# SIL PHILIPPINES AFTER TWENTY YEARS

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In a twofold project of describing the minor languages of the Philippines and providing reading materials for a literate core of speakers of each language, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)[1] makes use of five interrelated technical disciplines to accomplish its task. These five disciplines, among which SIL researchers divide their time as they pursue their objectives, are linguistics, survey, literacy, translation, and ethnology. At this stage of the SIL project, ninety-seven researchers have taken up residence in areas where the respective minority languages are spoken to which they have been assigned. They live in these areas in order to learn the languages and apply their training in service to the Philippine minorities, to the end that the minority peoples may come to participate more meaningfully in modern Philippine society.

## INTRODUCTION

Secretary of Education and Culture Juan L. Manuel, in a foreword appearing in all literacy materials published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, states: "Some of the glory of the Philippines lies in the beautiful variety of people and languages within its coasts. It is to the great credit of the national leadership over the years that no attempt has been made to destroy this national heritage. The goal has been instead to preserve its integrity and dignity while building on this strong foundation a lasting superstructure of national language and culture."

SIL, with counsel from its local advisory council,[2] works in the Philippines under an agreement with the Department of Education and Culture, which provides for research in the minority languages and cultures. The results of this research are then applied by SIL in the preparation and use of literacy materials and in the production of literature. In addition to, or along with, this research and its application, SIL researchers engage in various practical services to the respective peoples among whom they live.

Since 1935, when William Cameron Townsend began his service of compassion to the Indians of Mexico, SIL worldwide has sought to enrich the lives of the world's minorities through literacy and through translation of the Holy Scriptures and other literature of high moral value. SIL's aim could be stated briefly as preparing printed literature, in unwritten languages, for people who cannot read. These unwritten languages, therefore, must be located and analyzed, literature must be produced, and literacy must be taught. If literature is to be acceptable to new readers, it must be culturally relevant; and if learning is to take place, pedagogy must "fit" the culture of the students.

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[1]The Summer Institute of Linguistics, with international headquarters at Huntington Beach, California, is doing linguistic research on 586 languages in 25 countries. The Philippine Branch of SIL is affiliated with the University of North Dakota. A description of the history and scope of SIL's projects in the Philippines appears in Maryott 1966. Progress reports of the project also appear in McKaughan 1954 and 1958, Wolfenden 1963, and Roe 1967. Appreciation is expressed to Glen S. Milner for help in assembling data for this report.

[2]Present members of the SIL advisory council are the following: the Honorable Carlos P. Romulo, secretary of foreign affairs, honorary chairman; Dr. Onofre D. Corpuz, chairman; Attorney Sedfrey Ordoñez, vice-chairman; Dr. Rufino Alejandro, secretary; Madame Pura S. Castrence; Mr. Jose Luna Castro; the Honorable Gabriel Dunuan; Attorney Mamerto B. Endriga; Dr. Augusto Caesar Espiritu; Dr. Andrew B. Gonzalez, F.S.C.; Dr. Alfredo Morales; Madame Geronima T. Pecson; and Mr. Rafael M. Salas.

In view of these diverse but related needs, SIL has developed a program that functions through five technical departments, each primarily concerned with one area of technical endeavor: linguistics, survey, literacy, translation, and ethnology. The purpose of this paper is to present a current overview of SIL activities in each of these five areas of research.

# LINGUISTICS DEPARTMENT

## METHOD OF SIL LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

Leonard Newell (researcher, Batad Ifugao, Ifugao) sits at his desk in their house in the Batad area, working with his language helper Bon'og. Lexicography is the day's work, and they will start with the dictionary entry *huyup,* for which Newell has the preliminary gloss 'to drink from a dish'.

The task at hand is to discover the closest semantic domain to which *huyup* belongs and to identify the distinctive semantic features that distinguish this root from all other members of the domain. Newell suspects that *huyup* belongs to a domain with the general meaning 'to drink'; but he must work carefully, so that he does not prejudice native reaction. With these things in mind, Newell, using the Batad Ifugao dialect, begins his work with Bon'og, who, incidentally, has been trained to think of members of a domain in terms of "family" relationships.

Newell: Is *huyup* an "orphan" or does it have "brothers"?

Bon'og: Oh yes, it has several brothers: *hihip, huuk,* . . .

Newell: O.K., let's take these one at a time. What about *hihip?* Is it a "twin" of *huyup?*

Bon'og: No, you use a dish when you *huyup* rice wine or broth, but you can *hihip* from anything: a dish or a cup, or you can even *hihip* juice from a fruit. But you make a big slurping sound when you do it.

Newell tentatively hypothesizes the following glosses: *huyup* 'to drink from a dish', and *hihip* 'to drink, simultaneously sucking in air'.

Newell: This *huuk.* Can you give me a sentence using it?

Bon'og: I like to *huuk* clams.

Newell is startled. "You can't drink clams!" he reasons. But he must not let Bon'og see his reaction. If he did, Bon'og might think that he had given a wrong answer and try to correct it to satisfy him. "What in the world does eating clams and drinking from a dish have in common?" he says to himself. With an effort to sound casual, he continues.

Newell: Why would you say, Bon'og, that *huuk* is a "brother" to *huyup* and *hihip?*

Bon'og: Well, that's easy to see. You sip from a dish *(huyup),* you sip hot coffee *(hihip),* and you "sip" clams from their shells *(huuk).*

So that's it! The key component is 'sip, suck'. Thus, the class meaning begins to emerge, and in the process the distinctive semantic features of each member begin to come into focus. The stage is now set for delicately probing other related semantic areas for possible class connections, always keeping in mind that a wrong question might reveal one's preconceptions and influence Bon'og to give wrong answers.

Newell and his fellow SIL researchers compile dictionaries as one of their linguistic goals. By means of goals, which are set each year and reported to the linguistics department, researchers chart programs of study of the languages to which they have been assigned. Such programs include, in addition to the compilation of a dictionary, the filing of linguistic data and the writing of papers on phonology and morphology; phrase, clause, sentence, and discourse structure; pronouns; and semantic features.

Essential to the research is the language helper, a native speaker of the language, who patiently answers the researcher's questions about his language. He helps, for example, in the discovery of areas of meaning of words by providing synonyms of the words under study and by contrasting these words with other words. Another way in which he helps is by writing or transcribing text materials, which the researcher studies in order to gain valuable insight into the language and culture. These text materials include folk tales, exhortations of the elders, litigation, procedural texts on cultural activities (for example,

"how we build a house"), discussion of marriage arrangements and other items of local business, and legends. Besides being a direct source of much linguistic and ethnographic information, these texts also serve as the basis for a concordance[3] — a computerized organization of the texts by words and morphemes — which in the course of time saves a researcher days of tedious searching.

Although text material is basic to their research, SIL holds strongly that its researchers must learn as well as they can to speak the languages they study. After "getting his feet wet" in a course in Tagalog or Cebuano, an SIL researcher goes to reside in the language area where he has been assigned, and he begins to acquire a speaking knowledge of the language. He gains this knowledge to some degree by linguistic analysis, but mostly by being with the people and listening to and conversing with them. Desk work with a language helper is vital, but many crucial linguistic forms would never be heard in an office situation. The researcher hears these forms as they are used in conversation: either with people directly, or overheard, for example, as Manobo elders sit discussing a case in the town square; while Balangaos harvest; as Yakan women work at their looms; or as Subanun women chat while watching their sleeping babies. As another help in his "language learning," that is, learning to speak the language, a researcher may make use of tape-recorded texts for practice in mimicry.

While an SIL researcher is attaining conversational fluency, he is continually collecting and analyzing data. Even with the help of a concordance, one finds recording data and searching through them for patterns and key forms to be tedious and time-consuming. Yet, the triumph of discovery is experienced. Scholars in any field can appreciate the sense of excitement and adventure that is felt as a complicated phonological problem is solved, or the semantic boundaries of a word base that have been sought for a long time are clarified. For SIL researchers questions like the following are kept in mind as they proceed with their analyses. How will this phonemic solution best be expressed in a practical orthography? Which of these particles will require special drills in the literacy course? How can this clause type with this function in the discourse structure be used to give naturalness to literature translated into the language? In all its research SIL feels a dual responsibility: to the scientific community to record findings in the minority languages and cultures where it has assigned researchers, and to the speakers of those languages, to provide them with culturally correct literature in their languages and to make it easy for them to read it.

LINGUISTIC LEADERSHIP. SIL Philippines has profited much from the helpful linguistic stimulus provided by its first director, Richard S. Pittman. Since 1953, when its first linguistic research teams entered the Philippines, thereby initiating SIL's work in Asia, Pittman's scholarship, inspiration, and encouragement have been a source of strength to all SIL members. Even with his present responsibilities as SIL's area director for Asia and the Pacific, Pittman maintains an active interest in Philippine linguistics. Whenever he visits the Philippines, he seems never to be too busy to sit down and discuss language problems. It was he who, in oral conversation, coined the term "focus," later introduced in print by Phyllis Healey (1960).[4] He was also responsible for SIL's first

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[3]The concordances that have been used to date were prepared as part of the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of SIL and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, a project partially sponsored by Grants GS-270 and GS-934 of the National Science Foundation. These concordances were produced at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, on an IBM 1410 computer.

[4]Reference is made to Phyllis Healey's statement: "The term 'focus' is used by A. Healey in 'Notes on Yogad' (1958), . . ." (1960, footnote 11, page 103), to this statement by Harland Kerr:

work in Philippine dialect geography (Pittman et al. 1953), and his article on the *-um-* and *mag-* distinction in Tagalog (1966) has' proved helpful for the study of other Philippine languages.

Howard P. McKaughan's leadership and insight in linguistics were shown by his contribution toward better understanding of Philippine verb morphology. In his study of Maranao (1958a) he describes how case and voice are interrelated in Maranao clauses. In conjunction with this, he developed a paradigmatic description of the Maranao verb, thereby providing a systematization that has benefited SIL researchers for more than a decade. His analysis of particles (1962) has also been a major help.

SIL's international president, Kenneth L. Pike, conducted a workshop in the Philippines in 1963. One emphasis of this workshop was matrix theory. In fact, it was in preparation for this workshop that he published "A syntactic paradigm" (1963). Later he published "Discourse analysis and tagmeme matrices" (1964), illustrating the use of matrix display. It was during this workshop that SIL workers received their greatest insight to that time into how focus and the grammatical topic fit into clause structure. Following the Pike workshop, many papers by SIL personnel reflected the matrix model,[5] as did Reid's dissertation on Ivatan (1966). Elkins also made use of this model to describe Manobo kinship (1968a).

Pike's workshop in 1963 was not confined exclusively to grammar, however. It was at this workshop that Shetler and Fetzer (1964) wrote their article on Balangao supra-segmental phonology. The significance of this article is that it is one of the first to specify the characteristics of a phonological phrase in a Philippine language. Also, it shows interesting contrasts between a phonological phrase and a grammatical phrase in the same language.

