

SAMA ABAKNON PHONOLOGY

by

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0. INTRODUCTION

Sama Abaknon¹ is noteworthy among Philippine languages because of its phonological interaction with Spanish, resulting in two distinct phonemic subsystems. The Abaknon people have been separated from their nearest linguistic relatives for about 800 years². Their language is a member of the Sama Bajaw family which stretches from Indonesia, through Sabah, to the Sulu Archipelago of the southern Philippines. Cognate percentages between Sama Abaknon and these southern relatives are in the mid to high sixties (Walton 1979:87) with many of the differences due to the fact that Abaknon is the only Sama language which has not come under the influence of Arabic (via Islam). Heavy influence from Spanish, however, began in the late 16th century and continued until early in this century.

Three types of phonological change have been shown to occur in Philippine languages when the political or religious leadership has spoken a language different from that of the host culture. Loan words can be rephonemized into the indigenous system and in effect become indigenous words with regards to pronunciation. Semantic shift is quite common in such forms. Second, since no language is static, the indigenous phonemic system may adapt itself to a dominant trade language resulting in a change of pronunciation and sometimes an increase or decrease in phonemic contrast. This systematic shift would affect all forms regardless of origin. A third response has been for words to retain their foreign pronunciation and meaning, being merely substituted into the appropriate grammatical slots. It is our observation that these forms often have affixational restrictions.

Sama Abaknon as a host culture exemplified the second type of adaptation during the period of Visayan dominance (presumably thirteenth through sixteenth centuries). It is the only Sama Bajaw language to reduce the six vowel phonemes of Proto Sama to three (though some Sama Bajaw languages have reduced the pepet, resulting in five vowel

¹Sama Abaknon is spoken by approximately 20,000 speakers, 12,000 of whom live in the island municipality of Capul, located in the San Bernardino Strait between Sorsogon and Northern Samar, Philippines. The remaining 8,000 speakers are scattered throughout the country with large concentrations living in the coastal towns of Northern Samar and in Manila. Most adult speakers are bilingual in one or more of the following languages: Waray, English, Cebuano, Pilipino, Bikolano, and Masbateño.

The language is called Inabaknon by native speakers and Capuleño by the residents of Samar. Abaknon has also been used, but is more appropriately the name of the people, meaning 'one who comes from Abak', the pre-Spanish name of Capul Island.

Linguistic data for this paper was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics from April to November, 1979, on the Island of Capul, Northern Samar. Valuable assistance was rendered by Sylvia Manaog, Tomas Ortego, and Paz Sauro, all native speakers of Sama Abaknon. Appreciation is also expressed to Lawrence Allen and Lou Hohulin for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

²Based on cognate percentages and an estimated rate of language change. See Pallesen 1977.

systems). The extreme reduction in Sama Abaknon is due to the influence of Visayan languages, most notably Waray-Waray. The shift must have occurred early and been securely fixed prior to the arrival of the Spanish, because there is no evidence in surface forms of a reversal to five vowels even after long interaction with Spanish.

Although the other types of adaptation are also found to a limited extent during the period of Spanish leadership, the major solution was the adoption of two coexisting subsystems within Abaknon phonology. This solution is distinct from merely using foreign forms (type three above). Loan words in Abaknon are highly productive and occur without affixational restrictions in all grammatical slots. The solution is also distinct from complete rephonemicization of foreign forms (type one) and from systematic phonemic change (type two) in that distinct subsystems are required to explain the phonological shape of the indigenous and loan forms.

It might be hypothesized that the current solution is only an intermediate step between loan word borrowing and systematic phonemic change. However, Spanish influence was present for over 300 years, and we would expect a complete shift to have occurred in that time. Further, direct contact with Spanish speakers has been very limited since the early part of this century. If Sama Abaknon at one time was moving towards a phonemic system which would absorb Spanish contrasts, it appears to have stabilized halfway through the process, resulting in an uncommon blending of phonological systems.

For indigenous words and a limited number of assimilated loan words, seventeen consonants and three vowels are adequate for all phonemic contrasts. The system in use for nonassimilated Spanish loan words, however, requires twenty consonants and five vowels, with the major difference being the palatal position for articulating consonants and mid tongue position for vowels. The two subsystems have never merged into one, and distinct rules apply to each, especially among the vowels. There are, of course, places where the influence of one has affected pronunciation in the other. This paper will describe the manner and degree of interaction between the subsystems.

Data can be assumed to represent indigenous words unless explicitly stated otherwise. Borrowing is primarily from Spanish, six to eight percent of all forms recorded thus far. English accounts for one to two percent and other non-Philippine languages less than one percent. Borrowings from other Philippine languages have not been documented completely, but a rough estimate would be ten percent, mainly from Waray-Waray, Cebuano, and Pilipino (Tagalog). Semantic domains in which heavy borrowing has occurred are land transportation, government, commerce, measure, time (hours and names of days and months), and religion.

1. WORD

1.1. DEFINITION. A phonological word consists of one or more syllables, with word juncture marked by the stress pattern, and in deliberate speech, a slight pause. The phonological word is formed from a grammatical root with optional affixes and obligatory topic markers. Some affixes carry distinct meaning (e.g. postclitic pronouns, [ʔú.má? .ko] 'my house', [ʔú.ma?] 'house'). There is seldom one-to-one correspondence between the phonological word and the grammatical word.

Most indigenous roots have two syllables, although a few have either one or three. The roots which have been borrowed from Spanish often have three or four syllables. Phonological words from one to nine syllables have been recorded, e.g. /pa.ma.pa.ya.hu.yá.hun/ 'you let them play', /pag.pa.ka.tu.? á.n.na/ 'you let him know' and /i.nag.pa.ra.ba.ʔa.gaw.bi.nan/ 'your habitual conversation'.

1.2. **STRESS.** Stress is marked by increased volume, vowel length, and a slight rise in pitch. Primary stress is highly predictable, occurring on the penultimate syllable in all indigenous forms except for a few two-syllable conjunctions, demonstratives, and pronouns in which primary stress is consistently on the ultimate syllable (e.g. [pa.tʃʔ] 'and', [ʔ a.tó] 'here', and [ka.ʔ áw] 'you').³ Some nonassimilated loan words also have ultimate stress.

Secondary stress occurs on the fourth and sixth syllables from the end of the word. It is less intense than primary stress, but is discernible in long words as cadence in which every other vowel is slightly longer and louder than the unstressed vowels in between. [ag.pá.ma.lám.pa.sú.ko] 'I told them to scrub the floor' [ag.pá.ma.líŋ.ya] 'they are the ones offering for sale', [ki.na.háŋ.lan] 'need'.

There is a limited set of one-syllable particles which carry no stress and are not postclitics, e.g. [pa] 'still' and [na] 'already'.

2. SYLLABLE

2.1. **DEFINITION.** A syllable consists of an obligatory nucleus filled by a segment which is + syllabic (vowel) and an obligatory onset and optional coda filled by segments which are -syllabic (consonant). Thus, the indigenous phonological subsystem has only two syllable types, CV and CVC, which contrast by the presence of the final segment. Loan words from Spanish allow a second consonant in the onset, /grú.po/ 'group', /kum.plí.to/ 'complete', /kwa.drá.do/ 'square'. This increases the syllable types for the loan subsystem to four: CV, CCV, CVC, and CVC.

2.2. **DISTRIBUTION.** There are no restrictions on the distribution of syllable types within the word for either subsystem, as demonstrated by the following: /ʔ á.d.da/ 'one', /lí.ŋun/ 'said', /su.rũ.su.rũ.má.tun/ 'fable', /paŋ.ŋan.ná.ʔ an/ 'container', /prák.tis/ 'practise', /kum.plí.to/ 'complete'.

3. INTERPRETATION OF AMBIGUITY

3.1. **AMBIGUOUS SEGMENTS.** The high vocoids, [i] and [u], are interpreted as vowels, /i/ and /u/, when occurring as syllable nucleus; and as glides, /y/ and /w/, when occurring as syllable margin, as exemplified by /ʔ a.lá.yun/ 'please', /ʔ á.law/ 'day', /yá.wit/ 'speak', and /wá.luʔ/ 'eight' in the indigenous subsystem; and /wés.te/ 'west', /yéŋ.da/ 'yard', and /pa.ba.yá.ʔ on/ 'let me go' (from Spanish *vaya*) in the loan subsystem.

The alveolar affricate [tʃ] is interpreted as a portmanteau phone in the indigenous subsystem. Whenever the sequence /t.s/ occurs across a syllable boundary it is actualized as [tʃ], as in [ʔ á.tʃoy] /ʔ át.suy/ 'sneeze', and [ʔ a.tʃá.ŋa] /ʔ at.sá.ŋa/ 'pickle'. [tʃ] has phonemic status, however, in the loan subsystem.

There is one occurrence in the indigenous data of an alveolar fricative with palatal off-glide [ʃʲ], in the word [ʃʲá.ka] 'older sibling'. (In loan words this phone is found frequently as syllable onset in all positions in the phonological word, but again has full phonemic status in the loan subsystem.) It is our hypothesis that [ʃʲá.ka] was pronounced [si.á.ka] /si.yá.ka/ in pre-Spanish times and that the influence of numerous loan words which begin with the phone [ʃ] has affected the pronunciation of this word.

³There is one exception to this statement: the first singular pronoun /ʔ á.ku/ 'I', can have either ultimate or penultimate stress depending on phrase level intonation patterns, as in [ʔ á.ko ʔ i.mag.bá.wa si dá.yun] 'I'm the one who brought the fish', and [pa.ŋa.ʔ i.ŋa.y a.kó si.rũ.maʔ] 'I went there to the house'. Similar stress variation has not been noted with other pronouns.

This analysis is confirmed by slow speech production in which three syllable pulses can be heard, [ʃi.ka]. We have, therefore, considered [ʃ] to be an uncommon variant of /s/ and have interpreted the word phonemically as /si.ya.ka/.

3.2. SEQUENCES. Ambiguous sequences of a high vocoid followed by another vocoid in which both function as syllable nuclei have been interpreted as separated by a semivowel of the same quality as the first vowel, e.g. [ʔ a.tɪ.a] /ʔ a.tɪ.ya/ 'here is', [pi.ú.hok] /pi.yú.huk/ 'depressed scar or cheeks', [sɪ.ul] /sɪ.yu/ 'grab back' [sú.ɪ] /sú.wi/ 'inverted', [tú.ak] /tú.wak/ 'coconut wine'. The above interpretation is supported by the absence of nonsuspect pairs.⁴ The loan subsystem has the same interpretation for [ia], [ie], [io], [ui], and [ue]. E.g., [ʔ a.su.tɪ.a] /ʔ a.su.tɪ.ya/ 'veranda', [ʔ a.bi.é.ɪ.to] /ʔ a.bi.yé.ɪ.to/ 'open', [pɪ.ɛ.si.o] /pɪ.é.si.yo/ 'price', [hU.ɪs] /hu.wɪs/ 'judge', [hu.é.bes] /hu.wé.bes/ 'Thursday',⁵ but no occurrence of [iu], [ua], or [uo] has been found due to the nature of the loan languages.

Ambiguous consonant clusters occur only at syllable boundaries in indigenous words and are interpreted as the coda and onset of their respective syllables. In the loan subsystem, consonant clusters are found functioning as syllable onset in both the word initial and medial positions. The following unambiguous consonant clusters have been found in the loan system data: /bl/, /kl/, /pl/, /bɾ/, /dɾ/, /gɾ/, /pɾ/, /tɾ/, and are exemplified by /pɾo.blé.ma/ 'problem', /klí.nik/ 'clinic', /kum.plí.to/ 'complete', /bɾún.se/ 'copper', /kwa.dɾá.do/ 'square', /gɾú.po/ 'group', and /mi.yén.tras/ 'while'

Phonetically long consonants frequently occur word medially in indigenous data. These are interpreted as geminate clusters occurring across syllable boundaries.

Lastly, the sequences [b^w], [d^w], and [h^w] occur once each in indigenous data, and then only word initially, as the onset of the stressed syllable: [b^wá.hɛʔ] 'water', [d^wá.ʔɛ] 'go down', [h^wáŋ.mo] 'your friend'. In slow speech these words are pronounced [bU.wá.hɛʔ], [dU.wá.ʔɛ], and [hU.wáŋ.mo]. Our conclusion is that when a word initial syllable with [U] as nucleus precedes /w/ as onset for the stressed syllable, the initial syllable plus /w/ may be reduced in normal speech to a labialization of the initial consonant. This labialized consonant then functions as onset for the stressed syllable. We have written these words phonemically as /bu.wá.hiʔ/, /du.wá.ʔi/, and /hu.wáŋ.mu/.

Labialization of consonants in the loan subsystem may have influenced the above indigenous words. There are numerous examples of labialization and also palatalization of consonants which function as syllable onset. The affected consonant can occur in either word initial or medial position. We have chosen to interpret these as a semivowel following a high vowel of like quality due to the pattern seen in the indigenous subsystem and due to articulation in deliberate speech in which two syllable pulses can be heard. [b^wél.ta] is phonemically /bu.wé.l.ta/ 'return'. Other examples are: [k^wa.dɾá.do] /ku.wa.dɾá.do/ 'square', [g^wá.po] /gu.wá.pu/ 'handsome', [h^wɪs] /hu.wɪs/ 'judge', [p^wé.de] /pu.wé.de/ 'able', [s^wɛɾ.te] /su.wɛr.te/ 'joke', [gu.b^yɛɾ.no] /gu.bi.yéɾ.no/ 'government', [l^yá.be] /li.yá.be/ 'key', [m^yén.tɾas] /mi.yén.tɾas/ 'while', and [lɪm.p^yo] /lim.pɪ.yo/ 'clean'.

⁴The only exception is [ʔ u.oʔ] /ʔ u.wuʔ/ 'yes', but this word is only used by young children, very old people, or by adults in mimicry. The more common word for 'yes' is [ʔ uhoʔ] /ʔ uhuʔ/. It is, however, a singular example of the /uwu/ sequence.

⁵Most words with these sequences have an equally preferred pronunciation (free fluctuation) in which the initial segment is reduced to palatalization or labialization of the consonant which precedes the sequence.

4. PHONEMES

There are twenty indigenous segmental phonemes in Sama Abaknon. The superimposed loan subsystem uses all twenty and adds another five. Two distinctive features acquire a significantly higher functional load in order to distinguish these additional phonemes: grave for consonants and low for vowels. The total system uses nine features: syllabic, continuant, nasal, voice, anterior, high, low, grave, and lateral.

Three features subdivide the phonemic inventory into four classes: noncontinuant, which are -syllabic, -continuant, and (redundantly) -nasal; nasal continuant, which are -syllabic, + continuant, and + nasal; oral continuant, which are -syllabic, + continuant and -nasal; and vowels, which are + syllabic, (redundantly) + continuant, and (redundantly) -nasal.

4.1. NONCONTINUANTS

4.1.1. CONTRAST. Sama Abaknon had eight indigenous non-continuant phonemes: /p/, /t/, /k/, /ʔ/, /b/, /d/, /g/, and /dʒ/. The first four are distinguished from the latter four by voicing. Loan words have added one systematic phoneme, /tʃ/. Further distinctions are made on the basis of articulatory position as shown in Table One.

