a word is ambiguous, the correct pattern, according to native speaker reaction, can be ascertained by reducing the

first reducible vowel, except where this would produce an impossible syllable pattern (as determined by non-suspicious syllable patterns), where the first reducible vowel is a morpheme, or where the first reducible vowel follows /i/.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Tagbanwa is the language spoken by a group of swidden agriculturalists, numbering about twelve thousand, inhabiting the central portion of the island of Palawan, Philippines.

<sup>2</sup>C is an abbreviation for any consonant and V is an abbreviation for any vowel.

<sup>3</sup>For the purposes of this paper the period denotes syllable boundaries.

<sup>4</sup>The glottal stop, in the Tagbanwa orthography, is written in every position in which it occurs except word initial. In this paper, however, it is also written word initial so that the syllable patterns can be more readily seen.

<sup>5</sup>The parentheses around a C or a V denote that that item is optional.

<sup>6</sup>The \_ indicates the slot which the item under discussion will fill.

<sup>7</sup>The arrow means that the item on its left becomes the item on its right.

<sup>8</sup># denotes a space and consequently the end of a word.

<sup>9</sup>The men selected were Rebrino Pandod, Limbuan Copong, and Vernon Danglung, all residents of the sitio of Lamani, Aramaywan, and Paking Bisquer of the sitio of Kabugaw. Limbuan completed grade six in the Philippine public school system. The other three men completed grade four.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF TAGALOG DISCOURSE

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0. Introduction

This paper is a preliminary study of four discourse types found in selected Tagalog texts.<sup>1</sup>

1. Discourse Types.

Four discourse genres are posited for Tagalog: Narrative, Procedural, Hortatory, and Explanatory.

1.1. **Narrative Discourse.** Narrative discourse recounts a series of events ordered more or less chronologically, usually in past/accomplished time. On the basis of an initial selection of six texts, Tagalog narrative discourse is separable into discrete parts expressed in the following formula<sup>2</sup>:

$\pm$  Aperture  $\pm$  Episode<sub>1</sub> . . . + Episode<sub>n</sub>  $\pm$  (+ Denouement  $\pm$  Anti-De) + Closure  $\pm$  Finis

In respect to its internal structure, Narrative Discourse is the most varied of the four discourse types in that it is composed not only of Narrative Paragraphs, but Explanatory, Hortatory, and Dialogue Paragraphs as well. The linkage of one paragraph to another to form a coherent discourse is either through Temporal Margins or by Time Horizons. For example, the onset of a new paragraph is marked by a temporal margin beginning with the sentence initial conjunction *nang* 'when' in the following illustration:

Nang maghatinggabi na ay biglang nagising ang babae.  
when about-midnight L S/P sudden-L woke-up NM woman  
When it was about midnight, the woman suddenly woke up.

The narrative is either first or third person oriented. The difference lies only in whether the narrator is or is not included in the events narrated. The narrator may reveal where he was when he related the story by the way he employs motion verbs and names of actual places.

Some events appear to be grouped together by common setting, common orientation, and by introduction of new participants. To help identify the participants, a reversal operation is recognized (Wise and Lowe 1968). To change the ordering of only two items so that the one that ranked lower in case in one action becomes the higher ranked and vice versa is an operation of reversal. For two items, say 1 and 2, reversal is symbolized as (12), which expresses a permutation in which the first element in parentheses is moved into position after the last element; the notation is a general one that permits permutations of any number of elements to be included in a single statement. Here it is the effect of interchanging 1 and 2. The reversal operation starts out with one participant as agent and the other as, say, goal, then is applied so that the second participant is agent and the first is a lower ranked role. To apply the Wise-Lowe model to a text, an appropriate order principle or ranking has to be established to permit different orderings to be distinguished. The complete ranking is from high to low involvement: agent, experiencer, source, goal, patient, instrument, noninstigative cause, benefactive factitive, range, essive, and zero. The ranking used is based on underlying role or case (Fillmore 1968, Frantz 1970). Agent is the highest ranked role; the others are ordered below it. A second reversal brings them back into the original orientation which signals a new paragraph.

In a narrative about a hold-up, for example, the participants are Alfredo and the hold-up man. The story starts with the hold-up man asking Alfredo to give him his money, an agent and goal situation, in which the agent ranks higher than the goal. Alfredo in turn surprises the hold-up man by suddenly shining his flashlight into his face. Alfredo now as agent outranks the hold-up man. The structure of the text revolves around the regular return to the configuration.

1.2. **Procedural Discourse.** The procedural discourse consists basically of a series of procedures leading to a Finished Product. Like the narrative, procedural discourse also shows chronological ordering, but since its purpose is to give instructions to accomplish a task or achieve an object, it more commonly employs future or habitual present tenses. The formula for a Procedural Discourse is:

$\pm$  Aperture  $\pm$  Procedure<sub>1</sub> . . . + Procedure<sub>n</sub>  $\pm$  Closure

The internal structure of this discourse type is more restricted than that of the Narrative Discourse in that only Explanatory Paragraphs or a sentence may expound the Aperture and Closure while only Procedural and Explanatory Paragraphs expound the Procedure Tagmemes.

Action is either present/concurrent time or future/projected time. Sentences simply represent progressive steps which usually begin with verbs in the present time but do not have overt agent, e.g.

- (1) *Igisa ang sibuyas at kamatis sa langis.*  
 to-fry NM onion and tomato P oil  
 Fry the onion and tomato with oil.
- (2) *Isunod ang giniling na karne at lutuin hanggang lumambot.*  
 to-follow NM ground L meat and to-cook until be-soft  
 Next add the ground meat and cook until it becomes soft.

The linkage of one paragraph to another to form a coherent discourse is via Temporal Margins of sentences. The Aperture of a Procedural Discourse is a Title Tagmeme which is expounded by a relator axis noun phrase that tells what is to be made or done. The Title Tagmeme occurs pre-nucleus, and relates the parts of the whole paragraph or discourse rather than being the Sentence Topic of one sentence. There is no instance of any sentence having two Sentence Topic Tagmemes, therefore Title should be regarded as distinct from Sentence Topic.

**1.3. Hortatory Discourse.** Hortatory Discourse attempts to influence conduct. The purpose of this sort of discourse is to give advice or exhortation but explanatory information may be included. The formula for this type of discourse is:

$$\pm \text{Aperture} \pm \text{Point}_1 \dots + \text{Point}_n \pm \text{Conclusion}$$

Hortatory Discourse (i.e. commands, suggestions, advice, pleas) usually starts with a statement of the Exhortation. The first person dual and second person pronouns occur in this type of discourse. The discourse is addressed to a specific person and frequently refers to that person throughout. Action is either present/concurrent time or future/projected time. Paragraphs link with each other chiefly through the use of Sentence Topics in the opening sentences of paragraphs.

Aperture is expounded by an Equivalent Sentence or a Discourse Vocative Phrase, which issues a call to the hearers to listen. The nuclear tagmemes are a series of Points which may be expounded by Hortatory or Explanatory Paragraphs. Closure is likewise expounded by Hortatory or Explanatory Paragraph types.

**1.4. Explanatory Discourse.** Explanatory Discourse seeks to provide information required in particular circumstances, and often does so by providing detailed descriptions of a person, situation, or activity. Chronological factors have little or no significance. The discourse is made up of:

$$\pm \text{Aperture} \pm \text{Point}_{eX1} \dots + \text{Point}_{eXn} \pm \text{Conclusion} \pm \text{Finis}$$

Explanatory Discourse usually starts with the theme. It consists of a series of Points developing that theme and it leads up to a Conclusion. The Preliminary Tagmeme is an opening remark which serves as background to the whole paragraph and later serves as a linkage to the paragraph that follows. Within paragraphs linkage is provided through Sentence Topics. Verbs are usually in the present or future time which is indicated by the affixes *nag-* and *mag-* such as: *nagsasalita* 'speaking' *magsasalita* 'will speak'. Nominalized verbs are quite numerous in this type of discourse. These are indicated by the nominalizer *pag-*. Nominals formed by *pag-* express the meaning 'act of' or 'process of' and the like.

Explanatory Discourse tends to use more examples and illustrations, hypothetical or factual, than any other discourse type.

## 2. Paragraph Types.

Tagmemes of discourse are manifested by paragraph syntagmemes. There are five basic paragraph types in Tagalog: Narrative, Procedural, Hortatory, Explanatory, and Dialogue. In these paragraph types, the sentences of the paragraph nucleus (and sometimes those of opening and closing tagmemes) are divided into Figure and Ground. The latter includes certain sentence margins – specific to the particular paragraph types – which relate lexically to preceding or following sentences. The Figure includes the balance of the sentence.

**2.1. Narrative Paragraphs.** A Narrative Paragraph relates a series of events or actions together in a chain. Each paragraph usually has one participant who is the focus or topic of the paragraph. The narration follows this participant around. The topic participant must always be involved in the climax. A Narrative Paragraph requires the stating of the general time horizon of the paragraph; this is usually stated at the beginning of the first sentence. Build-up steps in a paragraph generally have actions from the same semantic domain.

Narrative Paragraphs are distinguished by a nucleus which consists of a series of Build-ups (BU's) with BU<sub>n</sub> as paragraph climax. Build-ups are chronologically linked. The formula for a Narrative Paragraph is:

$$\pm \text{Sett} \pm \text{BU}_1 \dots + \text{BU}_n \pm \text{Term}$$

The Setting (Sett) provides information in respect to any of the following: temporal orientation, locale, and dramatis personae. Terminus (Term) provides some closing comment.



Paragraph 15 of the Text (Narrative Paragraph)

<p>Nang maghatinggabi na ay biglang nagising ang babae.  when about-midnight L S/P sudden-L woke-up NM woman</p> <p>Parang may narinig siyang ingay buhat sa salas.  as-if there-is heard she-L noise from P living room.</p> <p>When it was about midnight, the woman suddenly woke up.  It seemed that she heard a noise coming from the living room.</p>	<p>Sett</p>
<p>Agad na tumindig ang babae. Baka nanakawin  immediately L stood-up NM woman perhaps will-steal</p> <p>nito ang salaping nakatago.  this NM money-L hidden.</p> <p>The woman stood up immediately. "That man might steal the  hidden money."</p>	<p>BU<sub>1</sub></p>
<p>Sinilip niya ang lalaki. Sa pamagitan ng ilawan ay  peeped she NM man P through L lamp S/P</p> <p>nakita niyang tulog ang sugatan.  saw she-L slept NM wounded</p> <p>She peeped at the man. By means of a lamp she saw that  the wounded man was asleep.</p>	<p>BU<sub>2</sub></p>
<p>Bumalik siya uli sa kama niya. Pinilit niyang matulog  went-back she again P bed her forced she-L to-sleep</p> <p>subalit may narinig na naman siyang kaluskos.  but there-is heard L again she-L rustling sound</p> <p>Kinapitan siya ng takot.  affected she L fear</p> <p>She went back to bed. She forced herself to go to sleep,  but she heard a rustling sound again. She was scared.</p>	<p>BU<sub>3</sub></p>
<p>Kinuha niya nang dahan-dahan ang kutsilyo sa tabi ng  got she L slowly NM knife P beside L</p> <p>kanyang higaan, at humanda na siya.  her-L bed and prepared L she</p> <p>Slowly, she got the knife beside her bed and got ready.</p>	<p>Term</p>

**2.2. Procedural Paragraph.** In Procedural Paragraphs, i.e. procedural explanations on how to do something, the participant can be left unstated or generic. The goal of the procedure is stated at the beginning.

A Procedural Paragraph is linked to the preceding paragraph by a temporal margin which is sequentially related to the main topic of the preceding paragraph. This margin is restricted to future tense. A single Procedural Paragraph is usually the complete body of a discourse with Aperture and Closure added. The formula for a Procedural Paragraph is:

$$\pm \text{Sett} \pm \text{Activity} \pm \text{Step 1} \dots + \text{Step}_n$$

Example of a Procedural Paragraph

<p>Igisa ang sibuyas at kamatis sa langis. to-fry NM onion and tomato P oil Fry the onion and tomato with oil.</p>	Step 1
<p>Isunod ang giniling na karne at lutuin hanggang lumambot. to-follow NM ground L meat and to-cook until be-soft. Next, add the ground meat and cook until it becomes soft.</p>	Step 2
<p>Idagdag ang hipon at lutuin nang limang minuto. to-follow NM shrimp and cook L five-L minute Add the shrimp and cook for five minutes.</p>	Step 3
<p>Idagdag ang arina at haluing mabuti. to-add NM flour and stir-L well Add the flour and stir it well.</p>	Step 4
<p>Idagdag ang sabaw at haluing uli hanggang lumapot ang sabaw. to-add NM broth and stir-L again until be-thick NM broth Add the broth and stir it again until the broth becomes thick.</p>	Step 5
<p>Isunod ang iba pang mga sangkap. to-follow NM other more-L NM ingredient Next, add the other ingredients.</p>	Step 6
<p>Timplahan ayon sa panlasa. to-season according P sense-of-taste Season according to desired taste.</p>	Step 7

**2.3. Hortatory Paragraph.** In a Hortatory Paragraph (exhortation, advice), the speaker and the addressee are necessarily named. The Exhortation Topic is stated at the beginning and at the end of the paragraph.

The Exhortation Tagmeme is the only obligatory tagmeme of the Hortatory Paragraph. There is an exhortation, command, or plea given (with consequent reference to second person). The Result Tagmeme does not occur in the Hortatory Paragraph here analyzed. The Exhortation Tagmeme contains some advice expressed either directly or obliquely. There is no peculiar grammatical form for giving commands but in sentences manifesting these tagmemes, the tense is restricted to future.

The Reinforcement Tagmeme links back to the Exhortation Tagmeme and restates it in the same form or in a paraphrase.

Hortatory Paragraphs are found embedded in Dialogue Paragraphs in Narrative Discourse.

The formula for a Hortatory Paragraph is:

± Prelim + Exhor ± Reason ± Warn ± Reinf ± Term

## Example of a Hortatory Paragraph

<p>Huminto sa paglakad ang matandang lalaki. stopped p act-of-walk NM old-L man</p> <p>Pumihit sa akin. turned-around P me</p> <p>The old man stopped walking. He looked back at me.</p>	Prelim.
<p>Anak, manalangin ka. Humingi ka ng tawad sa kanya. child to-pray you to-ask you L forgiveness P her/him.</p> <p>My child, you pray. Ask for forgiveness from her/him.</p>	Exhor.
<p>Siya ay Pagibig na hindi pumapatay kundi she/he S/P love L not cause-to-die if-not</p> <p>bumubuhay, may luha ang tinig ng matandang lalaki at tumingin cause-to-live has tear NM voice L old-L man and looked</p> <p>sa dakong kanan niya. Naroon ang silya ng kamatayan. P direction-L right his there-was NM chair L death</p> <p>He/She is a loved one who does not kill but will make you alive. The old man's voice trembled, and he looked to his right. The chair of death was there.</p>	Reason
<p>Huwag mong kalilimutan ang bilin ko sa iyo. don't you-L will-forget NM advice my P you</p> <p>Don't forget my advice to you.</p>	Warn.
<p>Manalangin ka hanggang sa huling sandali, Carlo, anak. to-pray you until P last-L moment Carlo child</p> <p>You pray up to the last moment, Carlo, my child.</p>	Reinf.

**2.4. Explanatory Paragraph.** Explanatory Paragraphs generally proceed logically through an explanation, explaining each part in turn. The topic is stated at the beginning of the paragraph nucleus.

The formula for Explanatory Paragraph is:

± Prelim ± Text ± Expo<sup>n</sup> ± Reason<sup>n</sup> ± Warn ± Result ± Term

Explanatory Paragraphs manifest the opening stage tagmeme of Narrative as well as Procedural Discourse. There are two optional peripheral tagmemes in Explanatory Paragraphs, namely: (1) Preliminary, which occurs before the nucleus and (2) Terminus, which occurs following the nucleus. The Prelim and the Term may be any comment not figuring in the linkage system within the paragraph and in some way related to the whole. The nucleus of an Explanatory Paragraph consists of four tagmemes. The obligatory Text usually occurs first. It announces the subject of the paragraph, which is something to be explained, accounted for as to situation, meaning, function, reason, or result. Linked to the Text in a particular way for each tagmeme may be an Exposition, a Reason, or Result.

The Text Tagmeme may be in portmanteau function on both paragraph and discourse levels. It may simultaneously announce the paragraph and the discourse topic or may more specifically indicate the central character or characters of a discourse.

The Expo Tagmeme is an exposition of the Text by presenting material which paraphrases or parallels the Text through synonyms or repetition of lexical items.

The Reason Tagmeme is one in which the Figure of S<sub>2</sub> is a paraphrase of the Cause Margin of S<sub>1</sub>; or the Figure of S<sub>2</sub> exploits and may reverse the negative-affirmative value of the Cause Margin of S<sub>1</sub>; or the Conditional Margin of S<sub>2</sub> exploits and likewise may reverse the negative-affirmative value of the Figure of S<sub>1</sub>. The example below illustrates Text, Expo, and Reason tagmemes.

Paragraph VI of the Text (Explanatory Paragraph)

<p>Si Ignacio ay kolektor ng isang mayamang may-ari          PM Ignacio S/P collector L one-L wealthy owner          ng lupa sa San Pablo.          L land P San Pablo.          Ignacio is a collector for a wealthy landowner in San Pablo.</p>	<p>Text</p>
<p>Dahil sa magtatapos na ang buwan, ang kanyang koleksiyon          because L will-end L NM month NM his-L collection          ay umaabot na sa may sampung libong piso.          S/P is-reaching L P has ten-L thousand-L peso          Because the month was almost ended, his collection already amounted          to about ten thousand pesos.</p>	<p>Expo</p>
<p>Ito'y itinago niya sa ilalim ng kanilang sahig, habang          this S/P hid he P under L their-L floor while          hinihintay nila ang pagdating ng kawani ng mayamang          waiting they NM arrival L employee L wealthy-L          may-ari ng lupa upang iyon ay kunin.          owner L land in order that S/P get          He hid this under their floor while they were waiting for the arrival of an          employee of the wealthy landowner to collect it.</p>	<p>Reason</p>

2.5. **Dialogue Paragraph.** Longacre (1968) formulated a calculus for the description of dialogue. He suggests three main types of Dialogue Paragraphs, all of which apply to Tagalog. The three main Dialogue Paragraph types are: Simple Dialogue Paragraph, Compound Dialogue Paragraph, and Complex Dialogue Paragraph.

The Dialogue Paragraph may contain a Setting. The nucleus consists of a series of Speech tagmemes of which Speech<sub>1</sub> is the initiating utterance and may be lexically a Question (Ques), Proposal (Prop), or Remark (Rem). Speech<sub>3</sub> is the resolving utterance and is lexically an Answer (A), Response (Resp), or Evaluation (Eval). A dialogue may be prolonged by an intervening Speech<sub>2</sub> which is lexically a Counter-Question (Ques), Counter-Proposal (Prop), or Counter-Remark (Rem). The answer usually omits words or phrases which are restorable from the question.

Speech tagmeme zero rank (Sp<sub>0</sub>) constitutes an inner periphery of the Dialogue Paragraph. Sp<sub>0</sub> precedes and/or follows the nucleus proper. Sp<sub>0</sub> is lexically a remark.

The Setting tagmeme introduces the dramatis personae of the paragraph, the time horizon, or a combination of these.

The Build-up tagmemes of the dialogue are much the same as those of the Narrative Paragraph. In dialogue paragraphs the BU tagmemes are peripheral whereas the BU's of Narrative Paragraphs are nuclear.

Dialogue linkage, however, revolves around what is said in one part of the dialogue as related to what is said next in the dialogue.

Dialogues containing Sp<sub>1</sub> plus Sp<sub>3</sub> are Simple Dialogue Paragraphs; those containing a Sp<sub>2</sub> are Complex Dialogue Paragraphs; those containing two or more exchange tagmemes expounded by Simple or Complex Dialogue Paragraphs are Compound Dialogue Paragraphs.