### OTHER AREAS OF RESEARCH

Myra Lou Barnard (researcher, Dibabawon, Davao del Norte), peruses a page of the computer print-out of the Dibabawon concordance, whose basis was 200 pages of text, which she and her partner, Jannette Forster, had collected. The subject of the day's study is verb stem classification according to obligatory situational roles and correlated grammatical slots. Some environments of the verb stem *bogoy* 'give' are shown:

>        *qin-bogoy dan sikan tagudaa diyaq ki*
> *siqak to nig-bogoy to gatas to duktur*
>            *bogoy-i qa nu to saging*
> *konaq nu qig-bogoy kanak sikan*

Comparing these and other environments of the root *bogoy*, Barnard observes that in each occurrence *bogoy* requires an actor, a goal, and a site somewhere in the context, and that these roles in the real world situation are correlated with the grammatical slots of subject, associate, and referent. After further study and discussion with Dibabawon language helpers, she assigns *bogoy* to verb stem class, associate goal transitive; subclass, associate referent transitive.

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"The term focus has been used by A. Healey, and Phyllis M. Healey, ... in their treatment of the Philippine languages Yogad, Agta ... respectively" 1965, footnote 8, page 41), and to this one by Richard Elkins: "'Focus' began to be used in 1953 by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Philippines .... It first appeared in print in [Phyllis] Healey, 1960" (1970b, footnote 3, page 2). In view of the disagreement between the first two statements and the third with regard to who first used the term focus in print, Alan Healey's "Notes on Yogad" were carefully read. It was found that he did not, in fact, use this term in that article; therefore, it would appear that Phyllis Healey's statement, and Kerr's following hers, were made under a mistaken assumption and that Elkins' statement is more historically accurate.

[5]Notably, *Papers in Philippine linguistics* by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1964.

In 1961 Abrams published an article on the word base classes of Bilaan. This was the first of a number of SIL articles on the general subject of verb stem classification. In response to Pike's (1964) stimulus SIL researchers began to take the correlation of situational role with grammatical function into account in doing grammatical analysis. This was the case in two areas, particularly: clause analysis, as illustrated by Forster's article on Dibabawon verbal clauses (1964), and verb stem classification, as illustrated by Forster and Barnard's article on Dibabawon active verbs (1968), for which the research referred to in the preceding vignette was the basis. Another contribution by SIL about this time in the area of verb stem classification was Ward and Forster's article on Maranao transitive clauses (1967).

McKaughan's work on case and voice with relation to the Philippine verb was mentioned above. Harland Kerr (1965) carried this study of the topic-voice relationship even further and observed, in the context of Cotabato Manobo data, that voice affixes serve essentially to mark caselike relationships between the verb and the topic. In addition, Kerr found that "case-marking voice affixes . . . reflect a classificatory system underlying simple clause type constructions in Cotabato Manobo" (Kerr 1965:35), thus making a significant contribution also to verb stem classification.

The emergence of case grammar on the scene after 1965 had importance for verb stem classification, and Hall (1969) was the first in SIL to employ case grammar in classifying verb stems of a Philippine minority language.

The analysis of higher level structure, including that of discourse, was led by another of SIL's consultants, Robert Longacre, who conducted workshops in the Philippines in 1967 and 1968 at SIL's center at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon. These workshops, as did Pike's in 1963, also stressed the value of the tagmemic model and matrices as descriptive tools. It was while Longacre was in the Philippines that he first applied to such an extent his theories of sentence, paragraph, and discourse structure. Then, in a comprehensive three-volume report in 1968, he gave expression to these concepts in the context of the many findings made during the workshops. Out of these studies of sentence and paragraph came the stimulus for his theory of the deep-to-surface grammar of interclausal relationships, which was first described in Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre (1971a, 1971b), using Inibaloi data.

Two other volumes that resulted from research done during these workshops with Longacre were Reid's (1970) description of Central Bontoc sentence, paragraph, and discourse structure, and the volume, *Philippine discourse and paragraph studies in memory of Betty McLachlin* (1971), edited by Longacre. This memorial volume contains articles by McLachlin and Blackburn on Sarangani Bilaan, by Wrigglesworth on Ilianen Manobo, by Whittle on Atta, and by Walton on Binongan Itneg.

Discourse structure was the emphasis of another workshop in the Philippines, held in 1971 and conducted by another of SIL's consultants, Joseph Grimes, of SIL's Mexico Branch and Cornell University. The Philippine workshop was one of three Grimes held in pursuing a cross-language study of discourse structures. His report of his findings in this project is contained in his *Thread of discourse* (1972).

Although the general theme of the workshop was discourse structure, individual participants were allowed latitude in their choice of topics for study. Of the seventeen papers prepared during this workshop the following illustrate the range of topics treated: "Connectives in Sarangani Manobo narratives," by Carl DuBois (1973); "Complex predicates in Keley-i Kallahan," by Lou Hohulin (1971); "Cohesion in Ivatan," by Betty Hooker (1972); and "The semantics of focus in Amganad Ifugao," by Anne West (1973).

Alan and Phyllis Healey, consultants from SIL's Papua New Guinea Branch, held a

workshop for SIL Philippines in 1972. This workshop served not so much to break new ground as to consolidate gains already made; however, significant work was done. At this workshop Thomas Macleod wrote his paper on the Umiray Dumaget verb classes (1972); the Headlands prepared their Casiguran Dumagat dictionary (1972) for publication; and Lee Ballard did substantial work on his paper, "The semantics of Inibaloi verbal affixes" (1973). Also at this workshop Janice Walton revised her earlier Binongan Itneg sentence paper (1973) for publication.

Approximately twenty other workshops have been conducted through the years by SIL Philippines linguists for the purposes of writing and editing papers for publication and to meet the linguistic needs of researchers as they progressed in their programs. For example, Lawrence Reid conducted a sentence structure workshop in 1969, and Leonard Newell, two lexicography workshops in 1970.

SIL researchers have published dictionaries for Batad Ifugao (Newell 1968) and Western Bukidnon Manobo (Elkins 1968b). Newell in his dictionary employed Conklin's definition of a lexeme (Conklin 1962:121) in determining entries, while Elkins, for entries in his dictionary, followed a technique by which he elicited "exhaustively the number of semantic entities which are permissible collocations of the word in question." This enabled him then to "isolate . . . semantic components . . . shared by . . . permitted collocations" (Elkins 1968b:x). Other dictionaries that have been compiled by SIL researchers are the Casiguran Dumagat (Headland and Headland 1972), which was mentioned above and is now in press, Inibaloi, Cotabato Manobo (Johnston 1968), and Sarangani Manobo (DuBois 1969). Of particular interest in Headland's Casiguran Dumagat dictionary is the extensive ethnographic material included.

Because of its objectives, which involve application of the results of the studies of its members, SIL has emphasized synchronic research, not diachronic. At the same time, however, SIL Philippines has shown some interest in historical and comparative study over the years. Two examples of this interest are Thomas and Healey's lexicostatistic study of language subgroupings within the Philippines (1962) and Healey's (1959) manuscript, entitled "Dyen's laryngeals in some Philippine languages," which was published in 1973 in *Readings in Philippine linguistics*, edited by Gonzalez, Llamzon, and Otanes. More recently, diachronic research has begun to receive more emphasis. As a result, studies have been, or are being, made on proto-vocabularies for Manobo, the Samalan languages, Subanun, and the Pangasinan-Southern Igorot subfamily.

For a number of minority languages SIL researchers have written and published substantial descriptions of those languages' grammars. These languages include Agta, Bontoc, Ivatan, and Western Bukidnon Manobo.[6] Monographs are now in preparation also for Balangao, Mansaka, and Tboli. For other languages being studied by SIL, grammatical descriptions of a more limited scope have been published as well.

SIL members have also made studies of some of the major Philippine languages. These include McKaughan and Forster's pedagogical course in Ilocano (1953), Wolfenden's work incorporated in the Tagalog pedagogical course (Wolfenden and Alejandro 1966), Wolfenden's *Re-statement of Tagalog grammar* (1961), Morey and McKaughan's *Cebuano reference materials* (1961), and Wolfenden's work in Hiligaynon (1971, 1972).

ADVANCED STUDY. When an SIL researcher returns to his home country for leave, he may be requested to engage in advanced study. This serves a number of purposes. One

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[6]For Agta: Phyllis Healey 1960. For Bontoc: Reid 1964, 1965, and 1970. For Ivatan: Reid 1966. For Western Bukidnon Manobo: Elkins 1970a, 1970b, 1971b, and 1973a.

is that by this means members of SIL's consultant corps receive training that enables them to serve more effectively in the organization's linguistic research program.

Another purpose served by an advanced study program is that a researcher thereby receives an opportunity, under experienced guidance, to do concentrated work on the language he has been studying in the Philippines. This is especially true in master's degree programs. Publication of new findings is the usual result of such study. Examples of master's theses that were later published are Phyllis Healey's on Agta (1960) and Wolfenden's on Tagalog (1961).

In doctoral programs one often does the field work for his dissertation in a language different from what he may have studied previously. Examples of such dissertations, by SIL researchers, that have been published are McKaughan's on Maranao (1958a) and Reid's on Ivatan (1966). On the other hand, doctoral candidates have been able to write their dissertations on languages on which they have previously done research. Examples are Elkins' on Western Bukidnon Manobo (1970b) and Wolfenden's on Hiligaynon (1972).

At present SIL Philippines has three researchers engaged in formal degree programs. They are: (1) Donna Hettick (researcher, Northern Kankanay, Mountain Province), who has begun a master's degree program at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA); (2) Kenneth Maryott (researcher, Sangir/Sangil, Davao del Sur), who is nearing the end of a doctoral program at the University of Toronto; and (3) Kemp Pallesen (researcher, Siasi Samal, Sulu), who also is approaching the final stage of a doctoral program at the University of California at Berkeley.

COOPERATION. SIL Philippines during these twenty years has sought to be cooperative, both in the country where it is privileged to work and within the parent international organization. On both counts SIL Philippines has benefited.

On the one hand, SIL has found that its cooperative efforts with various Philippine agencies that share its interest in Philippine linguistics has resulted in mutual stimulation, accompanied by a valuable exchange of ideas. Agencies with whom SIL has cooperated in the Philippines include the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, the University of the Philippines, the Institute of National Language, the National Museum, and the Philippine Association for Language Teaching.

This cooperation, in the linguistic sphere, has taken a number of forms. SIL personnel have participated in seminars and given lectures, and local and foreign guest lecturers have enriched SIL workshops. Pittman and McKaughan taught linguistics in the UP Graduate School in both 1954 and 1955, with Pittman being a Fulbright lecturer in the latter year. Since the affiliation of SIL with UP in 1960, SIL linguists have taught from time to time on the Graduate College of Education summer staff. SIL has also had a part in the establishment of the linguistics consortium of Philippine Normal College and Ateneo de Manila University, and at the present time it sponsors Mrs. Rosa Soberano in a Ph.D. program under the Consortium.

Within the international organization, on the other hand, SIL Philippines' cooperation has mainly taken the form of providing trained personnel, on either a permanent or a temporary basis, to help sister branches in other nations. James Dean (former researcher, Bilaan, South Cotabato) is one example. First he led SIL's first research teams into Papua New Guinea in 1956; then in 1966 he led SIL's advance into India; and most recently (1971), he has directed SIL's initial efforts in Indonesia. Other examples are: Lester Troyer (former researcher, Gaddang, Mountain Province), who now directs SIL's work in Nepal; William Oates (former researcher, Agta, Cagayan), who led the SIL team that began work among the Australian Aborigines in 1961; and Francis Dawson (former researcher, Kalagan, South Cotabato), who later directed the work in Australia, after

having directed SIL's work in the Philippines for a time, and who is now SIL's international vice-president for international development.