Phoneme	p	t	k	ʔ	b	d	g	dʒ	tʃ
Voice	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
Anterior	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Low			-	+					-
Grave	+	-	+		+	-	+	-	-

Table One: Noncontinuant distinctive features

p/b:	/pá.tu/ 'duck'	/bá.tu/ 'stone'
t/d:	/tán.du/ 'sound'	/dán.ta/ 'bright'
k/g:	/sú.huk/ 'go inside'	/sí.pug/ 'shame'
ʔ /k:	/ʔ ál.la/ 'spouse'	/kál.lat/ 'awake'
ʔ /t:	/pá.ʔ i/ 'do'	/pá.tiʔ / 'and'
ʔ /#::	/pa.tú.ʔiʔ / 'circumcise'	/pa.tú.ʔi/ 'sleep'
dʒ/d:	/dʒá.ta/ 'up'	/dá.ti/ 'used to be'
dʒ/ ts	(in loan subsystem): ⁶ /dʒip/ 'jeep' EN	/tʃi.né.las/ 'slippers' SP
dʒ/tʃ (across subsystems):	/dʒá.waʔ / 'outside on ground'	/tʃa/ 'tea' CH AB

[dʒ] is a rare phone in Philippine languages and has phonemic status only in the Sama Bajaw family. It is the only palatal consonant in the indigenous inventory of Sama Abaknon and carries the lowest functional load of the seventeen. Spanish complements Abaknon in that [dʒ] is the only palatal consonant lacking in its indigenous inventory.

⁶Contrast with loan system phonemes will always be divided into two sets. The 'in loan subsystem' set has all examples from borrowed words. The 'across subsystems' set has examples for the first segment from indigenous words and examples for the second, from borrowed words. SP= Spanish, EN = English, Ch = Chinese, AB = Indigenous Sama Abaknon.

4.3. ORAL CONTINUANTS

4.3.1. CONTRAST. Six oral continuants are distinguished by voicing and articulatory features. The loan subsystem adds one phoneme, /ʃ/, as shown in Table Three.

Phoneme	s	h	ʃ	l	y	w	ʃ
Voice	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
Anterior	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
Grave		+			-	+	-
Lateral		-	-	+			

Table Three: Oral continuant distinctive features

s/h	/sú.nud/ 'next'	/hú.nud/ 'give in
ʃ/l:	/ʃam.bu.han/ 'outrigger canoe'	/lam.pá.han/ 'cooked vegetables'
ʃ/l/d:	/ʃá.ʃup/ 'go towards'	/ʃá.lup/ 'stain'
	/sá.páʃ/ 'protect oneself'	/sá.pal/ 'used grated coconut'
y/w:	/sá.pad/ 'women's slip'	
	/ku.ya?/ 'monkey'	/bu.wa?/ 'fruit'
s/ʃ (in loan system):	/sín.ko/ 'five' SP	/ʃén.to/ 'hundred' SP
s/ʃ (across systems):	/si.ʃa.ʃi/ 'younger sibling' AB	/ʃé.te/ 'seven' SP

4.3.2. DISTRIBUTION. The oral continuants occur without restriction in both onset and coda positions within the syllable. /h/, however, is rarely found in the coda position, and then only word final in deliberate (slow) speech. Fifty-three percent of all possible clusters involving oral continuants have been noted in indigenous forms. Loan forms increase occurrence to sixty-three percent.

4.4. VOWELS

4.4.1. CONTRAST. Three indigenous vowels, /i/, /u/, and /a/, and two loan vowels, /e/, and /o/, are distinguished by articulatory position as shown in Table Four.

Phonemes	i	u	a	e	o
High	+	+	-	-	-
Grave	-	+		-	+
Low			+	-	-

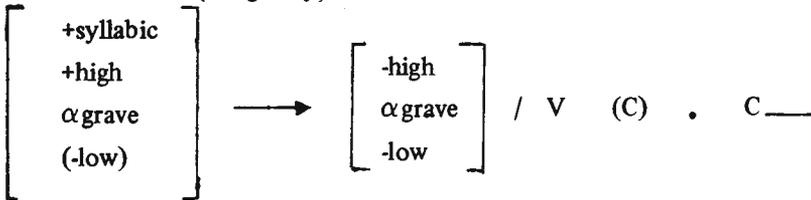
Table Four: Vowel distinctive features

i/u/a:	/pí.tu? /	'seven'	/pú.tu/ 'youngest child'
		/pá.tud/ 'cousin'	
i/e (in loan system):	/přĩ.mé.řo/	'first' SP	/pe.třó.li.yo/ 'kerosene' SP
i/e (across systems):	/? ĩm.pun/ 'tooth' AB		/? ěs.te/ 'east' SP
u/o (across systems):	/sú.ba? / 'river' AB		/só.břa/ 'left-over food' SP

4.4.2. VARIANTS. Vowel height is conditioned by placement within the phonological word in relation to the syllable which receives primary stress. For the indigenous subsystem, it is necessary to define variation in three different environments: the stressed syllable (usually penultimate), the poststress syllable (ultimate), and prestress syllables. For the loan subsystem only two environments are necessary to account for the variants: the stressed syllable and nonstressed syllables.

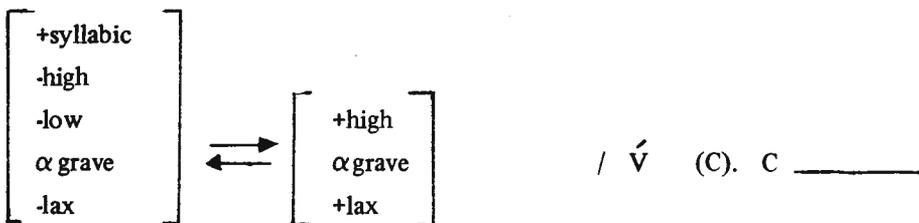
Rules six through eight deal with the variants of /i/ and /u/ in the indigenous subsystem. The phones [i] or [ɿ] and [u] or [ʊ] are found prestress. In the stressed syllable only [i] and [u] are found. Poststress there is again free fluctuation, but this time it is between [ɿ] and [e] or [ʊ] and [o].

Rule Six (obligatory)



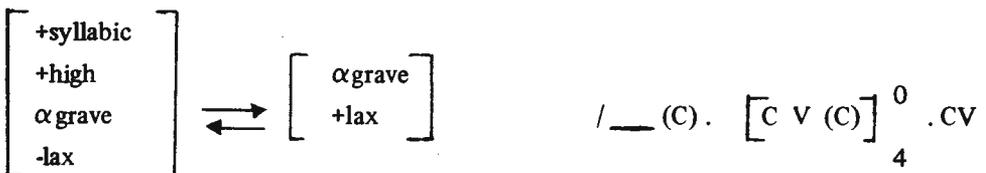
The phonemes /i/ and /u/ have variants [e] and [o], respectively, which occur as syllable nuclei poststress.

Rule Seven (obligatory)



[ɿ] and [ʊ] fluctuate freely with [e] and [o] respectively in poststress syllables.

Rule Eight (obligatory)



[i] and [u] fluctuate freely with [ɿ] and [ʊ] respectively in prestress syllables.

Rules six through eight can be summarized by Table Five.

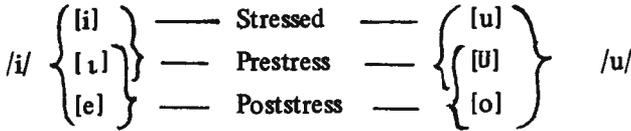
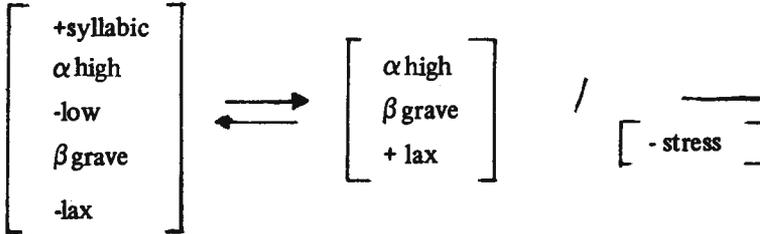


Table Five: Indigenous vowel variants

Rule Nine handles the loan subsystem variants.

Rule Nine (obligatory)



[i], [e], [u], and [o] have lax variants [ɪ], [ɛ], [ʊ], and [ɔ], respectively, which fluctuate freely in nonstressed syllables.

All forms are subject to Rule Ten regardless of subsystem.

Rule Ten (obligatory)



[a] and [aʰ] fluctuate freely in all environments. [a] is by far the most common and is considered the phonetic norm, e.g. [káˆn.dɪŋ] ~ [ká.n.dɪŋ] 'twist ear'.

4.4.3. DISTRIBUTION. Vowel phonemes occur as nucleus of the syllable without restriction regarding continuous consonants or the syllable's placement within the phonological word. There are no vowel clusters.

4.5. SUMMARY OF DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

Table Six gives the distinctive features of twenty indigenous phonemes and five additional loan phonemes. Feature values have been left blank where redundant. Redundancy rules may be found in Appendix A.

	Indigenous system – 20										Lone system – 5														
Phoneme	p	t	k	ʔ	b	s	g	dʒ	m	ŋ	n	s	h	ř	l	y	w	i	u	a	tš	nʸ	š	e	o
Syllabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
Continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				-	+	+		
Nasal									+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-				+				
Voice	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+				-	-	+	+	-	-				-				
Anterior	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-				-	-			
High																	+	+	-					-	-
Low			-	+															(+)					-	-
Grave	+	-	(+)		+	-	+	-	+	-	(+)	(+)			-	+	-	+		-	-		-	-	+
Lateral														-	+										

Table Six: Inabaknon distinctive features summary

5. TENTATIVE ORTHOGRAPHY

The tentative orthography, proposed by the authors in cooperation with the Liturgical Committee of Capul Town Parish, deviates from phonemic transcription for reasons of other language transfer and ease of printing.

/ŋ/ is written with the digraph *ng*, following Pilipino and other Philippine languages.

/dʒ/ is written *dy*, following Cebuano.

/ʔ/ is omitted in word initial position and is written with an apostrophe, ' , in all other environments, following other Sama-Bajaw languages.

The high vowels are written *i* and *u* in syllables which have primary stress (usually penultimate) and in any syllable which precedes primary stress. The symbols *e* and *o* are used in unstressed ultimate syllables. In deciding which vowel variant to use, preclitic and postclitic particles are considered part of the phonological word to which they belong, even though in the tentative orthography, they are written as separate words. (E.g. [i.badúʔ .mo] 'my clothes', is written *i badu' mo*, not **e bado' mo*.) Loan words may be written with any of the five vowels regardless of syllable stress, following the loan language spelling unless the word has indigenous Sama Abaknon pronunciation. For example, [ʔ ag.ʔ ís.taɾɿ] 'live', is written *ag'istar*, since the second vowel is clearly /i/, even though the word can be traced to the Spanish *estar* 'to be'.

Loan words will use the following digraphs in addition to the syllable consonant clusters listed in section 3.2: *ny* for /nʏ/, *sy* for /sʏ/, and *ts* for /tʃ/.

Labialization and palatalization in loan words will be written with *uw* and *iy*, respectively, immediately following the affected consonant, e.g. [p^wede] 'able' is written *puwede*.

Clitic particles are separated from the word to which they are phonologically attached by a single space.

6. TEXT ILLUSTRATING ORTHOGRAPHY

- | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|---|-------------------------|---------------|-----|--------|
| 1. | Adda allaw | i | ba'o | pati' | i | kuya' |
| | one day | nonfocus marker | turtle | and | nfm | monkey |
| manabba-tabba. | 2. | Sinan pagparalangnan | na | manga | | |
| towards reef | | while walking | already | plural marker | | |
| iya, kabagat manga | iya sagad. | 3. | lingun na si | ba'o, | | |
| he found plm | he basket | | speech his focus marker | turtle | | |
| "Tunga' tayto." | 4. | Lingun na may | si kuya', | | | |
| divide our this | | speech his return response particle | fm monkey' | | | |
| "Tawa' ko niya' nan pangngantanan na." | 5. | Lingun na may | | | | |
| belongs to me has that handle its | | speech his rrp | | | | |
| si ba'o, "Tawa" ko may pungtot naynan." | | fm turtle belongs to me rrp bottom its that | | | | |
| 6. | Ngan ari na | manga iya si tabbahan, sigé | manga | | | |
| when there already | | plm he fm reef | continue plm | | | |
| iya pang'anda' | panagaton, | 7. | Ngan si pakapanno' | na | si | |
| he look-for | shellfish | | when fm full | already | fm | |

SAMA ABAKNON PHONOLOGY

pangngisihan container	na his	si ba'o fm turtle	ang'agda suggested	agbalik. return-home	8.	Lingun na speech his
si kuya', fm monkey	"Ay what	ba' question marker	"to?" this	9.	"Tawa' belongs	koyto to me-this
kay because	gana' nothing	may isina." rrp inside	10.	Kay because	bulzog hole	may bale' i rrp really nfm
pangngannan'an container	na his	si kuya'. fm monkey	11.	Sanglet therefore	bilang every	pa'asok put-inside
na already	si kuya' fm monkey	si sagad na fm basket his	ataktak drop	may also	dina. instead	12. Di' i so nfm
ba'o turtle	magparasunod following		si fm	panagatun shell fish		na. his

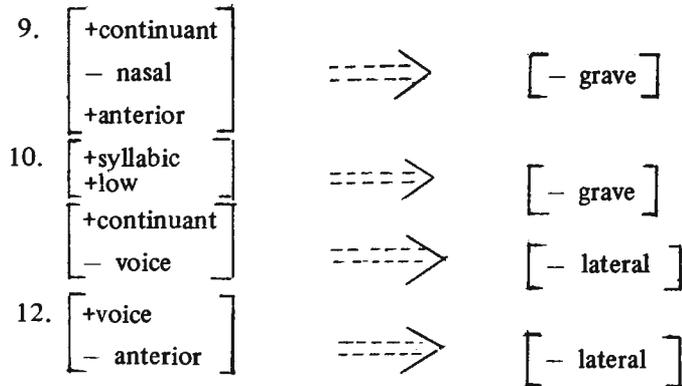
FREE TRANSLATION

¹One day the turtle and the monkey went to the reef. ²As they were walking they found a basket. ³The turtle said, "Let us divide our basket." ⁴The monkey replied, "My part has the handle." ⁵And the turtle responded, "That bottom part will be mine." ⁶So they continued looking for shellfish on the reef. ⁷When the turtle's container was full, he suggested they return home. ⁸But the monkey cried, "What's this?" ⁹"Mine is still empty." ¹⁰This was because the monkey's container had no bottom. ¹¹Therefore everything he had put inside had fallen through, ¹²and following after him, the turtle had picked up his shellfish.

APPENDIX A: REDUNDANCY RULES

The following rules specify feature values left blank in Table Six due to redundancy. Vowels will not be specified for the anterior, lateral or palatal features, and consonants will not be specified for the high feature.

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 1. [+syllabic] | ==> | [+continuant
- nasal
+voice] |
| 2. [- syllabic
+continuant] | ==> | [- low] |
| 3. [- continuant] | ==> | [- nasal
- lateral] |
| 4. [+nasal] | ==> | [+voice
- lateral] |
| 5. [+anterior] | ==> | [- low] |
| 6. [- continuant
+voice] | ==> | [- low] |
| 7. [+high] | ==> | [- low] |
| 8. [- anterior
+low] | ==> | [+grave] |



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RHETORICAL DEVICES DISTINGUISHING THE GENRE OF
FOLKTALE (Fiction)¹ FROM THAT OF ORAL HISTORY (Fact)
IN ILIANEN MANOBO² NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Ilianen Manobos indigenously recognize three sub-categories within the broad genre of narrative: (a) those which are called *tudtul*, from *tudtul* 'to report something', hence current or recent news happenings; (b) *teteremã* derived from *tarem* 'to tell', hence a story or folktale; and (c) *guhud* meaning 'to relate an historical account', hence legends and/or oral accounts of history.