The formula for a Dialogue Paragraph is:

$$\pm \text{Sett} \pm \text{BU}^n [ \pm \text{Sp}_0^n + ( \pm \text{Sp}_1 \pm \text{Sp}_2 \pm \text{Sp}_3 ) ] \pm \text{Term}$$

Paragraphs 10 & 11 of the Text (Dialogue Paragraphs)

<p>Nang gabing iyon ay umulan. Pakakain, nagdasal si Rosa.  when night-L that S/P rained after-eating prayed PM Rosa.</p> <p>Tutungo na sana siya sa kanyang higaan nang siya'y  about-to-go L would-be she P her-L bed when sheS/P</p> <p>makarinig ng katok sa pinto.  able-to-hear L knock P door</p> <p>That night, it rained. After eating, Rosa prayed. She was about to go to bed, when she heard a knock at the door.</p>	<p>Sett</p>
<p>Sino iyan, tanong niya, na ang puso'y halos lumukso sa takot.  who that ask she L NM heart S/P almost-to-jump P fear</p> <p>"Who's that?" she asked, her heart was beating fast from fear.</p>	<p>Sp1 (Ques)</p>
<p>Tutungan mo ako, wika ng isang lalaki. Ako'y sugatan.  to-help you me said L one-L man I S/P wounded</p> <p>Papasukin mo ako.  to-let-enter you me</p> <p>"Help me," a man said. "I'm wounded. Let me enter."</p>	<p>Sp1 (Prop)</p>
<p>Ang utos sa akin ng aking asawa'y huwag  NM command P me L my husband S/P don't</p> <p>magpapasok, wika ng babae.  will-let-enter said L woman</p> <p>"My husband commanded me not to let anyone enter," the woman said.</p>	<p>Sp2 (Prop)</p>
<p>Subalit halos hindi na ako makahinga.  but almost not L I able-to-breathe</p> <p>Kailangan ko ang tulong. Malakas ang tulo ng dugo ko.  need I NM help strong NM drip L blood my</p> <p>"But I can hardly breathe now. I'm in need of help. I'm bleeding heavily."</p>	<p>Sp3 (Eval)</p>
<p>Kung magtatagal pa'y tiyak na mamatay ako  if will-stay-longer still-S/P sure L will-die I</p> <p>rito sa pintuan ninyo.  here P door your</p> <p>"If you delay longer, I will surely die here at your door."</p>	<p>Term</p>

3. Linkage.

Linkage between sentences in a paragraph is sometimes carried by sequential time margins in the sentence. The linkage is sometimes carried by the end of one sentence being echoed in the beginning of the next sentence.

Linkage between paragraphs of a Narrative Discourse is of two sorts, lexical and grammatical. Grammatical linkage involves (a) linkage of the final sentence of one paragraph to the initial sentence of the following (tail-head linkage) or summary of one paragraph in the initial sentence of the following, and (b) consecutive time horizons in the initial sentences of consecutive paragraphs (Longacre 1968:1).

3.1. **Tail-Head Linkage and Linkage through Summary.** Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the text under study illustrates this kind of linkage.  $S_n$  of paragraph 3 is about Rosa asking her husband whether he was going to leave her all alone. The next paragraph reintroduces the man's proper name Ignacio, which was not mentioned in the preceding paragraph, followed by the adjective *nag-iisa* 'alone' which recapitulates the noun *pag-iisa* 'being alone'. The new paragraph is distinguished from the former by the portion of the sentence which mentions the proper name Ignacio, but is linked to the preceding paragraph by the next portion of the sentence which repeats the adjective *nag-iisa* 'alone'.

3.2. **Consecutive Time Horizons.** In the discourse referred to, the following are Consecutive Time Horizons given in the first sentence of each paragraph.

- P2 ngayong hapon  
now-L afternoon  
This afternoon
- P8 Nang anyong kakapit sa kanya si Rosa . . .  
when form-L to-clang P him PM Rosa  
When Rosa tried to cling to him . . .
- P10 Nang gabing iyon . . .  
when night-L that  
That night . . .
- P15 Nang maghatinggabi na . . .  
When about-midnight L  
When it was about midnight . . .

Lexical linkage comes via Dramatis Personae, by: (1) continuity of a specific Dramatis Personae, (2) continuity through the conversation of the Dramatis Personae, or (3) continuity of action of the Dramatis Personae.

(1) Continuity of a specific Dramatis Personae is shown in P14 to P16 in the Text. In P14, the woman is introduced as the agent in the first sentence and  $S_n$  is also about the woman, who didn't mind the man sleeping in the living room. P15 links lexically to P14 in that it starts with - 'The woman woke up suddenly because it seemed that she heard a noise coming from the living room.' This goes on until 'she heard the rustling sound again, so finally she took the knife beside her bed, and got ready.' P16 links to P15 by beginning with the sentence - 'She went carefully to the living room' referring to the same participant.

(2) Continuity through the conversation of the Dramatis Personae is manifested in P10, which states that she heard a knock at the door and so she asked, 'Who's that?' P11 links to P10 by initiating a proposal of a man who said, 'Help me. I'm wounded. Let me enter.' This is carried through the Counter-Proposal - 'My husband commanded me not to let anybody enter the house'. The man made an evaluation by saying: 'But I can hardly breathe now. I'm in need of help. I'm bleeding heavily'; and a Terminus which says - 'If you delay longer, I will surely die here at your door.'

(3) Continuity of action of the Dramatis Personae is illustrated in P18, which says - 'The woman took the gun and she held it carefully, while the rustling sound at the door was getting louder. Suddenly, when the door opened, Rosa saw a man with a mask. Without pity Rosa shot him, and the man fell. Rosa took the lamp on the table in order to see the face of the man she killed. She paled when the visitor removed the mask of the man who tried to enter their house.' The action is carried through P19, when the woman looked at the face of the intruder and in P20, when she ran towards her room and there she wept loudly because she killed her husband Ignacio who had intended to steal the money hidden under the floor.

#### 4. Participants.

The information that identifies the participants in an event not only links participants to events, but also works within a cohesive system to link one mention of a participant with other mentions of the same participant. In a narrative, one or two, or at most three participants, are involved in the action at any point in the story (Grimes 1972), possibly with two or more individuals acting in concert as one group participant.

4.1. **Identification in relation to the grammatical hierarchy (surface structure).** The contributions of grammatical structures are divided into the following: the occurrence of certain units, the agreement rules between constituent units of a construction, and the dimensions of contrast in the system of a given level. Noun phrases are among the units which contribute to the identification of participants by their occurrence. Agreement rules between constituent units help to identify the participants as same or different. For example, the subject of each constituent clause in theme and development units of a simple developmental G-paragraph is the same. At least one category from each dimension of contrast in the systems of a level contributes to identification.

Of the grammatical word classes, nouns and pronouns are especially related to the problem of identification of participants. The occurrence of a noun as the head of a modifying noun phrase often identifies the participant referred to by the nature of the morpheme in the stem, e.g. *Ignacio* (name). The morpheme *si* or *ni* indicates that the participant is animate and names him. The following sentences illustrate this:

1. Si Ignacio ay kolektor ng isang mayamang may-ari ng mga  
PM Ignacio S/P collector L one-L wealthy-L owner L NM  
lupa sa San Pablo.  
land P San Pablo.  
Ignacio is a collector for a wealthy landowner in San Pablo.
2. Namutla ang mukha ni Rosa.  
flushed NM face PM Rosa  
Rosa flushed.

Once a participant has been introduced, later references may give further details. If a very generic term such as *ang matandang lalaki* 'the old man' has been used in the introduction, then a later reference may give a more specific description. If the first mention of the participant has used a kin term like *ang kanyang asawa* 'his wife', then, a later reference may add her name.

When there are two third person participants in a narrative, the distinction between masculine and non-masculine helps to identify the participant. This is shown in the following example:

Si Ignacio ay malupit kay Rosa, kaya napipilitang sumunod  
PM Ignacio S/P cruel to Rosa, so being-forced-L to-follow  
ang babae sa lahat ng gusto ng asawa.  
NM woman P all L want L husband

Ignacio is cruel to Rosa, so the woman is forced to do everything that her husband wants.

The selection of forms for referring to participants is controlled by simultaneous aspects of meaning. The topic of the plot ordinarily controls the referent of the first noun, but the focus of attention of the observer controls the occurrence of some of the other nouns.

The units which occur are in part controlled by the plot, then a noun phrase must occur referring to that participant before other participants are referred to by noun phrase.

**4.2. Identification in relation to lexemic hierarchy (deep structure).** Lexemic structures also contribute to identification by the occurrence of certain units, e.g. a lexeme naming the participant; agreement rules between units, e.g. the fact that the goal of an L-clause can refer to the same participant as the agent whereas the indirect goal can not; and the dimensions of contrast in the system of a given level, e.g. in clauses marked for focus one participant is identified as the observer's focus of attention.

Participants are characterized by contrastive lexemic units which indicate the roles of the participants or the class of which they are a member. Among the contrastive units which characterize participants' kinship are lexemes which indicate certain social roles of the participants with reference to one another. Other units such as agent and goal characterize participants by their roles or functions in a particular action.

When a participant is referred to by an agent unit, he is characterized as the actual performer of the action in the clause. The agent unit is manifested by an L-participant phrase. For example:

Kinuha ni Rosa ang ilaw sa mesa upang kanyang makita  
got PM Rosa NM lamp P table in-order she-L able-to-see  
ang mukha ng napatay niya.  
NM face L killed she

Rosa took the lamp on the table in order to see the face of the man she killed.

Rosa is the agent.

**4.3. Explicit re-naming.** Explicit reference with a noun phrase rather than a pronoun is used to establish participant orientation at the beginning of a new paragraph along with a shift in time, setting, or scene. Major participants are usually established in the introduction of the discourse, and often named as *si Alfredo* 'Alfredo', *si Ignacio* 'Ignacio' or given a title such as *ang mangingisda* 'the fisherman', *ang bingi* 'the deaf'. Minor participants may be referred to as *ang aking ama* 'my father', *ang kanyang nanay* 'her mother' rather than by naming them explicitly and thus establishing an independent reference for them that would change the orientation.

In third person oriented narrative discourse, a participant is frequently renamed explicitly as we get closer to the peak. With reference to frequency in occurrence, the hero has the most number of occurrences through explicit re-naming within the whole discourse; this may also lead the reader to identify the hero.

Explicit noun phrases also appear within the paragraph at times to allow a shuffling of case rankings when this is not brought about by a reversal or when no reversal is involved, to refer to a participant who has been uninvolved for a time.

**4.4. Pronominal reference.** Reference has to do with who or what is being talked about. It goes back to the speaker's assumption that the hearer knows who or what is involved. Identification, on the other hand, has to do with the linguistic means that the speaker uses to communicate to the hearer who or what is involved.

Pronouns are the common means of maintaining identification. Identification and characterization of participants are inseparable in the distribution of lexemic forms. They are also inseparable when grammatical forms and lexemic forms are considered with reference to each other. A participant may be identified by a noun phrase which lexemically characterizes the participant. The characterization in turn helps to identify him in a subsequent action when he is referred to only by a pronominal form. The occurrence of a pronoun within certain clause classes often indicates the introduction of a new participant or refers to a different participant than those referred to in the preceding clauses. In the text given here, the heroine is first introduced in a noun phrase, *wika ni Ignacio sa kanyang asawa* 'Ignacio said to his wife'. The quotative in direct quotation sentences often includes only pronominal affixes referring to the speaker and addressee of the quotation. For example, *Ibig mo bang sabihin ay iwan mo akong nag-iisa rito?* "Do you mean to say that you're leaving me alone here?" The speaker, however, is usually identified by a clause which occurs before the direct quotation sentence.

Pronouns are used whenever possible to refer to participants, yet there is usually enough information in the text so that the native speaker has no difficulty in keeping his reference straight even when pronoun reference is ambiguous, as when several participants are all referred to in the third person singular. In fact, overuse of explicit references such as noun phrases would be considered an unnatural style.

## 5. Prominence.

The term prominence refers to any device whatever which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context. In spite of the innumerable overt forms taken by prominence features, there are nevertheless only three main values of prominence in discourse — theme, focus, and emphasis. The theme is the unfolding plot, always seen against its background of minor characters and stage properties. Focus is the spotlight, which may be playing continuously, or switched on and off as appropriate. Emphasis is the clash of cymbals or similar climax in the accompanying music (Callow 1974). These values of prominence operate in a variety of ways in the text under consideration to present a clear theme.

**5.1. Prominence with Thematic Value.** Thematic material is the material that develops the discourse, by contrast with the background material, which fills out the theme but does not develop it (Callow 1974). Prominence with thematic value is given to the discourse by (1) a title and a topic sentence at the beginning, (2) development of the theme all the way through to the evaluation, and (3) repetition of the theme.

**5.2. Prominence with Focus Value.** Focus is that type of prominence which acts as a spotlight, playing on the thematic material to bring some of it especially to the attention (Callow 1974). Focus is an obligatory category and one cannot avoid using it; at any point, some clause or participant or event must be in focus. Prominence with focus value is given within sections by (1) concentration of verbs in restating the theme and (2) progression of the setting, build-ups, and terminus within an episode.

**5.3. Prominence with Emphatic Value.** Emphasis is the kind of prominence which provides the discourse with speaker-hearer factors involving emotion or expectation (Callow 1974). Prominence that occurs with emphatic significance normally involves the speaker-hearer relationship in some way. Emphasis has two different functions. It highlights an item of information which the narrator considers will be surprising to the hearer, or else it warns the hearer that the emotions of the speaker are quite strongly involved. Devices for providing emphasis are normally particles, word-order (especially front-shifting), and repetition. Prominence with emphatic value is given to the discourse by (1) repetition and paraphrase given for emphasis more than for content and (2) stylistic devices such as reduplication.



## A NARRATIVE TEXT:

- 01 ANG SALAPI SA ILALIM NG SAHIG  
NM money P under L floor
- 02 P1 Ang salapi ay lagi nang isang tukso sa may mahihinang  
NM money S/P always L one-L temptation P have weak-L
- 03 loob na naghahangad na magkamal nito nang hindi  
inside L desiring L to-be-holding-handfuls this L not
- 04 nagpagod.  
worked-hard
- 05 P2 Aalis ako ngayong hapon. – wika ni Ignacio sa kanyang  
Leaving I now-L afternoon said PM Ignacio P his-L
- 06 asawa na noo'y nagdadalang tao. – Huwag na huwag kang  
wife L that time-S/P pregnant don't L don't you-L
- 07 magpapapasok ng sino man habang ako'y wala. Marahil ay aabutin  
will-let-enter L whoever while I-S/P none perhaps S/P reaching
- 08 ako ng tatlong araw.  
I L three-L day
- 09 P3 Namutla ang mukha ni Rosa. – Ibig mo bang sabihin ay  
flushed NM face PM Rosa want you Intr.-L to-say S/P
- 10 iiwan mo akong nag-iisa rito?  
leaving you I-L alone here
- 11 P4 Napangiti si Ignacio. – Bakit, hindi ka pa ba  
caused-to-smile PM Ignacio why not you still Intr.
- 12 nabihasa sa pag-iisa? alam ko namang walang mangyayari rito  
accustomed L being-alone know I also-L none-L will-happen here
- 13 sa iyo. Isa pa, kung hindi ako aalis ngayon, ay baka may  
P you one more if not I leaving now S/P perhaps there-is
- 14 kumuha pa ng kaunti nating aanihin sa Laguna. Sayang din  
to-get more L small our-L will-harvest P Laguna waste too
- 15 naman ang kikitain natin sa maliit nating niyugan.  
also NM will-profit our P small our-L coconut-plantation
- 16 Alam mo namang malaki pa ang ating pagkakautang.  
know you also-L large still NM our-L having-indebted
- 17 P5 Hindi naman natin kailangang-kailangan ang salapi, wika ni Rosa.  
not also our in-dire-need NM money said PM Rosa.
- 18 May kaunti pa naman tayong natatago, a. Ako'y lubhang  
have small still also we-L is-saving Intr. I S/P very much
- 19 nag-aalaala rin dahil sa malaking halaga ng salaping iiwan mo  
is-worried too because P Large-L amount L money-L leaving you
- 20 sa akin.  
P me
- 21 P6 Si Ignacio ay kolektor ng isang mayamang may-ari ng mga  
PM Ignacio S/P collector L one-L wealthy-L owner L NM
- 22 lupa sa San Pablo. Dahil sa magtatapos na ang buwan, ang kanyang  
land P San Pablo. because P about-to-end L NM month NM his-L
- 23 koleksiyon ay umaabot na sa may sampung libong piso.  
collection S/P is-reaching L P have ten-L thousand-L peso
- 24 Ito'y itinago niya sa ilalim ng kanilang sahig habang hinihintay  
this S/P hid he P under L their-L floor while is-waiting
- 25 nila ang pagdating ng kawani ng mayamang may-ari ng lupa  
they NM arrival L employee L wealthy-L owner L land
- 26 upang iyon ay kunin.  
in order that S/P to-get

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- 27 P7 Ako'y natatakot, Ignacio . . . wika ni Rosa. Para kang  
I S/P being-afraid Ignacio said PM Rosa as-if you-L
- 28 loka,- pagalit na wika ni Ignacio. Basta't ako'y aalis.  
fool angrily L said PM Ignacio whatever-and I S/P leaving
- 29 Wala kang marami pang salita.  
none you-L many more-L word
- 30 P8 Nang anyong kakapit sa kanya si Rosa, ay ubos-lakas  
when form-L to-cling P him PM Rosa S/P very-strong
- 31 niyang itinulak ito. Napasadlak ang babae sa hagdan, at  
he-L pushed this caused-to-stumble NM woman P stair and
- 32 kamantik nang nahulog.  
nearly L fell
- 33 P9 Si Ignacio ay malupit kay Rosa, kaya napipilitang  
PM Ignacio S/P cruel to Rosa so is-being-forced
- 34 sumunod ang babae sa lahat ng gusto ng asawa.  
to-follow NM woman P all L want L husband
- 35 P10 Nang gabing iyon ay umulan. Pagkakain nagdasal si Rosa.  
when night-L that S/P rained having-eaten prayed PM Rosa
- 36 Tutungo na sana siya sa kanyang higaan nang siya'y  
direction-of-going L would she P her-L bed L she S/P
- 37 makarinig ng katok sa pinto. Sino 'yan tanong niya, na ang  
able-to-hear L knock P door who that asked she L NM
- 38 puso'y halos lumukso sa takot.  
heart S/P almost to-jump P fear
- 39 P11 Tulungan mo ako, wika ng isang lalaki. Ako'y sugatan.  
to-help you I NM L one-L man I S/P wounded
- 40 Papasukin mo ako. Ang utos sa akin ng aking asawa'y  
to-let-enter you I NM command P me L my husband S/P
- 41 huwag magpapapasok, wika ng babae. Subali't halos hindi na ako  
don't will-let-enter said L woman but almost not L I
- 42 makahinga. Kailangan ko ang tulong. Malakas ang tulo ng dugo ko.  
able-to-breathe need I NM help strong NM drip L blood my
- 43 Kung magtatagal pa'y tiyak na mamamatay ako rito sa pintuan  
if will-stay-long still S/P sure L will-die I here P door
- 44 ninyo.  
your
- 45 P12 Nakakaawa ang tinig ng lalaki, kayat nabagbag ang  
pitiful NM voice L man therefore aroused-feeling NM
- 46 puso ni Rosa at nahikayat siyang buksan ang pinto. Isang lalaking  
hear PM Rosa and persuaded she-L to-open NM door one-L man-L
- 47 may sugat sa kaliwang kamay ang bumulaga sa kanya. Matipuno  
has wound P left-L hand NM appeared P her fine-physique
- 48 ang katawan nito subali't ang mukha'y sunog sa araw.  
NM body this but NM face /SP burned P sun
- 49 P13 Inabot ako ng sakuna sa kotse ko diyan sa malapit sa inyo,  
reached I L accident P car my there P near P you
- 50 paanas na wika ng lalaki. Salamat na lamang at nakita ko ang  
softly L said L man thanks L only and saw I NM
- 51 munting ilaw sa bahay ninyo.  
little-L light P house your
- 52 P14 Tinulungan ng babae ang lalaki. Nilinis niya ang dugo sa kamay.  
helped L woman NM man cleaned she NM blood P hand