Also, before SIL's first research teams went to Viet Nam in 1957, some of the researchers who participated in that advance spent time doing research in the Philippines. Two of these were David Thomas (former researcher, Mansaka, Davao del Norte) and Ernest Lee (former researcher, Maguindanao, North Cotabato).

Reference has already been made to help SIL Philippines has received from consultants of sister branches. In a similar way SIL Philippines extends help to other SIL branches. One who is involved in this way is Jean Shand (researcher, Ilianen Manobo, North Cotabato, and SIL Philippines literacy coordinator). She is now under appointment by SIL as an international literacy consultant, after having served as a consultant at a national authors' workshop in Mexico in 1972. In 1974 she will conduct a workshop of a similar kind in a project of the Australian government for the Aborigines of that country. Two others are Lee Ballard (researcher, Inibaloi, Benguet) and Richard Elkins (researcher, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Bukidnon), both of whom are SIL international translation consultants. Ballard was guest consultant in Viet Nam in 1972, and he will hold a workshop in Nepal in 1974.

Another way in which SIL Philippines serves the parent organization is that, when its researchers take home leave, they often fill teaching positions at one of the several linguistic institutes SIL holds annually. In the United States these institutes are held at the Universities of North Dakota, Oklahoma, Washington, and Texas (at Arlington), and at Gordon College; and in other countries they are held in Australia, England, Germany, and New Zealand.

## SURVEY DEPARTMENT

Kemp Pallesen (researcher, Siasi Samal, Sulu) sits on the porch of a Samal house, built over the sea, with Samal speaker Ibnohasi Maldani and SIL survey technician Jerry Eck. Pallesen and Eck's purpose is to test in order to determine how well a story in the Sibutu Samal dialect is understood by speakers of the Siasi Samal dialect. Maldani is being tested. The three men listen through earphones to a tape-recorded story in the Sibutu dialect, into which questions in the Siasi dialect have been introduced at various points to test comprehension. Whenever a question has been played, the tape is stopped, and the one being tested — Maldani in this case — answers the question. Pallesen judges the appropriateness of the answer, and Eck tabulates the scores. They intend to test ten Siasi speakers in this way.

The story begins: "I will tell you, Father, about the time I went to Bubuan to dive for pearl shells. When I had been diving for three days, I got a pearl about the size of the tip of my little finger. (Question: How large was the pearl?) Then I took the pearl to Zamboanga, where it was sold for ₱800. What I had in mind, since I now had ₱850 in cash, was to buy a six horsepower motor for fishing out at sea. When I had bought a motor, I went home from Zamboanga. (When did he return home?) I travelled by ship and enjoyed my ease; I was fed and given cigarettes to smoke while I was on the ship. When I arrived home, I bought a little dugout hull for the base of the motorized banca. (Why did he buy a little dugout hull?) When I had bought it, I made all the parts of the motorized banca. When I had finished my work, I went out to sea to troll for shark. When I was out on the open sea trolling, there were large quantities of sobad and tuna . . ."

Eck and Pallesen are testing in Siasi, because word lists taken previously indicate that the dialect spoken there may be different from others in the Samal area, such as the one spoken in Sibutu. Intelligibility testing is a means of determining with a fair degree of finality how different two dialects are. Thus, in the case of the dialects of Siasi and Sibutu, the purpose of testing was to find out whether they are to be classified as subdialects of the same language or as different languages.

The actual results of the testing in Siasi were that ten Siasi speakers averaged 62% in their understanding of the Sibutu story. The SIL survey department, therefore, has classed Siasi Samal and Sibutu Samal as separate languages, each requiring analysis and the preparation literature.

The aim of SIL's survey department is to survey every minority language area of the Philippines. Surveys in the Sulu area were finished in 1971, and on the Zamboanga peninsula, in 1973. Other surveys on Mindanao, Luzon, and Palawan have also been completed. Currently surveys are being completed in the remaining areas of Mindanao, and on Luzon and Palawan testing is being continued where surveys have been begun, but not completed. Surveys have now been begun in the Visayas also.

For linguistic surveying SIL sends into the field teams that include an SIL researcher, who is conversant in a dialect of the language being surveyed, and a technician, who is trained in survey techniques and use of the recording equipment. These teams carry out a survey in two stages: the data-collecting and the testing. When a language area is to be surveyed, certain points in the area are chosen for the team to visit to obtain data, which include a word list of some 370 items and a tape-recorded text. After data have been collected at scattered places throughout the area, the survey team then decides, on the basis of those data, where intelligibility tests should be made, and they begin the testing stage.

Word lists are one of the two important kinds of data obtained in the data-collecting stage of a linguistic survey. These lists have many uses; however, in the SIL survey program their primary use is to determine percentages of cognates, which are, in turn, used to make tentative subgroupings of dialects. These subgroupings then indicate points in an area where intelligibility testing should be done.

The other important kind of data obtained in the data-collecting stage of a survey is tape-recorded texts, which are used later to test intelligibility. The kind of text preferred is one where the narrator tells about an experience he has had in his own home area, rather than a folktale or an account of an experience so commonly known that the content is highly predictable and likely to skew the test results. In a first person account the narration is most likely couched in the vernacular, without any appreciable number of borrowings.

After two or three texts have been recorded, a bilingual speaker then helps transcribe and translate the one chosen for later use in testing. Following this, he helps the team compose questions to be used with the test text and he translates them in the local vernacular. Finally, this test and the questions are tried on two or three individuals who have not heard the text to see if the questions are pertinent and idiomatic.

After the necessary data have been obtained, and it has been decided where intelligibility tests should be made, the team begins the testing stage. At each testing point the first step is the preparation of a familiarization tape. This is a tape on which is recorded a translation in the local dialect of an explanation of who the survey team are, why they have come, and what their work is. Following this explanation, a sample story and its questions are recorded on the tape. In addition to familiarizing testees, this tape also helps the survey team know whether or not a given individual is a good test subject.

After the familiarization tape is made, the next step is for the bilingual helper to translate in the local dialect the questions that go with the test texts and then read them in order that they may be recorded on lengths of tape spliced into the text tapes at the proper places. Having the questions of each test text in their own language enables testees always to hear the questions in their own local vernacular.

If it should be decided during the testing stage that a test should be made where no previous visit has been made, in such a place the whole procedure of obtaining a story, transcribing and translating it, and preparing test questions is followed before the testing stage can be begun.

In intelligibility testing it is desired that at least ten individuals, of various ages

between teen-agers and the very old and of both sexes, be tested. It is believed that, if this number are tested, more accurate results are assured.

It is this kind of survey that reveals which dialects are sufficiently distinct from their neighbors to warrant separate analysis and provision of printed materials. The SIL survey department's practical definition of a distinct language group is "any group of people who do not have reading materials in a language they can understand." As a result of surveys like this, SIL researchers can be placed as near as possible to the linguistic center of a dialect area.

To date SIL has assigned researchers to Muslim, Christian, and animistic areas; to remote areas; and also to urban locations, such as Zamboanga City and Masbate, where Chavacano and Minasbate, respectively, are being studied. In a word, wherever a language has not been analyzed or described and has no literacy materials or literature, it is SIL policy to assign researchers.

Surprises are frequent for SIL survey personnel. After having walked through virgin areas, taking with them the familiar red metal boxes, containing their recording equipment, survey teams have found languages to be distinct that formerly had been thought to be the same, and supposedly different languages to "test out" as dialects of the same language. An example is the Samal language area in Sulu and on the Zamboanga peninsula, where extensive testing yielded at least seven groups needing separate analysis. Boundaries of the Samal language family are now known to extend as far west as the Anambas Islands off Singapore, and as far south as Roti Island, west of Timor in Indonesia. Samal dialects are found also on the western coast of Sabah and in Makassar in the Celebes.

The general results of SIL surveys to date are being made known by two means. One is the National Museum's new ethnolinguistic map, entitled "The Filipino People" (Fox and Flory), to which the SIL survey department has contributed information about where minority languages are spoken. The other is David Thomas and Richard Gieser's article, "A decimal classification for Philippine languages" (1973), for which the authors drew upon SIL survey results.

In the past also, data obtained by SIL researchers have been used for comparative studies. The first instance of this for SIL Philippines was when its researchers participated in obtaining the data used by Dyen in the research for his *Lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages* (1965). More recently, Reid made use of SIL data in his compilation of the phonologies and word lists of Philippine minor languages (1971).

SIL members themselves are now making use of data obtained in the SIL survey project. Pallesen has used data gathered during the Samalan survey as the basis for his reconstructions of Proto-Sama (Pallesen 1972b), and in a similar way Elkins has used data obtained during the SIL surveys in Manobo areas in his work on Proto-Manobo (Elkins 1971a, 1973b, 1973c). SIL survey data, which are as yet unpublished, are available for study in the files of the SIL survey department at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon.


# LITERACY DEPARTMENT

## NATIONAL WRITERS' WORKSHOPS

Edward Ruch (researcher, Kalamian Tagbanwa, Coron, Palawan) is a participant, along with two Tagbanwa men, in a national writers' workshop. He receives the day's instructions from Jean Shand, workshop consultant: "Spend 30 minutes with your language helpers, discussing the topic

they are to write on today. Urge them to express their feelings and to describe the circumstances and physical surroundings. Focus attention on the potential audience for the article they will write: their relatives and neighbors in the barrio. The assignment today is to choose one of the following: when I was in danger, when I was afraid, or when I was ashamed."

Tagbanwa helper Teopisto Aguilar chooses "When I was in danger." He writes: ". . . when I reached the caves where our edible birds' nests were located, I entered one. The cave I went into was one of our caves where one has to climb up an inclined pole. I climbed up the inclined pole and picked off the nests of the *balinsasayaw* birds. When I had them all picked off and I was about to step down on the pole to climb down to the ground, the tip of the pole I was stepping on slipped over to one side. I thought the pole had snapped. I let go of the pole and let myself fall, since I thought that there wasn't any pole to step down on. It seemed to me that I took a long time to reach the ground. Just as I was approaching it, I pulled up one foot. By the mercy of God, nothing happened to me, because the place I hit was ground, not rock. But I wasn't able to stand up, because my other foot had swollen. Besides that, there were no more matches in the matchbox I had brought along. There in the depth of the cave I was thinking how I would get out, because I didn't have any light to go out by . . ."

SIL views the production of literature in the various dialects as the first step in making the groups who speak them literate. Sarah Gudschinsky, SIL's international literacy coordinator, has expressed this view in these words: "It is highly unlikely that anyone will be motivated to learn to read if there is nothing to be read after he has learned. At least a minimal literature is a prerequisite for an effective literacy program." Gudschinsky has likened trying to enroll people in reading classes, when they do not have a body of literature, to trying to teach people to swim, when the largest body of water they have ever seen is in a bathtub. Thus, to produce a substantial amount of literature in the minor languages will be a significant step toward motivating speakers of those languages to gain the skill of reading, which is potentially their most useful tool in learning Pilipino and becoming integrated into the national society.

The creation of literature ideally precedes primer-making and the instructional phase of literacy, because new readers should have an adequate supply of practice materials to help them attain reading proficiency. If such a supply is not available, new literates may lose both their newly gained skill and their interest in it.

Donna Hettick (researcher, Northern Kankanay, Mountain Province) called on local school teachers in Sagada for help in making orthography decisions for Kankanay. She taught brief seminars to acquaint the teachers with SIL primers, but when the teachers used the primers, they found they needed more reading material in order that the new readers might attain full literacy.