The *teteremã* category of 'folktale' is readily distinguished by its 'decorative language' *igundey ne lalag*, as well as its formulistic features which permeate the narrator's story. The *tudtul* 'current or recent news happening', on the other hand, occurs more recently in time, is devoid of the decorative language and formulistic features of folktale, and requires little skill in relating since it is simply initiated by ordinary conversation, *Iyan ku ini tudtul* 'What I have to tell you' or a simple question, *Netuenan nu. . . ?* 'Did you know?' And while *guhud* 'legends and/or historical accounts' resemble *tudtul* 'news items' in their lack of the formulistic features found in folktales, they differ in that their content is limited to historical or legendary accounts which are always introduced by a time setting of the 'long ago' such as 'Long ago when the Muslim religion was first brought to us Manobos. . . .' 'Long ago in the time of our ancestor Agyu. . . .' or it

¹I use the categories of 'fact' versus 'fiction' (see Wellek and Warren 1949:25) since in Manobo oral literature the opposite of 'fiction' is not 'truth', but 'fact' or time-and-space existence. Even Manobo folktales, involving the world of fantasy, also lay claim to 'truth' (e.g. in establishing precedence in the settling of their custom-law cases) through their view of life (*Weltanschauung*).

The element of 'fact' or 'fiction' is not a determining factor in distinguishing genres of oral literature of older generation Manobos; most folktales involving their culture heroes are given as ready credence as a news report or an account of oral history. Not to do so brings a defiant response of, 'He's mocking the very customs of Manobos!' Even a narrator's repeated innovations of a tale about a Manobo culture hero are simply explained by the audience as information that has newly been communicated to the narrator by his personal 'familiar spirit', thereby indicating that the familiar spirit was also a friend of the now-deceased culture hero. Thus, for the older generation, each genre simply fills a distinctively different role within society.

To the younger generation, however, who have begun to avail themselves of education, a distinction is clearly being drawn. An increasing number of college students, agricultural technicians, schoolteachers, clergymen, one lawyer and one medical doctor now represent an elite group within their society, whose culture differs in part from that of the mass of the people. Many of this 'intellectual class' are interested in organizations which encourage education among ethnic group peoples and, almost without exception, now distinguish the folktale category as 'make-believe'.

²The Ilianen Manobo are an ethnic minority group in North Central Cotabato on the island of Mindanao, Philippines. They refer to themselves simply as Iliyanen or Menuvũ. The name Ilianen means 'people from Ilian', a small mountain in North Central Cotabato near the Pulangi River. Their language is Malayo-Polynesian and belongs to the Manobo subfamily of Philippine languages (see Richard Elkins 1974). The present data were collected on field trips from 1962 to 1971; the writer has intermittently been a resident in the area since 1962.

The author wishes to thank Austin Hale for reading the manuscript and making helpful comments. He is not to be held responsible for the analysis or any errors.

focuses directly upon a well-recognized early ancestor as Beletamey. And just as *teteremã* 'folktales' are related by accomplished raconteurs, *guhud* 'legends and oral historical accounts' are told by a select group from the older generation of Manobos who are recognized as their valid historians.

Both *teteremã* folktales and *guhud* historical accounts may be further delineated to include specific sub-groups. A folktale may be told in the multiple first-person with little or no narration, which I call 'Dramatic Discourse', but such occurrences are few; while certain folktales repeatedly fill the role of proverb *sempitã* because of their highly didactic content. The *guhud* historical accounts may similarly be delineated to refer to genealogical accounts in particular, in which case the specific term becomes *ke guhud te kepuunpuun tew* 'the history of where we have come from (that is, from what ancestors)', derived from *puun* meaning 'origin, to come from somewhere'.

This paper focuses on the linguistic features distinguishing the genre of *teteremã* 'folktale' from that of *guhud* 'historical accounts'.³

And by using language data⁴ which function in Manobo culture both as an historical account concerning their early ancestors, and as a folktale for entertainment, the distinguishing linguistic features are forced into bold relief.

When the data are related as an historical account, usually by a shaman *weliyan* or an older man of authority *pekilukesen*, they are prefaced by a statement such as, 'This is a story about "The First People" (i.e. first Manobos)'. When it is related as folktale, by a master raconteur, a title is not usually specified. But upon enquiry, the narrator may simply call his tale, 'The Seven Young Women', or 'The Birdhunter'; on other occasions he may specifically name the birdhunter 'Itung' or 'The Famous Young Man' (both

³ Although the linguistic examples in this paper are drawn from but three texts, they are supported by a corpus of over 2,000 pages of folktale provided by several master raconteurs.

⁴ A brief résumé of the language data is as follows: A young man while hunting or walking in the forest (depending upon the version) hears a rumbling in the sky overhead, followed by seven young women clad in dresses with feather-wings descending to bathe in a forest pool. As the seven skymaidens, all equally beautiful, occupy themselves with swimming and bathing, the hunter steals one of their feather dresses. The young women emerge from the pool to return home, and when one of them (always the youngest) is unable to find her dress, she is forced to remain on earth as the young man's wife. The hunter later hides his wife's feather dress either in a cock-gear case, a bamboo musical instrument, or a woven basket which he tucks in the rafters at the peak of their house. A child is born to them who one day cries for the cock-case, the bamboo instrument, or the woven basket hanging from the rafters to be given her as a toy. The result is that the dress is discovered and the mother returns to her home in the sky. The Manobo oral historical account ends here; however, the folktale goes on to recount the husband's journey to find his wife. The search is climaxed by his being asked to fulfill certain tasks set by his chieftain father-in-law, which culminates in his successfully identifying her from among her six equally-beautiful sisters by recognizing the needle marks left on her finger from mending their clothes. Both are then permitted to return once again to earth where they live happily ever after.

The language data consists of the world-wide swanmaiden motif of Tale Type 313 I (b) *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight*, when it is narrated as Manobo oral history; and is combined with Type 400 *The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife* (involving the well-known son-in-law tasks) when it is narrated as folktale.

In Japanese oral tradition, forty-six versions of the tale have been recorded, incorporating both the swanmaiden motif as well as the son-in-law tasks. The swanmaiden motif dates back to the eighth-century *Fudoki*, a collection of local records compiled by Imperial order in A.D. 712, and is incorporated in a strikingly beautiful NOH drama, *Hagoromo* ('Feather Robe'). The son-in-law tasks are also found in the eighth-century historical and mythological record, the *Kojiki* (Seki 1963:86-88), where it is an episode in the story of Okuninushi, one of the mythical founders of the Japanese nation (Seki 1063:63).

In literary tradition the swanmaiden motif appears in *The Thousand and One Nights* and forms one of the poems of the *Old Norse Edda*.

nicknames for their culture hero, Tulalang); on still further occasions it may be Surayman⁵, or Beletamey⁶ (both names of their early Manobo ancestors).

The Manobo language is particularly rich in the rhetorical devices it possesses for informing and influencing the audience of folk narrative, by displaying or highlighting certain elements in the tale which the narrator wishes to focus attention upon in order to occupy the foreground of his listener's consciousness. And there is perhaps no other function in Manobo culture where a more highly-developed display of rhetoric is demonstrated than in the narration of folktales, especially those employed to establish precedents in the settlement of Manobo legal-cases *kukuman*.

The Manobo raconteur, as a traditional narrator of tales, draws from this wide range of Manobo rhetorical devices in order to accomplish his over-all generic folk aim of *egkepeneheewit ke munge etew ne ebpemineg riyã te edteteremen* 'causing those who are listening to be brought along [with him] to the very place where his story is taking place'.

2. VERBAL CONVENTIONS⁷

2.1. VERBAL CONVENTIONS FOR INTRODUCING AN ENTIRE DISCOURSE

For the introduction of his entire tale the Manobo narrator begins with the obligatory folktale introducer *hane* 'take note', then pauses slightly to put his audience at ease and to help create an expectant air, before transporting them to the make-believe scene where his story is taking place: there [far away, out of sight] we [you and I inclusive] are with Si Terengati.⁸ As introducer for the entire tale, *hane* serves to alert and command his audience's attention, and when coupled with the subsequent throat-clearing and brief pause, it combines to assure the audience that a competent raconteur is in control.

2.2. VERBAL CONVENTIONS FOR INTRODUCING INDIVIDUAL SCENES

Beginning with the initial setting of his tale, which serves to transport his audience 'there [far away, and out of sight] to his story's first participants', a Manobo narrator's constant aim is to keep his audience focussed on the tale's action as it unfolds. To help accomplish this goal, he employs a similar conventional setting for each new scene which

⁵Sulayman occurs in the folktales of the Muslim ethnic groups of Mindanao. For examples of Maranao see McAmis 1966:41-9.

⁶Manobos, in their oral accounts of history, commonly refer to *Beletamey* as one of their early ancestors. It is worthy of note that a genealogy chart of Saleeby records an eighth-generation descendent of Sarip Kabungsuwan (the Muslim sultan who is reported to be the first to bring Mohammedanism to the peoples of Mindanao) named *Beratamey*, to whom Magindanaos also trace their ancestry. The Manobo name, *Beletamey*, is the regular phonological equivalent of *Beratamey* (Saleeby 1905:36, Chart 3).

⁷Bennison Gray, defines 'A convention as . . . a verbal construction, restricted to literature, that recurs from work to work' (1971:296-7).

Max Luthi describes the 'Once upon a time' introductory phrase of folktale as embodying a brief statement of folktale philosophy. "Once there was, One day there will be". The Breton narrator understands perfectly: the phrase *Es war einmal* by no means is intended to stress the fact that events in the tale took place in the past. The intent is to suggest the very opposite: what once occurred, has the tendency continually to recur. The ancient incantations liked to refer first to a former situation wherein the gods, demons, or saints being implored actually did help. Thus, they will now help again. What once happened will happen again and again . . . There is no "if" and no "perhaps" (Luthi 1976:47).

⁸*Si Terengati*: is derived from *si* 'person marker', and *kati* 'to catch a wild bird by staking out a tame one as decoy'. The tale was narrated on August 6, 1976, by Mr. Ampatuan Ampalid of the Arakan Valley.

formally introduces or re-introduces key participants in his story. The conventional introductions for these scenes rely heavily upon the Manobo deictic category of demonstrative pronouns involving space. These formulaic introductions are most frequently represented by settings involving the deictic category of proximity: *Hane kayi te pè ma te* . . . 'Take note, here [close at hand] we [speaker and addressee] are with the . . .' or by one of its variants as *Ne kayi te pè maa egkehiya te* . . . 'And here we will return again to talk about . . .'.

In the 'Si Itung'⁹ version of the tale, the narrator rapidly shifts scenes between a focus upon the young man as he connives to steal one of the skywomen's feather robes while they bathe in a nearby pool, to a focus upon the young women as they finally emerge from the pool only to discover one of their dresses missing and the necessity of leaving their youngest sister behind on earth, to a final focus upon the young man as he leaves his hiding-place to claim his beautiful prize. The transition from the first to the second scene is accomplished by continuing to view the new scene through the eyes of the conniving young man who was in focus in the first scene, climaxed with the actual dialogue of the young women. With the third scene, however, the narrator approaches a peak point in his tale and, as if to alert his audience to this fact, he creates a new formulaically-introduced scene, with all of the aura of fantasy that such an introduction in Manobo oral literature commands. *Hane kayi te pa maa te kenakan ne mid-eles* 'Take note, here we will return again to the young man who lies hidden'.

Somewhat later in the same tale, as the young man (who has by now become the father of a growing daughter) is away on a trip, the young daughter cries endlessly for the cloth bag she sees suspended in the rafters overhead. The mother finally succeeds in quieting her child only by promising her that she must wait just until her father returns home. The narrator heightens the suspense of his tale by immediately creating a new scene bringing home the young father. *Hane kayi te pè ma te amey te vatà* . . . 'Take note, we will return here to the child's father. This father of the child is just about to arrive home again in his return from a journey. You, young man, were even still there on the house-ladder when you were confronted by your child'.

When, however, a narrator concludes a scene with the focus upon one of his story-participants whom he moves offstage to some distant location as *diyān* 'there (far away from both speaker and addressee)', he must again re-orient his audience to a change of location in the setting of the following scene. If it is a return to the stage recently vacated, it will be accomplished by the use of *kayi* 'here (close at hand)'; if it is to a scene more spatially remote, it will be with the use *diyā* 'there (far away, unseen)' in his new conventional setting.

In the 'Birdhunter' version of this tale, the hunter is likewise absent when the child cries for the bamboo flute she sees tucked in the rafters high overhead. The mother, however, complies with her child's persistent crying by climbing to the peak of the house herself to get it. When she tries to play the flute without success, she strikes it against a nearby rafter and is unexpectedly rewarded with the return of her feather dress which tumbles out. Her decision to return home is immediate. Thus she squeezes out some of her milk to leave behind for her crying child, bids the child farewell, and puts on her dress to fly off into the heavens above *diyān* 'there (far away, unseen)'. The narrator

⁹ *Si Itung*: is derived from *si* 'person marker', and *itung* a Manobo expression roughly equivalent to the English expression 'imagine that'; it occurs frequently as a literary nickname for young men who are especially fond of punctuating their speech with it. The tale was recorded in 1962, just prior to the untimely death of its narrator Mr. Juanito Ampalid, a younger brother of Ampatuan Ampalid.

then transports his audience to the distant forest scene of the husband, the only remaining key participant in his tale. *Hane diyā ka te ki Terengati* . . . 'Take note, there [far away, unseen] you are now with Terengati. Said Terengati, "I'll go home now for the sun is already high overhead". And that's what he did. Terengati's return home was fast indeed'.

To a Manobo in oral tradition, a folktale with properly-introduced scenes can be 'grasped immediately' *sekali ke metetau* and therefore more-easily retained.¹⁰ For the framework upon which the details of the story are hung is readily observable to all. But without these carefully introduced scenes, the story appears as a complicated maze; at best a rather baffling network of facts. In addition to enhancing the clarity of presentation, a formal setting for each new scene highlights peak points in the plot by creating an aura of fantasy and interest very similar to the once-upon-a-time introduction of the entire tale, and very often it even causes an already overly-tired audience (since folktales occupy the entire night) to respond with excitement. *Ne pemineg kew su riyān en mā ke pekaid en*. 'Now everyone pay attention for the one who brings harm [i.e. the villain] has just arrived'. While its absence causes the audience to complain, *Meambe ayan ke egketekewtekew guntāni?* 'Why is she going so suddenly from one person to the next (in her story)?' *Egkevadtivadtī embiya warā hane kayi te pē mā . . . te teteremen dīm*. 'It's too broken up when there is no "take note, there we are with . . ." in her story'.

2.3. VERBAL CONVENTIONS AS CLOSURES TO HIS TALE

A further linguistic convention of obligatory importance to the Manobo master-raconteur consists of the closure for his tale. Closures include several variants based on the Manobo word *taman* 'the limit', the end, such as *Ne arā dā taman~Dutun dā taman~Ketā dā taman~Wey ketā dā taman* all roughly equivalent to 'And that's the end' followed by the optional further specification of *ke teteremā ku* 'my tale'.

A second grouping of closures are based on the Manobo word *amin* 'to use up or consume something' or a closely-related Manobo term *ipus* 'to finish, to complete something'. Examples are: *Neipus embe imbe arā~Na neamin en~Nepupus en* 'It's used up, finished, completed now' which may, or may not, include the further addition of 'my tale'.

A final, more figurative closure (and possibly more colorful because of the images it conjures up) consists of *Hane* 'take note' *ne neveriyung ke epus ne nepupus en* 'and now it (the story) has come to the other end and is finished', wherein the expression it has come to the other end' is derived from *epus* 'the dying embers of a fire' which is used figuratively of 'something being used up, consumed'. A variant of one of these closures is certain to be employed by the master Manobo raconteur at the conclusion of his tale; in my entire corpus of data provided by such masters, no tale occurs without it.

¹⁰ The device for scene-shifting seems much more universal than for Manobo oral tradition literature alone, for it can be documented for the written literatures of other cultures of the world as well. An early American writer, James Fenimore Cooper, refers to it as 'an author's privilege' in his great adventure tale *The Last of the Mohicans* where he opens the action of his second chapter as follows: 'Leaving the unsuspecting Heyward and his companions to penetrate still deeper into a forest that contained such treacherous inmates, we must use an author's privilege, and shift the scene a few miles to the west' (1958:33).