- 53 Hindi naman malalim ang sugat. Ilang saglit pa at inaantok  
not also deep NM wound how-many-L moment more and got-sleepy
- 54 na sila. Hinayaan ng babaing sa salas matulog ang lalaki.  
L they left L woman-L P living-room to-sleep NM man
- 55 P15 Nang maghatinggabi na ay biglang nagising ang babae. Parang  
when about-midnight L S/P sudden-L woke-up NM woman as-if
- 56 may narinig siyang ingay buhat sa salas. Agad na  
there-is heard she-L noise from P living-room immediately L
- 57 tumindig ang babae. Baka nanakawin nito ang salaping nakatago.  
stood-up NM woman perhaps will-steal this NM money-L hidden
- 58 Sinilip niya ang lalaki. Sa pamamagitan ng ilawan ay nakita niyang  
peeped she NM man P through L lamp S/P saw she-L
- 59 tulog ang sugatan. Bumalik siya uli sa kama niya. Pinilit  
slept NM wounded went-back she again P bed her forced
- 60 niyang matulog subalit may narinig na naman siyang kaluskos.  
she-L to-sleep but there-is heard L again she-L rustling-sound
- 61 Kinapitan siya ng takot. Kinuha niya ng dahan-dahan ang kutsilyo sa  
affected she L fear got she L slowly NM knife P
- 62 tabi ng kanyang higaan, at humanda na siya.  
beside L her-L bed and prepared L she
- 63 P16 Maingat siyang tumungo sa may salas. Noon niya  
careful she-L to-go P have living-room that-time she
- 64 nabatid na ang kaluskos ay nagbubuhay sa kanilang pinto.  
knew L NM rustling-sound S/P coming-from P their-L door
- 65 May nagbubukas nito! Kinilabutan siya. Hindi niya ngayon malaman  
there-is opening this feared she not she now to-know
- 66 kung ano ang gagawin. Ilang saglit pa, at marahan siyang  
if what NM to-do. how-many-L a-moment more and slowly she-L
- 67 lumapit sa lalaking nakahiga sa salas. Ginising niya ito.  
came-near P man-L lying P living-room awakened she this
- 68 Pabulong na sinabi niyang may nagbubukas ng kanilang  
whisper-manner L told she-L there-is opening L their-L
- 69 pinto. – Tulungan mo ako, wika ng babae.  
door to-help you I said L woman
- 70 P17 Ang kamay ko'y namamanhid sa sakit – wika ng lalaki.  
NM hand my S/P being-numb P pain said L man
- 71 Subalit kunin mo ang baril sa aking balsa. May kargang bala iyan.  
but get you NM gun P my-L pocket has load-L bullet that
- 72 Sa oras na may magbukas ng pinto ay barilin mo agad.  
P time L there-is will-open L door S/P to-shoot you immediately
- 73 Huwag na huwag kang magbibigay ng pagkakataong maunahan.  
don't L don't you-L will-give L having-chance cause-to-act first
- 74 P18 Kinuha ng babae ang baril, at maingat na hinawakan niya ito,  
got L woman NM gun and careful L held she this
- 75 habang ang kaluskos sa pintuan ay lumalakas. Nang biglang  
while NM rustling-sound P door SP becoming-loud when sudden-L
- 76 mabuksan ang pinto, ay nakita ni Rosa ang isang lalaking may  
being opened NM door S/P saw PM Rosa NM one-L man-L have
- 77 maskara. Walang awang pinaputukan ito ni Rosa, at ang lalaki'y  
mask none-L pity-L shot this ni Rosa and NM man S/P
- 78 napahandusay. Kinuha ni Rosa ang ilaw sa mesa, upang kanyang  
lying-prostrate took PM Rosa NM lamp P table in-order she-L

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79	makita able-to-see	ang NM	mukha face	ng L	napatay killed	niya. she	Namutla paled	siya she	nang L	alisin to-remove
80	ng panauhin L visitor	niya her	ang NM	maskara mask	ng L	nagtangkang intended-L	pumasok to-enter	sa P	bahay house	nila. their
81	Kilala know	mo you	ba Intr.	siya? him	— asked	tanong L	ng L	lalaki. man		
82	P19 looked-L	Tiningnang again	muli L	ng babae woman	ang NM	mukha face	ng magnanakaw. L thief	Hindi, no	—	
83	wika said	ni Rosa. PM Rosa	Hindi no	ko I	siya him	kilala. know	At and	patakpong ran	tumungo towards	sa P
84	silid room	niya her	ang NM	babae. woman						
85	P20 there	Doon she	siya she	humagulgol loud-weeping	ng L	iyak. cry	Pagka't because	ang NM	napatay killed	niya'y She S/P
86	si PM	Ignacio, Ignacio	ang NM	kanyang her-L	asawa, husband	na L	nagtangkang intended-L	nakawin to steal	ang NM	salaping money-L
87	nakatago hidden	sa P	ilalim under	ng L	kanilang their-L	sahig. floor.				
88	P21 may-forgive	Patawarin him	siya L	ng L	Diyos, God	— prayed	dasar ni Rosa, PM Rosa	— may-forgive		
89	siya him	ng L	Diyos! God							

A NARRATIVE TEXT:

MONEY UNDER THE FLOOR

01  
02 P1 Money is always a temptation to those who have a weakness  
03 for desiring to have handfuls of it without  
04 working hard.  
05 P2 "I'm leaving this afternoon" — Ignacio said to his  
06 wife who was then pregnant. — "Don't ever let anyone enter  
07 the house while I'm away. Perhaps I'll be away  
08 for three days."  
09 P3 Rosa flushed. — "Do you mean to say that  
10 you're leaving me alone here?"  
11 P4 Ignacio smiled. — "Why, aren't you  
12 accustomed to being alone? I know that nothing will happen with  
13 you here. One thing more, if I don't leave now, someone else might  
14 get our small harvest in Laguna.  
15 Our profit from our small coconut plantation will then just disappear.  
16 You know very well that we still have a large amount of debt."  
17 P5 "We are not in dire need of money." Rosa said.  
18 "We still have a small amount saved. I'm also very worried,  
19 because of the large amount of money which you are leaving  
20 with me."  
21 P6 Ignacio is a collector for a wealthy landowner  
22 in San Pablo. Because the month was almost ended  
23 his collection already amounted to about ten thousand pesos.  
24 He hid this under the floor while they were waiting  
25 for the arrival of an employee of the wealthy landowner  
26 to collect it.  
27 P7 "I'm afraid, Ignacio . . .," Rosa said. "You're acting like  
28 a fool," — Ignacio said angrily. "Whatever happens I've got to leave.  
29 Don't say anything more."  
30 P8 When Rosa tried to cling to him,  
31 he shoved her away. The woman stumbled and  
32 nearly fell down the stairs.  
33 P9 Ignacio is cruel to Rosa, so the woman is forced

34 to do everything that her husband wants.  
 35 P10 That night it rained. After eating, Rosa prayed.  
 36 She was about to go to bed, when she heard  
 37 a knock at the door. "Who's that?" she asked,  
 38 her heart was beating fast from fear.  
 39 P11 "Help me," a man said. "I'm wounded."  
 40 Let me enter." "My husband commanded me  
 41 not to let anyone enter," the woman said. "But I can hardly breathe  
 42 now. I'm in need of help. I'm bleeding heavily.  
 43 If you delay longer, I will surely die here  
 44 at your door."  
 45 P12 The man's voice was so pitiful that Rosa's heart  
 46 was stirred with sympathy and she was persuaded to  
 47 open the door. A man with a wound on the left hand appeared before her.  
 48 He had a fine body physique, but with a sun-burned face.  
 49 P13 "I had an accident with my car here near your place,"  
 50 the man said softly. "I am thankful that I saw  
 51 a small light in your house."  
 52 P14 The woman helped the man. She cleaned the blood on his hand.  
 53 The wound was not deep. After some moments he felt sleepy.  
 54 The woman left him sleeping in the living room.  
 55 P15 When it was about midnight, the woman suddenly woke up. It  
 56 seemed that she heard a noise coming from the living room. The  
 57 woman stood up immediately. "That man might steal the hidden money."  
 58 She peeped at the man. By means of a lamp she saw  
 59 that the wounded man was asleep, She went back to bed. She forced  
 60 herself to sleep, but she heard the rustling sound again.  
 61 She was scared. Slowly, she got the knife  
 62 beside her bed, and got ready.  
 63 P16 She went carefully to the living room. By then,  
 64 she knew that the rustling sound was coming from the door.  
 65 Someone was opening it! She was scared. Now, she didn't know what  
 66 to do. After some moments, she slowly  
 67 approached the man lying in the living room. She awakened him.  
 68 She whispered that there was someone opening their door.  
 69 "Help me." the woman said.  
 70 P17 "My hand is numb with pain," the man said.  
 71 "But then, take the gun inside my pocket. It is loaded.  
 72 When someone opens the door, shoot him at once.  
 73 Don't give him a chance to act before you do."  
 74 P18 The woman took the gun and she held it carefully,  
 75 while the rustling sound at the door was getting louder. Suddenly,  
 76 when the door opened, Rosa saw a man with a mask.  
 77 Without pity Rosa shot him.  
 78 The man fell. Rosa took the lamp on the table in order  
 79 to see the face of the man she killed. She paled when the visitor  
 80 removed the mask of the man who tried to enter their house.  
 81 "Do you know him?" - the man asked.  
 82 P19 The woman looked again at the face of the intruder. "No" -  
 83 said Rosa. "I don't know him." And the woman ran towards  
 84 her room.  
 85 P20 There she wept loudly because the man she killed  
 86 was Ignacio, her husband, who had intended to steal the money  
 87 hidden under the floor.  
 88 P21 "May God forgive him," - Rosa prayed - "May God  
 89 forgive him!"

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Tagalog is the basis of Pilipino, one of the official languages of the Philippines. Of the numerous languages spoken in the Philippines, Tagalog ranks first in number of first-and second – language speakers; it is spoken by people all over the country.

For the analysis described in this paper, six separate texts were initially selected from an inventory of texts. These texts included three first person oriented narratives and three third person oriented narratives. In addition, other texts were skimmed to corroborate the analysis.

<sup>2</sup>Here I followed tagmemic procedures as utilized by Longacre (1968).

This paper was written at a linguistic workshop held at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, Philippines, during the months of January to March 1976, conducted by Dr. Elmer Wolfenden, Linguistic Department Chairman for the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I am very grateful to him for his untiring help and guidance in the analysis of the data and in the initial write-up.

My gratitude also goes to Dir. Ponciano Pineda of the Institute of National Language and Dir. Daniel Weaver of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Philippine Branch) for the scholarship grant that enabled me to work on this project.

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THE SEMANTIC COMPONENT *REALIZATION*  
IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

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Meaning components are not always unique to a single lexeme; rather, it is common in language for the same meaning component to recur systematically throughout a language, as a constituent of several lexemes.

A familiar example of this phenomenon is the English causative. In English, the difference between 'die' and 'kill', between 'eat' and 'feed', and between 'go home' and 'send home' is the causative component. More commonly in English the causative component is manifested overtly as 'cause to' or 'make', as in 'He made me forget the appointment.' In Philippine languages, verbal affixation (usually the prefix *pa-*) indicates causative. Another recurring component in English is the directional component, seen in such pairs as 'go' and 'come', 'take' and 'bring'. Generally, however, this component is carried in the clause by a preposition or locative word. In Philippine languages direction is implicit in roots indicating motion, and in addition, affixation often carries a direction component.

Thus, it can be seen that a single semantic component can be manifested on different levels in a given language, as well as between languages. Its presence has been found to be variously indicated: by a verbal complement, by morphological elements, or by a different lexeme.

The **realization** component in Philippine languages is unusual in that its presence is often not overtly marked; it is only discerned in context — either the linguistic context or the extra-linguistic context or both. For example, in Inibaloi<sup>1</sup> *awis* means both 'to invite' and 'to win over', the difference — the successful, effectual outcome — being one only of context. When the **realization** component is clearly absent in context, *awis* means 'invite'; when it is clearly present, it means 'win over'; and in some contexts it is ambiguous. In the sentence *\*Inawis (Inewis)<sup>2</sup> ko nem eg ali dimaw* 'I invited him but he didn't come', **realization** is absent; it is present, however, in *Shakel noman i \*inawis (inewis) to'n too nen miyol* 'He has really won over a lot of the mayor's followers': while in *\*Inawis (inewis) to's Inoy ja mengibot* 'He invited (i.e. tempted/induced) Inoy to steal', the outcome of the effect is in doubt.

The **realization** component,<sup>3</sup> or sometimes its absence, is variously marked in different languages; for example, (1) by lexical pairs, one with, and one without, the component, (2) by post-verbal complements, (3) by morphological elements, and (4) by context only.

(1) Lexical pairs. In English the **realization** component often appears as a component in one member of a lexical pair, in contrast to its absence in the other member. The following pairs are examples of this: 'seek' — 'find', 'pursue' — 'catch', 'study' — 'learn', 'listen' — 'hear', 'look' — 'see', 'aim' — 'hit', 'investigate' — 'solve'.

(2) Post-verbal complements that mark the presence or absence of the **realization** component are of various kinds. In English, a preposition after a verb often serves either to indicate its absence, or sometimes to indicate that the outcome is in doubt. Note, for example, the following pairs: 'feel for' — 'feel', 'strike at' — 'strike'. A doubtful/uncertain outcome in English is often disambiguated also by the addition of such words or phrases

as 'unsuccessfully' or 'in vain', or by negating the member of the lexical pair which expresses **realization**, as, for example, 'He chased it but did not catch it.'

In Vietnamese *thây* 'preceive' lends the **realization** component when conjoined to certain lexemes, as, for example, *tim thây* 'seek-preceive (i.e. find)' and *nghe thây* 'listen-preceive (i.e. hear)'.

(3) Morphological elements. In Inibaloi the suffix *-an*, with one class of verb roots, adds the **realization** component. With roots of this same class the suffix *-en* indicates only effort toward success, with no indication usually of the outcome. For example:

*anop* 'hunt', *\*anopen (enopen)* 'to hunt game', *\*anopan (enopan)* 'to bag game'

*bengwit* 'hook and line', *bengwiten* 'to fish for something thus', *bengwitan* 'to catch something thus'

*balais* 'booby-trap', *\*balaisen (bedaisen)* 'to set a booby-trap for something', *\*balaisan (bedaisan)* 'to kill something thus'

*anap* 'look for', *\*anapen (enapen)* 'to look for something', *\*anapan (enapan)* 'to find something after looking for it'

(4) Context. A large number of verbs in Philippine languages do not of themselves indicate success or non-success in the action they represent, that is, the presence or absence of the **realization** component. In all such cases **realization** is to be known only by context. The following verbs are a few examples from Inibaloi. For each, two meanings are given: the first without, and the second with, the **realization** component:

*\*paras(en) (peshasen)* 'to try', 'to experience'

*(i)awat* 'to offer', 'to hand over'

*botos(an)* 'to vote for', 'to elect'

*binat(en)* 'to pull on', 'to stretch'

*\*bolang(en) (bodangen)* 'to strike at with horns', 'to butt, gore'

*\*(ma)jagas(an) (maekasan)* 'to be medicated', 'to be healed'

Context usually clarifies the meaning, as the following sentences illustrate:

*\*Pinaras (Pineshas) ko 'n obda-en nem ekak posi-en.*

tried I work/on but not-I able

'I tried to do that work, but I wasn't able.'

*\*Pinaras (Pineshas) ko sotan 'na obda; isonga mebedin to ngo.*

tried I that work so possible he also

'I've tried (i.e. done) that job, so (I know) he can do it too.'

*In-awat ko nem eg to inda.*

offered I but not he take

'I offered it (to him) but he didn't take it.'



*Kinastos to sota in-awat ko son si-kato nonta na-shem.*  
 spent he the offered I to him past evening  
 'He spent (the money) I handed over to him last evening.'

The same phenomenon can be seen in other Philippine languages, as seen in the following examples from Ilocano and Hiligaynon. In Ilocano, for example, the verb root *singir* 'to collect a debt' has verb forms that are disambiguated only by context:

*Bassit laeng ti siningir ko.*  
 little only collected I  
 'I only collected a little (of the debt).'

*Siningir ko ngem awan ti inted na.*  
 collected I but none gave he  
 'I tried to collect (the debt) but he didn't give anything.'

And in Hiligaynon the following two sentences illustrate that, whereas the verb of the first clause would seem to indicate the presence of **realization**, the linguistic context (the 'but' second clause) is conclusive that it is absent:

*Ginbali ko ang kahoy pero indi maotod.*  
 broke I stick but not part  
 'I broke (i.e. tried to break) the stick, but it didn't part in two.'

*Ginbuksan ko ang puertahan pero sirado.*  
 opened I door but locked  
 'I opened (i.e. tried to open) the door, but it was locked.'

A lexicographer in a Philippine language finds verbs such as those cited above to be relatively easy to label, because English has ready verb forms both with and without the **realization** component. Other verbs, however, are difficult, because it is necessary to include in the second gloss 'try to'. In fact, since the **realization** component in these instances is apparent only in context, it usually goes unnoticed. The English gloss commonly given to these verbs implies success in the attempt, but in actual use the verbs often occur without the **realization** component, since context indicates non-success, as the following sentences illustrate:

*\*Dinagak (Dingkak); eg mebedin.*  
 did-I not possible  
 'I did it (i.e. tried to do it), (but) it couldn't be (done).'

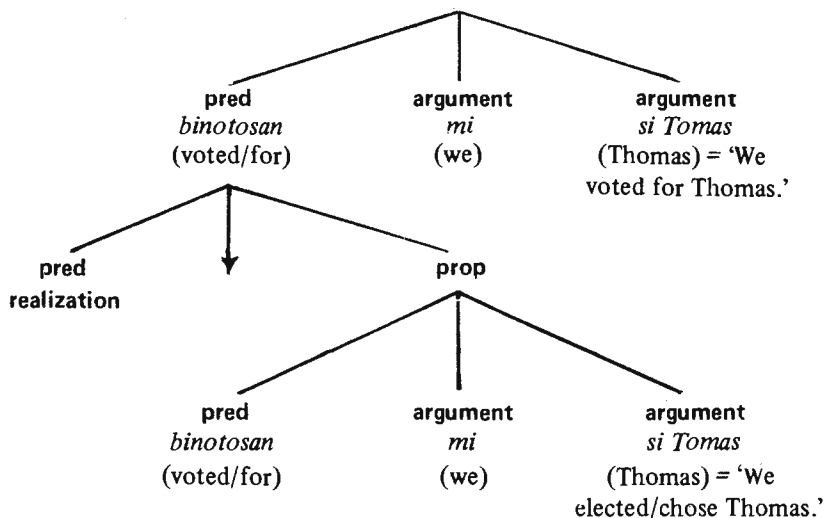
*\*Binatang (Binetang) ko, nem endayot.*  
 felled I but resistant  
 'I cut it down (i.e. tried to cut it down), but (the wood) was too hard.'

*Inpan-akad ko, nem eg nan-akad.*  
 made/walk I but not walked  
 'I made him walk (i.e. tried to make him walk), but he didn't walk.'