During dialogue between the Sagada teachers and the SIL personnel the idea for the first Kankanay writers' workshop was born. This workshop, jointly sponsored by the Mountain Province division of the Bureau of Public Schools (BPS) and SIL, was held in 1971, and during this workshop thirty-five teachers produced a number of supplementary reading materials on such subjects as Philippine history, biographies of Sagada historical figures and national heroes, agriculture, citizenship, recipes, riddles, and folktales. As a result of this workshop and other SIL helps in literacy, Kankanay teachers in Sagada have been using Kankanay primers and supplementary readers in Grade one and in adult classes, thereby helping about three hundred adults and many children to become literate.

Writers' workshops are now a regularly scheduled part of SIL's literacy program. The aim is not only to produce a quantity of vernacular literature during a workshop, but also to train individuals from the various minor ethnic groups to continue writing when the workshop is over, and thereby express in their own languages and discourse styles what they have seen and done and experienced. National writers' workshops held in 1973 resulted in the production of literature in Tboli, Ata Manobo, Kalamian Tagbanwa,

Sindangan Subanun, Umiray Dumaget, Northern Kankanay, Balangao, Atta, Inibaloi, and Amganad Ifugao.

Assignments given participants at writers' workshops often involve them in describing experiences they have had in conjunction with the workshop, such as field trips to local points of interest. Also, participants are given lectures on health and agriculture, which are intended to stimulate them to write about these subjects. They are encouraged to write about other subjects too, for example, money management. In addition, besides folk tales, riddles, and legends from their ethnic groups they are requested to write descriptions of cultural features, such as marriage arrangements; etiquette; litigation by elders; hunting, fishing, and trapping procedures; basket- and mat-making; and boat-building. Descriptions of flora and fauna of their home areas and their uses are also written.

Each workshop participant is urged to listen to tape-recorded texts or read typed stories in his language as an aid in following natural style and the discourse structure of his language. The writers themselves usually draw the illustrations for their stories and articles; also they attend classes in typing and the use of a mimeograph machine.

All literacy materials produced under SIL auspices are on the Bureau of Public Schools' list of approved supplementary reading materials, and they contain forewords by the Secretary of Education and Culture and the Director of the Bureau of Public Schools. Often books, before they are published, are made diglot by the addition of a Pilipino translation of the book's text.

### THE INSTRUCTIONAL PHASE OF LITERACY

Lois Ashley (researcher, Tausug, Sulu) and Tausug language helper Jikiril Ali sit at a table spread with Tausug workbooks and primer, tapes, microphone, and tape recorder. What they propose to do on this particular day is to make tape recordings of Tausug literacy lessons for a projected program to be broadcasted by radio station DXAS in Jolo, in which the taped lessons will be heard throughout the region and monitored by extension classes of Notre Dame of Jolo College. Jikiril Ali reads one such lesson in Tausug:

"Open your book called *The way to read* to page 28.

Point to *ba* in the first box on the half page.

Read the syllables from left to right.

Now read the syllables from top to bottom.

Circle *bu*.

Write *bu* on the writing line on the right of *nag'aa*.

Now circle *bun*.

Write *bun* on the next writing line, on the right side of *ga*.

What words did you write? That is correct: *nag'aabu* and *gabun*.

Now lift the half page. Check to see if you circled the same syllables as are circled on the answer page.

Now turn to page 16 in the primer *The king's command to the duck*. Read the story."

When Seymour and Lois Ashley observed that health suggestions broadcast over the radio in Tausug were sometimes put into practice by their Tausug neighbors, they began to wonder if radio might not also be used to teach literacy. Meanwhile, students at Notre Dame College who were teaching extension classes in nutrition to Tausug women were finding their teaching less effective, because the women could not read.

Ashleys and the college "got together" through the agency of the administrative vice president, Leonor Luna, of the college, and a plan was formulated. When those in

charge at radio station DXAS were approached, they were in favor of the plan, and they agreed to donate master tapes and radio time. Jikiril Ali was then employed to tape-record the series of sixty-nine fifteen-minute sessions.

This pilot project is now scheduled to begin as soon as the new set of primers and workbooks is off the press. By means of these broadcasted literacy lessons Notre Dame plans to include literacy in its extension curriculum. Each teacher will be equipped with a cassette player, tapes, and copies of the pre-primer workbook, the primer, and the primer workbook. When the lessons are broadcast, the extension classes, already in session, will monitor them. The cassette players will be used for the repetition necessary for students to master the lessons.

Cognizant of the needs of the estimated 300,000 Tausugs, who are only about 30% literate, Ashleys were on the lookout for new teaching methods for literacy — and the plan of teaching literacy by radio and cassette came into being. For Jean Shand and Hazel Wrigglesworth (researchers, Ilianen Manobo, North Cotabato), however, it was a different idea that sparked their literacy program. For them the key was a "tie-in" with the local datu in an effort to work through the existing social structure.

An announcement was made: "We are prepared to hold literacy classes in any community that will provide a sponsor, build a literacy building, and supply a person to be trained as instructor." Response from the Manobos was favorable, and in each of four successive years Shand and Wrigglesworth held literacy instructors' institutes. As a result of these institutes thirty volunteer instructors taught classes on Saturdays in fifteen communities, under sponsorship of the local datus. The instructors and the Manobo supervisor, Camacho Quirino, have donated their time, and the instructors have attended yearly seminars.

In the Manobo program the datu's support assured enthusiastic community interest, which resulted in literacy's becoming a community value. That this is true is attested by the fact that, although the program was temporarily interrupted by difficult times in the area, several classes were resumed later without any outside encouragement.

Perhaps the ideal literacy situation, about which an SIL member dreams, is the one already mentioned, which the SIL researchers assigned to the study of Kankanay have experienced. In that instance SIL began its project in an area where Kankanay teachers were teaching all-Kankanay classes in the public schools. These teachers, with their additional responsibility for adult education, were eager to discuss with SIL the orthography and other matters of Kankanay linguistics, and they wanted to use the vernacular materials SIL prepared.

In the literacy program that has ensued in Sagada some one hundred fifty students are graduated each year from nineteen adult literacy classes where Kankanay primers and supplementary reading books are used. In the regular elementary classes in the public schools also the Kankanay primers are used in Grade one, and the supplementary reading materials, in Grades one and two.

In the Kankanay literacy program SIL has found itself in just the role it would choose for itself. It is a role where, in a program under local or government sponsorship and direction, its researchers prepare materials in a minor dialect and give technical assistance in the use of those materials and in the continuing production of supplementary literature. Other SIL researchers, who have found themselves in similar situations, are Joanne Shetler (researcher, Balangao, Mountain Province) and Anne West (researcher, Amganad Ifugao, Ifugao Province).

In Natunin, Mountain Province, in the Balangao-speaking area, the public school is homogeneous, that is, Balangao students are taught by Balangao teachers. Here again,

teachers have been eager to assist in preparation of dialect materials. The provincial superintendent of Mountain Province, Raymundo de Leon, has released two teachers to attend an SIL primer-making workshop and two to participate in a recent national writers' workshop. Books written in the latter workshop are now being published. Balangao teachers have also attended seminars, held by SIL guest adviser Marietta Brett, where they have received instruction in the use of visual aids that accompany the Balangao arithmetic books Brett has prepared for Grades one and two.

Ifugao primers and lesson guides for arithmetic and social studies, written by Anne West and SIL trainee Helen Madrid, have been used in all-Ifugao adult education classes at Amganad, Banaue, Mountain Province. In Grade one of the Amganad barrio school SIL primers and lessons are used to help in the transition from reading in Ifugao to reading in English.

SIL and the public schools are cooperating also in the Batanes. Virginia Larson (researcher, Ivatan, Batanes) and local teachers revised Ivatan primers and brought them up-to-date at a workshop in the Batanes in January 1974. Previous editions of SIL primers have been in use in Grade one of Batanes schools for about ten years.

In another instance of cooperation between SIL and the Department of Education and Culture, in 1963 the Division of Adult Education of the Bureau of Public Schools sent three specialists to an SIL primer-making workshop at the SIL center in Bukidnon. At that workshop primers were written for Tagalog by Delfin R. Manuel, for Ilocano by Tranquilino Basat, and for Cebuano by Carlos B. Olano. The primers produced then are the official primers for adult education in those languages.

LITERACY INSTRUCTORS' INSTITUTES. A factor that contributed to the success of the Kankanay project is that teachers assigned to the public schools in the area are speakers of the local vernacular. In such an area, SIL is able to work in cooperation with the BPS and its Adult Education Division. In many areas, however, where SIL has assigned researchers, no member of the minor ethnic group has been educated on the college level to be a teacher.

In areas like these, after a core of individuals has been taught to read, the SIL researchers conduct literacy instructors' institutes (LII) to train competent new readers to become instructors. No education beyond the ability to read and write is required of participants. Sometimes, as, for example, in the Ilianen Manobo area, participants are chosen by the community or by the local datu. Instruction is given in LIIs in principles of teaching and classroom techniques, psychology of teaching adult nonliterates, testing procedures, and lesson-by-lesson use of the materials in the local dialect. In addition, students are provided practice-teaching experience. At the close of an institute the instructor trainees receive certificates signed by SIL and the Division of Adult Education.

Where there are public school teachers and supervisors, however, who speak a particular minor language, only brief seminars are held to acquaint them with the orthography and primers for that language. An example is the seminar held jointly by SIL and the Division of Adult Education and Community Development in Jolo in 1969. About two hundred Tausug and Samal teachers and supervisors attended this seminar, which included lectures, a forum, and workshop sessions on use of the SIL-prepared Samal and Tausug primers. Kemp and Anne Pallesen (researchers, Siasi Samal, Sulu) held a similar Samal-Tausug seminar in 1970.

In areas where literacy programs like those described above have not been possible, SIL teams have reluctantly initiated programs that are largely SIL-administered. Such action has been reluctant, because SIL recognizes that such programs are dependent on its continued stimulus. One reason why this is not preferred is that, since SIL is not, in the

nature of the case, permanent in the Philippines, such stimulus cannot be a foundation for a strong, lasting program. Even though, however, the "ideal" is not possible in some areas where the need for literacy is acute, in the absence of a more suitable alternative SIL has initiated programs in such areas. Languages in which such programs have been launched are Botolan Sambal, Inibaloi, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Tboli, and Ata Manobo.

In the literacy program begun by SIL in the Botolan Sambal area Harriet Minot and Charlotte Houck (researchers, Botolan Sambal, Zambales) trained Mila Retance to be a literacy supervisor, and Gilda Cayabyab and Luz Retance to be her assistants. All three of them already had B.S. degrees in education and were teachers. They, in turn, trained nine literacy instructors, who taught seventy new literates in 1972 and eighty in 1973. Each of these new readers received a certificate issued by the Division of Adult Education of BPS.

In South Cotabato, in one part of the Tboli language area, students live in remote places, at a considerable distance from public schools. For these places SIL researchers chose Tbolis who were graduates of their literacy classes and trained them to be literacy instructors. A supervisor and eleven instructors now have 200 students enrolled in classes. The majority of the students in these classes have been adults, and to date between 55% and 60% of them have finished the course satisfactorily. Lillian Underwood and Doris Porter (SIL researchers, Tboli, South Cotabato) report: "In our classes of three to four months' duration (five half days per week), most of those who finish are able to read and write in Tboli with fair to good understanding."

The Western Bukidnon Manobo literacy program has been supervised by George Hires (SIL literacy technician). The first year five instructors were trained and began holding classes; the second year fifteen instructors taught more than two hundred students. The Manobo supervisor, Rosito Lumansay, has assisted in the oversight of this program.