Similarly for Manobo, broken quotatives [for example, 'What', he asked, 'happened', he said, 'to you?'] in dialogue constitute a vital part of Manobo oral style. They not only provide the narrator with a brief pause for collecting his thoughts, but likewise provide a means of controlling the appropriate rate of introduction of new material in an 'oral tradition' tale. To violate this is to overcrowd the communication channel. When this occurs, the audience loses interest because they are able to retain very little.

3. TECHNIQUES FOR ALERTING HIS AUDIENCE TO PEAK POINTS IN THE NARRATION OF HIS TALE¹¹

An accomplished Manobo narrator controls several devices for heightening suspense and for adding excitement to his tale until his audience is often compelled to exclaim that it is 'just as if it is happening all over again' *iring te tidu ne egketemanan*, because they 'are seeing each character come alive in the telling of his tale' *iring te egke-kitakita ke uman senge etew kayi te teteremen*.

3.1. PARALLELISM¹²

A Manobo narrator does not want his listeners to miss a single crucial point in his tale. As a special rhetorical device he therefore employs paraphrase, or carefully-metered lines of couplet, triplet, and quadruplet-form to tautologically underscore a point which he wants to ensure does not go by unnoticed because the hour is late and his audience is tired.

Although some narrators employ this device to a far greater extent than others,¹³ the 'Si Itung' version contains six occurrences in what is considered by Manobos to be a short tale. As the young man in this story hears a rumbling overhead while walking in the forest, he looks up to suddenly see seven equally-beautiful young women with feather wings alighting a short distance ahead. The narrator at this point, as if to alert his listeners to the first real peak in his story-characters' involvement, spells out for them this sudden dilemma confronting his hero, by rhetorically underscoring it in parallel lines:

Warã imbe ne bisbisen nu
 su langun ne merayirayi en.
 Wey midserpeng en ini se raha;
 warã edtehaken nu te paras.
 You couldn't tell them apart,
 for all were equally beautiful.
 These young women were identical;
 there was no way of distinguishing their appearance.¹⁴

¹¹ I am indebted to Robert E. Longacre (1976:215-213) for his discussion of some of these rhetorical devices found in English and American literature, in the 'oral literature' of some of the lesser-known languages of New Guinea, as well as some of my own Ilianen Manobo language data provided him; and especially for his example from Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* employing the use of the first person inclusive pronoun combined with the present tense.

¹² Even the most unskilled Manobo, in singing or in story-telling, will repeat for days an attractive couplet of parallelism which he has just heard expressed in a tale, while savouring its every word. It continues to excite his aesthetic admiration and appreciation for the narrator, although during the tale-telling performance itself the parallelism filled quite a different function of argumentation within the tale. (See C. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969:169, where they distinguish between 'figures of style' simply as embellishment or as filling a role in argumentation.)

Dennis Tedlock also discusses some of the implications of parallelism for Zuni oral narrative in his 'On the Translation of Style in Oral Narrative' (1971:131).

¹³ Mr. Ampatuan Ampalid's slightly longer version contains eleven occurrences of parallelism (most instances consisting of more than one couplet); while in my corpus of data involving several narrators and some two-thousand pages of text, other tales of comparable length rely even more heavily on parallelism as rhetorical underlining, some with a dozen or more occurrences to underscore the burden of the plot.

¹⁴ Mr. Juanito Ampalid likewise rhetorically underscores the parallel point in his version of the tale recorded 14 years earlier:

You can't tell which is the youngest, and you can't tell which is the oldest; you can't say which is the most beautiful,	for all are equal in appearance; all look exactly the same.
--	--

Somewhat later in the tale as the young man (who has now become a father) returns from a journey, he is confronted with his daughter's request that he get her the forbidden cloth bag hanging from the rafters overhead. He tries to distract the child first by telling her that the bag doesn't belong to them (it has been placed there by an aunt who forbids that it be opened), and secondly by smothering her with kisses. But the child will have none of it and resumes her crying. To underscore the young father's crucial dilemma, the narrator tautologically portrays him

pacing the length of the house,
and pacing the width of the house,

in an effort to forestall any infringement upon the interdiction.¹⁵

Hane wey pã ura maa medsinhew se vatã ne ruen dẽ ma
iya. Mekepetilendu ne mekapehumblevahan se kenakan
ne ed-uyat te anak din ne kena ma iya ed-engked se vatã.

Take note, and so the child is continuing her crying.

The young man is pacing the length of the house,
and he is pacing the width of the house,
in his attempt to pacify his child's crying, but she
indeed would not stop.

Towards the conclusion of the same tale, after the feather robe has been discovered and the skywoman has returned home again, the despairing husband sets out on a journey to find her and if that fails, to put an end to his life. As the narrator describes the hero's stamina for persevering until he keels over from sheer exhaustion, and his body is transformed into an unrecognizable mass of cuts and bruises, he deftly adds to the pathos by underscoring it all with parallel words and clauses.

Meribpes meawang ne ibayã nu en ne kenakan. Hane
wey ke ura med-embeter se ed-ipanew ne warã
pekedukilemen, ne warã peked-endawen nu, ne
kenakan su tuus te edtantu ka ed-ipanew.

Tall grass, or open fields, you went through it all,
young man. Take note, and so you are hurrying along
in your journey for you are not aware of nighttime,
and you are not aware of day, young man, which shows
that you really overdid your walking.

To a Manobo narrator, the importance of rhetorical underlining must not be underestimated; it is one of his simplest devices for evoking, rather than describing for his audience, an intensely emotional state.

3.2. CONCENTRATION OF PARTICIPANTS

A further folk device for marking a crucial point in the development of plot is that of the crowded scene. As if to remind his audience that all of society is watching, the Manobo narrator brings into one crowded scene the bulk of his story-participants when he wishes to signal a crucial moral judgment about to be made.

In Mr. Ampatuan Ampalid's 'Birdhunter' version of the tale, the opening episode sets the scene of a poverty-stricken hunter, Terengati, setting traps in the forest without

¹⁵ In V. Propp's study of plot structure for Russian folktales, he discovered thirty-one such basic units, or functions, and that the sequence of these functions was relatively fixed (1958:24-59).

success, when he is suddenly startled one day by a swishing sound overhead. The discouraged Terengati comes out of his hunter's blind to see seven equally-beautiful skymaidens alighting at a pond nearby to bathe.¹⁶ The crowded scene suddenly mounts with intensity as the thus-far unsuccessful hunter calmly makes his boast that he will get himself one of these skymaidens for a wife.¹⁷ Then as he watches the skymaidens begin to remove their feather dresses before entering the pool, he reiterates his claim.¹⁸ The scene closes with the narrator's comment that Terengati 'is keeping still', but his eyes 'look like those of a guilty person'.

At the close of the same tale, as Terengati finally succeeds in locating his missing wife (who had returned to her chieftain father's home once she had discovered her dress), the narrator marks the final climax of his tale by crowding his scene this time with the chieftain's household. First, the guard of the chief's house-ladder thoroughly questions Terengati before allowing him even to enter the house, then he seats Terengati in a corner where he is left unnoticed for seven days before gaining access to the chief.¹⁹ Further questioning by the chief involves an embedded discourse as partial evidence for Terengati's claim to having been married to one of the chief's daughters. The windows to the sleeping-quarters of the seven princesses are then thrown open and Terengati is asked to present final evidence to his claim by identifying his wife from among the seven identical sisters. As Terengati ponders his predicament, his daughter breaks loose from his arms and runs over to identify her mother by hugging her. However, the chieftain is not yet fully satisfied and requires Terengati himself to provide some distinguishing feature of the woman he claims to have been married to. It is then that Terengati remembers seeing needle marks on his wife's fingers from her having to patch and repatch their clothes, and

¹⁶To further promote an air of expectancy for his audience, the Manobo narrator rhetorically underscores the introduction of his concentration of participants with poetic parallelism:

There was nothing about them you could criticize,
for all were exactly alike.
You couldn't tell which was the younger,
and you couldn't tell which was the older.
And you couldn't say which was the most beautiful,
for all of them were beautiful,
all were identical in appearance,
all of their postures were exactly the same.

¹⁷Again rhetorically underlined.
Ih, . . . this is the kind of fate that's never seen (in real life).
Without my even planning it,
I'm going to get something;
I'm going to really get something right today.
My fate is really good,
for someone who lives alone;
for I'll be able to get myself a wife.

¹⁸Likewise underscored rhetorically:
I'm going to get myself a wife now.
I'll marry any one of them,
the youngest,
or the oldest,
for they're all alike;
for not one of them is to be rejected
and not one is to be preferred,
for I really like all of them.

¹⁹In Mr. Juanito Ampalid's version of the tale, he adds another person to the chief's household: 'The keeper of the betelnut container', who assumes much of the questioning.

an immediate investigation reveals these needle pricks to be found only on the fingers of the princess whom the child had hugged earlier. With final resolution, the scene closes and the couple is permitted to return home where they live happily ever after.

In the 'Si Itung' version of the tale, the parallel crowded scene of the opening episode is further compounded by the presence of the princesses' seven pet monkeys who faithfully stand guard over their mistresses' feather dresses while the princesses swim and bathe in the pool. Tenseness in this scene mounts as the monkeys refuse to be enticed away with the bananas offered them by Itung. It is only with the very last banana tossed to them by Itung that he finally achieves success.

This version also provides two additional crowded scenes midway throughout the tale. As the narrator approaches the interdiction in his plot,²⁰ he again crowds the scene. This time it is with Itung's chieftain father's large household: the chieftain, his wife, their other sons and daughters-in-law; even minor participants are there in the person of the young men of the area who make the chieftain's yard their playground, as well as the many workers in the chieftain's fields. As Itung carries the sobbing maiden home, it is therefore not to the small *sabung* 'shelter' of the Terengati tale. Itung's arrival, on the contrary, is heralded by the largest family scene to be found in all of Manobo society, that of the chief. Indeed, his very arrival brings everyone's activities to an abrupt standstill—beginning with the field workers who first spot him in the distance and stop to stare at the young man approaching with a young woman thrown across his shoulders, to the young men playing *sipd* ball²¹ who likewise strain their eyes to determine who it is. With everyone's attention so suddenly riveted upon a new arrival the chief calls out to enquire, learns that it is his own son bringing home a wife,²² and is soon overwhelmed with her beauty. The chief's wife and daughters-in-law immediately become involved also by taking turns holding the beautiful skymaiden. To this already-crowded scene the old woman of the forest (and sister of the chief encountered in the opening episode) arrives to visit, delivering a package with its concomitant interdiction: 'Hang this cloth-bag up in the rafters of the roof, for this is not to be opened! And put it up really high!'

Later, when the interdiction has been broken and the skymaiden has recovered her feather-winged dress, she flies off skyward, with one final admonition to her husband that if he really wants to visit her he will find her kingdom 'there where the moon rises and the sun sets'. As she fades out of sight Itung loses no time in setting out to try to locate this strange kingdom and, if that fails, to commit suicide. Bidding his parents good-bye, he travels night and day until he collapses from exhaustion, and his body has become bruised beyond all recognition. As all probability of his ever succeeding in his quest now grows extremely dim, the narrator once again crowds his scene by a chance encounter of his hero with an old man of the mountain who summons 'all the birds of the air', and then 'all of the fish of the sea' to enquire if they know of such a kingdom. The birds are

²⁰ The 'Terengati' version does not possess a formal interdiction; a statement that 'Terengati searched hard to find a secure place in which to hide the feather dress, and then left the house only for brief periods of time lest the hiding-place be discovered' fills the role of interdiction. Propp discusses similar features of folktale material that strengthens or even replaces a formal interdiction (1958:26-7).

²¹ *edsipd*: derived from *sipd* 'to kick'; a Manobo men's game particularly popular before the advent of roads, it is played by two teams of four men each, with a rattan ball which is kicked by the men's heels and aimed at a target of betelnut *inepuhan* (often served by an attractive young woman) suspended from the limb of a tree. The first to hit the target wins the game for his team.

²² A Manobo audience recognizes Itung as their culture hero, Tulalang, who regularly brought home beautiful princesses as his wives.

unable to help,²³ but from the deliberations of the various species of fish an eel finally speaks up to provide explicit directions. After expressing great gratitude to the old man and the eel, the hero sets out on the final leg of his journey westward to cross the intervening seven mountains lying between him and the final resolution of his quest.

Four crucial peaks in the development of the 'Si Itung' plot: (1) the daring attempt to secure a skymaiden for a wife; (2) taking her home to a chieftain father's palace where his paternal aunt delivers the interdiction forbidding the entire household from ever opening a cloth bag she instructs to be hung from the roof rafters; (3) the hero finally **being** provided with explicit directions to his wife's remote kingdom 'where the moon rises and the sun sets', by a very unlikely donor: the eel; (4) the hero's final task of identifying his skymaiden wife from among her six identical sisters in the equally-crowded household of his chieftain father-in-law are all marked by the narrator's rhetorical device of moving from one or two participants on stage to a heavy concentration of the participants in his tale.

3.3. A RAPID ADVANCE IN TIME

Another hallmark of transition to peak in the development of plot in Manobo folktales consists of 'a fast jump forward in time'.²⁴ Both folktale narrators of the present data employ it to announce either the pregnancy or the birth of the hunter and swanmaiden's first child.

Once the stealing of the feather-dress has been accomplished and the swanmaiden has been forced to stay behind as the hunter's wife (albeit with much weeping and great protestation), the scene is laid for the delivery of the interdiction:

Hang this cloth-bag up in the rafters of the roof for
it is not to be opened! You put it up really high now!

But, with the feather-dress contents of the bag known only to the hunter (and in the 'Birdhunter' version known also to an aunt), further plot development hinges on a violator for the interdiction. If the Manobo narrator is 'to keep his audience with him' until this is realized, he cannot risk boring them with a detailed chronological presentation of events in real-life time (especially as the hour grows late and heads begin to nod). He, therefore, rolls time rapidly forward in order to bring into being the necessary dramatis personae who will serve as initiator for the violation of the interdiction in his plot. In Juanito Ampalid's version, this rapid advance forward in time spans the real-life trajectory of time from the delivery of the interdiction (soon after Itung has taken the swanmaiden home to his chieftain father) to the birth of their child.

Hane ebpekevevaen ta ke tetereman, ne warã mevahayi
te pira ne rahun ne mid-anak ini se esawa te kenakan.
meritan ini se vatã.

Take note, we will shorten the story, for it wasn't
many years before the young man's wife gave birth, and the child was a girl.

In the 'Birdhunter' version, however, the advance in time announces simply the

²³ Again rhetorically underscored for the audience:
All of the birds replied that they didn't know;
none of them had ever heard of this kingdom.

²⁴ A similar advance in time is employed as a plot device in making films, where it functions to portray a character transformation when a seemingly set character attempts to establish a new identity. See 'Cinema', In TIME, December 3, 1979, pp. 36-43.

pregnancy. The progression of that pregnancy and her delivery later on are told in brief narrative form.

Hane mehaan se teteremã ne mehingey en ini se esawa ni Terengati.

Take note, the story goes faster,²⁵ for the wife of Terengati was pregnant now. [And so Terengati continues living there as his wife's pregnancy progressed. When the ninth month came, what happened then was that she finally gave birth, Terengati. Ih,²⁵ this child of yours was a girl. Oh, and as you lived there, Terengati, it is only We would say that you are indeed very poor. There Terengati had nothing else to do but to go hunting with his tame-cock. And it was only for short periods of time for he was afraid that his wife would discover her dress that had been hidden.]