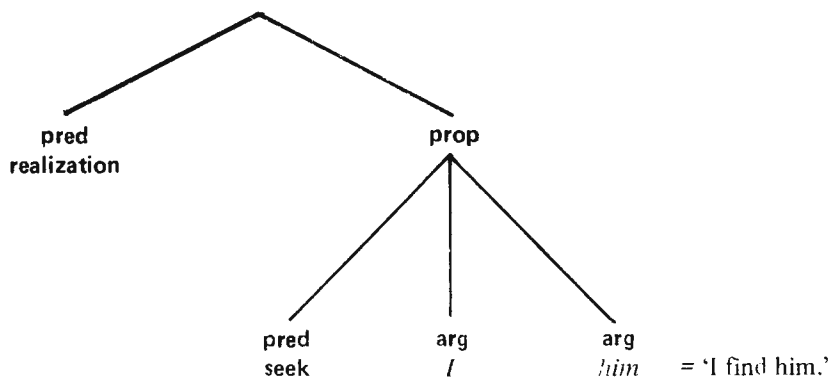
*Dinansaan ko, nem eg medansaan.*  
 nailed I but not be/nailed  
 'I drove (i.e. tried to drive) a nail into it, but it couldn't be penetrated.'

English also has certain verbs for which the **realization** component is only contextually marked. Usually, however, these are not accepted as well-formed English surface structures. Notice, for example, 'call' and 'send' in the following sentences: 'He called the waiter to his table, but he was busy elsewhere', and 'I sent him on an errand, and there he is watching television!'

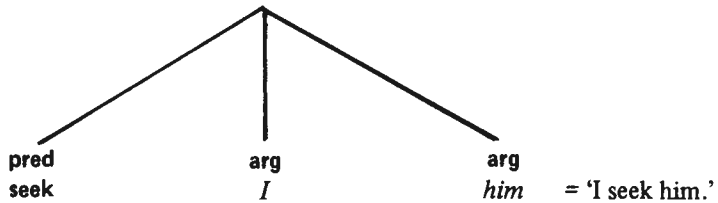
When sentences are lexically analyzed to ascertain their semantic structure, it is found that those sentences with the **realization** component, however it is indicated, are more complex than those without it. Represented in a semantic tree diagram, **realization** is a predicate that lends that additional meaning to a proposition not expressing it otherwise. That is, when an event represented by a proposition is carried out within the scope of the predicate **realization**, success in the attempted event is to be understood. Thus, a sentence with *botosan* would be represented as follows:



The same type of lexical display explains English lexical pairs such as 'seek' – 'find', 'pursue' – 'catch', and 'look' – 'see':



**Seek** in the scope of the higher semantic abstract predicate realization becomes the lexical form 'find', in the sentence 'I find him.' **Seek** with no higher realization is simply 'seek.'



FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Inibaloi is the language spoken by 70,000 people in the southern two-thirds of Benguet province in the mountains of Central Luzon. The author has been resident in the Inibaloi area for eleven years. Dr. Kenneth Gregerson of the S.I.L. Vietnam Branch gave some especially helpful advice in theoretical matters. Mr. Gonzalo Tigo of Atok, Benguet, supplied the Inibaloi illustrative sentences.

<sup>2</sup>Since the Inibaloi morphophonemic system is a highly complex affair, regularized forms of verbs are given first to make root recognition easier for the reader. Asterisked forms (those which do not actually occur in Inibaloi) are followed by the form in parentheses that does occur.

<sup>3</sup>It could just as easily be argued that there is an optional **attempt** component, and if the English point of view were followed, this perhaps would be more pleasing. In English, for example, 'look' and 'see' are a pair whose lexical difference is the **realization** (or **attempt**) component. But the *overt* marker of the component in English is 'try to', and most verbs, such as 'lift', 'fold', 'clobber', imply success unless qualified by 'try to'. Thus, 'I look' and 'I see' could best be described lexically as 'I attempt to see' and 'I see'. We have chosen for Philippine languages to describe the phenomenon in terms of a **realization** component because intuitively it seems more appropriate.

TOWARD THE STANDARDIZATION OF PILIPINO ORTHOGRAPHY:  
STANDARDIZING THE SPELLING OF SPANISH LOANS ASSIMILATED INTO TAGALOG

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O. Introduction

0.1 *Purpose of the paper.* This paper will be concerned with the spelling of Spanish loan words which have been assimilated into Tagalog (henceforth SLAT).

It is hoped that the standardization of the spelling overlay<sup>1</sup> in Tagalog (hereafter T.) will help in the standardization of Filipino orthography inasmuch as Tagalog is the basis of Pilipino, and as is well known, Spanish assimilated loan words make up a big percentage<sup>2</sup> of Tagalog content words.

One of the problems<sup>3</sup> in the standardization of Pilipino orthography is the consistent spelling of Spanish assimilated loans. It is known that although the alphabets of both Spanish and Pilipino are phonetic — each is spelled as pronounced and each has a one-to-one correspondence (or almost so in the case of Spanish) between the spoken and the written form, there are differences in the value of their letters or in the letter or letters each language uses to represent a sound. For instance, to represent /k/ Pilipino uses *k*, but Spanish uses *c* before *a*, *o*, *u*, and *qu* before *e* and *i*; to represent /s/, Pilipino uses *s* before any vowel, but Spanish, besides using *s* before any vowel, also uses *c* before *e* and *i*. To spell /g/, Spanish uses *g* before *a*, *o*, *u*, and *gu* before *e* and *i*, but Pilipino uses only *g* before any vowel. Again, Spanish uses *g* before *e* and *i*, and *j* (a letter Pilipino does not have) before any vowel to represent /h/, which sound Pilipino represents with *h*. Spanish in turn writes *h* but gives it no sound.

Tagalog-based Pilipino does not have certain letters<sup>4</sup> which Spanish does either because the sounds they spell are not found in the language, or if the sounds are there, it has other letters to spell them with. Accordingly, it does not have *f* and *v*; *q*, *c*, and *j*; whose functions are, however, served by *k* (which S. does not have), *s* and *h*, respectively; it does not have *ch*, *ll*, *ñ*, *rr*, *x* and *z*.

When Spanish loan words were assimilated in the major languages, they had to be spelled as the Filipinos pronounced them, and letters were gradually added to the alphabets to accommodate them. Take Tagalog as an example. One of the changes in the old Tagalog syllabary called *baybayin*, which was Romanized by the Spanish missionaries, was the addition of the vowels *e* and *o*, making Tagalog vowels five in all. Later, came the addition of *k*, suggested independently by Rizal and Pardo de Tavera, in place of the

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<sup>1</sup>Cecilio Lopez' term. See his 'The Spanish overlay in Tagalog' in *Readings in Philippine linguistics*, (1973:737-66).

<sup>2</sup>An actual count of the words in a random one hundred consecutive pages (pp. 210-310) of Panganiban's *Tesaurus-diksiyunariyo Pilipino-Ingles* yielded 1284 SLAT out of 2718 entries, or 46.17%.

<sup>3</sup>Two other problems are whether or not to indicate the orthographic accent and how to indicate the glottal stop, which is just as much a phoneme as any other Pilipino sound that makes a distinction in meaning, and which therefore should have a letter or an unambiguous symbol rather than the hyphen to represent it.

<sup>4</sup>That is, until the INL (Institute of National Language) proposal of October 19, 1971, q.v.

ungainly *cq* (as in *bacquit*), which the Spanish missionaries used for *k* in their *catecismos* and *vocabularios*, and the addition of *w* to take the place of *u* when it is used as a consonant (as in S. *huelguista*, T. *welgista*).

Other changes were made in the Tagalog alphabet (subsequently the Pilipino alphabet) to accommodate S. loans assimilated into the language. The latest proposal<sup>5</sup> to add eleven foreign letters; viz., *c*, *ch*, *f*, *j*, *ll*, *ñ*, *q*, *rr*, *v*, *x*, and *z* will result in greater conflict between the values of the letters in the S. and the P. alphabets, necessitating acceptance of too many spelling variants for SLAT. The longer the SLAT word and the more foreign letters it has, the more the number of its spelling variants. (See Section 3.4)

A problem of Pilipino orthography is to prevent the use of more than one letter to represent one sound and to have a letter represent only one sound. For instance, should the foreign letters *x* and *j* be used for spelling SLAT, there will be added to the two Pilipino spellings, *ekstranhero* and *estranhero*, four more spellings of S. *extranjero*; namely, *extranjero* itself, and *estranjero*, *extranhero*, *ekstranjero*, making a total of six. This does not include another possible six (or more?) spellings, where the *n* in S. *extranjero* is pronounced /ng/ and represented by T. *ng*. With regard to reading the language, spelling this word with *j*, the Filipino, who associates *j* with its English value, might pronounce the word /ekstrandzero/.

### Assumption

The writer considers T. orthography to be identical with Pilipino orthography and assumes that the orthographic problems met in standardizing the spelling of SLAT are identical with the problems connected with the standardization of S. loans assimilated into Pilipino, inasmuch as except for a handful of words adopted from other Philippine languages, the vocabulary of Pilipino is Tagalog vocabulary.

### 0. 3. Corpus used

For the corpus of her work, the writer has made use of Lopez' 'The Spanish Overlay in Tagalog', an article published in *Lingua*, 14.467-504 (1965) and reprinted in *Readings in Philippine Linguistics*, q.v. and her own knowledge of Tagalog, which is the Manila dialect. This dialect has more than its share of SLAT. The writer herself grew up in a home where Spanish was spoken by both her paternal and maternal grandfathers. These two sources were supplemented by words looked up in the Vocabulary portion of Pattison's *Representative Spanish Authors* (1942), Cardenas' *Diccionario Moderno* (1963), and the *University of Chicago Spanish Dictionary* (1948).

### 0.4. Parts of the paper

The paper consists of four parts. Part 1 will summarize the present Pilipino orthographic system (which is also the Tagalog orthography). Part 2 will give an exposition of the spelling correspondences between T. and S. letters and the attendant problems. Part 3 will present the problems of orthography related to SLAT. Part 4 will give suggestions for the solution of the problems.

<sup>5</sup>INL, October 19, 1971. The INL recommended the addition of the eleven foreign letters because of the need to write words that Pilipino borrows from both English and Spanish. Eight of these letters are in both the Spanish and English alphabets, although they do not all represent identical sounds in both languages. The three other letters, *ll*, *ñ*, and *rr* represent sounds found only in S.

1.0 Part 1. *The present orthographic system of Pilipino*

1.1. **The Pilipino abakada of 1939. The one-letter-one-sound rule**

The orthographic system followed in present-day Pilipino textbooks, writings, and Pilipino dictionaries, including Jose Villa Panganiban's *Diksiyunariyo-Tesaurus Pilipino-Ingles* is the 'standard spelling adopted since 1940' (1970:x). This standard spelling was based on the qualities and values of the Pilipino *Abakada*<sup>6</sup> of 1939, which in turn, was based on the romanized *Baybayin* of the Spanish regime. Among the rules in the *Abakada*, and the most important one, is the one-letter-one-sound rule for which Pilipino orthography is famous, it being described by Panganiban as 'one of the most nearly perfect in the world'. Each of its letters has 'one and only one definite, specific, and unchanging phonetic value or sound, and every sound is represented by one and only one letter'. In other words 'it is pronounced as it is spelled and spelled as it is pronounced', according to the 1940 *Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa*.

1.2. **The INL proposal of October 19, 1971**

This one-letter-one-sound characteristic of the Pilipino alphabet and the consequent one-to-one correspondence of the written and the spoken language will, however, be lost with the approval of the proposed addition to the Pilipino alphabet of eleven 'foreign letters'. Formal inclusion of these letters in the Pilipino alphabet was proposed by the INL (INL, "The Alphabet and Rules of Spelling of the Pilipino National Language", 1971) in order to allow the spelling of new loans from both English and Spanish, the two LWCs (Language of Wider Communication) that Pilipino has had to turn to for enrichment and development.

1.3. **The 'foreign letters' and the new proposed alphabet**

With the formal<sup>7</sup> addition of the eleven foreign letters, which are *c, ch, f, j, ll, n, q, rr, v, x, z*, the Filipino alphabet will have 31 letters instead of the former 20. These foreign letters take their place in alphabetical order in the new alphabet with *ll, n, rr* following *l, n, r*, respectively. In addition *k* (which has been for dictionary users a source of disorientation) no longer comes as the third letter but takes its usual place as in all Roman alphabets. The new alphabet, then, in its new order is:

a b c ch d e f g h i j k l ll m n ñ ng  
o p q r rr s t u v w x y z

<sup>6</sup>The name *Abakada* comes from the names of the first letters of the Tagalog alphabet: *a ba ka da* (just as the word *alphabet* comes from *alpha* and *beta*), while *Baybayin* comes from the second letter of the old T. alphabet, the consonants of which were pronounced *baybay, kaykay, dayday*, etc.

<sup>7</sup>These foreign letters have been an informal part of the Pilipino alphabet since 1939, when the INL formed the *Abakada* and informally adopted them to be used 'particularly in the names of persons and identification of geographical places . . . .' (See Jose Villa Panganiban, 'On the so-called exclusion of foreign letters' 1966, which was written to answer INL critics who accused INL of purism and which concluded with 'the Pilipino writing system though not its alphabet has, therefore, from 1939 consisted of 31 letters, 20 of which, are based on native traditions and 11 taken from influential cultures'.)

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Of the eleven foreign letters, F and V are to be used presumably<sup>8</sup> like the other old letters in the alphabet; i.e. used exclusively to spell 'common' words (Rule 1) while *c, ch, j, ll, ñ, q, rr* 'shall be used only in spelling borrowed words and proper names' (Rule 4).

### 1.4. The exclusion of the loan letters C and Q from spelling 'common words'

It is well that the INL has excluded *c* and *q* from spelling 'common words' (common words presumably include assimilated foreign words, Spanish as well as English). Their exclusion precludes the use of more than one letter to spell one sound and prevents the problem of too many spelling variants and other spelling complications.

Examples:

(1) Using *c* besides *s* to represent /s/ results in six spelling variants for S. *circulación*: T. *circulacion, circulasiyon, cirkulasyon, sirkulacion, sirkulasiyon, cirkulasyon*.

(2) Using *c* besides *k* to represent /k/ results in six more variants for the same word: T. *circulacion, sirculacion, sirculasyon, sirculacion, sirkulasiyon, circulasyon*.

Twelve different spellings for just one SLAT do not make for standardization.

The other spelling complication that would result from adding *c* to the alphabet to spell other than personal and geographic proper names and to spell both /s/ and /k/ in 'common words' is the fact that it is not possible to use *c* with the infix *-in-* with some SLAT or the infix with others. For example, borrowing from Santiago (1967):

- (3) With the infix *-in-* it is possible to use *k* but not *c*:  
S. cajon – T. *kahon, kinahon*; but T. *cahon, \*cinahon*  
S. cambio – T. *kambyo, kinambyo*, but T. *cambyo, \*cinambyo*
- (4) With the infix *-um-* it is possible to use *s* but not *c*:  
S. centro – T. *sentro, sumentro*; but *centro, \*cumentro*  
S. circo – T. *sirko, sumirko*; but *cirko, \*cumirko*

In addition, the use of *c* to spell both /k/ and /s/ may result in the learner or reader of SLAT to puzzle out whether the *c* is to be sounded as /s/ or as /k/. For one who does not know the rules about the use of *c* as /s/ or as /k/, how is *cir* in SLAT *circulación* to be read: /kir/ or /sir/? Or *cu* in the same word: /su/ or /ku/? Whereas *sirkulasion* is unambiguous and therefore easy to read.

Similar exclusion of *q* to spell 'common words' prevents the problem of too many spelling variants (S. *quinque* 'lamp', T. *kinke, kinque, quinke, quinque*) not to speak of the needed knowledge of *q* requiring an accompanying *u*, and the difficulty of reading the spelling variant with *q*: *q* as (k/ or as /kw/?

### 1.5. Similar exclusion of *ch*

Though I am of the opinion, as a native speaker of Tagalog, that long, continued exposure to the numerous loans from both S. and English, especially the latter, has enabled Filipinos to pronounce /tʃ/, which is spelled *ch* in both Spanish and English, I

<sup>8</sup>The INL does not include *f* and *v* among the letters which 'shall be used only in spelling borrowed words and proper names' (italics mine), an omission which I take the INL to mean that they can spell words other than [unassimilated] borrowed words and [borrowed] proper names'.

have changed my position regarding the use of *ch* to supersede *ts* in spelling /tʃ/ in SLAT. Instead, I would see *ch* as a variant. This variant spelling is not to be considered the less acceptable of two pronunciations. In other words, there is to be no such thing as preferred spelling. If a certain spelling reflects substandard pronunciation that fact may be stated in dictionaries. Pronunciation is to be indicated as sophisticated pronunciation (sp) or folk pronunciation (fp). Regarding the use of *ch* and *ts* as spelling variants, there should be no combinations of *ts* and *ch* in one word. Thus S. *achara* 'pickles', T. *atsara*, *achara*; S. *chicharron* 'cracklings', T. *sitsaron*, T. *chicharon*, but not \**sicharon*, \**tsicharon*, \**chitsaron*. *Chabacano* 'Philippine Spanish creole', being a proper name, will be spelled in the original.

#### 1.6. *j* as a loan letter

*j* should cease as a loan letter and be employed to spell the sound /dʒ/, which the INL spells, as did the Balarila of 1940, with *diy* or *dy* as the nearest graphemic representation of the pronunciation of a sound foreign to the Tagalog or the Pilipino sound system. But several generations which have gone through an educational system using English as a medium of instruction have since then enabled Filipinos to pronounce /dʒ/. It is high time that this sound be were represented by *j* as in English. For purposes of SLAT, however, *j* duplicates Tagalog *h* in representing /h/. I would therefore, like the INL, exclude it from spelling sound /h/ in SLAT in order to avoid such spelling complications as S. *jamba* 'jamb', T. *hamba*, *jamba*, *hinahambahan*, *hinahambajan*, *hinajambajan*, *hinajambahan*, *jinajambajan*, *jinajambahan*, *jinahambahan*, *jinahambajan* – eight different spellings. In other words, since /h/ is adequately spelled by *h*, and no additional advantage, but rather disadvantages, would result from using *j* besides, it would be well to limit *j* to spelling Filipino proper names taken from Spanish, which is the only use INL sets for it.

#### 1.7. The loan letters *ll*, *n*, *rr*

Previous to the October 1971 proposal to add the eleven foreign letters, *ll*, *n*, *rr* have been represented in Pilipino (as also in Tagalog) as *ly*, *ng*, and *r*, respectively to spell SLAT. Together with the other foreign letters, they are added only in order to spell S. proper names – which would be unrecognizable if spelled following the Tagalog word structure: e.g. S. *Chavarria*, T. \**Tsabariya*, \**Sabariya*; S. *Nuñez*, T. \**Nunyes*, S. *Villarreal*, T. *Bilyariyal*, etc.

#### 1.8. The loan letters *x* and *z*

Like *ll*, *n*, and *rr*, *x* and *z* have been added for their Spanish value principally to spell Spanish surnames of Filipinos, like Roxas, Xeres (also Rojas, Jeres respectively), Quezon, and Rizal.

### 2.0 Part 2. *Spelling the Spanish loans assimilated into Tagalog (SLAT)*

The spelling of Spanish loans assimilated into Tagalog (SLAT) is of course based on the Tagalog production of Spanish phonemes and the letters T. uses to represent those equivalent sounds. Because there are sounds in the S. sound system not found in the T. sound system, like *f*, *ch*, *j*, *ll*, *ñ*, *q*, *v*, there will be changes in some sounds in the former to accommodate them in the latter.



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Below are put together the S. and T. letter correspondences.