SIL shares the concern of the Bureau of Public Schools for areas where complex language situations create special difficulties; for example, where classes are mixed, with students speaking more than one dialect, or where no teachers who speak the local vernacular are available for assignment in a given area. SIL is eager to cooperate in such situations in seeking creative solutions. Its personnel are also willing to participate in the preparation of materials for "bilingual" schools, where subjects are presented first in one language and then repeated in another.

SIL LITERACY METHOD. SIL has no official literacy method. SIL personnel have used a variety of models in writing primers for various Philippine minor languages in the past. What is recommended by SIL's international and Philippine literacy departments now, however, is that primers be eclectic; that is, a combination of methods is used in their preparation. This means that no primer is prepared according to only one method, such as the syllable method or the phonics method. Rather, attention is given to all levels: letters, syllables, words, including function words, and sentences. Care is also taken that drills that provide adequate repetition and practice are devised. Comprehension, that is, reading with understanding, is emphasized. This implies giving attention to natural intonation in reading aloud, a significant factor in comprehension. Lessons in writing also are a standard part of SIL literacy courses, since the skill of writing enforces the skill of reading, and vice versa. Arithmetic lessons are often included as well.

"Chunking," the ability to read entire phrases at a glance, is important in reading, and students are given practice in the rapid reading of phrases, sentences, and paragraphs in order that they develop this skill. Students are drilled on function words, like the

Pilipino particles *ang, nang,* and *sa,* in the context of familiar content words, so that they may come to recognize such function forms automatically. Such drills-in-context also give practice in reading larger units fluently. A drill like *sa iyong bahay, sa iyong bukid, sa iyong karabaw* not only teaches *sa;* it gives practice also in reading phrases as units. Stories chosen for practice in early reading lessons are those having high predictability; that is, the student can almost guess what is coming next. Such stories are easy reading, to be sure, but they teach students the vital technique of using context clues to attack new words.

Prelesson oral drills have been found to be an effective means for teaching many things in reading. Just as in new math, students learn mathematical concepts by working with concrete objects before they are introduced to the abstract names of the concepts, so in literacy, oral drills are used to help students become aware of sounds before they are confronted with the abstract representations (letters, syllables, and words) of those sounds.

A significant phase of a successful literacy program, which has yet to be treated in this paper, but which actually precedes all the others in practice, is prereading. The purpose of the prereading phase is to lead an individual to reading readiness; and it is very important, for it is here that an individual is taught that reading is a meaningful exercise by which information is communicated. One way a teacher can help an individual toward reading readiness is to read aloud to him. In actual practice, prereading is taught by means of a workbook which precedes the primer.

Through its publication *Notes on literacy* SIL's international literacy department keeps SIL researchers informed of new techniques and developments in literacy. The updating of techniques is a continual process. Here in the Philippines, SIL received help in becoming more current in its literacy methods when Kathleen Bosscher, a Peace Corps volunteer, was "lent" to SIL for a year as a consultant in literacy. Working with SIL researchers from Mountain Province to Jolo, she gave much valuable assistance in the writing and expanding of workbooks, the devising of exercises, and the adaptation of games. It may be said that she sought every means possible to ensure adequate teaching and practice of new literacy skills.

An example of the kind of contribution Bosscher made is this. She found that a *good* exercise is one that includes three basic elements: (1) decision, (2) action, and (3) feedback. Such an exercise would go something like this: the teacher says a syllable; then the student finds the syllable on the workbook page and circles it (decision). The teacher says a second syllable, which the pupil finds and circles; then the pupil writes both syllables (action). Finally, the student reads the word that has been made (feedback). The best decision is one which must be made by each pupil, not the best students only. The best action is the one that is most direct, and the best feedback is the inner feedback of reading with understanding.

"VERNACULAR FIRST." Almost taken for granted by SIL in its literacy efforts is the principle that the skill of reading should be taught to students in their own language first. SIL firmly believes that students learn to read more easily in their first language than in another. Then after having learned to read in their own language they can more easily learn to read a second language.

Why do literacy materials in a student's own language work best? Three reasons may be cited. (1) When basic materials are in a student's first language, as soon as he begins to read he is reading material that has meaning to him, and he can immediately grasp the idea that reading is meaningful. In short, he knows what reading is all about. (2) If a student does not have to learn new vocabulary at the same time he is learning to read, he

can devote himself to mastering the skill of reading. Hazel Wrigglesworth (researcher, Ilianen Manobo, North Cotabato) has observed that "it is important that words used in early reading lessons be those which already have meaning within the experience of the reader. When the skill of reading has been achieved, vocabulary building may be safely undertaken. The introduction of vocabulary building in initial reading lessons only confuses both issues and invites failure" (Wrigglesworth 1966). (3) Regard for a student's own language and culture, evidenced by the existence of basic and advanced materials in his own language, helps him gain confidence and encourages him in learning the new skill of reading. We emphasize that ease in gaining the skill of reading is our point here, not ease in learning a second language or in learning to read one. Both theory and experience show that this skill is learned most easily through one's first language.

TESTING BY FEEDBACK. When SIL prepares a primer and a teacher's guide in a minority language, it tests them by feedback. In other words, they are used in small classes in order to test them before they are published. It is a policy of SIL Philippines that, until a primer and teacher's guide have been used in teaching a group of at least five persons to read, no more than thirty copies of them may be printed. After the orthography of the language involved has received tentative approval and after the test class has been held, up to two hundred copies may then be published. A larger number of copies may be published after the orthography has received final approval.

TRANSITION FROM MINOR DIALECTS TO PILIPINO. "To teach a second language, you must also teach the second culture. It is not enough to teach students how to say 'thank you' in the second language; you must also teach them when to say it – the culturally acceptable setting, the verbal and nonverbal clues." This statement by Gudschinsky, spoken out of a sociolinguistic awareness, indicates another area of research relative to bilingual education to which SIL is devoting increasing interest. SIL is concerned that its materials be of the maximum help to students from minor cultures in making the transition to a second language and culture, and it desires to learn the principles and methods involved in preparing the most effective transition materials. Sociolinguistics appears to offer the most promise to this end. In all languages cultural contexts determine what is said. Thorough teaching of a second language, therefore, includes, in addition to the linguistic forms, the sociolinguistic factors that govern appropriate usage.

In its literacy materials SIL attempts to help members of the minorities make the transition into Pilipino in three ways: (1) by making practical orthographies as similar to the Pilipino orthography as possible, (2) through diglot materials, and (3) by following the principle of vernacular first.

SIL researchers develop phonologically-based orthographies for the languages where they work, while at the same time remaining cognizant of the social factors involved. Where phonemes of a minor language sound similar to phonemes of Pilipino, the Pilipino orthographic symbols are generally used. Where a minor language has phonemes not found in Pilipino, orthographic decisions are based on the number of new elements a student will have to learn when, after having learned to read his own language, he then learns to read Pilipino. Every attempt is made to ease the transition into Pilipino. Attention is also given to special problems, such as morphophonemic boundaries and the symbolization of neutralized contrasts.

Tentative orthography approval is granted by SIL's literacy committee after a researcher has submitted a satisfactory phonological description of the language he has been studying and a defense of the proposed symbols. Orthographies are tested by two means: primers used in test classes and supplementary reading materials circulated among

literates, whose reactions to and comments on the orthography are invited. An orthography, which symbolizes one's language, is often equated with the language per se; therefore, aesthetic and social factors may bear as much, if not more, weight than phonemic factors in orthographic decisions.

Orthography tests have been developed, which are designed to validate or invalidate orthography decisions made by a researcher on the basis of his phonemic analysis of the language. Another purpose of these tests is to learn what literates prefer with regard to how morphophonemic changes and phonemes unique to their language are represented. Often in question is the symbol to be used for the so-called pepet vowel /ə/, which does not occur in Pilipino, but may occur in the minor language involved, with a phonetic value in the range of ə, ʌ, ɨ, or t. As a general rule, since diacritics and non-Roman characters are held to a minimum, $o$ or $e$ is chosen to symbolize this vowel in orthographies of minority languages. In addition to the pepet vowel, minority languages often have other phonemes not shared by Pilipino, such as /š/, /z/, /tš/, /ɔ/, and /q/ (the pharyngeal stop).

An orthography is given final approval after the following have been presented to the literacy committee: (1) a statement explaining how the orthography has been tested and showing that the orthography is accepted, (2) reasons for any changes from the tentative orthography, and (3) a statement of how the regional language orthography, any subdialects, the education level of the speakers, and national sentiment have influenced the proposed orthography. After this approval has been granted, the orthography is submitted to the Department of Education and Culture for official endorsement.

The second way in which SIL seeks to aid the transition into the majority culture is through the use of diglot materials. An increasing number of dictionaries, health books, and supplementary literature are being published in diglot or triglot (Pilipino-English-minor language) form. The Institute of National Language assists SIL in preparation of Pilipino equivalents.

The third, and major, way in which SIL helps members of minor ethnic groups to learn Pilipino is by teaching them the skill of reading on the basis of the vernacular first principle. It is SIL's belief that respect for his own culture and a sound education in the three R's in his own language give a student the best possible foundation for study and integration into a second language and culture.

This principle is, of course, in agreement with official policy governing the use of the vernacular as medium of instruction in the first two grades. Attention is called to the following pronouncement handed down by the national Board of Education: "The Board adopts as a policy the use of the native language as the medium of instruction in Grades one and two in all public and private schools and urges the school authorities to take practical steps toward its implementation."[7] In the same vein, Secretary of Education and Culture Juan L. Manuel observes: "When a student has learned to read the language he understands best, the resulting satisfaction in his accomplishment gives the drive and confidence he needs to learn the national language. His ability to read, furthermore, is the indispensable tool for the study this program will require."[8]

Speaking for SIL International, Gudschinsky makes a similar point: "The enforced use of a single language is not the road to unity, or to education. Among the most persistent fallacies is the notion that children will learn a second language faster if they

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[7] From Section 10 of Article I "Mental Objectives of Education", of the Revised Educational Program formulated by the Board of Education.

[8] This statement by Secretary Manuel is from the foreword appearing in all SIL Philippines literacy materials.

are taught only in that language as medium, and never allowed to use their own language. In general the use of a mother tongue as an initial medium of instruction, and a bridge to literacy and competence in the national language, tends to unify rather than divide a country. Members of minority ethnic groups sometimes come to such a sense of inferiority and worthlessness that they are unable to fit into any place in the national life. The road to productivity and a genuine contribution lies through a sense of personal worth. The bilingual program in the primary school can foster such a sense of personal worth. By the use of his own language and some study of his own culture, the child achieves a sense of identity in the total national scheme. It is this sense of a personal worth which gives him the courage to continue to study in a second language, and to contribute productively to his country . . . . Bilingual education is the most direct road to the . . . incorporation of ethnic minorities into the mainstream of national life . . ." That this is true seems to have been born out in other countries, for example, Mexico (cf. Modiano 1968), Peru (cf. Ratto 1955, Burns 1968, and Wise 1969), and Russia (cf. Ivanova 1959, Voskresensky 1959, and Kreusler 1961). Another item of proof is that Australia is now initiating a policy of bilingual education among the Aborigines of that country.