This narrator's added narrative description of events between the pregnancy and the actual birth is essential to the development of his plot, for his tale does not possess a 'formal' interdiction. Rather, an earlier statement that 'Terengati searched hard to find a secure place in which to hide the feather-dress', coupled with this later reinforcement that 'Terengati left the house only for brief periods of time lest the coveted feather-dress be discovered', serve to fill the role of interdiction.²⁶

The narrator of this version also employs a second rapid advance forward in time to realistically account for sufficient growth of the baby to become the violator.

Hane mehaan se teteremã ne nekuwa ketã na itung hustu en ed-ipanew en ini se batã ini.

Take note, my story goes faster, for it was time already for this child to begin walking.

The corresponding information in the 'Si Itung' tale is handled, instead, by metaphor:

Iring ma guntaan te ebperiyupen ini se lawa te vatã.
Megmehaan ne edekelã.

And now it's as if the body of this child was being blown up (as a balloon). It was not time before she was big.

A rapid advance in time thus provides the Manobo narrator with a further device for inciting suspense and developing conflict in the deep structure of his plot.

3.4. HEIGHTENED VIVIDNESS

Heightened vividness, which helps to create the effect of transporting his listener to the make-believe scene of the action, is achieved in the narration of a Manobo tale by (i) a shift in tense, often combined with emphatic verb forms and durative action which

²⁵The Manobo cultural interjections used by characters of folktale often prove difficult to translate. English interjections as 'Yikes!' 'My goodness!' and 'Heavens!' sound incongruous coming from the mouths of Manobo semi-deities and heroes. A further complication is posed by an interjection as *Ti* and *Ih*, ranging in meaning from simply 'My!' to 'Of course not!' For this reason no attempt has been made to translate interjections as *Ti*, *Ih*, *Etuwey*, and *Babeba* since the context usually makes their meaning quite clear.

²⁶See footnote 20 for a reference to Propp's discussion of folktale features which strengthen or even replace a formal interdiction in plot.

make vast use of two dynamic generic Manobo verbs; (ii) by a shift to the second person pronoun, and (iii) by a shift to rhetorical question and dialogue.

3.4.1. A SHIFT IN TENSE, in order to give prominence to specific events in the tale, is accomplished by the narrator's use of the Irrealis verbal affix marker *med-*. This affix is a lower-level grammatical feature in Manobo which the narrator employs on the higher narrative level as a highly-stylistic rhetorical device which I call the 'Dramatic Historical Present', following the already-established counterpart term in English grammar and in rhetoric.²⁷

On the discourse level of Ilianen Manobo folktales, the use of the Irrealis verbal affix to signal the Dramatic Historical tense²⁸ provides a Manobo narrator with a technique for highlighting certain actions in order to transport his audience in imagination to a more realistic presentation of his tale. Such highlighted action always occurs as an overt response to certain types of stimuli in his story. And the added emphasis given to these actions further heightens the vividness of his tale. Such stimuli may include (1) instructions, or conclusions, stated by a central character in the scene to another person, as well as to himself (in monologue form). When it is to himself, the self-order or conclusion usually stems from a rhetorical question just asked, from a stated urgent need to

²⁷ In its lower-level grammatical functions, Morey-Austin (1964:69-82) referred to this verbal affix marker as an 'unreal Aspect' marker for the Ata Manobo language. In her later analysis (1966:81-4) she adopts its Latin equivalent of Irrealis.

Shand (1964:67-8), however, described this verbal affix as an Irrealis tense marker of timeless action (action which doesn't happen) or postulated action (rather than real) for lower-level grammatical functions in Ilianen Manobo.

In the 1964 description of Ilianen Manobo verb tense by Shand, certain residue of data were left unsolved by her matrix model which did not deal with data beyond the level of sentence. At that time such residue could only be assumed to be functioning as higher level phenomena. This assumption subsequently led the writer in 1971 to note that verbs thus affixed often introduced paragraphs whose whole action occurs as a response to a demand stated in the previous paragraph. But because the focus did not rise above the paragraph-level, the hypothesis failed to account for the fact that certain narrators chose to mark portions of their story thus while other narrators did not; and that even in two accounts of a basic tale type different narrators (or, even the same narrator in different contexts) apparently held certain options in what they chose to highlight in their narration. This fact, that it functioned as a technique employed wholly at the discretion of the accomplished raconteur, still eluded description. (See Wrigglesworth 1971:85-194).

It is also worthy of note that scattered throughout the Gospel of Mark, a first century piece of Greek literature, are thirty occurrences of Historic Present tense verbs that are part of a past-tense narrative. Scholars of Greek have noted this and have ascribed it to a literary method which 'Greek authors frequently used. . . for the sake of heightened vividness, thereby transporting their readers in imagination to the actual scene at the time of occurrence' (Guthrie, Motyer, Stibes and Wiseman 1971: 851).

English grammarians, likewise, have described a similar usage for English: 'In narrative, especially in a lively style, the "historical present" is much used to make past events more vivid and bring them nearer the hearer. . .' (Curme 1947:253). And rhetoricians such as C. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca state: 'An audience has the further property of conveying most readily what we have called "the feeling of presence"' (1969:160).

A somewhat similar use of the Historical tense has recently been documented for a previously oral tradition language of Brazil, where groups of verbs marked for Historical tense serve to bracket plot divisions (Koehn: 243-52).

²⁸ A linguistic clue signalling to a Manobo audience the immediate forthcoming use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense, is that it is nearly always preceded by the particle complex *wey embe-wey pe be-wey ara embe* 'and so', 'at that now'.

come up with a fast solution, or an ostentatious speech of boasting and vaunting one's own capabilities. Self-orders are always couched in monologue form, and the narrator may employ a lengthy monologue to further heighten the suspense by delay. The monologue's content may even employ action quite out of keeping with the social mores of Manobo culture when this serves to reinforce the dangerous extent to which the central character is being swayed or even duped. (2) On somewhat less frequent occasions the stimulus may be provided simply by the comments or actions of another story-participant. (3) Even a prognostic interjection by the raconteur himself may provide stimulus equally authoritative. The first two categories of stimuli have to do with the Manobo verb *kahi-ke se* 'to speak', 'to say', or one of its variants as *lalag* 'to talk' or *umew* 'to call' and, except for rhetorical questions which receive an immediate investigative response, they usually serve to remove the speaker from the scene. Whichever it is, the responsive action is described in the Dramatic Historical Present tense.

From forty-four occurrences of the Dramatic Historical Present tense occurring in the 'Si Terengati' story, and eighty-three occurrences in the 'Si Itung' tale of but half the length, I cite the following examples.

1 (a) At the beginning of the 'Itung' tale, the Manobo culture hero Itung runs out of *Adsam-vine* for weaving men's ornamental kneebands, a household occupation deemed especially appropriate for semideities. The stimulus for the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense in this case consists of a self-order given by Itung to himself because of his urgent need.

Huna ve su netaman ne med-ubpàubpà kàyi te kenakan Itung
ne kuwa sikandin se neibperan en te ebeelan din ne tikes.
Ke se kenakan ne, "Iyan tumù kàyi te kedì," ke se kenakan,
"ne ebpemenginteng e pà te adsam su warà ini ne edraaran ku
ne tikes.

After some time of staying at home, this young man
Itung had nothing left for making knee-bands. Said the
young man, "I had better," he said, "go and look for some
Adsam-vine for I have nothing to weave knee-bands with."

Response: Wey ne megkuwa ini se kenakan ini ne medteganes ini
se kenakan ini. Huna su nekuwa se teganes ne migkuwa rin ke
kelepì. Nekeipus se egkuwa te kelepì ne med-ipanew sikandin.
Wey embe gunteani ne med-ipanew ini se kenakan ne itung
meriyù nè benar se ed-ipanawan din.

And so the young man is getting busy and is getting dressed.
When he had finished dressing he got his bolo. When he had gotten
his bolo he is setting out. And so the young man is setting out now and his
journey is a long one.

1(b) Before long, however, Itung finds himself completely lost in the forest and rhetorically asks himself where he has come from.

Huna su netaman ini se kenakan ne ed-ip-ipanew ne Itung
ne kuwe en kàyi te itungan din ini se netarin sikandin
su kenà din netuenan se endei mibpuun sikandin. "Endei
se ebpuunan ku?" ke se kenakan ini, "maan ne ed-engked ad
ini."

After this young man, Itung, had journeyed for some time he realized finally that he was lost for he didn't even know where he had come from. "Where have I come from?" said the young man, "I'll rest here awhile."

Response: Itung diyan en ta se wey embe me guntean ne med-ip-ipanew se kenakan ne Itung egkuwe sikandin ebpekeinum nevenar ini se kenakan. Endei embe ebpekeinum? Wey embe ne megkuwa ini se kenakan.
 There we are with this young man Itung and so he is keeping on walking and walking until he is overcome with thirst. But where will he be able to get a drink? [The narrator interjects.]
And so the young man is looking around to see.

1(c) With no water in sight Itung continues on but soon bumps his head against the corner-post of a house quite camouflaged by heavy jungle growth.

Huna su netaman ne iyan din kineengked se ed-ipanew se nekesungkul en te pelaus. Midlingakã ini se kenakan ne iyan din egkekita ayan se sabung. "Etu," ke se kenakan, "baley ves se kayi."

Sometime later he was brought to a halt in his journey when his head hit the corner post of a house. The young man looked up and what he saw was the corner post of a cottage. "Etu! " said the young man, "A house here? "

Response: Mebpemenayik ini se kenakan ne engkey ve se neumean din se meritan.

The young man is going up the house-ladder and who should he meet but a woman.

2(a) As he explains his presence in the forest to hunt *Adsam*-vine for weaving, the woman tells him about a pool nearby that is visited regularly at high noon by seven young women who go there to bathe. The young man's jesting reply (indicated by the Manobo particle of disbelief *uvag*) 'that he might even be able to get himself a wife' triggers a response from the old woman which is highlighted by the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense. And her response, in turn, triggers a counter response on his part to delay his search for weaving materials in favor of checking out this most interesting bit of news, also highlighted in the same tense.

Ke se kenakan ne, "Meupiya ve arã," ke se kenakan, "su kema ke ebpekesawa ki uvag te seveka."

Said the young man, "That's very good," he said, "for perhaps I'll even be able to marry one (if it's really true)."

Response¹: Wey embe megkuwe en ini se meritan, ke se meritan,
 "Ne embiya kenã ka ebperetiyaya," ke sikandin, "ne ebpeninimaan nu uvag te egkeudtu ayan se andew.
And so this woman is saying, "If you don't believe me, then see for yourself when noontime comes."

Response² Arà dà ne wey embe megkuwa ini se kenakan ini ed-ubpà-ubpà keniya.

With that the young man is deciding to stay on there.

2(b) Since it is already the middle of the morning, the old woman wastes no time in instructing the young man how he is to go about his undertaking. And the young man's immediate compliance is highlighted in the Dramatic Historical Present tense.

"Iyan kayi te kedì, Anù, ne kuwa ke pà," ke sikandin, "ed-ipanew su kema ke iyan egkeuna" ke sikandin, "ke menge raha ne merehen," ke sikandin. "Iyan kayi te kedì," ke se meritan pè ma, "ne ewit ke pà te menge sahing ne pitu ne timan," ke se meritan pè ma, "su ayan se menge raha ne duen ayam dan ne menge uval. Ne arà ve keniya ne ini se sahing ini ne embiya ebpekeuvey ka ketà ne ibpembehey nu ketà ne menge uval su emu ebpekeawà en."

"I think, Anù,"²⁹ said she, "that you should set out now for perhaps they will get their first," she said, "and those young women are really difficult. I think," said the woman, "that you should take along seven bananas to the monkeys so that they will go away."

Response: Ne migkuwa en ini se kenakan ini. Wey be guntean ne med-ipanew ini se kenakan ini. Nekeuma sikandin ketà ne med-eles en.

The young man took the bananas then. And so now the young man is setting out. When he arrived (at the pool) he is hiding.

2(c) Eventually succeeding in obtaining one of the feather-dresses, as well as the the youngest skymaiden who is thereby forced to remain behind, Itung takes her home to his chieftain father. Later on the old woman encountered in the forest (now revealed as his chieftain father's sister) arrives for a visit, bringing a cloth-bag (containing the feather-dress stolen earlier by Itung) which she orders to be hung high from the rafters overhead and never opened. Sometime much later, after Itung's first child has learned to talk, the child begins begging for the little bag suspended from the rafters and will not be consoled without it. Then as the anxious father paces the length of the house, and paces the width of the house in his attempt to pacify the child, he can only reemphasize his aunt's prohibition when his worried wife instructs him to climb up and get whatever the child is crying for.

Hane ke se kenakan pè ma te, "Keveiyan," ke sikandin, "merehen te hinawa ku ayan se ebuyuen kayi te anak ta su intelaan ni Ayà se kenà ibpevukayat.

Take note, said the young man, "It is extremely difficult for me to give our child what she is asking for because Auntie instructed that it was never to opened."

²⁹ *Anù*: a name that everyone except other young men call a young man.

Response: Hane mekepeeneng-eneng se iney te vatà, ini ma se vatà
ne bulug ne edsinehew ne kenà egkeuyat.
Take note, the child's mother is keeping very, very quiet
while the child continues crying and will not be stopped.

3(a) In the 'Terengati' version of the tale as the seven maidens emerge from the water to discover the dress of their youngest sister missing, the older six remind her that they will all be severely scolded if they are late returning home; and with that they leave her to continue her search while they fly off to explain her absence to their father. At this juncture in his tale the narrator interjects rhetorically: 'And where will you ever see them again?' The response is portrayed in the Dramatic Historical Present tense.

Ih, arà dâ iya guntaan se nekahi kayi te enem ne etew
ini ne midlayang dan en maan. Tî, endei nu en ma guntaani
egkepkepa ini se enem ne etew ini?

Ih, as soon as the six maidens had spoken they flew away.
Tî, where will you ever see the six of them again?

Response: Ew, ne nekuwa rà iya keniya te ari eyè se itung
newaan en sikandin, ne wey ura medsinehew
Well when that happened that the youngest was left behind,
how she is crying now

3(b) As the young man finally comes out of hiding to try to soothe the sobbing maiden he is offered gold, carabaos, horses, or even slaves if he will only give her back her dress; all without success. It is precisely at this point that the same narrator interjects a further dismal prognostication to the sky-maiden: 'No matter how you try, and no matter if you die in the attempt (of looking for your dress) you certainly won't see it, and you certainly won't find it'.³⁰ The maiden's response is highlighted in the Dramatic Historical Present tense.

Ne ah ebpekettidtuwan ta ma ketà se apey rè ma ebmemenu
ke pà ebpelumpepatey ke pà ne kenà nu iya egkekita ne
kenà nu iya egkekuwa.

And, well, we can just see that no matter how you try and
no matter if you die in the attempt, you certainly
won't see it (the dress), and you certainly won't find it.

Response: Wey ran embe keniya meked-esawa ne miduma en ni
Terengati diyà te sabung din
And so they are getting married and she accompanied
Terengati to his small house

3.4.1.1. THE DRAMATIC HISTORICAL PRESENT TENSE COMBINED WITH INTENSIVE OR EMPHATIC VERB FORMS AND CONTINUOUS OR DURATIVE ACTION

As a strategist the Manobo storyteller capitalizes on the momentum already gained through the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense to further heighten the vivid-

³⁰The narrator's interjection itself is marked as 'crucial' by being tautologically underscored with paraphrase.

ness of his tale by combining yet a further rhetorical device as well. He does this by using the intensive or emphatic forms of the verb, such as 'really enjoying', 'really pleading', and 'really worrying'; and continuous or durative action 'keeps on calling', 'keeps on ringing', and 'keeps on running'. These aspects occur both on the verbs marked for Dramatic Historical Present and on other non-past tense verbs as well. He knows the audience is anxiously waiting for the next incident to begin.