### I. Consonants

Spanish	Tagalog
b	b
c (a, o, u)	k
c (e, i)	s
ch	ts
d	d (sometimes <i>r</i> , when <i>d</i> is intervocalic)
f	p
g (a, o, u)	g
g (e, i)	h
h	h
j	h (s in old SLAT: S. <i>jabon</i> , T. <i>sabon</i> )
l	l
ll	ly
m	m
n	n
ñ	ny
p	p
q	k
r	r
rr	r
s	s
t	t
v	b
x	ks, s
y	y
z	s

### II. Vowels

Spanish	Tagalog
a	a
e	e, i; sometimes a
i	i
o	o, u
u	u

### III. Diphthongs

Spanish	Tagalog
ai	ay
ei	ey
oi	oy
au	aw
eu	ew, yu
ia	ya
ie	ye
ua	wa
uo	wo
ui	wi

IV. Consonant clusters

*Initial*

Spanish	Tagalog
br(a)–	bar(a)– S. <i>brazo</i> , T. <i>baraso</i>
fr(i)–	pir(i)– (CCV) (CVCV)
gr(a)–	gar(a)–
pr(o)–	par(u)– S. <i>proseguir</i> , T. <i>pursigi</i> ( <i>purusigi</i> )
bl(a)–	bal(a)–
cl(a)–	kal(a)–
bl(a)–	bal(a)–
pl(e)–	pel(e)–

*Medial*

–br–	–br– S. <i>sabroso</i> , T. <i>sabroso</i>
–cr–	–kr– S. <i>sacristia</i> , T. <i>sakristiya</i> (CCV) (CCV)
–fr–	–pr– S. <i>refresco</i> , T. <i>ripresko</i>
–pr–	–pr–
–tr–	–tr–
–tr–	–tr–
–bl–	–bl–
–cl–	–kl–
–fl–	–pl–
–gl–	–gl–

2.1. *Consonant correspondences*

For convenience, the spelling correspondences of S. and T. are listed by categories and illustrated with one or two examples.

2.11. *Consonant letters that have the same phoneme as referent:*

b, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, y

To illustrate these, we have S. *barbero*, T. *barbero*; S. *largo* 'long', T. *largo*; S. *maleta*, T. *maleta*; S. *nene* 'baby', T. *nene*; S. *perla* 'pearl', T. *perlas*, S. *regalo* 'gift', T. *rigalo*; S. *salsa* 'sauce', T. *sarsa*; S. *tabique* 'wall, partition', T. *tabike*; S. *yarda* 'yard'; S. *tabla* T. *tabla*.

2.12. *One S. consonant letter corresponded by two T. letters:*

1. S. c (a, o, u), c (e, i), T. k and s, respectively
2. S. d, T. d, sometimes r
3. S. g(a, o, u), g (e, i) , T. g, h, respectively
4. S. h (silent), T.  $\phi$  or h

For S. c (before a, o, u) and c (before e, i) becoming T. k and s, respectively, we have *cabecera* 'head of bed' becoming T. *kabisera* 'head of table'; S. *conciencia* 'conscience' becoming T. *konsiyensiya*. For S. d becoming T. d and sometimes r (in some words where d is intervocalic) we have S. *cargado* 'loaded, laden', *caridad* 'charity' and *arado* 'ploughed', *candado* 'locked' becoming respectively T. *kargado*, *karidad*, *araro* 'plow', and *kandaro*, a dialect form in Batangas of *kandado*.

For S. *g* (before *a, o, u*), *g* (before *e* and *i*) becoming T. *g* and T. *h*, respectively, we have S. *garbanzo* 'chick pea' becoming T. *garbansos* (the plural form again); S. *gelatina* 'gelatine' becoming T. *gelatina*; S. *gigante*, T. *ligante*.

S. *h*, which in standard form, is silent, is sometimes actualized in T. and sometimes not. Examples are S. *hablar* 'to speak, to talk' becoming T. *habla* 'suit' (law); S. *harina* (fp); S. *hora* 'hour, time', T. *oras* (plural in form); S. *habilidad* 'ability skill, talent', T. *abilidad*, with the added meaning of cleverness.

Other examples of variations in S. *h* are S. *hebill*a 'buckle', T. *ebilya* (sp), *hibilya*, S. *harapo* 'rag' becoming T. *trapo* (perhaps originally misheard as *tarapo* and later becoming a hypercorrect form, *trapo*). S. *horno* 'oven', T. *hurno*, *urno* (sp); S. *haragan* 'loafer, idler', T. *haragan* 'hooligan, rough fellow'; S. *hotel*, T. *otel*. Of this variation, Lopez says:

It is believed that the actualization of *h* in T., where in modern Spanish it is mute, may be attributed to the influence of Andalusian speech where *h* is pronounced due to the predominance of Spaniards from . . . Andalusia who settled in the Philippines during the Spanish regime. (1973: 743)

There are examples of S. *h* becoming T. *g*: T. *laguerta* is from S. *la huerta* 'the orchard' (vide T. *lamesa*, from S. *la mesa*, 'the table'); *vihuela* 'guitar', T. *bigwela*.

### 2.13. More than one consonant letter in S. corresponded by one letter in T:

- |                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. S. c(a, o, u), q (u), | T. k                 |
| 2. S. c(e, i), s, z,     | T. s                 |
| 3. S. g(e, i), j; (h),   | T. h; (h or $\phi$ ) |
| 4. S. f, p,              | T. p                 |
| 5. S. v, b,              | T. b                 |
| 6. S. r, rr              | T. r                 |

For examples of S. *q* becoming T. *k* we have S. *queja* 'complaint', T. *keha*, and S. *quilate* 'karat', T. *kilates* (pl. form). For S. *c* (*a, o, u*) becoming *k*, see examples in 2.1.

For examples of S. *c* (*e, i*) becoming T. *s*, see examples in 2.1; for S. *s* remaining *s*, see 1.1; for S. *z* becoming *s*, we have S. *zapatero* 'shoemaker', T. *sapatero*, and S. *zaguan* 'entrance hall', T. *sagwan*, defined in Panganiban's *Talasalitaan* as 'paddle' but from my experience as a child I know to be that part of a (big) house that is the entrance hall right after the main door of a two-story house.

For examples of S. *g* (before *e, i, j*, and *h*, all becoming *h* in T, we have S. *general* 'general'; S. *giro* (in *giro postal*) 'money order', T. *hiro* (postal).

For examples of S. *p*, remaining T. *p*, see 1.1. For S. *f* becoming T. *p*, we have S. *fandanguero* 'dizzy' from the other, familiar meaning of *fandango* meaning 'noise' becoming T. *pandanguero* with the meaning of 'one who plays fandango music'; S. *fogon*, T. *pugon*.

For examples of S. *b* remaining T. *b*, see 1.1; for S. *v* becoming T. *b*, we have S. *voz* 'voice', T. *bozes* (plural form), S. *vuelta* 'return, turn', T. *buwelta*.

For the T. correspondence of S. *r*, see 1.1 (and footnote 29). For S. *rr* becoming T. *r*, we have S. *garrote* 'club, cudgel', T. *garrote* (v) 'to beat'; S. *carreton* 'cart', T. *kariton*;

S. *carromata* 'rig', T. *karumata*; S. *garrafa* 'decanter', T. *garapa* 'small bottles'; S. *garra-  
fon* 'large decanter', T. *garapon* 'glass container for sugar, biscuits, etc.'; S. *arras* 'wedding  
gift', T. *aras* 'coins used in the wedding ceremony'.

Barrio (var. *baryo*, *baryo*) seems to be one SLAT, aside from personal and geogra-  
phic names, that is spelled with its original double *r*.

2.14. S. Consonant letters represented by their original letters as well as by their T. corres-  
pondences:

1. S. *ch*, T. *ts*, *s*, and S. *ch*
2. S. *ll*, T. *ly* and S. *ll*
3. S. *ñ*, T. *ny* and S. *ñ*
4. S. *rr*, T. *r* and S. *rr*
5. S. *x*, T. *ks*, *s* and S. *x*
6. S. *z*, T. *s*, and S. *z*

These letters, *ch*, *ll*, *n*, *rr*, *x*, and *z*, together with *c*, *j*, and *q*, have been designated as  
letters used solely for spelling unassimilated 'foreign words and personal and geographical  
names that must be retained in their original and/or orthography and sound, unless there  
is a [established] local or native version'.<sup>9</sup>

S. *ch* is T. *ts*, and often T. *s* in initial position, inasmuch as there are no consonant  
clusters in T. Native speakers have difficulty pronouncing even the *ch* Tagalog equivalent  
*ts* in initial position, where it must be pronounced as a cluster, but which can be phoneti-  
cally syllabified in medial position. The *t* in *ts* is syllabified with the vowel (sometimes  
with the consonant) ending the preceding syllable. For example, S. *chapin* 'slipper', T.  
*sapin*, and S. *chocolate*, T. *sikolate*, *sokolate* (*tsokolate*, representing a sophisticated  
pronunciation), but S. *salchicha* 'sausage', T. *salsitsas* (*sal-sit-sas*) and S. *chucheria* 'trifle,  
tidbit', t. *sitsirya* (*sit-sir-ya*). The *sp* of these last two words is indicated by *saltsitsas* or  
even *salchichas*, and by *tsitserya* or *chicherya*, respectively.

A lone word spelled with the original *ch* is *Chabacano*, a Philippine creole language,  
the name probably having originated from the S. word *chabacano*, meaning 'rude, rough',  
the adjective the Spaniards must have used to describe the pidgin Spanish which is  
Chabacano: 'rude, rough Spanish'.

Personal names like *Chavez*, *Sanchez*, must, however, be written in their original  
spelling, according to the INL rules of both 1962 and 1971.

S. *ll* is spelled in T. as *ly*, but in the case of S. words where the *ll* is pronounced *y*,  
is spelled with *y*.<sup>10</sup> The pronunciation of *ll* as *y*, called *yeismo*, has left a number of  
words in SLAT, like T. *kabayo* (from S. *cabayo* <S. *caballo* 'horse'), T. *sibuyas* (from S.  
*ceboyas* <S. *cebollas* 'onions'), T. *yano* (from S. *yano* <*llano* 'plain, simple'), but the  
majority of *ll* words are spelled in SLAT with T. *ly*: S. *calle* 'street', T. *kalye*; S. *callejon*  
'narrow street', T. *kalyehon*; S. *toalla* 'towel', T. *tuwalya*; S. *llamado* 'popular racehorse', T.  
*lyamado*; S. *pillo* 'naughty', T. *pilyo*; S. *camilla* 'narrow portable bed', T. *kamilya*; S.  
*paella* 'rice dish with chicken, vegetables, etc.', T. *paelya*.

<sup>9</sup>INL 'Guiding principles for a nationally uniform orthography of all Philippine  
languages', Feb. 28, 1962, Rule w, and INL 'The alphabet and rules on spelling of the  
Pilipino National Language', October 19, 1971, Rule 4.

<sup>10</sup>Another effect of the speech of Andalusian Spaniards, Andalusia being among  
'las regiones mas yeistas de España' (Navarro 1957:135).

Again personal as well as geographical names of Spanish origin are to keep their original spelling: *Llamas, Llamado, Valladolid*, etc.

S. *ñ* is spelled in T. as *ny*. Examples are: S. *pañ*o 'woolen cloth', T. *pany*ò 'kerchief'; S. *pañuelo* 'handkerchief', T. *panyuelo* 'T. *alampay*'. Again, however, personal and geographic names retain their original spellings: *Nuñez, Meñez, Las Piñas, Cataluña*.

For examples of S. *rr* becoming T. *r* see 2.13 above.

S. *x* is spelled *ks* in T. Examples are: S. *exacto* 'exact', T. *eksakto*; S. *excomunion* 'excommunication', T. *ekskomunyon*. Again, the spelling of proper names of Spanish origin like *Xeres, Roxas*, must be spelled in the original.

S. *z* is spelled *s* in T. For examples of this, see 4.6 below. Personal and geographic proper names must be written in their original spelling: *Gonzales, Chavez, Nuñez, Zabala, Zaragoza*.

## 2.2. Spelling of the vowels in SLAT

The vowels in SLAT are represented by the letters that reflect the changes they undergo when they are assimilated into Tagalog. The list below shows the correspondence of Spanish and Tagalog vowel letters:

Spanish	Tagalog
a	a
e	e, i Sometimes a (sais) S. seis 'six'
i	i
o	o, u
u	u

S. *a, i, and u* are spelled *a, i, u*, respectively in T., but S. *e* and *o* both undergo raising in unstressed non-final positions. The unstressed, non-final *e* in S. *atrevido* become *i* in T. *atribido* 'daring', but the *e* in both S. *negro* and S. *azogue* (where it is stressed in the first one and in final position in the other) remains *e*: T. *negro* and T. *asoge*. There are instances where the *e* in S. diphthong *ey* is *a*: S. *veinte, seis, peineta*, T. *baynte, says, payneta*, also S. *telefono, T. talepono (fp)*. S. *o* also undergoes raising in unstressed, non-final position: e.g. S. *completo, T. kumpleto*, but note S. *goma, T. goma*, and S. *antiguo, T. antigo*.

The S. vowels *i* and *u*, when unstressed, combine with each other or with other vowels to form diphthongs. They are semivowels when they occur at the end of a diphthong and are semiconsonants when they occur at the beginning.

## 2.3. Spelling the V-sequences and diphthongs in SLAT

As explained in the previous paragraph, certain vowel sequences are diphthongs in Spanish. Other vowel sequences are mere vowel clusters. Where *i* or *u* is stressed, it must be pronounced separately from the other vowel in the sequence.

Regarding vowel sequences in S., Lopez says:

<sup>11</sup> This must be another vestige of Andalusian pronunciation. T. Navarro gives these words among those of 'pronunciación vulgar en algunos lugares de Castilla y Andalucía' (Navarro 1957:53).

Certain V-sequences in S. which are articulated with a hiatus are diphthongs in T.: S. *suave*, T. *swabe* 'delicate, gentle'; S. *piano*, T. *pyano*, 'piano'. (1973:143).

Here Lopez does not define what constitute S. diphthongs, but only tells us how vowel sequences with a *u* and *i* are pronounced and, therefore spelled in T. He goes on to say:

This articulation in T. is also true in cases where in medial position *i* and *u* carry strong stress, especially in verbal /sic/ forms: *fianza*, T. *pyansa*, 'surety, bail, security'; S. *guia* T. *giya*, *gya* 'guide'. Similarly, with nouns S. *diario*, T. *dyaryo* 'daily newspaper'; S. *viaje*, T. *byahe*, 'journey, trip'.

Of the words containing S. vowel-sequences that Lopez gives above, only *guia* has a v-sequence with a stressed or strong *i*, and this sequence, not being a diphthong, requires a different spelling from the v-sequences that are diphthongs. While I would spell the *ia* in S. *fianza*, *diario*, *viaje*, with either *iya* or *ya*: *piyansa* (also *pyansa*) *diyariyo* (also *dyaryo*); *biyahe* (also *byahe*), I would spell S. *guia* only with *iya*, and with *i* stressed: *giya*, to distinguish it from the other SLAT spelled with *iya* but with *i* unstressed. This will prevent second-language learners of T. from pronouncing SLAT like *basiyo* as /basyo/ or /basiyo/ and *ekonomiya* as /ekonomya/ or /ekonomya/.

### 2.31. Spelling S. v-sequences that are diphthongs

Below are the corresponding spellings in S. and T. of the vowel sequences which are considered S. diphthongs:

S. ai, ei, oi,	T. ay, ey, oy
S. au, eu, ou	T. aw, ew,
S. ia, ie, io, iu	T. iya, ya; iyo, yo, iyo, yo, iyu, yu
S. ua, ue, uo, ui	T. wa, we, wo, wi

Examples are: S. *aire* 'air, tune, conceit', S. *baile*, 'dance', S. *reina* 'queen'; T. *ayre*, *bayle* (*bele* -fp), *reyna* (*rena* -fp), respectively; S. *veinte* 'twenty', T. *beynte*, *baynte* (fp), *bente* (fp); S. *seis* 'six', T. *seys*, *sa-is*<sup>12</sup>; S. *oidores* 'hearers, judges', T. *oydores* (obs.)

S. *viaje* 'trip, journey', *bienes* 'property', *piorrhea*, 'pyorrhea', *viuda* 'widow', T. *biyahe*, *byahe*, *biyenes*, *byenes*, *piyorea*, *pyorea*, *pyoreya* (fp); *biyuda*, *byuda*; respectively.

S. *jaula* 'bird cage', T. *hawla*, *ha-ula* (fp), but *Paula*; S. *reuma* 'rheumatism', S. *Europeo* 'European', T. *rayuma*<sup>13</sup> and T. *yuropeyo*, respectively.

S. *cuidado* 'care, attention'; *cuadro* 'frame'; *fuera* 'force, strength', *casafuego* 'matches'; T. *kuwidado*, *kwidado*; *kuwadro*, *kwadro*; *puwersa*, *pwersa*; *kasapuwego*, *kasapwego*, respectively.

### 2.32 Spelling of S. V-sequences that are not diphthongs

2.321. The following S. v-sequences are by definition not diphthongs because they do not contain *i* or *u*:

S. ea — (S. <i>pasear</i> 'to take a walk'; S. <i>real</i> 'a Spanish coin'
S. <i>teatro</i> 'theater'; S. <i>ideal</i> 'ideal')

<sup>12</sup>The hyphen represents a glottal stop. See below, Sec. 3.

<sup>13</sup>Andalusian pronunciation of *e* = *a*, and then *au* > *ay*, hence, T. *rayuma*.

<sup>14</sup>In fp, *eu* > *yu*, *eo* > *yo*; hence T. *yuropeyo* (See Navarro 1957:68).

## STANDARDIZATION OF PILIPINO ORTHOGRAPHY

- S. eo – (S. *peon* ‘unskilled laborer’; *leon* ‘lion’)  
 S. ao – (S. *sarao* ‘soiree, evening party’; *caoba* ‘mahogany tree’; *caos* ‘chaos’)  
 S. oa – (S. *cloaca* ‘sewer’; *toalla* ‘towel’)

In a S. syllable containing two vowels, one a peak and the other a satellite (Hockett’s terms), as in *peón*, Tagalog uses two syllables thus: S. CVVC > T. CV – CV(C): S. *peon* > T. *pi-yon*; but also *pyon*; S. *leon*, T. *liyon* (T. *layon* (fp) – must be the Andalucian *a* in place of *e* as explained elsewhere in this paper), *lyon*. The change from *eo* > *yo* (as also *êa* > *ya*, and *oa* > *wa*) is described by Tomas Navarro as the speech of uncultured persons (*el habla popular*) and also happens ‘abundantemente en America hasta en la pronunciacion de las personas cultas’. When words containing these vowel clusters have heavy functional load, the *iyo* (*yo*), *iya* (*ya*), *uwa* (*wa*) pronunciation is general; thus we have *pasiyal*, *pasyal*; *piyon*, *pyon*; *tuwalya*, *twalya*, but words that have low functional load and are known only to the cultured have both the sophisticated as well as the folk pronunciation, thus: T. *teatro* (sp) *tyatro* (fp); (Cine) *Ideal*, *Idyal*; which pronunciations are reflected in the spelling. *Joaquin* is pronounced T. /hwakin/ or /huwakin/ and would be phonetically written the same way but for the INL orthographic rule about personal and geographic proper names being spelled in the original language; hence, *Joaquin*.