ESTABLISHING LITERACY AS A COMMUNITY VALUE. When Jesse Celiz (SIL trainee, Ata Manobo, Davao del Norte) announced literacy classes for Ata Manobo adults, he was told that adults could not learn; only children could learn to read. But adults came to Celiz's class, and within three weeks they were reading more fluently than children who began attending the class at the same time. When the class, which began with forty-five adults, ended, only two had dropped out.

This reaction encountered by Celiz, that older people cannot learn to read, is a common one. Lee Ballard (researcher, Inibaloi, Benguet), for example, reports: "Dionisio Belao and Melchor Domirez graduated thirteen old women in the first class – to the astonishment of everyone. The graduation that day in April 1973 was a very exciting time. They demonstrated their reading, writing, and 'rithmetic skills, and even gave a little speech – something quite rare for Ibaloi old women. One said, 'Before I adult-ed, that is, took adult education, I couldn't tell one bus from another, and now I can tell the ones going to Baguio. And I know how to compute the selling price of my bananas.'"

Coupled sometimes with the belief that adults cannot learn to read is lack of interest in reading. "The nomadic Atta Negritos of Cagayan Province," says Jean Shand, "have no interest in reading and no need to learn to read." On the other hand, Balangaos have what Joanne Shetler calls "an undying desire to learn how to read." A similar community interest in literacy, with eagerness to learn to read, has resulted from the adult classes held by Mary Murray (researcher, Kalagan, South Cotabato). Thus, it has been found that many minority peoples are eager for literacy; others are not. But even where interest is little or there is interest among only a few, SIL's goal in such areas is still literacy's becoming a community value, bringing with it an interest in learning to read.

Motivation is important to a successful literacy program. In fact, it is as important as good materials and sound pedagogy. For this reason SIL's literacy department has requested the ethnology department to study cultural factors that may be involved in literacy's becoming a community value in Philippine minority cultures. It is expected that such a value would in some way be incorporated into their existing value systems.

For purposes of motivation SIL researchers seek every opportunity to make the written vernacular common place in the lives of the minority peoples. In the Tboli area, for instance, news is written in Tboli on a blackboard serving as a bulletin board. In another area, marriage contracts are translated into Sindangan Subanun before they are issued. Unless appeals are made in cultural terms, positive response cannot be expected.

Although factors involved in motivation to learn to read are coming under increased study, one key factor already exists for a number of minority language groups. It is the existence of supplementary reading materials written by speakers of those languages. It has been found that, as members of minor ethnic groups become literate and then begin to write stories in their own vernaculars, others in these groups want to read what they have written.

Thus, the SIL literacy program has come full circle: production of reading material to primer-making to LIIs and literacy classes to transitional materials into Pilipino to literature written by new literates in their vernaculars.

## TRANSLATION DEPARTMENT

Jerry Eck (researcher, Maguindanao, Cotabato) attends a translation orientation workshop at SIL's Mindanao center. He listens to a lecture by Vivian Forsberg (researcher, Tboli, Cotabato, and translation department chairman) on equivalence problems: situations where a concept from the source language (the language of the document being translated) has no equivalent in the receptor language (the language into which the translation is being made).

The lecture proceeds: "When the idea to be translated is foreign to the receptor culture and therefore unknown, you will find one of the following techniques, or a combination of them, helpful in most cases. (1) Use a word in the translation that is more generic than the word from the source language. An example of this would be the translation of the term 'tower' by 'house,' or 'penicillin' by 'medicine,' if in the context – and this is important – *if in the context* nothing of the specific nature of the object is in focus. (2) Use a phrase that describes the unknown concept, as, for example, translating the word 'sergeant' by the phrase 'commander of a small group of soldiers.' Be cautious here, however, so that lengthy phrases do not overburden the syntax, thereby making the translation unwieldy and unnatural. (3) Substitute a concept from the receptor culture that parallels the unknown concept as it is used in the particular context. For example, 'carabao' will often substitute for a foreign beast of burden, such as 'ox'. Care should be taken, however, to avoid anachronism and gross incongruity. It is not, for example, acceptable to translate 'chariot' by 'carabao sled' in a context of warfare. (4) Use a loan word, either from the source language or from some prestige language. Thus, 'camel' might be rendered by the English word, or by the word used in most other Philippine languages, *kamilyo*. It is often desirable to reinforce a loan word with a generic term that gives the reader a clue as to the meaning of the borrowing, as 'a kind of grain called "wheat" (or "trigo")'."

Jerry Eck, like other SIL researchers, attended a translation orientation workshop after he had been in residence in the Maguindanao language area for a year and a half or two years. He had begun linguistic analysis, having completed a description of the phonology of the language, and he had achieved a degree of conversational fluency adequate to carry on the translation process with his language helper in Maguindanao.

SIL's aim is that all translated materials "fit" the language into which the translation is being made, that is, that the resultant translation exhibit natural grammatical patterns and natural semantic collocations. While the subject matter may be foreign, a reader's reaction should be that the translation is clear and understandable. In short, the translation should be accurate and faithful to the original work, clear to the reader, and in a style that is varied, interesting, and natural to the receptor language.

After an SIL researcher has had more time studying the language of his assignment, he is in a position to benefit from advanced lectures and seminars, which are presented during annual translation workshops on Luzon and Mindanao. Some of the problems treated in these advanced sessions are rhetorical questions, figures of speech, symbolic actions and gestures, and nonequivalent grammar. Another problem that receives much attention is that presented by the great amount of implicit information shared by the original writer and his readers that is not explicit in the original text, but, nevertheless, is crucial to understanding.

Figures of speech (e.g. metaphor, simile, euphemism, metonymy, litotes, and irony) present the translator with some of his most puzzling problems. Figures of speech cannot be translated literally without first analyzing the figure to determine its meaning and then checking to be certain that the same meaning is communicated in the receptor language. The metaphor, "That fellow is a pig," coming from English, carries with it the outlook of a culture that regards the pig as dirty, gluttonous, and lazy. If a culture sees the pig as the craftiest of animals, then a literal translation of the metaphor would communicate the wrong meaning to the reader: he would understand the meaning to be, "That fellow is very sly." In this situation, the translator has the following alternatives. (1) He may supply the grounds of comparison for the reader: "That fellow is as slovenly as a pig." (2) He may remove the figurative component altogether: "That fellow is an unbelievably sloppy person." This would be a solution especially if the first solution sounded in the receptor language like "It's as white as charcoal." Finally, (3) he may use a figure of speech from the receptor language that communicates the same meaning in a style that is lively like the original. In Hiligaynon, for example, a person who never bathes is commonly likened to a goat: *Daw kanding-kandingon siya.*

While a metaphor requires that a translator constantly keep the grounds of comparison in mind, so that he can measure understanding in the receptor language, euphemism provides the translator with another sort of challenge. Euphemism is a way of speaking of features of, or activities in, a culture to which it is improper to make specific reference. And cultures are not uniform in their senses of impropriety. Among the ancient Hebrews, for example, God's name could not be spoken; as a result, they used euphemisms, such as "the Blessed" or "the Most High." Philippine cultures do not have this restriction, however, and to translate this euphemistic expression literally in a Philippine language would be to leave the reader of the translation with incomplete information in a place where the original reader understood fully. Commonly also, two cultures may speak euphemistically of the same thing, but using different expressions. For example, English speakers refer to death euphemistically as "passing away," while Ilocanos say *napanen* ("gone") and Ibalois, *na-bosan* ("nothing left with him"). Proper translation from English into these languages would utilize the common euphemism to retain the sense of the original and still enable the reader to have proper understanding.

Symbolic actions are deceptively difficult. Translators have a marked tendency to assume that an action, such as knocking on a door, symbolizes the same thing in all cultures; however, experience has shown that it is often necessary to add information in order to convey the true meaning: "he knocked at the door *to indicate his presence,*" or "he beat his breast *in grief.*" Raising the eyebrows is a common symbolic action in the Philippines for assent. To an American this action means doubt concerning the veracity of something, a meaning, in turn, that is expressed by Filipinos in some parts of the country by protruding the lower lip. In a case like this a translator faces a problem of conflicting meaning. To translate the English phrase "raise the eyebrow" into a Philippine language literally would communicate wrong meaning, and to add a clue to the meaning, as in "raise the eyebrow in doubt," would be as incongruous as saying in English, "he nodded his head in disagreement." The best solution here is probably to translate the meaning of the symbolic action with no reference to raising the eyebrows: "his disbelief showed on his face."

Questions keep a translator on the alert also. Questions have different functions in different languages; therefore, for a reader of a translation to understand the intended meaning of a question, the receptor language must be able to use a question to encode the same meaning as that of the original question, or the translator must make adjustment. For

example, in O. Henry's famous story, "The gift of the magi," after Della had sold her long, brown hair to buy her husband a watch chain for Christmas, she looks in the mirror and dreads her husband's reaction to her shorn appearance. She then says to herself, "But what could I do — oh! what could I do with a dollar and eighty-seven cents?" The meaning of the question is a strong negative, and it is likely that a negative translation would be required if a given language did not use a question for this function: "But there was nothing — absolutely nothing — that I could buy him with the $1.87 that I had!"

Probably the most difficult problem of all a translator faces is that involving implicit information. Every cultural group has an immense amount of shared information, and an author writing for his own group can assume that his reader will understand him, even if he does not express every detail. In the Gospel of St. Luke (7:44), for example, Jesus is quoted as saying, "You gave me no water for my feet." He was understood because his listeners — and readers of the gospel later — shared the common custom of washing the feet of newly-arrived guests. In translating for a culture that does not know this practice, however, one may well find it necessary to make explicit some information that is implicit in the statement: "You gave me no water *to wash* my feet," or perhaps even, "You did not *show me the courtesy* to give me water *to wash* my feet *on my arrival.*"[9]

At every stage in an SIL researcher's progress as a translator the translation department provides consultant help and guidance. Consultants are trained in annual two-week consultant training workshops and thereafter by working as apprentices to experienced consultants. Each consultant knows a Philippine language himself, which is a decided advantage in a country where all languages are related. In addition, when he is called upon to check a translation, he examines text material in the consultee's project language to familiarize himself with its grammatical features, such as markers, word order, conjunctions, and the like.

As in many other phases of SIL work, the native-speaking language helper is extremely important in consultant-consultee checking sessions. It is this helper who provides feedback concerning the meaning communicated by the translation. To cast the translation, an SIL researcher has had the services of one — or more — language helpers; now to check it he requires the services of yet another.

In the actual checking session the researcher-consultee "translates" his translation orally back into English for the consultant, who is following the source language text. When the consultant has a doubt, he stops the consultee and presents his query: "Ask Alfredo why in the story the old women are laughing." The consultee then relays the consultant's question to his language helper in his language. The language helper's

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[9] An example of the problem an outsider has in understanding another language is this excerpt from an Inibaloi text. The original language is Inibaloi, and the receptor language, English. The Inibaloi text reads: "After he found the money, Juan celebrated *kapi* .... The next morning, as they were eating the head, the new jaw bone fell down. And it was not tilted when it fell, but upright, pointing east. When the old women saw it ... they said, 'Perhaps they have regarded it as insufficient.'" This is quite cryptic, and an English reader would have great difficulty in explaining what the account means.