In my example 1(b) cited from the 'Si Itung' tale the following Manobo description occurs:

Itung diyān en ta se wey embe me guntean ne med-ip-ipānew
se kenakan

There we are with this young man, Itung, and
so he is keeping on walking and walking

Here, the *med-ip-ipānew* verb is derived from *ipānew* 'to walk, to go some place' and is not only marked for Dramatic Historical Present tense with the prefix *med-*, but the word-base is also reduplicated to indicate an action that is being repeated. The resultant scene is one of intense frustration in not being able to find weaving materials, coupled with his soon being overcome by thirst.

And in example 2(c) as the worried father restates his aunt's prohibition in an attempt to counteract his wife's orders to climb up into the house-rafters and get whatever their child is crying for, we have the following response:

Hane mekepeeneng-eneng se iney te vatā, ini ma se vatā
ne bulug ne edsinehew ne kenā egkeuyat.

Take note, the child's mother is keeping very, very quiet while the child continues crying and will not be stopped.

The verb *mekepeeneng-eneng*, likewise, is not only marked for Dramatic Historical Present tense with the prefix *meke-* but also has a reduplicated stem to indicate that the mother is now puzzled and so is *keeping very, very quiet*. For one brief moment it would appear that the husband has been spared the horrifying task of bringing down from the rafters the very container used for hiding his wife's stolen feather dress; but that moment is short-lived. The next sentence tells us that the child continued crying until she had lost her voice; and with that the anxious wife resumes her pressure that 'if the bag does not contain poison' then it should certainly be given to the child to pacify her.

And in the 'Terengati' version, as the child cries for something she sees tucked in the rafters overhead, it is the skymaiden mother herself who climbs up to search for the object.

Mebpemenayik se meritan ini ne mehaan se kinepemenayik
keniyā. Nekeuma diyā te mibetangan te liliyungan ne
penikepsikepa.

The woman is climbing up then and was very
fast in doing so. As she reached the peak of the roof she
keeps feeling around with her hands (i.e. between the wooden
roof rafters and the grass roof).

The verb *penikepsikepa* is derived from *sikep* 'to reach into a hole or space between two objects to search for something' and is again not only marked for the Dramatic Historical Present tense with the suffix *-a*, but also has a reduplicated stem to indicate an action that is being repeated because of a crucial situation. That is, the mother was an-

xiously searching for whatever it was that the child was crying for in order to quickly put an end to it.

3.4.2. THE DRAMATIC HISTORICAL PRESENT TENSE COMBINED WITH TWO HIGHLY GENERIC VERBS

Two generic verbs of motion in Manobo, *waleng* 'to get busy, to proceed', or 'to take action in something', and *kù* 'to take, to grab hurriedly', or more idiomatically speaking 'to get going', where the specific nature of the action is made explicit by the verb which follows, or in some cases by the antecedent verb, constitute a highly-imaginative rhetorical device for highlighting for a Manobo audience each move or action of the story participant(s) in the tale. Born of 'oral tradition' that not only provokes the audience's imagination but allows for variation in the creative process, these verbs hold particular interest for Manobos because of their dynamic quality and chameleonic versatility, allowing one listener to interpret the verb in one fashion, while another listener interprets it in a slightly different manner, but in keeping with the context.

Often closely aligned with the occurrence of these two highly-generic verbs, and the use of the Dramatic Historical Present in the narration of Manobo folktales, is a 'chaining effect'³¹ which is of utmost importance to oral folktale style. This chaining effect in Manobo, in which part of a sentence is recapitulated in the onset of the succeeding sentence, is coupled with the dynamic qualities of the *medwaleng* and *megkuwa* generic verbs to provide the basis for the further highlighting of each single action in a lengthy chain of events. Their combination with the Dramatic Historical Present tense serves to highlight each motion as it is being narrated. That the story-participant's actions are being pictured more realistically for a Manobo audience, as a result, is indicated by their frequent backing of the narrator: *Iring en iya te egkekitakita ku en!* 'It's just as if I am truly seeing it happen right now!'

The setting of the 'Itung' version provides us with a vivid example of chaining, coupled with the generic quality of *megkuwa*, which is highlighted further by the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense. As Itung realizes he has exhausted his supply of weaving materials he concludes that he had better go and look for some *Adsam*-vine.

Wey ne megkuwa ini se kenakan ini ne medtegenes ini se kenakan ini. Huna su nekuwa se teganes ne migkuwa rin ke kelepi. Nekeipus se egkuwa te kelepi ne med-ipanew sikandin. Wey embe gunteani ne med-ipanew ini se kenakan ne itung meriyù ne benar se ed-ipanawan din.

And so the young man is getting busy (megkuwa) and is getting dressed (medtegenes). When he had finished (nekuwa) his dressing, he

³¹Longacre describes such linkage as follows: 'Just as the *sine qua non* of Narrative genre is chronological sequence, so such sequence is likewise central to the Narrative paragraph. . . Regardless, however, of the varying grammatical or lexical forms of narrative linkage, the device basically consists in repeating, paraphrasing or referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to the whole or part of the preceding sentence' (1960:56).

Although Boas had early cited this stylistic feature as a distinguishing characteristic of 'primitive' narrative (1940:491-493), Dennis Tedlock redefines it as 'oral' style for Zuni narrative; that is, 'the linking of two sentences or major clauses by the conversion of the final element of one into the initial element of the next, as in these lines: His uncle/went out hunting. Going out hunting/he came along . . .' (1971:130-1).

The same device is common in Yugoslav epic poetry as in the following example from Lord: 'And may God too make us merry. Make us merry and give us entertainment!' (Lord 1965:32).

went-for/got (*migkuwa*) his bolo. When he had finished getting (*egkuwa*) his bolo, he is setting out. And so the young man is setting out now, and his journey was a long one.

An occurrence somewhat later in the same story also provides us with a varied example of the *megkuwa* and *medwaleng* verbs, though without the added chaining effect of narrative linkage. In Itung's trip to the forest to look for weaving materials, he comes across the small cottage of the old woman who tells him about seven young skymaidens who come regularly to bathe at a nearby pool. She urges him to see for himself and, if he is interested in the women, to go early and take along some bananas to throw to the skymaidens' pet monkeys so they will be distracted from their careful watch over the maidens' feather dresses. Itung obeys and subsequently hides himself at the pool. Soon he hears a disturbing sound overhead and sees seven equally-beautiful skywomen alighting nearby.

Wey meguntean ne megkuwa ini se kenakan ini ne neuma rin ini se menge raha ini ne midluung se menge belegkas ne itung megkuwa keniya ebperihû. Wey imbe mebperihû ini se raha ini itung diyâ ke ve ma rema kayi te kenakan. Egkuwa se kenakan ini ne itung medwalengwaleng sikandin ne migkuwa rin ini se sahing ini ne ebpergentuhan nu ini se ruma ne uval ini ne egkuwa nu ini se enem ne timan ne uval. Wey embe megkuwa ini se kenakan ne itung ne iyan din itungan ini se edtameng te belegkas keniyâ te ineriyân. Wey imbe megkuwa ini se kenakan ne itung mid-entuhan te sahing ne ah merehen nevenar su kenâ ebpermineg inî se uval, kenâ egkaan keniyâ te sahing.³²

And so now the young man is creeping over (megkuwa) until he reached the young women who took off their clothes and indeed are getting ready/are going into the water (megkuwa) to bathe. And now the young women are bathing right near where you are, young man. The young man got up (egkuwa) and is proceeding/is reaching out (medwalengwaleng), then took the bananas and you threw them to the monkeys and you reached (egkuwa) six of them. And so the young man is making progress (megkuwa) for what he has in mind is to keep his eye on the clothes of the youngest. And thus the young man is trying again and threw some more bananas, but ah it was very discouraging for the monkeys wouldn't pay any attention they wouldn't eat the bananas.³²

The 'Terengati' version of the tale provides us with a graphic example of chaining coupled with the generic quality of both *medwaleng* and *megkuwa* verbs, highlighted further by the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense. As Terengati makes one of his brief hunting trips to the forest for wild chickens, his swanmaiden wife climbs up into the roof rafters to get whatever it is their child has been pointing to and crying over. The result is the discovery of a bamboo flute into which her feather-dress has been carefully stuffed. Having exclaimed aloud her gratitude she continues, 'As for you now,

³²The highly dramatized scene is also rhetorically underlined with parallelism.

Terengati, you have to stay here, but I'm leaving'. The narrator then provides his audience with the following highly-picturesque scene:

Medwalengwaleng sikandin ne megkuwa te rudsun uvag ne intelau rin kayi te anak din ini. Nekekeres be sikandin te rudsun ne intelau rin na impuyut din ini se batã ne pinesusu rin pã neraan. Nekelipereng dã ketã midlelembung ini se meritan ini ne tĩ engkey nu pẽ da Ne riyen en nekelayang en.

She is getting busy (medwalengwaleng) and is getting/squeezing-out (megkuwa) some of her milk to leave behind for her child. When she had squeezed out some of her milk to leave behind, she put the child in its cloth hammock and nursed her before leaving. When the child was asleep, the woman then dressed herself and tĩ what you do And then she flew off far away.

3.4.2. A SHIFT TO A MORE SPECIFIC PERSON

Except for the pronoun exponents of dialogue, a Manobo folktale is basically told in the third person. As a rhetorical device, however, for heightening vividness and thereby convincing his audience that they, too, are witnessing the events of his tale, a Manobo raconteur draws heavily upon a further tool, from his seemingly-abundant store, and that is (1) a shift to the second person 'you' in order to highlight the action of a key story-participant; and (2) a shift to the second person 'you' to refer to his audience (on rare occasions a key story-participant may even address the audience by this means also), or to the first person dual pronoun 'we(you and I)' in order to tie himself more closely with his listeners, reminding them that they, together, are viewing the story as it unfolds.³³ These may be combined with the Dramatic Historical Present tense for a further heightened effect.

1(a) The very setting of the 'Terengati' tale makes effective use of the second person pronoun to highlight the intense discouragement of the main story-participant as he faces another day's hunt with no catch.

Wey embe guntaani iya med-ipanew si Terengati ini ne peketidtuwen ta ma keniya te matag ma iya se neudtu en se andew ne ketã ke rẽ ma iya. Terengati.se ebpengati. Ah, ne warã iya egkeutel nu . . . Su misan ebmemenu ka Terengati ne kenã ed-ukarã ini se kati nu.. Ne engketã ded dema se kelesanen; warã ed-ukarã. Wey nu pengekaki ini se kati nu ne ah, kenã en su ebpengelivukvuk dẽ ma iya Terengati.

And so Terengati is setting out now and we can just see that even when the sun has already reached its zenith you, Terengati, are still hunting chickens. Ah, but you haven't caught anything yet . . . For no matter what you do, Terengati,

³³Rhetoricians point out the use of 'you' and 'us' as devices by which the speaker identifies himself with his audience. 'In oratorical communion the speaker may try to merge himself in his audience. The . . . effect is obtained by enallage of person in which "I" or "he" is replaced by "you" making the hearer imagine he sees himself in the midst of the danger, and which is a figure relating both to presence and to communion' (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969:178).

your hunting-cock won't crow. And it was the same also with the wild chickens; none of them crowed. And so you are clucking like a hen for your tame cock, but it did nothing except bury itself in the dust, Terengati.

1(b) The following day Terengati decides to leave home well before daylight so he can have his decoy set up in the forest before the first early-morning crowing of the wild chickens. And, again, the narrator portrays the utter futility of this hunting trip also by focusing on the hunter in the second person.

Tf arã en se mid-ipaneu en si Terengati ini te nepawã, merusirem pã. Wey ke be guntaani med-ipaneu Terengati ne peketidtuwen ta ma ketã se meabet imbe ne ked-ipaneu nu su ed-ahew ke ma te ked-ukarã te kelesanen. Hane engkey pe be iya guntaani, Terengati Guna su diyã te puntur te buvungan, diyã nu ma huntaani egkekuwa ni Terengati ne mid-ukarã se kelesanen

Tf, at that then Terengati set out before dawn; it was still dark. And so you, Terengati, are setting out and we we can just see how fast you are in walking for you are trying to arrive before the wild chickens begin crowing. As you reach the top of the mountain, then you heard a wild chicken that crowed, Terengati

Wey ke en be huntaan med-ipaneu Terengati ini peketidtuwen ta ketã se guna su edluuk ebpemenayik se andew ne nekeuma ka ketã te kuwa te buvungan puntur. Ketã ke en da Terengati se ebpengahad ke ed-ukarã guntaani ini se kelesanen ini.

And so you are setting out again. Terengati, and we can just see that the sun had reached the halfway point in its journey to the zenith before you reached the top of the mountain. There you waited then, Terengati, for the wild chickens to crow.

1(c) As Terengati lies in his hunter's blind, hungry, he suddenly hears a swishing-sound overhead. The scene he sees as he emerges from the blind is described by the narrator as follows:

Engkey pã se midlingakã ka Terengati, ne iyan nu nekita ini se pitu ne etew ne raha ini ne edlayang Ne warã rapit ne idsawey nu keniya su elin-elin neneked-iring eyẽ. Kenã nu egketuusan be eyẽ se ari ne kenã nu egketuusan se kakey. Ne kenã nu egkekahi se eyẽ se merayirayi su langun en ne merayirayi, memegidsan se paras. Langun te kegueyguey ran ne neneked-iring. Engkey pẽ be keniya Terengati te ebpememetien nu en eyẽ. Sekali ka metetau Terengati ne kayi en iya egkeulug-ulug te kayi en iya egkeulug-ulug te uvey nu. Ih, ne wey ka mekeeles keniya Terengati. What happened then was that you looked up, Terengati, and what you saw were seven young women flying overhead There was nothing about them you could criticize, for all of them were exactly alike. You couldn't tell which was the

younger, and you couldn't tell which was the older. And you couldn't say which was the most beautiful, for all of them were beautiful; all were identical in appearance. All of their postures were exactly alike. What you did then was just to wait. Before you knew it, Terengati, they were flying down right nearby, they were flying down right near you. Ih, and so you are hiding then, Terengati.

A subtle intermeshing of second-person 'you' combined with an on-the-spot portrayal achieved by means of the Dramatic Historical Present tense, further serve to heighten the vividness at a peak point in plot which the narrator has already thoroughly underscored with carefully-metered lines of parallelism. He does not want the point to go by unheeded because his audience is weary and the hour is growing late.³⁴

2(a) With the hunter lying securely hidden, and the sky-maidens about to jump into the pool, the narrator now shifts his focus of attention to his audience by means of the second person pronoun 'you'.

Tĩ endei se kinekepasad dan ne midlumbuk dan en kayi te peligi.³⁵ Ne ini ma guntaan ini se peligi ini ne egkeeyaman ke ma ne edtengteng te peligi su budtuk en imbe te metmetingew ne ini en iya guntaani se peligi ini su apey ra memenu ne kenā egkelevug ini se kuwa ini peligi. Ne ketā ne iyan nu egkekita ketā te peligi arā se pitu ne luyuran se belanak ne kenā ebpemekedsuweysuwey te kedsunggey ran kayi te peligi. Tĩ, when they had finished (undressing,) they jumped into the pool.³⁵ And this pool now, you (audience) would really enjoy looking at for it was crystal clear; and no matter how they played in it, the pool didn't become muddy. And in it you could see seven schools of belanak-fish which couldn't be separated from chasing each other all around the pool.

2(b) A little later the maidens emerge from the pool, discover their youngest sister's dress missing, and leave for home without her in order to explain to their father what has happened. The narrator then, with a very grim prognosis, rhetorically asks the remaining grieving skymaiden, 'Where will you ever see the six of them again?' before quickly shifting his focus of attention to his audience, also by means of the second person pronoun.