2.322. The following v-sequences do not by definition constitute diphthongs in Spanish because the *i* or *u* in them are stressed, but since in SLAT they are spelled as T. diphthongs, provision must be made to differentiate their spelling so that this may reflect the difference between folk and sophisticated pronunciation:

- S. ia – (S. *guia* ‘guide’; *via* ‘way’; *Mesias* ‘the Messiah’)  
 S. io – (S. *genitio* ‘crowd, throng’)  
 S. ai – (S. *caida* ‘fall ; part of a house’)  
 S. au – (S. *baul* ‘large trunk’)

In such vowel sequences, ‘se usa la tilde para deshacer un diptongo: *raíz*, *baúl*, *laúd*, *gentío*, etc. (Cardenas 1961: 566). Thus, there are two syllables in the first three words and three in *gentío*. T. uses *iya* (*ya*), *iyo* (*yo*), and *ay* for the S. *ia*, *io*, and *ai*, respectively, the same spelling used to represent diphthongs. T. folk pronunciation is reflected by the spelling *gya*, *vya*, *Mesyas*. The separate vowels in S. *baúl* is reflected in SLAT by a glottal stop before *u*, and indicates this in spelling by a hyphen; T. *ba-ul*.

### 2.4. Spelling the Consonant Clusters in SLAT

The consonant clusters in S. have two spellings as SLAT: the spelling which represents fp and that which represent sp. Because there are no consonant clusters in T. or in any Philippine language for that matter, Filipinos who are naive in foreign languages have difficulty pronouncing consonant clusters especially if they come in initial position. Those Filipinos who speak either Spanish or English can pronounce consonant clusters without difficulty.

In initial position, folk pronunciation breaks the cluster by inserting a vowel between the consonants in the cluster, the vowel being that which follows the cluster; for instance S. *brazo*, T. *ba-ra-so*, or *baraso* (fp), but *braso* (sp); S. *tren* T. *teren* (fp), *tren* (sp); S. *frito*, T. *pirito* (fp), *prito* (sp).

In medial position consonant clusters are broken by syllabifying the first member of the cluster with the preceding syllable leaving only one consonant in the succeeding syllable. For example, S. *negro* – T. *neg-ro*; S. *abrigo*, – T. *ab-rigo*; S. *atrevido* – T.

*at-ribido*. This phonetic syllabication is common with folk pronunciation; it is not usual with sophisticated pronunciation inasmuch as knowledge of both S. and E. has made it easy for those speakers to produce consonant clusters.

A problem that arises with the *sp* spelling of consonant clusters is the use of Tagalog infixes with this spelling. For example how would T. *prito* take the infix *-in-*? *prito* + *-in-* *pinrito*? or *prinito*? With *pirito*, it is easier and the resulting word seems the more usual: *pirito* + *-in* = *pinirito*. *Pinirito*, which is based on the fp *pirito* is, however, both *sp* and *fp*.

The following SLAT are considered substandard or fp: *palatito*, *porbinsya*, *tarabaho*, or *tarbaho*, *tarankaso*, *parasko*, *kilyente*, from S. *platito* 'saucer', *provincia* 'province', *trabajo* 'work', *trancaso* 'influenza', *frasco* 'small bottle', and *cliente* 'client'. *Porbinsya*, *tarbaho* and *kilyente* look like cases of metathesis, but they are more likely the result of the elision of a vowel so common in T., like T. *kitlan* from *kitilan* 'cut, kill'; *tangnan* 'hold'. First, the consonant cluster in SLAT *probinsya*, *trabaho*, *kilente* was broken by the insertion of the vowel in the syllable containing the cluster thus: *porbinsya*, *tarabaho*, *kilyente*. Fast speech elided the second vowel resulting in *porbinsya*, *tarbaho*, *kilyente*.

The problem connected with spelling SLAT consonant clusters is whether to accept both spellings representing fp and sp.

### 3.0 Part 3. *Problems of orthography relating to SLAT; suggestions for solutions*

Among the problems to be threshed out in Tagalog orthography and Pilipino orthography are (1) the problem of diacritical marks for orthographic accent, (2) the related problem of representing the glottal stop, (3) the problem of differentiating the spelling of vowel clusters of S. that are not diphthongs from that of vowel clusters that are, (4) the problem of too many variant spellings.

#### 3.1. *The problem of indicating the orthographic accent*

Orthographic accent is indicated in Tagalog and Pilipino by the use of diacritical marks, the acute accent, ´, the grave, ` , the circumflex, ^, and no mark.

The acute accent mark is placed over the vowel of the syllable to indicate the stressed syllable; e.g. *buháy* 'alive', *talagá* 'indeed', *maliít*, 'small', *labí* 'remainder'. It is omitted whenever the stress falls on the penultima; e.g. *buhay* 'life', *dalaga* 'maiden'. Syllable stress other than that in the final syllable, which is indicated, and that in the penultima, which is unmarked, 'may be found - (a) in combination with the acute stress, in which all the stresses are marked, like *káwanihán* 'bureau', *náriritó* 'is (are) here', or (b) in combinations with the penultimate", where again the penultima is not marked: *táhanan* 'home', *mákita* 'be seen' (Panganiban 1970: xiii).

The grave accent mark ` is 'placed on the end vowel that takes a glottal stop sound': *batà*, *binatà*, *labì*, *paglalahò*, 'child, young man, lip, disappearance', respectively. Again the penultima is not marked. Where, however, the final syllable is stressed and at the same time the vowel in it takes a glottal stop, the circumflex accent mark is used. As Panganiban explains, the circumflex accent mark is not 'to be considered a third accent', by which he means it is, like the acute and the grave accent marks, not indicative of degree of stress, but merely a means of indicating the coincidence of the syllable stress and the glottal stop on one and the same syllable. The circumflex accent mark,



would, for instance, contrast with the acute accent and with the grave accent, as in the following examples of the homograph *baga*.

1. Stressed on the last syllable: *baga'* 'question particle'
2. Stressed on the last syllable and the vowel in that syllable taking a glottal stop: *baga̰* 'an abscess'
3. Cf. Stressed on the penultima, with the vowel on the ultima taking a glottal stop: *baga̰* 'lungs'
4. Cf. Unmarked: *baga* 'live coal'

Should orthographic accent be indicated? If it is to be optional, and a writer omits it, should there be no exceptions? How should the exceptions apply to SLAT? When should orthographic accent be used in SLAT?

### 3.2. *The related problem of indicating the glottal stop*

The glottal stop coming between a consonant and a vowel is indicated by a hyphen (INL 1971: Rule 8). That this hyphen is optional is indicated by the examples the INL gives: *pag-asa*, *pagasa*; *pag-ibig*, *pagibig*; *mag-alis*, *magalis*; *mag-ingat*, *magingat*.

With regard to T. words like the examples given, there are minimal pairs where the indication of the glottal stop would make a semantic difference. One such minimal pair is found in the examples given above: *mag-alis* and *magalis*. *Magalis* depending on the context could mean (1) 'to remove' and that would be the word spelled with the glottal stop indicated: *mag-alis*. It could mean (2) 'full of sarna' and that would be the word spelled without the glottal stop diacritic or symbol: *magalis* (the prefix *ma-* and the root *galis*). Many such examples could be found in Tagalog. Another pair comes to mind which is not exactly minimal: *pag-iba* 'a change' and *pagiba* 'in a razing manner'. Of course in *pag-ibá* the last syllable has the acute accent mark on *a* while in *pagibá*, the second *a* has a circumflex mark. The hyphen should, therefore, not be optional as a symbol of the glottal stop.

What is the problem in indicating the glottal stop in SLAT? Are there assimilated Spanish loans whose meanings would be different because of the presence or absence of the glottal stop symbol?

### 3.3. *The problem of spelling S. vowel clusters in SLAT*

As explained in 2.322, there are vowel clusters in S. that are diphthongs and vowel clusters that are not. The vowel clusters that are not diphthongs should not be pronounced as if they were. Pronouncing the non-diphthongal clusters as diphthongs marks folk pronunciation. Sophisticated pronunciation separates the cluster as two vowels. Another pronunciation separates the two vowels with a glottal stop. How should these pronunciations be spelled?

### 3.4. *The problem of too many variant spellings*

#### 3.41 *The addition of f and v among the letters that may spell common words.*

The letters *f* and *v* are among the eleven foreign letters that have been added to the Pilipino alphabet by the INL proposal of October 19, 1971, but the INL rules for spelling do not include them among those foreign letters that are to spell only unassimilated English or Spanish words and proper names and geographic names. This will mean that with the exception of those loan words that have long-established spellings, we can now spell SLAT that have *f* and *v* not only with *p* and *b* but also with *f* and *v*. A word like S.

*fugitivo*, containing *f* and *v*, would have four spellings as a SLAT: *puhitibo*, *puhitivo*, *fuhitivo*, and *fuhitibo*, where formerly there was only one: *puhitibo*. *S. veintinueve*, which formerly had only two variant spellings as a SLAT – *beyntinuwebe* and *beyntinwebe* – would now have eight: *beyntinuwebe* and *beyntinwebe*; *veyntinuweve* and *veyntinweve*; *veyntinuwebe* and *veyntinwebe*; *beyntinuweve* and *beyntinweve*<sup>15</sup>.

3.42. *The three INL-accepted spellings of the high-front glide and of the high-back glide.* When finally the INL added the eleven ‘foreign’ letters to the Pilipino alphabet, it also added to the spelling rules three accepted alternative spellings of the high front glide (the INL *iy*, the mass media *i*, and the phonemic *y*) and of the high-back glide (the INL *uw*, the mass media *u*, and the phonemic *w*). We have seen in the *veintinueve* example how two variant spellings of the high back glide *u* has increased the spelling variants of the SLAT *beyntinwebe* (see footnote 15 for the other variants). Let us see how the three accepted variant spellings of the high-front glide *i* affect the number of variant spellings of a word. With a word that has no other sound which may be spelled in more than one way, like *S. ocioso*, there will be three: *osiyoso*, *osioso*, *osyoso*. Let’s take the word *S. farmacia*, which may now be spelled with either *f* or *p*. We have *parmasiya*, *parmasia*, *parmasya*; *farmasiya*, *farmasia*, *farmasya* – six spellings. With *S. fotografía*, we have *fotografiya*, *fotografía*, *fotografya*; *fotograpiya*; *fotografía*, *fotografya*; *potografīya*, *potografía*, *potografya*; *potograpiya*, *potografía*, *potografya* – twelve spellings.

Too many variant spellings make it difficult for even the native speaker to handle the written language and for the second language learner doubly hard to read and write it. It is true that the INL has provided that the ‘most commonly used spelling is the preferred spelling’, but how is a native speaker to know that a certain spelling is the most commonly used? And if this is not easy for the native speaker, the more difficult it is going to be the second-language learner. This state of affairs would be a far cry from the one-to-one correspondence between the spoken and written language for which the Pilipino alphabet is justly famous. English, reputed to be the most difficult language to spell, is more consistent and has at the most only two variants for some patterns: *s* or *z* for *civilization*; *s* or *c* for *practice*; *or* or *our* for *honor*, *labor*, etc.

#### 4.0 Part 4. *Suggestions for the solution of the problems*

4.1. *What I would do with the orthographic accent.* With reference to the use of the orthographic accent, I would, like the INL (INL 1971: Rule 7), leave the marking of accentuation to be an optional matter. In written discourse and even in dictionary entries I would leave it out and leave the orthographic accent as one of the matters for which a dictionary is consulted about a word. I would, however, in the case of homographs differing only in the matter of diacritical accents, mark the homograph so as to immediately disambiguate the sentence where it is found. Let me use in sentences Panganiban’s example of a word which can have four different meanings because of differing orthographic accents. The homograph is *kaibigan*.

1. Ito ang kanilang *kaibigan*. (Unmarked: ‘friend’)
2. Ito ang kanilang *kaibigán*. (‘desire, preference’)
3. Ito ang kanilang *káibigán*. (‘mutual consent’)
4. Ito ang kanilang *kâibigan*. (‘sweetheart’)

<sup>15</sup> Actually, with the INL 1971 proposal of spelling the highback glide three different ways – INL *uw*, mass media *u*, and phonemic *w*, there would be twelve. The mass media *u* is not given in these examples.

Marking homographs diacritically would help the reader's comprehension. R. A. Reyes Jose (1939:6) gives a similar instance of the need for diacritical marks for easier comprehension and gives *magnanakaw* as the word that must be disambiguated. He, however, advocated diacritic marking for all words.

4.2. Although I would leave orthographic accent unindicated except for homographs that must be disambiguated, I would mark the glottal stop where it is obligatory and for purposes of dialectology where it is not phonemic. For purposes of SLAT, however, it is merely the latter purpose which would be served by the glottal stop symbol. For instance, the SLAT of the S. *laurel* and *jaula* are pronounced /la<sup>ʔ</sup>urel/ and /ha<sup>ʔ</sup>ula/, respectively. This pronunciation is to be indicated by using a symbol for the glottal stop. Instead of using the hyphen to indicate the presence of the glottal stop between vowels, I would use both the grave accent mark and the hyphen – the grave accent on the first vowel and the hyphen to separate the two vowels. In a SLAT made up of a T. prefix ending in a consonant and a S. assimilated loan as the other part of the SLAT, I would use only the hyphen. Actually, here the glottal stop may or may not be present and where it is present, it is not indicative of a dialect form or of folk pronunciation and here, the glottal stop may be optionally marked. E.G. *Mag-abrigo* may also be written *magabrigo*.

Likewise, to separate a Tagalog prefix *ma*, *na*, from a SLAT word beginning with a vowel and prevent it from being mistaken as a Tagalog diphthong *ay*, *oy*, *ey*, *iy*, *aw*, *yu*, etc., the hyphen and the grave accent mark would be used to separate what would otherwise become vowel clusters or diphthongs; e.g.

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| na + S. embargo, T.    | ná-imbargo, not naymbargo, which would be difficult to understand  |
| napaka + S. ocioso, T. | napaka-usyoso (where the hyphen is used only to separate the prefix from the rest of the word), making the word more easily comprehended as against napakawusyoso. |
| naka + S. invento, T.  | naka-imbento (like napaka-usyoso), is more easily understood than a possible nakaymbento.  |

4.3. *Spelling S. ia and io in SLAT so as to distinguish between ia and io as diphthongs and as mere vowel clusters with the vowels to be separately pronounced.* The Tagalog spelling *iya*, *iyo* may represent the S. v-cluster *íá* and *íó*, which are not diphthongs since the *i* is stressed, provided the *iya*, *iyo* spelling for these clusters is stressed on the *i*. E.g. S. *economía*, T. *ekonomíya*; S. *vacío*, T. *basíyo* as against S. *penitencia*, T. *penitensiya*, *penitensya*; S. *diccionario*, T. *diksiyunariyo*, *diksyunaryo*. Moreover, the *íya*, *íyo* spelling cannot have the variants *ya* and *yo*, which are allowed for the diphthongs: T. *penitensya* and *diksiunaryo* (phonemic spelling).

Attention to the diacritic marking of *iyo* and *iya* in SLAT would prevent folk pronunciation like /bwéndya/ (rather than/bwendíya/ for S. *Buendía*; and /potográpya/ (rather than/potograpiya/ for S. *fotografía*; /éspya/ (rather than/espíya) for S. *espía*.

Note, however, the following exceptions, which usage has established as accepted:

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| S. <i>lotería</i> ,                | T. <i>loteriya</i> , <i>loterya</i> , <i>loteria</i>      |
| S. <i>mejoría</i>                  | T. <i>mehoriya</i> , <i>mehorya</i> , <i>mehoria</i>      |
| S. <i>librería</i>                 | T. <i>libreriya</i> , <i>librerya</i> , <i>libreria</i> . |
| S. <i>barrilla</i> 'loose change', | T. <i>bariya</i> , <i>barya</i> , <i>baria</i>            |
| (where ll = y)                     |   |

4.4. *What to do with the spelling of consonant clusters*

Both spellings of consonant clusters will be entered in the dictionary, with the spelling representing *fp* listed after the *sp* spelling and described as the spelling that reflects *fp* pronunciation of the word. The *fp* spelling will also be made an entry in the dictionary and properly described as the *fp* spelling variant. A cross reference will refer the dictionary user to the *sp* spelling.

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## REVIEWS

**Comparative Philippine Word-List.** By CECILIO LOPEZ. (Special Monograph Issue No. 1) Quezon City: Archives of Philippine Languages and Dialects. University of the Philippines, 1974. Pp. ii, 165.

**A Comparative Philippine Word-List: Sequels I & II.** By CECILIO LOPEZ. (Special Monograph Issues Nos. 3 & 4) Quezon City: Archives of Philippine Languages and Dialects, University of the Philippines, 1976. Pp. x, 131, iv, 77.

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*Comparative Philippine word-list* (hereafter CPWL), with its two sequels (hereafter CPWL I and II), is the latest in a long list of important contributions which Cecilio Lopez has made to the study of Philippine linguistics. It is also a large step forward in our efforts both to reconstruct 'Proto-Philippine' (by which I mean the ancestor language of all contemporary Philippine languages; it may also have been the ancestor of some non-Philippine languages).

It has been forty years since the publication of Otto Dempwolff's monumental *Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis*. Since that time many articles have been written discussing the reflexes of proto-phonemes (as reconstructed by Dempwolff) in particular Philippine languages, or in some cases the reflexes of one or two proto-phonemes in a large number of Philippine languages; most notably, Carlos E. Conant's work on the pepet vowel, the RGH Law and the RLD Law. Until the present, however, no one has completed a comprehensive statement of the reconstructed phonology of the ancestor language of all Philippine languages or a listing of its reconstructed lexicon.

One major obstacle to the completion of such a statement is the extreme difficulty and laboriousness of compiling the cognate sets to provide the necessary data base. Analysis is 'relatively' easy once the cognate sets have been found. Dempwolff's work is based on an agonizing search and comparison of dictionaries, wordlists, etc., from a large number of Austronesian languages — not only those cited in AW. Nowadays few scholars have sufficient leisure to carry out such a search. And no such search has been completed for a large sampling of Philippine languages. However, the existence of Dempwolff's work makes possible a second approach; namely, a search in Philippine languages for the modern forms developed from Dempwolff's reconstructed forms. A third approach is to start with a base language, e.g. Tagalog, and find as many cognates as possible in other Philippine languages. CPWL and CPWL I and II represent the second and third approaches. The task of compiling cognate sets for which Tagalog has no member remains to be completed.

CPWL is a listing of cognate sets for which Tagalog has a form, whether or not the cognate sets represent a development from a reconstructed form. The sets are arranged alphabetically according to the Tagalog form. CPWL I contains those cognate sets which represent developments from Dempwolff's reconstructed forms, arranged alphabetically according to the reconstructions. Since some of these do not include a Tagalog member — e.g. \*/dD/anum 'water', \*/dD/araq 'blood' — CPWL I contains some cognate sets not to be found in CPWL. CPWL II presents additional cognate sets for which there is a Tagalog member, arranged alphabetically according to the English meaning of the Tagalog word.

First of all, let me state that I am delighted that this material has now been published and that a copy has been added to my library. Allow me also to pay tribute to the massive amount of work that is represented in this publication. Perhaps only those who have spent countless days and nights collecting, comparing, copying, and shuffling forms in different languages can truly appreciate the thousands of hours and headaches that went into the task. If you have never tried to do it, don't underestimate the difficulty of this kind of work.

Unlike many publications comparing Philippine languages, this work reflects an advanced knowledge of the regular sound correspondences holding among Philippine languages. On the whole, I think most linguists will accept the cognate sets which he has grouped together. Of course, there are points subject to disputation and a few obvious errors. However, I appreciate the policy stated on pages vii-viii of CPWL I:

In listing the cognates, I have taken some liberty in including items which may, at this stage, look discrepant because their phonetic and semantic cognation may be open to questions. But I would rather have erred — if I erred at all — on the side of commission than of omission for later investigation may prove the discrepant reconcilable.

It is very easy for us in a later generation to reject listed forms which don't belong. But if cognate forms — albeit problematic ones — have already been discarded, there is nothing we can do.

I do have a few critical comments to make. I hope these will be taken less as criticisms than as suggestions and words of caution for anyone who intends to use this wordlist in further studies. The CPWL and in particular CPWL I and II are not written for beginners or for those casually interested in the field. Such persons will have difficulty making much sense of the materials. On the other hand, someone with a fair amount of knowledge of comparative Philippine linguistics and is patient and resourceful enough to do a bit of searching will find a wealth of information.