If one augments the translation, however, by making explicit certain relevant implicit information, a meaningful translation results. "After he found the money, Juan celebrated the *feast of kapi with a pig as payment to the ancestral spirits* .... The next morning, as they were *having the traditional community breakfast following feasts,* which consists of the animal's head, the jaw bone of the pig *which had been sacrificed the previous evening* fell down *from the eaves of the house where it is traditionally hung.* And it was not tilted when it fell, but rather upright, pointing east *toward Mt. Pulag where the ancestral spirits are said to live.* When the old women saw it ... they *regarded it as a bad omen and* said, 'Perhaps *the ancestral spirits* have regarded *the pig you sacrificed* as insufficient *payment.'*"

response is, in turn, given to the consultant in English. The replies a language helper makes to questions like these are a gauge of a native speaker's understanding of the translation and an indication, therefore, of the adequacy of the translation. If there is improper understanding, the consultant must decide if an adjustment is necessary. Perhaps a translation principle has been violated; if it has been, the consultant uses the opportunity to teach the consultee translation theory in context.

## ETHNOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Donald Murray (SIL researcher, Kalagan, South Cotabato) sits at his desk with Kalagan language helper Ulian Angos. Their work for this day is to elicit kinship data as part of SIL's branch-wide 1973 ethnology project. Murray questions Angos:

Murray: What do you call your wife's mother?

Angos: *Ugangan.*

Murray: Is this same term used for her father?

Angos: Yes, the same.

Murray: Are there any other people called by this term?

Angos: Yes, her aunts and uncles.

Murray: Are you allowed to mention their names?

Angos: No, never. It is a serious offense.

Murray: Why?

Angos: It is very disrespectful. There is also a taboo against it. If I mentioned one of their names and did not show my repentance by drinking from the palm of the one I had offended, I might become very ill.

Murray: How else do you show your respect for them, other than by not mentioning their names?

Angos: By working in their fields, speaking respectfully to them, and obeying all their commands to me. By providing well for them. They are my wife's kin.

Murray: What do they call you?

Questioning continues, and the Kalagan kinship terms are recorded in lists and on charts. Kinship data from each language where SIL researchers are working are turned in to Richard Elkins, who then analyzes and compiles them. From this information Elkins prepares a generalized statement of kinship in the minor ethnic groups where SIL is carrying on research. Elkins uses matrix techniques to show the configurations, or groupings, into which the various cultures segment the universe of kinship. These data form a basis for subsequent studies of value systems and for the study of kinship behavior: an individual's responsibilities toward kin of various relationships.

Each SIL researcher attempts to record data about the culture of the ethnic group among whom he is living and doing research. The areas of his particular anthropological interest at a given time are those dictated by his work in the other technical areas: linguistics, literacy, and translation. Ethnographic study is closely related to all his other technical work; therefore, whatever he can do in ethnography is advantageous in the other areas.

There are numerous ways in which the interrelationship between ethnography and the other disciplines is shown. One way is that lexicography is not possible without ethnographic understanding. That is to say that a word cannot be accurately glossed without a knowledge of the cultural feature it denotes. In linguistic analysis also it is found that many aspects of language cannot be adequately described without insight into culture. For literacy, too, cultural factors are known to be important in both the production and promotion of materials. Further, ethnological background information is indispensable to idiomatic translation of any material into any language of the minorities. Sociolinguistic factors, for example, dictate choice of style in translation, and a knowledge of the world view of the potential readers of his translation helps a translator choose the

proper words in the receptor language. As in linguistics and literacy, practicality is again the key. As research proceeds in the other technical areas, new directions are taken in ethnology to augment or support them.

The objective of an SIL researcher's study of a culture is to discover its emic features. Rather than stop with merely recording the raw facts, or etic data, about a given aspect of a culture, he seeks to analyze the data in order to understand it from the viewpoint of one inside the culture. Edward Ruch, ethnology department chairman, reminds us that "it is possible to describe all the activities that go on at a wedding ceremony, for example, and miss the entire significance of the event as it fits into the culture as a whole. We must find the emic importance."

At an SIL ethnology workshop in December 1973 seminars were held on the following topics: social structure and role theory, a matrix model for society, social change in Western Bukidnon Manobo institutions, Kalinga peace pacts, Subanun litigation, Keifer's analysis of Tausug social life, the preparation of reading materials to match social needs, gaining acceptance as an outsider, ethnoscience or folk taxonomy, cross-cultural conflicts in medical assistance programs, motives for conversion to Christianity, *mana* (impersonal supernatural power), the Subanon view of the soul and afterlife, and an emic view of raiding and gang behavior. Guest anthropologist David Baradas also lectured on ranking in Maranao societies, procedures in ethnographic analysis, and the utilization of folklore in the study of culture.

In the course of their studies of minority languages, SIL researchers routinely collect ethnographic texts both on tape and local-authored. Now writers from various minority groups, under the stimulus received in SIL national writers' workshops, are beginning to write independently about various aspects of their cultures. One example of the contribution a local writer can make in this way is the large number of ethnographic texts written for Elkins by his language helper in Western Bukidnon Manobo. Reid's work on the Bontoc wedding ceremony, dance, and music includes a Bontoc-authored account of the highest level Bontoc wedding ceremony and texts of Bontoc songs (Reid 1961a, 1961b).

Published ethnographic studies include Elkins' articles on kinship (1968a), culture change (1966), and the *anit* (incest) taboo (1964); Gieser and Grimes' paper on Kalinga disease terms (1972); and Pallesen's study of Samal marriage customs (1972a). Among unpublished manuscripts on file in SIL's ethnology department are "Customs and beliefs about death and burial in Yakan society" by Dietlinde Behrens and Janet Pack, "Tboli customs and folklore" by Marjory Moran, "Field notes based upon an ethnographic questionnaire" (Kalamian Tagbanwa) by Edward Ruch, "The Mamanwas of Mindanao" by Jeanne and Helen Miller, "The Mamanwa pig sacrifice ceremony" by Helen Miller, "A description of Agta games" by Janet Headland, and "Gaddang ethnograph" by Lester Troyer.

The ethnographic research of SIL Philippines is expected to increase and improve when two researchers who are now pursuing doctoral degree programs return. These researchers are Hazel Wrigglesworth, who is studying folklore and ethnomusicology, using Ilianen Manobo data, at Indiana University, and Kemp Pallesen, who was mentioned above under LINGUISTICS DEPARTMENT. Since his graduate studies are in anthropological linguistics and sociolinguistics, they are sure to make a significant contribution to the ethnology department's research efforts.

## SIL CENTERS

The 1973 ethnology workshop, like all SIL Philippines' technical workshops, was

held at one of SIL's three centers: Nasuli, near Malaybalay, Bukidnon; Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya; and Manila. Administrative headquarters for SIL Philippines are in Manila, where these departments are also located: publicity, finance, publications, and linguistics. SIL's radio department also is centered in Manila. Language helpers frequently accompany SIL members to Manila for purposes of work when members must be there temporarily.

Nasuli, SIL Philippines' southern center, can be compared to a barrio without a shopping section or vegetable plots. SIL members' homes, offices, and other talisayan- or bamboo-walled structures are grouped around grassy squares, shaded by large trees, and situated around ten-meter-deep Nasuli Springs, a public park and favorite swimming spot. Besides being a center where linguistic, literacy, translation, and ethnology work-shops are held, Nasuli is also SIL Philippines' conference center. It is also the headquarters for SIL's southern technical personnel and the location of the literacy, survey, translation, and ethnology departments. SIL Philippines' aviation program, operated under the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service, the air and radio arm of SIL internationally, is also directed from Nasuli. The southern radio net links Nasuli with seventeen SIL outstations in Mindanao and Sulu, while in the southern aviation program three aircraft serve SIL researchers situated near fifteen airstrips. A school and boarding homes for children of SIL personnel are also located at Nasuli.

Bagabag, SIL's northern center, can be compared to a sitio without a sari-sari store. It is the workshop center for SIL's northern technical personnel, and it is where these personnel go for seminars in linguistics, literacy, translation, and ethnology. The main structures at the Bagabag center are a number of homes, a library-study center, and a hangar. Bagabag is the center for both the aviation and the radio programs in the north. Two aircraft operate from this center and provide transportation for SIL researchers assigned to nine outstations. In addition, as do the planes located in the south, the planes that operate from Bagabag frequently perform mercy flights and other services. The northern radio net maintains routine communications with SIL personnel in thirteen allocations on Luzon and at Coron, and, like the southern net, it is linked with Manila.

SIL operates planes and radios in the Philippines under an agreement with the Department of National Defense. In its aircraft operations SIL is directly responsible to the Philippine Air Force, which holds title to each of the aircraft. Each plane, in-cidentally, was purchased by friends of the Philippines in a particular city in the United States, for example, Seattle, Washington, and Pontiac, Michigan, and donated to the Philippine Government for operation by SIL in serving the cultural minorities. SIL's radio nets are operated under the Signal Corps.

All of SIL's real property in the Philippines, namely, at Bagabag and Nasuli, and in Manila, has been donated to the Philippine Government, with the reservation that SIL be allowed use of it for the duration of its project in this country.

## HORIZONS IN RESEARCH

In any field of research it is frequently found that to make a discovery is to find another area where research is needed. This is proving to be SIL's experience. In each of its five areas of technical work, SIL is finding itself being led to a horizon, or, if you will, a growing edge, where unanswered questions are demanding new aims and directions and indicating new fields of study. Often also an SIL researcher finds in the course of his project that a question that arises in one area leads him to do some concentrated study in another area. When, for example, he checks a word he wants to use in translation, he may find it fraught with cultural overtones. This means that some thorough ethnographic investigation is needed before he can use it with confidence.

LINGUISTICS. In linguistics SIL has moved beyond sentence and paragraph into study of discourse and the whole "Pandora's box" of semantics. One result of this appears to be that, as the tantalizing nongrammatical meanings of verb affixes become more apparent, present schemes of verb classification may be giving way to some kind of semantic classification. An SIL paper, incidentally, that deals with such meanings of verb affixes (Ballard 1973) is now being published.

Semantic studies, thus, loom large on the linguistic horizon for SIL, and lexicography is one challenging area of such studies. In fact, today's most pressing need is the refinement of the techniques for semantic investigation that were pioneered by SIL's international translation department and are so crucial to productive lexicography.

Interest is also running high in SIL to see the remaining subfamilies of Philippine languages reconstructed, among them Proto-Kalinga and Proto-Mandaya.

Another new area for SIL is sociolinguistics, which holds promise in a number of ways. From sociolinguistic research SIL expects to obtain both insights into Philippine bilingualism and theory to guide in the selection of the most acceptable dialect for translation and for literacy materials. In addition, such research is expected to give understanding of seemingly unimportant hesitations, repetitions, and apparent non sequiturs that are common in text material.

Another definite need for study, which has become evident in SIL's national writers' workshops, is the distinction between oral and written style. National writers at workshops have had difficulty in editing their own work; as a result, it seems to be clear that a written style must evolve for each language and that this style would be significantly different from the language's oral style. At the same time, it is expected that further discourse study will give some help with editing problems. For example, it is likely that some of these problems are due to the fact that an editorial change made early in a story must be followed by other changes throughout the discourse, or the result is disjointed prose.

Creole languages are another new interest SIL has. This has resulted mainly from a researcher's having been assigned to the study of Chavacano in Zamboanga City. In addition, SIL's surveys have led to speculation that there may be other creole languages in Mindanao and the Visayas.

Finally, it is anticipated that as time passes the number of SIL researchers who are encouraged to engage in advanced linguistic study will increase. This is dictated by both the magnitude of SIL's yet unfinished projects and the rapid and steady increase of knowledge in all fields of linguistic research.