Ew ne nekuwa rā iya keniyā te ari eyē se itung newaan en sikandin ne wey ura medsinehew ne tuus nu ma keniyā te

³⁴ A good Manobo raconteur is expected to entertain his audience until either the successful conclusion of his tale coincides with daylight, or the pressures of the season force them all to go to work in their fields. The cultural preference is for one story to fill the entire night. Families sit on their sleeping-mats on the floor. The younger children are free to fall asleep and children or adults may relieve themselves at the corner post of the house reserved for that purpose. For a more detailed discussion of the sociolinguistic relations holding between the performance of a folktale and audience interaction see Wrigglesworth 1977.

³⁵ *peligi*: 'a soggy area of ground in the forest where pigs wallow', it is consistently the term employed in every known variant of this tale (in contrast to *wayig* 'a river or stream' where humans in folktale and in real life go to bathe), since Manobo folk belief holds that such areas are believed to be but a camouflage for the sparkling water which lies beneath it where semi-deities and evil spirits are accustomed to bathe.

midtentuwan din te edsinehew su matag ma iya se deruwa
ne hewii ne keta de ma iya se edsinehew ini se kuwa ini
raha ini ne netahak.

Well, when that happened that the youngest one was left
behind, how she is crying then, and to show you (audience)
how she overdid her crying, even on the second day this
young woman who had been left behind was still crying.

2(c) After a lengthy dialogue between the maiden and the hunter (she pleading
for the return of her dress; he pleading with her to marry him), the maiden flatly rejects
his offer telling him to be off, then resumes her crying. At this point, the narrator alter-
nates his use of the second person pronoun 'you' between a focus upon his audience to
a focus upon the crying maiden on stage – all within the same sentence. Then to involve
himself in a more intimate way with his listeners he employs the first person dual pro-
noun 'we(you and I)', reminding them that they all are involved in this together.³⁶

Wey en be guntaani medsinehew ini se raha ini ne tuus
nu ma te midtantu midsinehew su edlevag en ma guntaani
se mata nu. Ah ne kenà ketà dâ se edlevag se mata nu
su kenà ke en ebpekelevang ne edtelilid guntaan ini
se meritan ini. Ne ah ebpeketidtuwan ta ma ketà se
apey rê ma ebmenu ke pà ebpelumpepatey ke pà ne kenà
nu iya egkekita ne kenà nu iya egkekuwa.

And so the young woman is crying and to show you (audience)
how she overdid it she cried until your eyes (young woman)
are swelled. Well and you (young woman) not only made
your eyes swelled but you would no longer speak from
rolling on the ground. And, well, we (narrator and audience)
can just see that no matter how you (young woman) try and
no matter if you die in the attempt you certainly won't
see it (your dress), and you certainly won't find it.

The rapid shift back and forth between 'you' on stage, to 'you' in the audience, to
'we' narrator and audience, when also combined with the Dramatic Historical Present
tense at a point already rhetorically underlined with parallelism, serves to evoke a high
degree of 'presence', alerting his audience to a tense and emotion-laden peak in plot. The
Manobo master of such folk rhetoric has well earned his audience's enthusiasm when they
respond with, 'Keep going now' *ne ibpeiseg-iseg nu en* 'for it's just as you say (i.e. you're
telling it just as it originally happened)! *"su enduena nu ve iya!*'

2(d) As already mentioned, on rare occasions even a key story-participant may
address the audience by means of the second person pronoun 'you'. Earlier in the same
version of the tale as Terengati watches the seven beautiful skymaidens alight at the
pool, he blesses his fate for such a rare turn of events, and then calmly boasts that he will
get himself a wife. As Terengati sits alone carefully pondering his plan, the narrator gives
the audience privileged information: that Terengati's eyes are those of a guilty person.
It is little wonder, then, that Terengati admonishes his listeners: first, not to watch him as

³⁶Charles Dickens in his *Tale of Two Cities* employs the first person plural inclusive
pronoun, along with the present tense, to take his readers to the scene of the action; the reader sud-
denly finds that he is there in the stagecoach too: 'Houses in twos and threes pass by us The
hard, uneven pavement is under us Sometimes, we strike into the skirting mud'

he hides; and secondly, not to watch the young maidens as they undress to bathe in the pool.

Ke si Terengati ne, "Kenà su ed-eles a ebpetamantaman."
 Eyè ne itung nekeitindeg en eyè se pitu ne etew te lireg
 te peligi. "Hew," ke si Terengati, "engkey ve guntaani
 se egkepegitung dan ini? Ah, ne ebpemenluung dan en iya.
 Ih," ke si Terengati ini, "kenà ke pè be iya su ebpenluun
 dan en bes iya ini. Ebpekekuwa ad be te esawa ku guntaani
 kayi.

Said Terengati, "Don't watch me (you is implicit),
 for I'm going to hide as best I can." At that moment the
 seven maidens were standing at the edge of the pool. "My,"
 said Terengati, "what are they planning to do now? Ah, they
 are undressing. Ih," said Terengati, 'don't you (audience)
 watch for they are getting undressed now. I'm going to get
 myself a wife! "

3.4.3. A SHIFT TO RHETORICAL QUESTION AND DIALOGUE

A final rhetorical device for marking vividness involves a shift to rhetorical question and dialogue.³⁷ Some Manobo narrators choose to mark each incident peak of their tale with a single rhetorical question, and more crucial peaks in plot (as the violation of an interdiction or the violation of a weighty cultural taboo) with an underscoring of a succession of rhetorical questions – often combined with parallelism and paraphrase for further reinforcement. Other narrators choose simply to mark the latter; or they may also, as the narrators of the 'Itung' and 'Terengati' data of this paper, concentrate a series of rhetorical questions in the setting – especially if a claim is about to be made – in order to heighten the tension by portraying a situation that offers extremely little hope for the claim every being fulfilled. Part of the assertion of rhetorical questions in Manobo tales involves a prediction that events of major importance are about to take place. As such they foreshadow semantic content before the action actually happens. And, they nearly always constitute stimulus that provokes a response described in the Dramatic Historical Present tense,³⁸ combined with a shift to the second person pronoun, thereby accruing additional weight.

The following are examples of rhetorical question as employed by the narrators of 'Si Itung' and 'Si Terengati', placing this rhetorical device in context as to its occurrence in plot, along with its response and accompanying rhetorical devices summoned.

Si Terengati

Si Itung

³⁷Longacre (1976:221-2) labels such devices as apostrophe and rhetorical question 'pseudo-dialogue' (since they partake of certain features of dialogue without being true dialogue) and places them along a parameter with four ordered values: Narrative → Pseudo-Dialogue → Dialogue → Drama.

³⁸Even highly-skilled master Manobo raconteurs are not infallible. Because they are expected to drink their coffee and chew their betelnut before beginning their story, they become extremely weary as the hour grows late. Isolated examples, without the Dramatic Historical Present tense, occur in my corpus of over 2,000 pages of folktale text; but very often the narrator has apologized afterward for his lack of alertness. On one occasion a master raconteur insisted on retelling her tale because she felt she had left out some of the tale's dynamic features.

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Each version of this tale employs three rhetorical questions in its setting to portray the seemingly quite-hopeless situation of the poverty-stricken hunter ever fulfilling his claim 'to get himself a beautiful sky-princess as a wife'.

- (1) "Aba, why haven't I had any luck catching wild chickens?" (1) "Where have I come from?"

Response: And so you are elucking like a hen for you tame cock, but it did nothing but bury itself in the dust, Terengati. **Response:** And so the young man is looking around.

- (2) "What can I do to catch something?" (2) "Where will he ever be able to get a drink?" (The narrator asks concerning the hero.)

Response: And so you are setting out, Terengati, and we can just see how fast you are in walking, for you are trying to reach there before the wild chickens begin crowing. **Response:** And so the young man is looking around.

- (3) "Ih, where is that wild chicken that I heard crowing from the top of this mountain?" (3) "Etu, a house here (in the forest)?"

Response. And so Terengati is staking out his tame cock here and ih it also crowed. **Response:** The young man is going up the house ladder and who should meet him but a woman.

Utterly dissatisfied with catching any other wild chicken than the one whose 'plaintive crowing' had reached his ears earlier, 'as if being wafted down on a bubbling stream', Terengati stakes his claim in the mountain-top setting from where he has just heard the sad and plaintive wild chicken's call originate. The next sentence tells us that it was noontime (a 'bewitching hour' in Manobo folk belief), accompanied by a 'swishing sound' overhead. It is thus the 'haunting and plaintive chicken's call' in this plot that serves as the catalyst, enticing Terengati to the proper locale for the arrival of the sky-maidens, with all of its subsequent involvements.

Itung's discovery of a house in the forest, on the other hand, provides an encounter with an old lady who serves as the 'source of information' and thereby 'the bridge' to the escapades that will involve this hero through succeeding episodes.

Both versions employ a rhetorical question to announce the sudden and strange arrival of the seven beautiful skymaidens.

- (4) "Ih, what is that swishing sound I hear?" (4) "Now what's this?" (After the narrator has just announced a disturbing sound overhead.)

Response: And so Terengati is startled and is coming out of his hunter's blind. What then but you looked up, Terengati, and what you saw were seven young women flying overhead. **Response:** And now the young man is creeping over until he reached the young women.

Each narrator also includes a rhetorical question in the episode involving the seven skymaidens and the hunter.

- (5) “Ti, where will you ever see the six of them again?”
(The narrator asks the youngest maiden who has been left behind without a dress.)

- (5) “What do you do now?” (Itung asks himself when one monkey stubbornly refuses to be distracted from guarding the princesses’ dresses, even though Itung has repeatedly thrown bananas to it.)

Response: Well, when that happened that the youngest one was left behind, how she is crying then

Response: It is taking the very last banana thrown to it by the young man and hurried off.

The ‘Terengati’ tale later employs a concentration of three rhetorical questions at the violation of the interdiction revealing the hidden dress.

- (6) “What are you crying for?” (The sky-princess mother addresses her child who has not yet learned to talk, but who is crying as she looks up at the cloth bag hung from the rafters above.)

Response: The woman is climbing up then and was very fast in doing so. As she reached the peak of the roof, she keeps feeling around with her hands.

- (7) “Why can’t we have some music now that there is an instrument here to play, for I really like to play the flute?”

Response: She is getting the flute and is blowing into it, but ah, there is no sound.

- (8) “Ih, what’s wrong with this bamboo flute that it makes no sound?”

Response: You are looking inside, but ih, you can’t see anything. The woman is proceeding to strike the flute against something.

The ‘Terengati’ tale also employs one final rhetorical question at the very peak of the final scene, just prior to its resolution.

- (9) “What shall I do now?”
(Terengati asks himself as he

is confronted with identifying his wife from among six identical sisters at her chieftain father's home.)

Response: After a while he let go of his child and babeba what happened then, Terengati, is that it was the one in the center that the child is running over to.

In the narration of tales at nighttime, a Manobo raconteur is faced with the additional challenge of keeping his audience awake. In the final episodes of his story, he therefore makes a shift away from narration to that of dialogue; this is then employed extensively in propelling his story to its final conclusion. Since Manobo tales are expected to last at least late into the night, the Manobo storyteller reserves his heavy use of dialogue for the points at which it can contribute the most. Not only does the narrator continue to confirm and drive home with rhetorical question and dialogue the cultural truths he has already indicated or hinted at earlier in his story, but such devices also serve him well to help keep his audience alert and involved in the cultural relevance of his tale.

In the covered lengthy tales of Manobo, the final third consists almost solidly of dialogue, peaks being marked by a shift to a more dramatic form of dialogue in which the quotation formulas drop out and the story participants speak to one another in an I-you relationship.³⁹ In the 'Si Itung' and 'Si Terengati' tales which are much shorter in length, however, the narrators' shift to dialogue involves instead a noticeable contrast in the size of the dialogue. The earlier terse dialogue construction now gives way to lengthy speeches.

In the 'Terengati' tale, for example, as the hunter finally comes out of hiding to confront the lone remaining skymaiden and to attempt to persuade her to become his wife, the tenseness of the scene is readily conveyed by a departure from the standard Manobo dialogue that is broken by frequent quotation formulas (see footnote 10) to lengthy, rambling dialogue indicative of the high state of their emotions.

"Well," said Terengati, "what's happened to you?
Why are you crying?"

"Ah, you're the one," she said, "who did this to me,
taking my dress!"

"Oh, but why?" said Terengati.

"Well you've hidden it and I want you to give it
back to me, for whatever it is you want in return," she said,
"I will give it to you and if what you need is gold — even a sack
of it — then it will be given to you by Father, or carabaos,
horses, he will give you those, too," she said, "or no
matter how many slaves, you can have them as well," said the
young woman.

"Ih," said Terengati, "that can't be paid to me,"
he said, "for I wasn't the one who got it. That might

³⁹For a more detailed discussion see Wigglesworth 1971:109-111, where the omission of quotatives characterizes an entire genre which the writer labels 'Dramatic Discourse'.

have been appropriate if I had taken it, but even though you didn't pay anything for its return, why would I take the clothes of someone who like myself is to be pitied," he said, "for we are all the same and when I think about it, if I were the one in your place, I would be extremely worried just as you are. What I'm thinking, then, is that I will beg you to consider that since we've met in this forest — and you've also been left behind by your older sisters — ih, I will just take you in so that we can be married."

"Ah," said the young woman, "that will never be possible; so be on your way! "

In Manobo 'oral tradition literature', which relies so heavily upon quotations that are broken by frequent quotation formulas in order to allow a brief pause for the narrator to collect his thoughts, as well as controlling the appropriate rate of introducing new materials in order not to overcrowd the communication channel, such a divergence is permitted only when the audience needs to be alerted to a peak crisis — a key pivotal point upon which the resolution of the plot hinges.

3.5. A CHANGE OF PACE

A final device for marking peak in plot, and thus continuing to draw verbal support from his audience, involves a change of pace. Lengthy sentences and paragraphs, even an entire embedded discourse with its peak carefully marked in similar fashion, occurs.

In the 'Si Terengati' tale as the narrator approaches the peak of his final episode (involving the hero's arrival in a far-away kingdom in search of his wife), the chief begins by asking Terengati four questions — each of which is further underscored rhetorically with paraphrase. The fourth question brings a reply from Terengati which involves an entire embedded discourse rehearsing the course of events in the tale thus far, the peak of which is likewise tautologically underscored with paraphrase.

Said the chief, "Well, where are you headed? Why is it that this is your first time to visit my place? For as I recall," he said, "I haven't ever seen your face before. This is my first time to see your face, and where are you headed?"

"Well," said Terengati, "I have come, Chief, because I am looking for my wife here."

"Well, well, but why indeed," said the chief, "why have you come here? Why have you come looking for her here? "

"Well, I'm looking for her here in your place because I feel that this is where she headed for."

"But why, what was the beginning of it all?" said the chief. "Why is it you two were married (in the first place)?"

"What started it all," said Terengati, "is that I went hunting wild chickens with my tame cock, Chief, but what happened was that I caught nothing. Suddenly, almost before I realized it, there was a swishing-sound overhead. And when I looked up to see, there were seven young maidens. Ih, and I began thinking that I would marry one of them. I got busy and I took one of their dresses," he said. "Well, what

happened then is that a little later we were married. And to show you how long it's been that we've been married, you just look at our child here who is already walking. What ruined it all," he said, "is that she found what I'd hidden up overhead," he said, "at the peak of the house; that bamboo-flute, well she found it. And that's what made her leave. What I'm doing now is looking for my wife," he said, "wherever she went."

The embedded discourse is immediately followed by the chief's delivery of the son-in-law task: 'Well, well, if that's it, then you pick her out, if you're able to distinguish her from among the seven of them there in my daughters' sleeping-quarters, for I know which one she is'. But one brief glance by Terengati soon revealed the impossible impasse facing him and he rhetorically asks himself, 'What should I do now?'