The arrangements of items could be improved. CPWL I on the whole follows the order found in Dempwolff, that is, alphabetically according to reconstructed forms. As such, it is extremely useful. It should be pointed out, however, that in revising Dempwolff's spelling, Lopez has not followed Dyen completely. In particular, Lopez has substituted *h* for Dempwolff's ' and *q* for Dempwolff's *h*. It should be pointed out that Dyen's *The Proto-Austronesian laryngeals* did more than make a one-for-one substitution of symbols. More importantly, Dyen corrected the formulation of the correspondences upon which the reconstructed laryngeals are based. As a result, Lopez's use of *h* and *q* is at variance with Dyen's use of *h*, *q*, and *ʔ*. There are other points of discrepancy with Dyen's work, but this one is the most troublesome.

The English index appearing at the end of CPWL I is a helpful addition. It can also be frustrating, however, in those cases in which the Tagalog or general Philippine meaning is different from the reconstructed meaning. For example, to find the reconstruction for *dugo* 'blood', it is necessary to look under 'fluidity; liquidity', the meaning reconstructed by Dempwolff for \*duRuq. This problem might have been corrected if a Tagalog index to the reconstructions had been provided.

A similar problem develops in CPWL II when the Tagalog meaning differs from the meaning found in other languages. For example, the cognate set for Bkl, Seb, etc. *gamut* 'root' will be found listed not under 'root' but under 'medicine', the Tagalog meaning.

Lopez has listed his forms in a 'broadly phonemic' manner, and has given us a very brief discussion of some of the more unusual symbols used. In order to use these forms



effectively, it is essential to have a more extensive description of the respective phonological systems including such points as (1) are /o/ and /u/ distinctive phonemes, (2) is accent or vowel length distinctive? The system used in the CPWL is more completely phonemic in that the glottal stop is represented by a distinctive symbol (ʔ) and the location of accent/vowel length is indicated by an acute accent in every word. In CPWL I and II, Lopez has changed horses, so to speak. First, he uses *q* instead of ʔ for glottal stop. Both symbols are in widespread use, but it is inconsistent to switch from one to the other. A more serious matter is his use of a marking convention currently in favor at the Institute of National Language and elsewhere. Namely, 'accent' is marked only on the final syllable, never on the penultimate. 'Accent' or vowel length in the penultimate syllable is indicated by the *absence* of marking on the final syllable. Whether this system is appropriate for Tagalog is debatable, but that's another matter. The point here is that in presenting data from diverse languages with diverse phonologies, it is preferable to present the phonological information as completely as possible, and avoid marking conventions altogether. It would have been better if Lopez had persisted with the system used in CPWL.

There are at least two phonemic distinctions which Lopez has missed. (I am not familiar with the phonological system of all of the languages included.) On page 11 of CPWL, he states that 'Brandes and Scheerer distinguish a mid-central vowel in Ibg /Ibanag/, but my informants pronounce it *a* and it is so transcribed here.' The vowels /a/ and /ə/ are indeed distinctive in Ibanag and its closely related languages. However, the distinction is neutralized in a number of environments. Inibaloi has a number of unusual phonemic distinctions such as a front and a back /k/ which are not represented in CPWL. Perhaps it is too much to expect one scholar to acquire all of the necessary phonological information. However, anyone using the wordlist should be aware of this shortcoming and consult phonological description available elsewhere.

One final point having to do with the selection and reliability of informants. Again, this may be an unavoidable problem. It is, nonetheless, a difficulty which does develop and of which users should be aware. I notice (page 8 of CPWL) that one of the Bikol informants is from Libon, Albay. Since I have made a study of the Bikol dialects, I am in a position to point out that the residents of Libon speak a different dialect of Bikol which is not intelligible to residents of Naga or Legaspi. Data from that dialect should be properly identified and treated as reflecting a different phonological system.

In any case, a general rule of thumb is: Don't place too much emphasis on a particular form unless you find it listed in at least two independent sources. Any given form elicited by Lopez — or by anybody else — could be wrong. If you find the same form listed in Panganiban's *Tesaurus*, Reid's *Philippine minor languages*, or elsewhere, it is probably correct. If you don't find it elsewhere, you should proceed with caution.

The preceding points are intended as words of caution. They are not intended to detract in any way from the value of these books as a source of data and as a tremendous contribution to our search for 'proto-Philippine.' Congratulations to Cecilio Lopez.

A *Dumagat (Casiguran) – English Dictionary*. By THOMAS N. and JANET D. HEADLAND. The Australian National University. 1974.

Reviewed by CURTIS D. McFARLAND, De La Salle University

I suppose the first question that arises is why one would want to buy a dictionary of Casiguran Dumagat. The speakers of these language number at most a few thousand and live in remote areas in eastern Luzon. Few of us, including linguists, are likely ever to meet and converse with a Dumagat. Nor are we likely to have occasion to read anything written in this language. Thus this dictionary does not serve the most usual purpose of a dictionary, as does a dictionary of Tagalog, Ilocano, or for that matter, a dictionary of Bontoc or Tausog.

If on the other hand, you are interested in comparative Philippine linguistics, either for the purpose of reconstructing the historical development of Philippine languages or for the purpose of broadening your insights about Philippine languages in general, you will find this dictionary a very interesting and valuable contribution to your library.

Data on Casiguran Dumagat will contribute to the investigation of a number of historical questions. The first of these has to do with the subgrouping of the language itself. As pointed out on page *ix*, Casiguran Dumagat, along with its close relatives, constitutes one of the more remote divisions of Philippine grouping. These languages appear to be as different from the main body of Philippine languages as Ilongot, Ivatan, Tiruray, and T'boli. Their exact position has still to be resolved.

Another question has to do with the mid-level sub-grouping of the Austronesian languages in the Philippines. We have made considerable progress in recent years with regard to lower level sub-grouping, e.g. the determination of such groups as Northern Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Tagalic or Meso-Philippine, etc. We haven't really begun to attack the question of mid-level sub-grouping. For example, is there a clearly defined Proto-Philippine, the ancestor of a Philippine subgrouping; that is, a sub-group including nearly all of the languages of the Philippines and few languages outside the Philippines? Do the languages of the central and southern Philippines constitute a single sub-group? Data from a language such as Casiguran Dumagat will make a big contribution in investigating such questions.

A third very intriguing question has to do with (1) the history of the Negritos and (2) the question of how they came to adopt Austronesian languages and of what happened to their original idioms. It is widely held that the Negritos are descended from the earliest or earlier inhabitants of the Philippines. And yet they all seem to speak languages which are clearly Austronesian, and, furthermore, usually closely related to nearby Philippine languages. For example, the Negritos of Botolan, Zambales, speak the same dialect of Sambal as the "Pilipino" residents of Botolan. The Agta of Pamplona, Cagayan, speak a dialect which is very similar to the Northern dialect of Ibanag. Similarly, as Headland points out, Casiguran Dumagat is quite similar to Casiguranin 'the language of the indigenous non-Negrito population of Casiguran' (page *vii*). Clearly, at some point, the Negritos abandoned their original languages and adopted Austronesian languages. We will not here speculate on the circumstances which motivated such a development. What we would like to know is whether these original languages have disappeared totally and without a trace, or whether it is possible to discover an earlier sub-stratum which has survived up to the pre-

**sent.** Investigation of this question will not only contribute to our understanding of the development of the Negrito languages in the Philippines but also to the investigation of languages in other areas, such as Melanesia, where the presence of sub-strata has been offered as one of the reasons for the great diversity in that area.

This dictionary satisfies both purposes discussed above. It presents a solid synchronic lexicon. It also contains a number of features of distinctly comparative-historical interest.

The occurrence of an eight-vowel system in Casiguran Dumagat is very interesting. And Headland has presented a very thorough and reasonable explanation for the development of eight vowels out of the original four vowels of Proto-Austronesian. The question that comes to my mind is whether the eight-way distinction is maintained in all environments or whether neutralization occurs in some environments as happens in a number of Philippine languages. For example, for most speakers of Tagalog, a long *o* is phonemically distinct from a long *u* (e.g. *oso* 'bear', *uso* 'current style'). The corresponding short vowels are not distinct. In Ibanag and other Northern Cordilleran languages, *a* and *ə* are distinct in some environments but not in all. I observe that many of the minimal pairs listed on pages *xiv-xviii* illustrated distinctions which occur in final syllables or in doubled monosyllables. Can minimal pairs be found to support eight-vowel distinctions in other environments, in particular in the penultimate syllable of a non-doubled word? I leave this as a question, but I suspect that the answer is 'no'.

By the way, this vowel system illustrates one of the orthographic problems which is still to be solved. There are simply not enough symbols to represent more than five or six vowels. Headland has solved the problem by using diacritics for three vowels. This is not a particularly satisfactory solution, but I don't know any better way.

As mentioned above, Headland's discussion of the historic development of Casiguran vowels is thorough and interesting. I wish he had also shown us the development of Casiguran consonants, which would seem to be equally interesting.

The discussion of grammar is brief, but I think quite clear, at least to anyone familiar with another Philippine language. This approach is also a more satisfactory approach to defining or demonstrating the meanings of the various pronominal forms, noun markers, verbal affixes, rather than trying to deal with them in the body of the dictionary.

Looking now at the body of the dictionary, I find a number of attractive features which are frequently not contained in dictionaries.

Headland has marked the 400 most frequent words in the language on the basis of 25,000 words of text, and has indicated the number of occurrences of these words in the texts. This is very useful on a number of grounds. If you are doing lexicostatistics and find a number of words listed with the same meaning, this marking enables you to determine which is the more frequent or preferred of the various synonyms. Also if you are scanning the dictionary looking for cognates, it is possible to look first at the most frequent items, since this is where most of the interesting cognates are to be found. This feature is an excellent illustration of the uses that can be made of concordance programs in preparing a dictionary. I assume that Headland also found these concordance data very useful in selecting the less frequent items to be included in his dictionary.

In the entries themselves Headland deserves high marks on a number of scores. His definitions seem to be quite complete and precise. They are supplemented by ample examples. His cross-referencing is excellent. He identifies numerous synonyms and makes

frequent reference to words with related though not synonymous meanings. In certain areas of 'semantic clustering' he includes extensive lists of related items, such as types and stages of development of rice. A related point is that the English index seems to be quite complete, and well prepared.

In principle the practice of identifying borrowings is very useful in comparative work. Unfortunately, Headland has confined himself to the identification of Spanish, English, Chinese, and a very few Tagalog borrowings, that is, to words whose source is probably obvious to any scholar in the field. In view of the extensive borrowing into Dumagat from Tagalog, Ilocano, and other Philippine languages, and in view of our interest in distinguishing these borrowings from what is genuinely Dumagat, it would have been much more useful if Headland had been able to identify those borrowings for us. With his knowledge of the historical phonology of Dumagat, and the great distance separating Dumagat from these languages, it should have been relatively easy to identify these borrowings.

Just a couple of additional negative points about an otherwise excellent piece of work: In most cases, Headland has identified various stems as verbs. From his discussion of verbs in the introduction, we can see that the choice of affixes is unpredictable, or at best based on a complicated set of rules. It is to be desired that he adopt some method of identifying the primary affixes with which the stem combines, either by listing the full forms or through some symbolic representation. The same is true for sub-entries for verbs derived from nouns or adjectives.

Headland tells us (page *vii*) that accent is shown only on the stems at the head of entries but not on sub-entries or examples. It would have been better either to mark the accent on the sub-entries or to explain at some point the rules governing the shifting of accent. If accent does not shift, he should tell us this.

On the whole it is an outstanding job with many strong points and only a few weaknesses.

**The Filipino bilingual: Studies on Philippine bilingualism and bilingual education.** Edited by EMY M. PASCASIO. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1977.

Reviewed by CASILDA E. LUZARES, De La Salle University

*The Filipino Bilingual* is a compilation of papers read at the First National Seminar on Bilingual Education held at the Ateneo de Manila University during the summer of 1974. It took three years for the book to finally come off the press, and it is worth all the waiting.

Going through the book is like taking a full course in multilingualism and it will not be surprising if the book becomes a standard text in multilingualism courses. This volume is significant not only because this is the first major book published on the subject but also because it provides a sampling of scholarship from people in the various fields related to language education. It seems that this volume includes practically all the names in Philippine linguistics and language teaching. The list of contributors included at the end of the volume is an almost complete Who's Who in the field of Philippine bilingualism.

The twenty-five articles in the book are divided into three parts: Part One includes articles that discuss the Rationale and General Approach to Bilingual Education; the articles in Part Two are classified as Research Studies and Strategies for Further Research, while the articles in Part Three fall under Ongoing Bilingual Education Programs. The classification is generally logical, except that Enriquez's 'Ang alamat ng bilinggwal na Pilipino' might have been better classified under Part One than under Part Two. Pascasio's 'Bilingual education research and its directions' could also have become a section of its own since this is the only article that tries to consolidate research that has been done in this area and to pinpoint the general direction of research in the future.

It is not possible for me to comment on each of the articles in this volume because of their number. Suffice it to say at this point that the book is a landmark for having appeared at a most propitious time. The rest of this paper will make a few comments on a few of the articles.

The following articles in Part One are highly informative and enlightening: 'Bilingualism in Philippine education' by Soriano, 'Bilingual education under the New Constitution' by Juco, 'Tentative typology of Philippine bilingualism' by Sibayan, and 'Manpower and materials resources for bilingual education' by Gonzalez. The article 'Cost-benefit analysis of bilingual education' by Valdepeñas is mistitled. The reader expects to find a cost-benefit analysis, as the title suggests; however, he reads only about why a cost-benefit analysis of bilingual education is difficult, presumably a justification for the absence of the cost-benefit analysis in the article. The least that the author or the editor could have done was to change the title into something more honest like 'Problems involved in a cost-benefit analysis of bilingual education'.

Part Two presents a lot of interesting and useful information about the Filipino bilingual as reported in the different surveys and experiments included in this section. Some of the results simply confirm what we already know; but this confirmation provides solid basis for future decisions and actions. One, however, notes some weaknesses in this section. For example, the article 'The Filipino bilingual's language orientation' by

Bautista *et al.* does not make a clear distinction between *fluency* and *dominance* both in their definition (p. 74) and in their discussion (pp. 78-9; 81-2). These notions are basic to their study and it is therefore surprising that they should leave the distinction blurred. It is only in their discussion of the methodology that one may infer the distinction. Could this be a case of 'Too many cooks spoil the broth' or were they following Macnamara's model (1967) too closely to bother with basic things like definitions?

Chan-Yap's 'Language loyalty and language assimilation among the Philippine Chinese' accepts a hypothesis without question and passes it on as a generalization. On page 93, she writes:

American sociologist Richard Collier (1960) has theorized that Filipinos' hatred for the Chinese stems not only from the role that the latter have historically played as shrewd middlemen in business but also from 'group self-hatred'. He says that Filipinos look upon the Chinese as a symbol of the Oriental elements in their own culture and physique and have displaced a hatred of their own 'Orientalness' to 'a convenient minority which is similar in culture and physique and yet definitely Oriental' (Collier 1960: 56). The colonial mentality Filipinos have developed from almost four centuries of Western rule have made them admire and appreciate anything Western and look down on anything Filipino or Oriental.

How true is this allegation? I agree that if an intelligent Filipino were to choose between Western culture (e.g. American) and Chinese culture, he would choose Western culture. However, if he were to choose between Western culture and his own, he would choose his own in spite of the fact that there might be aspects of Western culture that he wishes were in his own. My own feeling is that if a verification survey of this allegation is conducted the result would show that the Filipinos' negative feelings for the Chinese are rooted in their resentment of the economic superiority of the latter. The other cultural non-economic aspects of this resentment have been magnified merely as a consequence of this situation.

Pascasio's 'Bilingual education research and its directions' contains some inconsistencies. On page 123 she pushes for a program that will 'produce coordinate *bicultural* bilinguals' (underscoring mine). Yet, on page 124 she describes a plan which is not *bicultural* but *monocultural*. She says:

In this plan, Pilipino and English can be maintained for *different purposes*: culture-based subjects such as art, history, literature and geography *could be taught in Pilipino*, while *English remains the medium in subjects not limited to Philippine contexts* such as arithmetic and the physical sciences. (Underscoring mine.)

The other inconsistency has to do with coordinate bilingualism and the use of *mix-mix*. On page 125 she says:

Certain innovative approaches may be tried. A teacher may, for instance, use 'mix-mix' whenever necessary without losing track of the ultimate objective — to produce a bilingually coordinate Filipino competent in Pilipino and English.

In the same volume Enriquez (pp. 128-9) discusses the differing contexts that produce the compound and the coordinate bilingual. If it is true that context is a significant influence on the kind of bilingual that a person becomes, isn't using 'mix-mix' in the classroom a sure way of producing a compound rather than a coordinate bilingual? Or is

the distinction between coordinate and compound bilingualism not at all pertinent, as Enriquez heretically suggests?

I admit I had an initial difficulty reading and understanding Enriquez's 'Ang alamat ng bilingwal na Pilipino', but the article displays a refreshing style. Enriquez seems to delight in demolishing the notions sacred to the sociolinguist.

Part Three describes some bilingual education programs: the De La Salle Grade School program, the Ateneo Grade School program, the Philippine Normal College programs, the University of the Philippines program, the Bureau of Secondary Education program, and to a certain extent, the Ateneo program in literature. The articles in this section are healthy indications that something *is* going on.

It is interesting to note that while Enriquez and Constantino both belong to U.P., which is supposedly using Filipino, not Pilipino, their writing styles vary. Enriquez writes in the formal style while Constantino writes in the non-formal style. So what is Filipino? Or is this a demonstration of what they call 'malayang bilinggwalismo' (Constantino spells it as 'bilingguwalismo')?

Constantino argues the case for Filipino by employing an exaggeration. On page 169, Constantino writes:

. . . dahil sa kahinaan natin sa Ingles, madalas na hindi natin nalalaman kung mayroon tayong naiintindihan o natutuhan sa mga binabasa natin sa wikang ito. Basta memorays na lang tayo nang memorays, at ang ating namemorays ay nireresayt natin nang eksaktong-eksakto hanggang sa period at comma. Tunay na hindi tayo natututong mag-isip sa wikang Ingles, at nagiging parasitiko na lamang tayo sa 'western scholarship and thinking'. Ang ating 'bookishness' at 'paste-and-scissors scholarship' ay manipestasyon ng ating pagiging parasitiko sa 'western scholarship and thinking'.

Is the problem which Constantino is raising a linguistic problem or a methodological one? Can a person be taught to think and to be critical by simply giving him a language? If we look around us we find native speakers of Tagalog (or Filipino) who cannot think critically in Tagalog (or Filipino) not because they do not have the language to think in but because they have not been trained to think seriously and critically at all.

Tinio, in his 'Pilipino as a medium for higher learning', thinks along the same lines as Constantino. On pages 159-60 we read the following sweeping generalization:

I suppose that I am suggesting that a native Tagalog who cannot express complicated thinking in Tagalog has not really been doing complicated thinking, but has merely been remembering and reciting English statements which convey complicated thought. In other words, if he cannot express his philosophy of social science, his chemistry or mathematics, in Tagalog, he is giving evidence not of his inadequacy in Tagalog, or the inadequacy of Tagalog, but the inadequacy of his grasp of philosophy, social science, chemistry, or mathematics. Conversely, anyone with a real grasp of his subject, if he is a native Tagalog, can give full evidence of it by expressing the subject in Tagalog.

I find that the above generalization is a convenient way of copping out of the language problem. Language and thought are inextricably linked but the problem of the Filipino bilingual is that he has been trained to do this 'complicated thinking' in one language (a foreign language) rather than the other (his native language). A person who has learned to write with his right hand all his life cannot all at once write with the same facility with his left.