SURVEY. In addition to the actual completion of survey of the minority languages of the Philippines, SIL's survey department sees on the horizon interesting possibilities for application of its survey data. Results of surveys show some languages, such as Kalagan and Mansaka of Cotabato, to be closely related. This is not so surprising. But when survey results show, as they did recently, a comparatively close relationship between the three languages: Tausug of Jolo, Butuanon of Agusan, and Camayo of Bislig, Surigao, intriguing hypotheses are suggested as to the prehistory of the Philippines and the migration of peoples. Elkins made use of Tasaday data in addition to SIL survey results in forming his hypotheses about the earliest Manobos' being driven northward by subsequent immigrants to Mindanao (Elkins 1971a). Both in terms of linguistic relationship and in application of survey data, SIL's survey department does not consider its days of discovery and surprises to be over.

LITERACY. Goals of SIL's literacy department involve the total program of establishing literacy, with community support, in the Philippine minority cultures.

There are numerous subjects that require study for literacy purposes, and a number

of these, such as motivational factors, pedagogy appropriate for folk societies, and how learning takes place in a minority culture, properly come under the heading of ethnology. One specific question, for example, among others that concern the literacy department is what context clues are used by a new reader of a Philippine language. In English, word order signals whether a verb or noun is expected to follow. In Philippine languages, do affixes carry much of this load? The answer that is found to this question will be instructive to SIL researchers in devising drills for teaching how to use contextual clues in reading.

One of the great problems SIL faces in its literacy emphasis concerns the continuation and expansion of literacy programs that it has been instrumental in initiating for various minority groups. SIL is prepared for its researchers to serve as technical consultants and to help in the preparation of pedagogical materials; however, SIL does not have the resources in either personnel or funds to train the instructors, organize the literacy campaigns, and publish the materials to the extent that would be required for large-scale, effective literacy programs in the many minority areas where it has, or expects to have, workers. In a word, SIL alone can never hope to achieve full literateness in any of the societies where it works. The interest, cooperation, and sponsorship of local agencies is necessary. What are needed are agencies that are interested in the establishment of a continuing source of literature in each society, as well as agencies that would publish primers, readers, and teachers' guides; promote literacy instructors' institutes; and administer actual child and adult classes. With regard to the production of literature and school materials, it may be added that SIL is also desirous of closer relationship with anthropologists and educators in connection with its national writers' workshops.

TRANSLATION. The fact that SIL translates extremely difficult material into languages without literacy tradition drives SIL to the growing edge of both linguistic and translation theory.

One example of the kind of problems that continually challenge the translation department is how semantic doublets, such as "joy and gladness" or "wonder and amazement," are to be treated. From their grammatical structure these doublets appear to include two separate semantic domains; however, it is a fact that many relationships are possible between the members of a couplet: contrast, temporal sequence, purpose, result, or classic hendiadys. These relationships must be classified; then, when one wants to translate a doublet, he must learn how the receptor language into which he is translating encodes such information. Where the members of a doublet are synonymous, the original writer's probable intent in coupling synonyms must be decided. "Wonder and amazement" is an example of the coupling of synonyms for the purpose of emphasis, and it has been translated in Isneg of Apayao by "very much amazed." "Curses and bitterness" in one Scriptural context is an example of classic hendiadys, and it may be translated "bitter curses," as in the Jerusalem Bible.

The systems of logic of the various peoples among whom SIL has work and the way these systems are expressed in discourse is another area requiring more intensive study. What are the steps by which an argument is developed? SIL has made preliminary studies, in conjunction with which consideration has been given to the types of adjustments that may be necessary in the grammar and semantics of a given receptor language to express the logic of that language. It is only a start however.

Another area where the translation department desires further research is that of discourse, particularly theme. One question such study would answer is, what are the devices in a given language that keep the theme of a narrative constant?

ETHNOLOGY. On the horizon for study by SIL's ethnology department are

various matters originating in the other technical departments. For example, SIL has an increasing need for ethnographic study in connection with its linguistic research. This is particularly true in the area of lexicography, where investigation of folk taxonomies and other relevant anthropological questions makes possible improved definitions and more accurate semantic classification.

Motivation in learning to read and pedagogical and learning patterns involved in teaching reading have already been mentioned as areas for further study in connection with SIL's aim of establishing literacy as a community value. Study of the world views of the various minor ethnic groups is needed in the same connection. In addition, study is necessary to determine what types of literature will have the most appeal to new literates; that is, what literature is in harmony with existing values and meets the needs that are felt in the culture. Of course, a parallel need to all of the above is an understanding of the local power structure: if adult literacy classes or an instructor-training workshop are to be scheduled, who is the strategic person in the society to contact, and who are the people within his sphere of influence?

Ethnoscience offers exciting possibilities for answering vital questions in several areas. Besides its obvious relevance to dictionary-making, folk taxonomy also is useful for obtaining vocabulary needed for translation into a given language. Study of the cosmogony of a culture is a necessary preparatory step to bilingual education. And of special interest to SIL are studies of social structure; symbiotic (trading) relationships; and consensus, acculturation, and culture change.

Projected for the near future is the collection and diglot publication of an increased volume of national-authored texts and ethnographic materials. Study of folklore also is on the horizon both as it is evidence of cross-cultural influence – for example, flying carpets in Maranao folktales may be an evidence of past Arabic influence – and as it reflects people's needs, problems, and values.

## CONCLUSION

President Ferdinand M. Marcos said on the occasion of the observance of the twentieth anniversary of SIL's Philippine project: "Our efforts to build solidarity among our people will surely find an excellent foundation in the field of literacy and communication." Secretary of National Defense Juan Ponce Enrile also has pointed out that "the continuing study of the diverse ethnic tongues in the Philippines not only enriches our culture and history but also promotes regional solidarity and understanding." "One of the noble aims of education," Director of Public Schools Liceria Brillantes Soriano has said, "is to equip every citizen to participate meaningfully in his society and to share in shaping the destiny of his country." SIL's program in the Philippines has been made easier, because national leaders share its concerns and endorse its activities. From Malacañang to the smallest sitio in the provinces SIL researchers have found those who share their twofold outlook: a genuine respect for the minority languages and cultures and a sincere desire to help the members of those cultures in their assimilation into a unified Philippine society. SIL's project in this country has received help from Filipinos in every walk of life.

SIL acknowledges the cooperation of the Philippine and world academic community in its program of linguistics and literacy and invites their continued interest. SIL makes its data available for study and offers assistance in any way possible to those engaged in like studies. Linguistic, literacy, and ethnographic materials published by SIL may be consulted at the Department of Education and Culture and at libraries, and these publications plus unpublished manuscripts are available for reference at SIL centers.

SIL desires its research to be of practical benefit to the general Philippine society, as well as to the respective minority groups where it has established work. It also hopes that, particularly in the area of literacy, increased participation by local agencies may become possible.

## APPENDIX
### Current SIL research in Philippine languages

| LANGUAGE | SIL PERSONNEL | LOCATION |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Atta | Ruth Lusted and Claudia Whittle | Pamplona, Cagayan |
| 2. Balangao | Joanne Shetler | Botac, Natunin, Mountain Province |
| 3. Bilaan, Sarangani | Barbara Blackburn and Mary Rhea | Margos, Glan, South Cotabato |
| 4. Binukid | Mary Jane Gardner and Ursula Post | Caburacanan, Malaybalay, Bukidnon |
| 5. Chabakano (Chavacano)[10] | Rosemary Rodda | Zamboanga City |
| 6. Dibabawon | Myra Lou Barnard and Jannette Forster | Baugo, Barrio La-ac, Asuncion, Davao del Norte |
| 7. Dumagat, Casiguran | Thomas and Janet Headland | Casiguran, Quezon |
| 8. Dumaget, Umiray (Umirey Dumagat) | Thomas and Marjorie Macleod | Matawe, Dingalan, Quezon |
| 9. Ga-dang (Gaddang) | Michael and Verna Walrod | Bananao, Parasiles, Mountain Province |
| 10. Ifugao, Amganad | Anne West and Helen Madrid[11] | Amganad, Banaue, Ifugao |
| 11. ____, Batad | Leonard and Doreen Newell | Batad, Banaue, Ifugao |
| 12. Inibaloi | D. Lee and Arlene Ballard | Baguio City |
| 13. Isneg | G. Richard Roe and Rodolfo Barlaan[11] | Dibagat, Kabugao, Kalinga-Apayao |
| 14. Ivatan | Virginia Larson | Basco, Batanes |
| 15. Kalagan | Donald and Mary Murray | Mainit, General Santos, South Cotabato |
| 16. Kalinga | Richard and Ruth Gieser | Guinaang, Pasil, Kalinga-Apayao |
| 17. Kallahan, Keley-i (Antipolo Ifugao) | Richard and Lou Hohulin | Napayao, Kiangan, Ifugao |
| 18. Kankanay, Northern | Marjorie Draper, Donna Hettick, and Judy Wallace | Balugan, Sagada, Mountain Province |
| 19. Maguindanao | Jerry Eck | Cotabato City |
| 20. Mamanwa | Jeanne and Helen Miller | Pangaylan, Santiago, Agusan del Norte |
| 21. Manobo, Ata (Ata of Davao) | Shirley Abbott, Patricia Hartung, and Jesse Celiz[11] | Maambago, Kapalong, Davao del Norte |
| 22. ____, Cotabato | Clay and Helen Johnston | Paril, Kalamansig, North Cotabato |
| 23. ____, Ilianen | Jean Shand and Hazel Wrigglesworth | Kibudtungan, Carmen, North Cotabato |
| 24. ____, Sarangani | Carl and Lauretta DuBois | Kayaponga, Jose Abad Santos, Davao del Sur |
| 25. ____, Tigwa | Clarice Strong | Iglogsad, San Fernando, Bukidnon |
| 26. ____, Western Bukidnon | Richard and Betty Elkins, and George and Valerie Hires | Pangi, Pangantocan, Bukidnon |

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[10] Name with no parentheses refers to language SIL is studying (cf. Thomas and Gieser, 1973); name in parentheses is a commonly known designation of the language.

[11] Filipino trainee, graduate of the Summer Linguistic Training Course.

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| 27. Mansaka | Gordon and Thelma Svelmoe | Malamodao, Mawab, Davao del Norte |
| 28. Minasbate | Elmer and Beverly Wolfenden | Masbate, Masbate |
| 29. Sambal, Botolan | Charlotte Houck and Harriet Minot | Botolan, Botolan, Zambales |
| 30/31. Sangil/Sangir | Kenneth and Alice Maryott | Balut Island, Jose Abad Santos, Davao del Sur |
| 32. Sinama, Siasi (Siasi Samal) | Kemp and Anne Pallesen | Siganggang, Siasi, Sulu |
| 33. Subanon, Siocon | William and Lee Hall | Reconella, Siocon, Zamboanga del Norte |
| 34. Subanun, Sindangan | Robert and Felicia Brichoux | Bubuan, Bu-ug, Zamboanga del Sur |
| 35. Tagbanwa, Kalamian | Edward and Jacqueline Ruch | Banwang Daan, Coron, Palawan |
| 36. Tausug | Seymour and Lois Ashley | Jolo City, Sulu |
| 37. Tboli | Doris Porter, Vivian Forsberg, Lillian Underwood, and Marjory Moran | Sinolon, Banga, South Cotabato |
| 38. Yakan | Dietlinde Behrens and Janet Pack | Badja, Lamitan, Basilan |

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