Tinio ends his article by drawing an analogy between the ability of Pilipino to become a medium in higher education and the ability of bats to see at night. It should interest Tinio to know that bats have very poor eyesight and cannot see very well during the day, much less at night. Rather, bats have a built-in radar system that directs their movements.

On the whole, the book is a significant milestone in the documentation and study of Philippine bilingualism. There is no doubt that the literature in this area in the future will include numerous references to this volume. The references and the bibliography at the end of the book will prove of tremendous value to students of multilingualism.

This volume is of interest not only to linguists in general and sociolinguists in particular, and to teachers of Pilipino and the culture-loaded subjects, but also to teachers of English. This book has been able to clarify, among other things, the differentiating roles of English and Pilipino. This has provided a conducive support atmosphere for English for Special Purposes, particularly its sub-branch English for Science and Technology. Bautista (1977) pinpoints the following as the implications of the Bilingual Education Policy for teachers of English:

Our students will have less exposure to English in their other classes and the English they will be exposed to will be the special register of English for science and mathematics; consequently, we must make better use of our class time and be more discerning in our choice of what and how to teach.

There is no way to be absolutely sure about the direction the language problem is going to take. One thing that is certain, though, is that educators and language planners will be consulting this book to find out what the people who have the most to say on the problem think.

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Surian ng Wikang Pambansa. 1977. Patnubay sa korespondensiya opisyal. Maynila: Surian ng Wikang Pambansa. Pp. iii, 173.

Reviewed by ANDREW B. GONZALEZ, FSC, De La Salle University

The latest guide for official correspondence, the Institute of National Language's (hereinafter, INL) latest publication contains prescriptions for different types of correspondence in Pilipino and photographed samples of official letters of various types, and presents models for office correspondence in a bureaucracy (circulars, orders, proclamations, memoranda).

There is a section containing a glossary of terms and expressions (English-Pilipino) commonly used in official correspondence.

A third part contains samples of printed government forms in Pilipino (oath of office, daily time record, application for leave, power of attorney, routing slip, personal sheet, pay envelope, clearance slip, different types of certificates).

Another division contains names of government offices and a glossary of public administration and parliamentary terms (English-Pilipino).

The supplements (undoubtedly containing what is distinctively new in this edition) include the constitution and by-laws of KASAPI (Kalipunan ng Katipunan ng mga Nagasabay sa Pilipino), an organization for the promotion of using Pilipino in official correspondence; rules for barangay meetings; guidelines on the basic requirements of organizing barangays; the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia; and the latest guidelines on Filipino orthography (issued on April 1, 1976).

The guide deserves careful review by a student of language development since it is one of the few official documents issued by the INL for the standardization of Pilipino (note however, that unobtrusively the last supplement, on orthography, uses the term FILIPINO, a change of orthography fraught with important implications which are outside the scope of discussion of this review).

In the literature on language standardization, this guide is akin to Malaysian and Indonesian *istilahs* or publications of special lexicon for specific domains, in this case, foreign affairs, legislation, government bureaucracy, and community development.

In matters of translating technical terminology from a Western language (in this case, English) for a special register (communications within a bureaucracy), there will be as many opinions as there are users. In prescribing a standard form, as the INL does, it fulfills its function as an academy and performs a service to Filipinos who would like to take the nationalistic mandate of disseminating Pilipino seriously.

What the INL needs to continue doing is to publish more guides of this type, for other domains, and thus extend the use of Pilipino to new areas hitherto reserved for English in Philippine life. While Filipinos have to learn these terms through English, unfortunate from a nationalist viewpoint, present realities dictate a bilingual format since in effect the bureaucracy of the Philippines (and for a long time, its science) is derived from the West through the medium of English.

The utility of the guide is evident, although one gets the impression that it is a random collection of individual parts not put together as part of a central scheme. What unifies the various sections is that they do provide the necessary lexicon and collocations for usage in official government correspondence, although the section on pages 108-54

on parliamentary terms and usage would perhaps be better published as a separate *istilah* or specialized lexical handbook.

Connected with the section on parliamentary terms would be the rules for barangay meetings (which use modified parliamentary procedure) and guidelines on the basic requirements of barangay organization. Again, these sections belong more logically to a separate volume on parliamentary usage.

Not too defensible is the inclusion in the supplements of the constitution and the rules of KASAPI.

The section on orthography, hitherto circulated only in mimeographed form, is now officially circulated but as a supplement. Again, given the importance of orthography in the process of standardization, it would have been better to publish this part as a separate booklet.

Totally out of place, except to give an example of the extension of the domain of Pilipino to the area of international politics, is the Pilipino translation of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, an ASEAN document signed in Denpasar, Bali on February 24, 1976.

**Selected writings of Cecilio Lopez in Philippine linguistics.** Edited by ERNESTO CONSTANTINO. Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1977.

Reviewed by HOWARD P. MCKAUGHAN, University of Hawaii

Ernesto Constantino, Professor of Linguistics at the University of the Philippines, puts together nine articles from the writings of Cecilio Lopez, now Professor Emeritus of Linguistics and Oriental Studies, also at the University of the Philippines, in a book entitled *Selected writings of Cecilio Lopez in Philippine linguistics*. The first four articles are descriptive in nature, and the last five are comparative materials. The writings chosen range in date from the earliest originally submitted as a paper in a class under Otto Scheerer in 1925 to a 1972 publication. The Curriculum Vitae of Professor Lopez, included at the end of the book, indicates that he has continued publishing with articles or books in 1974, 1976, and in press.

Constantino in his preface tells us that the nine articles chosen are considered representative of Dr. Lopez's various writings on Philippine languages and dialects. It is interesting to note that the earlier articles are synchronic descriptions of Tagalog and Sugbuanon (Cebuano) while the later articles are all diachronic.

Dr. Lopez has been called the 'Father of Philippine Linguistics'. His contributions over the years, his encouragement to his students, and his leadership in the field of Philippine linguistics are admired and appreciated by those of us that follow him. We are especially cognizant of his continued scholarship even after retirement (1963), a time when he has published more than at any other period in his life. This reviewer with his colleagues wishes to pay special tribute to Professor Lopez for his inspiration in Philippine Linguistics.

The first article in the *Selected writings* is a text of Boak Tagalog spoken on the island of Marinduque. One possible conclusion from the article is that Tagalog in 1925 was quite homogenous, exhibiting only a few dialect differences. Manila represented the central and standard dialect area, though the 'Tagalog used in the Province of Bulakan, north of Manila', Dr. Lopez says, is looked 'upon as the best spoken Tagalog' (p.1). I use the past tense here, since I am sure the Metro-Manila area now encompasses a wider variety of Tagalog dialects, influenced and rapidly changing due to contact with the other Philippine languages and with English. In fact a study in depth needs to be made now of what Tagalog or perhaps better, what 'Filipino' is as spoken in Metro-Manila.

After presenting the text and its translation, Professor Lopez notes lexical peculiarities, idiomatic differences of expression, phonetic differences and some grammatical peculiarities of Boak Tagalog. He writes in conclusion that 'modern natural forms have sprung' from these more remote areas, and that Boak Tagalog may have 'remnants of a more archaic' form of the language than that spoken in Manila (p. 27). It is hoped that students of linguistics will be encouraged in term papers and M.A. theses to make similar contributions; similar in that even a class paper can result in an excellent publication, and similar in that linguistic observations of the language situation today are needed for both theoretical and practical (teaching, planning) purposes.

The article entitled 'Preliminary study of the affixes in Tagalog' (1937) is paralleled by a second entitled 'Studies on Sugbuanon affixes' (1949). Dr. Lopez uses a similar

outline for the two articles, the second utilizing English headings rather than the Latin used in the Tagalog article. He references in his study of Tagalog affixes Bloomfield's 1917 *Tagalog texts*, Laktaw's 1929 *Estudios gramaticales* and his own 1928 *Comparison of Tagalog and Iloko*, not cited in the list of his publications in the Curriculum Vitae given at the end of the book.

Professor Lopez's approach in his study of the affixes in these languages is to cite complete sentences, giving a discussion of what he calls the derivatives utilizing a particular affix, and then a summary of the affixes with their functions. For example, he gives numerals first, called in the Tagalog article 'nomen quantitates'. He cites full forms for ordinals, numerical adverbs, restrictives, distributives, etc. A summary gives the affixes as mentioned above with their functions, but does not always give full morphophonemic details (e.g. *pa-* + prenasalization is given for ordinals, where *pangatlo* is from *tatlo* with initial /t/ lost). Further, Dr. Lopez gives the 'nomen agendi' (p. 31) of Tagalog which corresponds to the 'verbal' (p. 137) of Sugbuanon, both formed with *pag-* and its respective derivatives in the two languages.

A detailed comparison of the information in the two articles is not possible here, but could be a very profitable exercise. For instance, the 'nomen substantivum' in Tagalog (pp. 32-40) and the 'substantive' of Sugbuanon (pp. 127-37) have many corresponding affixes with interesting semantic differences. This leads to the observation that Professor Lopez's treatment of the affixes of these two languages is more from a semantic point of view than a structural description. His treatment of what he calls the 'Quasi-Verb' in each language (pp. 46-104 and pp. 146-84), the largest sections in the articles, is replete with the meanings of affixes, information not found elsewhere in as succinct a form.

In neither article dealing with Tagalog affixes and Sugbuanon affixes does Professor Lopez go into detail why he designates the words that manifest the predicate 'quasi-verbs'. He does say of the Tagalog words that they 'are not finite verbs in the sense that that grammatical category is understood in the European languages' (p. 47). In both articles he also says: 'The attributive possessive suffix *ko* after the predicate shows that a noun and not a verb is being dealt with' (p. 65 and p. 162). Dr. Capell prefers to call these forms 'verbal nouns' (1964) for the same reason (see my articles of 1970, 1971, and 1973 for my response to this suggestion).

Most linguists agree that following the preposed particles, forms in Tagalog and other Philippine languages are nominal. For example the phrase *ang bumabasa* means 'the one who reads', *bumabasa* taken as being nominalized. In a recent conversation, Dr. Rufino Alejandro, formerly of the Institute of National Language, proposed that in such phrases there is an ellipsis, something like *bata* 'child' being understood. This would mean that the underlying structure for *ang bumabasa* is *ang bata ay bumabasa*, possibly a transformation from *bumabasa ang bata* 'the child reads'. This reasoning seems good to me, suggesting that in *ang bumabasa* the *bumabasa* is a verb not a noun.

Professor Lopez explains subject selection as the designation of that part of the sentence that is known (p. 62 for Tagalog, p. 159 for Sugbuanon). He writes of the Tagalog sentence *ang anluwagi'y gumawá nang bahay*, 'The carpenter made a house' that 'the carpenter' is 'the part which is known and is therefore the subject' (p. 62). If the situation is reversed, and 'the house' is the known with 'is made by the carpenter' the unknown, 'then "the house" becomes the subject of the sentence' (cf. *Ang bahay ay ginawá nang anluwagi*). He says of the latter: 'In this construction, the predicate is verbal in English and is expressed in the passive, but in Tagalog it is nominal in nature and is expressed by the "nomen actionis simplex" with *-in* (infix *-in-*)' (p. 62, and see p. 159 for the same statement on Sugbuanon construction with *gi-* or *-on*). However, I do not

find it necessary to designate either the so-called active or passive forms as quasi-verbs nor as verbal nouns whatever the construction is in which they appear. They are clearly predicates, and by carrying the usual properties of time elements in them are surely verbs. Professor Lopez utilizes inverted constructions which I suggest are the result of topicalization (see my article 1973), and are less frequent, I believe, than the more normal order (e.g. *Gumagawá ang anluwagi nang bahay*), a matter that needs a more definitive resolution than has appeared to my knowledge.

I find the two articles on the affixes of Tagalog and Sugbuanon excellent reference materials, especially on the semantics involved. I reemphasize that the information given warrants careful comparison between the two languages as well as with the other Philippine languages. The similarity bares out the reason Filipinos learn each other's languages easily, and makes a national language based on one of them (Tagalog) sensible.

Between the two articles just discussed, editor Constantino has placed Professor Lopez's 'The Tagalog language: An outline of its psychomorphological analysis' (1940). His inspiration for the article seems to come from Otto Jespersen's *Philosophy of grammar*, since he quotes Jespersen on the inseparability of sound and signification, and form and function. Professor Lopez sets out his understanding of morphology as the sum total of sound phenomena which are produced physiologically and also perceived physiologically, and his meaning of the psychology of language as 'the communication of the contents of one's experience and at the same time a perception and understanding of the same' (pp. 106, 108). He says that the two are treated separately, 'by a semifiction' in grammar, but this should not be the case. He believes 'that the grammar of a language is on the one hand "a theory of forms" and on the other a "theory of notions"' (p. 110). He further believes that not only are forms different from language to language, but that also notions and conceptions differ. For example, he says that notions of 'the spontaneous, the voluntary, the social, the involuntary, the plural, and others of the category of state or condition in Tagalog are wanting in European verbs' (p. 111).

In the core of the article Professor Lopez juxtaposes notions or concepts with the way they are expressed in Tagalog. For example he starts with 'arrangement of thought' expressed in varying 'syntaxis'. Here he discusses arrangement of a simple thought into a known (subject) and an unknown (predicate), arrangement of a complex of thought by enlargement of the subject and of the predicate, and in each case gives the word arrangements in Tagalog with examples. The data cited are valuable for later analysts.

The four descriptive articles cited above cover 185 pages of the book with the subsequent five diachronic articles being shorter, covering 74 pages. The first of these short articles (6 pages + chart) is on 'Classifiers in Philippine languages' (1967). The structure of a noun phrase with classifier in Philippine languages is given as numeral ± ligature + (*ka-*) classifier ± ligature + Noun. Professor Lopez examined 10 Philippine languages, and gives for each the structure and the specifics related to the classifiers. The chart shows detailed comparisons of classifiers between the 10 languages studied.

In 1970 Professor Lopez published 'Some new morphemes in Philippine languages', a result of a study of the reflexes of Dempwolff's reconstructions in his three volume work (*Vergleichende Lautlehre*). In doing his research for other purposes, Professor Lopez made a list of equivalents of the Dempwolff reconstructions 'which are not reflexes of his reconstructions' (p. 192). These equivalents are the 'new morphemes' referenced in the title of the article. Professor Lopez also looked up cognates in other non-Philippine 'Indonesian' languages. The purpose of the paper is to furnish data from which additional forms to Dempwolff's *Ur-Indonesisch* can be reconstructed, and in cases where cognates are not found outside the Philippines, to reconstruct additional Proto-

Philippine forms. Dr. Lopez lists 41 'new morphemes', giving in each case the reconstructed form either for Proto-Philippine, or for Proto-Indonesian (*Ur-Indonesisch*), or both.

A third short (4 pages) comparative-historical article is 'Tagalog *qanggiq* "a pet name"'. In this article Professor Lopez discusses a specific word which he postulates is a reflex of a Dempwolff reconstruction, but which was not taken into account by Dempwolff. Suffice it to say here that this is a good example of Professor Lopez's careful research and analysis. He is an outstanding authority today on Dempwolff's work.

The last two articles in the collection are 'Non-productive infixes in Indonesian' (1971) and 'Medial nasal clusters in Indonesian' (1972). Professor Lopez did a thorough bit of research for each article. 'Indonesian' in these instances, of course, refers to a language family, not a specific language.

Professor Lopez states as his purpose for the first of these two articles the locating of 'additional evidence in IN which may bolster the validity of Dempwolff's "erstarre Infixe"', and to 'construct proto-forms accordingly' (p. 214). He lists 116 cognates, 86 of them with Proto-Austronesian reconstructions from Dempwolff, and the rest without such reconstructions. Again, the work is painstaking and thorough. Professor Lopez summarizes his work, gives additional discussion, and draws specific conclusions; primarily that Dempwolff's reconstructions are valid, to which Professor Lopez adds others.

The purpose of the last article in the collection is to assemble the views of Austronesianists on the existence of medial nasal clusters in Proto-Austronesian. An appendix includes 156 PAN forms from Dempwolff with reflexes in the daughter languages. While the majority of the Austronesianists cited recognize the existence of nasal clusters in PAN, Professor Lopez believes there are 'compelling reasons to entertain the contrary view' (p. 235). The article is another example of Professor Lopez's thorough-going research and analysis.

In conclusion, this reviewer again wishes to express gratitude both to the editor for assembling these selected articles, and to Professor Lopez, their author. The data orientation in both the descriptions and the comparative articles is worth emulation. The contents of the articles encourage further study. We look forward to other publications from the research Professor Lopez continues to do.

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**ACTIVITIES OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
1976 – 1977**

The Board met on July 2, 1976 and elected the following set of officers:

<i>President</i>	: BONIFACIO P. SIBAYAN President, Philippine Normal College
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1. The Board met monthly on the last Friday of the month.  
The meeting was usually followed by the monthly lecture.

Lecturers for last year were the following:

Ma. Lourdes Bautista	: <i>Sociolinguistics in the U.S.: Some Notes</i> July 2, 1976
Teresita Ramos	: <i>The Bilingual Education Program for Filipinos in the U.S.: The Hawaiian Experience</i> July 24, 1976
Lou Hohulin	: <i>The Phonology and Morphophonemics of Keley-i</i> <i>A Generative Approach</i> November 5, 1976
Rosita Galang	: <i>The Acquisition of Verb Morphology among Tagalog-Speaking Children (3 to 8 years)</i> December 11, 1976
David Zorc	: <i>The Influence of Philippine Majority Languages on Minority Languages</i> January 22, 1977
Frank Robbins	: <i>SIL Worldwide – Our Applied and Theoretical Linguistics</i> February 19, 1977



Richard Benton

: *Ethnolinguistics (Its Relevance to Education)*  
May 3, 1977

## 2. PUBLICATIONS:

- 2.1. The December 1975 (Vol. 6, No. 2) and the June-December 1976 (Vol. 7, Nos. 1 and 2) issues of the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* have been distributed. Articles for the June 1977 issue are now being solicited.
- 2.2. The Festschrift, *Language Planning and the Building of a National Language: Essays in Honor of Santiago A. Fonacier*, edited by Dr. Bonifacio P. Sibayan and Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC, is off the press and will be presented to Bishop Fonacier during the LSP Annual Convention
- 2.3. Carl D. Dubois' *Sarangani Manobo: An Introductory Guide* has been published as a special monograph.

## 3. ACTIVITIES:

- 3.1. Under the sponsorship of the Philippine-American Educational Foundation and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dr. Howard McKaughan lectured to Ateneo and PNC masteral students and Ateneo-PNC Consortium doctoral students on the History of Linguistics and Field Methods.
- 3.2. With the assistance of the Philippine Social Science Council, the LSP has been sponsoring a series of round-table conferences on the Development of the Philippine National Language. A core group of seven members and several invited resource persons have been discussing the respective roles of the Institute of National Language (INL), linguists, the school system, literary artists, and mass media in language development. A national conference, being planned for October 1977, will be the culminating activity of the project.
- 3.3. A proposed research program to complete the tabulation of the 1968 Language Policy Survey of the PNC has been submitted with an estimated funding request of ₱17,000.00. It has been proposed that part of this funding might be obtained from the Inter-Institutional Consortium under its joint research program (PNC – DLSU).
- 3.4. In cooperation with the Pambansang Samahan ng Lingguwistikang Pilipino, Ink. and the Department of Education and Culture, three workshops were held on 'Approaches to the Teaching of Content Subjects in Pilipino' in 1976.

## 4. FINANCES:

We obtain subsidies for our publications from the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the National Science Development Board through the Philippine Social Science Council. For operating funds, we depend on income generated by our workshops, the sales of our publications, and membership dues.

May 21, 1977

ANDREW B. GONZALEZ, FSC  
Executive Secretary

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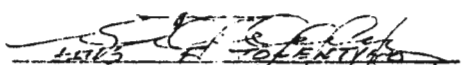
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