4. THE RHETORICAL DEVICES OF FOLKTALE COMPARED WITH ORAL HISTORY

Having discussed at some length the vast array of rhetorical devices employed by the Manobo narrator of folktales in order to highlight certain elements of his tale and transport his audience to the very place where his story is taking place, we now turn to 'oral history' to determine whether similar devices are employed there.

4.1. VERBAL CONVENTIONS FOR INTRODUCING DISCOURSE AND INDIVIDUAL SCENES

The obligatory attention-getter of folktale *Hane* 'Take note', which precedes the discourse-level verbal convention introducing every tale, does not occur. Since the historical narrative is prefaced by a statement explaining that 'this is an account about the First People', the discourse proper is introduced by a sentence in which the sentence topic is drawn to the foreground: *Ini se etew*. . . 'This person. . .' followed by an equational sentence: *ne iyan din ngaran ne si Beletamey*⁴⁰ 'what his name was is Beletamey'.⁴⁰ The equational sentence is introduced by the emphasis marking particle *iyán*. Occurring initially, *iyán* acts as an anticipatory attention indicator upon the clause that follows.⁴¹ Thus, sentence topic plus emphasis or attention combine to formally introduce the narrative of oral history. The setting is completed with a second sentence of the same type. *Si Beletamey*. . . '(person marker) Beletamey' . . . followed by an equational sentence: *ne iyan din ebpulangan se ebpengpengati* 'what he was doing was constantly going hunting'.⁴²

On lower levels of the discourse, no verbal conventions for introducing individual scenes are employed; once the swanmaiden is acquired as wife and taken home, the scene is not changed. The husband no longer makes hunting forays into the forest.

A discourse closure defining the genre occurs: *Arà dà taman ke guhud ki Beletamey* 'And that's the end of my account about Beletamey'.

⁴⁰*Beletamey*: A Manobo culture hero recognized as one of their early ancestors. See footnote 6.

⁴¹For a fuller discussion of the emphasis marking particle *iyán*, see Morey-Austin 1966.

⁴²The two bases of an equational sentence in Ilianen Manobo are joined by *se* 'equals' or 'simultaneous with' except when base 2 is expounded by a proper noun phrase marked by *si* 'person marker'.

4.2. PARALLELISM

The narrator of the historical account makes no attempt to underline rhetorically with parallelism the striking and identical beauty of the seven swanmaidens alighting at the pool, as both the versions of folktale elaborately do. And there is no need for him to underscore rhetorically an interdiction which is never formally delivered. Nor does he choose to highlight with paraphrase the dilemma facing the young father as he is told to climb to the roof and get the cock-gear case for their crying child, though he knows it contains his wife's feather dress. The suspense element has already been significantly reduced by the hunter admitting to the swanmaiden, at the very outset, that he was the one who took her dress in order that they could be married. Although the narrator later tells us that the husband is sad over his wife's request to get the cock-gear case in order to pacify their crying child, he complies after a brief dialogue with her, 'But why is the child asking for this [the case] when there is nothing in it?' and 'But what is wrong with the child, for this cock-gear case cannot be eaten?' Not only does he comply, but he hands the case over to his child without any further warnings that the case should not be opened.⁴³

Not until the narrator reaches the peak of his entire discourse, the final parting scene between the skymaiden and her earthborn husband, does he employ paraphrase. His first use is to underscore rhetorically the skymaiden's barrage of rhetorical questions to her husband.

“Why, Beletamey, did you put my dress in here? You didn't burn it (as I thought)? It seems pretty clear that you really cared very little for me when we were married! Why did you put the dress away if you didn't want me to return home again to my parents?”

Then, having followed this with her announcement to leave her husband immediately, she turns to her daughter with a brief admonition underlined rhetorically with paraphrase.

“Be good now, Child. Don't cry because I'm leaving you.”

And, finally, she leaves a word of admonition to her husband, partially underscored with parallelism, as the husband increases his weeping.

“Beletamey, take care of yourself for I am leaving you today. I am leaving you because of the dress which you didn't destroy.”

4.3. CONCENTRATION OF PARTICIPANTS

Aside from one early scene in the historical account, describing the arrival of the seven skymaidens (without their pet monkeys as guardians of their feather dresses), there is no crowded scene. Subsequent occurrences of this device in the unfolding of the folktale as (1) the hero taking his skymaiden wife home to his chieftain father's household where the interdiction is delivered, (2) the hero finally being provided with explicit directions in his search for his wife's kingdom 'where the moon rises and the sun sets', and (3) the hero's final task of identifying his skymaiden wife from among her six

⁴³In similar fashion, the swanmaiden immediately ceased her crying earlier when the hunter admonished her, 'Stop crying because you will get sick. It would be better if you'd start thinking about how to be helpful, for what I have in mind is for us to be married'.

identical sisters in his chieftain father-in-law's home, are all absent from the historical account. Indeed the husband does not leave home in search of his wife, choosing rather to raise their child alone.

4.4. A RAPID ADVANCE IN TIME

In the historical narrative no rapid advance in time is employed to announce the swanmaiden's pregnancy, the birth of their child, nor to account for the rapid growth of this child. In lieu of these suspensive elements of plot, there is instead a more pervasive presence of fate or destiny. The hunter is not so filled with awe over the seven maidens' beauty, as in folktale, that he is willing to settle for 'any one of them'. From their very arrival at the pool, in the historical account, it is not a contest of the hero's wits, but a more obvious matter of fate that the dress falls into his hands.

As the seventh one arrived, the youngest, she is getting busy and is taking off her dress and threw it down. Where else but right near Beletamey is where she threw down the dress. And so Beletamey is taking the dress and is hiding it in the case for his cock-hunting gear.

And, while the 'Hero loves the youngest princess'⁴⁴ is a well-known trait of folktale in general, it is clearly not spelled out as a foregone conclusion in the 'Si Itung' and 'Si Terengati' tales. It is realized only after a suspenseful scene of the hero first attempting to distract the maidens' pet monkeys who are assigned as guardians over their feather dresses, then waiting until the maidens themselves are fully occupied with chasing one another around the pool, before he creeps out of hiding (quieter than a cat) to attempt to steal one of the feather dresses. None of this tense interplay, however, is present in the historical account.⁴⁵ Even after the youngest skymaiden has been forced to stay behind, the hunter does not cajole but admonishes her 'to stop crying (and thinking only about herself) and to begin considering others!' Her response is one of tacit obedience, followed by a matter-of-fact progression of events in the narrative.

And so they are being married. The result was that after a while the woman became pregnant. Some time later the woman gave birth to a daughter. And so they are continuing living there until the child grew quite large and, you know, one day she began to cry. The cock-gear case containing the feather dress, which had been placed up at the peak of the roof, is what she begged for.

4.5. HEIGHTENED VIVIDNESS

From the outset of episode one (immediately following the setting), the narrator of the historical account freely sprinkles his narrative with a use of the Dramatic Historical

⁴⁴Motif number T27.2. in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*.

⁴⁵In some respects the Manobo 'historical account' more closely resembles the Japanese 'folktale' [which dates back to their 8th century mythological record, the *Kojiki*] in that (1) the young man admits having taken the skymaiden's robe while refusing to give it back; (2) the skymaiden, upon discovering her robe and deciding to return home, first rises to the tree-top level [then returns to nurse her child, in the Manobo account]; and (3) rises a second time to the level of the clouds [and returns once more to nurse her child in the Manobo narrative] before finally going up to the sky. See 'The Woman Who Came Down from Heaven', in *Folktales of Japan*, edited by Keigo Seki, pages 63-69.

Present tense. The stimulus for triggering its use is nearly always comprised of an action of 'something heard' or 'something done'. As Beletamey sets out for the forest, in the historical account, he hears a wild chicken crowing.

Response: Medwaleng si Beletamey ne medsegkad en. Endei se peligi⁴⁶ ne rutun sikandin medsegkad te uvey. Guna su neuhet ne ed-uk-ukarâ en ini se kati ni Beletamey. Wey embe med-eles en si Beletamey kayi te peligi . . .

Beletamey is getting busy and is staking out his cock.
Where the pool was,⁴⁶ . . .

The liberal use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense continues, highlighting almost every action of the main story participants, and providing a vivid skeletal framework in itself.

. . . he is staking out his cock . . . he is hiding . . . she (the skymaiden) is getting busy and is taking off her dress and threw it down . . . Beletamey is taking it and is hiding it . . . The older sister is returning back (to earth) . . . She is trying to take her (youngest sister) inside her own dress . . . And so the youngest maiden is crying now . . .

The self-order monologue so characteristic of Manobo folktale from its opening episode on, and which always brings a response described in the Dramatic Historical Present tense, is noticeably absent.

Similarly, no instance occurs of a shift to the second person in order to highlight the action of a key story participant, and but one instance of a shift in person to refer to the narrator's audience. Even then, it is an idiomatic use of the pronoun rather than an attempt to heighten vividness for his audience. Furthermore, the second person pronoun most commonly employed for heightening vividness in folktale is the singular form *ka*, which singles out each audience member as an individual, and occurs with verbs involving the senses as 'you (audience) would really enjoy', and 'you (audience) can just see/hear/imagine/feel'. The historical narrative example, however, involves the plural form *kew* and the verb *tau* 'to know, be aware of, be knowledgeable of something'.

And so they are continuing living there until the child grew quite large and you-plural know-how-it-is, one day she began to cry.

Although even its use as an idiom of speech should have alerted his audience to a potential complication in the offing, the narrator of the historical account does not leave them to their own conclusions. Instead, he spells out the problem for them – and to that extent further lessens the suspense – in the following sentence.

The cock-gear case containing the feather dress, which had been placed up at the peak of the roof, is what she begged for.

⁴⁶'Where the pool was' constitutes a unique type of stimulus all its own. For to a Manobo audience, *peligi* 'a soggy area of ground in the forest where pigs wallow' is imbued with a wealth of folk belief, since such areas are believed to be but a camouflage for the sparkling water lying underneath where semi-deities come to bathe.

4.6. A SHIFT TO RHETORICAL QUESTION AND DIALOGUE

Except for brief monologue admonitions, in truncated dialogue not meant to elicit information, no actual repartee of dialogue occurs until the peak of the entire discourse is being approached. Even then it is interlaced with narrative. In the skymaiden's attempt to pacify her crying child, she orders her husband to climb up to the roof and get whatever it is the child is crying for.

Said the woman, "Beletamey, climb up to the peak of the roof and get whatever it is the child is looking at that she wants."

Beletamey said, "I don't know what the child wants up there."

The child cried so long that she couldn't get her breath. After some time, when Beletamey could bear it no longer, he climbed up again to the roof. And so he is scattering the dust up at the roof peak when the child stopped her crying. So the man is stopping his climbing when the child suddenly resumed her crying again.

Said the woman, "Why is the child still crying? Perhaps what she wants is the cock-gear case. Go back and get the case, Beletamey, for perhaps there is something in it that the child wants."

And so Beletamey is returning to the peak of the house. As he reached the cock-gear case he said, "Why is the child begging for this when there is nothing in the case?"

The woman said, "Get the cock-gear case, Beletamey, for that is certainly what the child is staring at."

Said Beletamey, "What is wrong with the child for this cock-gear case can't be eaten?"

Said the woman, "Get that case, Beletamey, in order to pacify the child."

As for Beletamey, he was sad because here in the cock-gear case he had put his wife's feather dress. And so Beletamey is getting the case and is carrying it down and is handing it to the child. The child stopped crying and is playing with the case until the dress fell out that Beletamey had hidden with his cock-gear.

Following hard upon the only occurrence of dialogue in the entire narrative is likewise the only occurrence of rhetorical question, which is underscored with paraphrase to signal the climax of the entire discourse.

"Why, Beletamey, did you put my dress in here? You didn't burn it (as I thought)? It seems pretty clear that you really cared very little for me when we were married! Why did you put the dress away if you didn't want me to return home again to my parents?"

4.7. A CHANGE OF PACE

The historical account, the far briefer narrative of the two genres, contains but one episode. The peak of that episode is not marked with the embedded discourse of folktale but, rather, by a stylistic change from the brief truncated form of admonitions occurring earlier in the narrative to full-fledged repartee in two paragraphs of dialogue – the only dialogue to be found in the entire narrative. And once that climax has been reached, the

dialogue ends and there is a return to the truncated form of admonition as meted out by the skymaiden – first to her earthbound husband, and then to their child.

“Our child here, you (Beletamey) be sure to raise her so she will remind you of me. . . .”

“Be good, child. Don’t cry because I’m leaving you now. . . .”

“Beletamey, take care of yourself because I’m leaving you today. . . .”

5. CONCLUSION

Historical accounts thus fill a more limited, but very unique role. As narrative accounts of their early Manobo beginnings, they embody the very Manobo cultural heritage that has thus far been successfully preserved *rut te kehukesan te enenayan: ne melimbag rut te langun dut te sikami ne Manuvu* ‘from our very first ancestors created, down to all of us Manobos today’. That such a heritage bears continuance constitutes a sacred obligation enjoined upon every Manobo.⁴⁷

Historical accounts are, therefore, related by shaman, or older men of authority, at Manobo ceremonial gatherings as a means of historical orientation of the young. It is important for them to know that the offspring of Terengati and the skymaiden are held to have been immortal beings *meresen ne etew* who possessed the power to become invisible *inliven*, and who may still be summoned by a Manobo shaman to give direction and/or aid to present-day generations. Genealogies tracing Manobo ancestry back to Terengati are, therefore, frequently included.

Unlike *foktale*, the historical account is not episodic – with new escapades being added by the ever-creative and accomplished raconteur of tales. Thus it does not function to fill a nighttime of narration, with all of its accompanying pressures for rhetoric to heighten the suspense and vividness of the tale in order to keep an audience alert and involved.

And at the level of the speech act the goal of the accomplished Manobo raconteur is not simply one of entertainment, but one carefully intertwined with a steady reinforcement of their moral values and cultural world view (*Weltanschauung*). The plot of *folk-tale*, with a host of Manobo rhetorical devices available for heightening the vividness of that plot, is utilized as a subtle entrance-way to far more serious and weighty areas of consideration.

When the Manobo narrator employs carefully-metered lines of paraphrase to rhetorically underscore a crucial moral judgment about to be made, then combines that device with a shift to a more dramatic form of Manobo tense and aspect, at the same time combining a shifting contrast in pronominal focus between ‘you’ as story-participant and ‘you’ as a member of his audience, he not only excites their aesthetic appreciation but evokes a high degree of presence – causing the listener to see himself in the midst of the very danger being described in the tale. And when the narrator shifts from narrator to rhetorical question, or to a noticeable change of pace in dialogue, he involves his audience as folk jurors in the important cultural relevance of his tale as they respond with moral assessments of the story-participant’s character, as well as assurances that they themselves

⁴⁷For a variety of references, to this ‘sacred trust of perpetuating Manobo oral tradition’, see my unpublished manuscript of *Ilianen Manobo songs and tales*.

would never want to be guilty of a misdemeanor such as that! And, all without direct recourse to didacticism or exhortation.

The linguistic choices made by the Manobo raconteur of tales are socially and culturally significant, not only in the determining of folktale as a genre, but in determining the argumentation process and the specific rhetorical goals achieved. As entertainment, the Manobo narrator's tale becomes an unparalleled means for effectively transmitting their highly-valued cultural goals and mores. When the tale is employed further as parable *sempitã*, in establishing precedence in the settlement of Manobo legal-cases *kukuman*, its reiterative force is unexcelled in Manobo oral tradition.

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CURRENT RESEARCH

PILIPINO LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TEST FOR COLLEGE
FRESHMEN¹

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Along the lines of the bilingual policy (Department Order No. 25, s. 1974) there is a great need for the development of a language proficiency test in Pilipino to provide data on the students' levels of language competencies which will serve as basis for the schools when designing their Pilipino language programs and producing suitable instructional materials for their specific needs. A Pilipino language proficiency test at the college level can also be used as a placement test where large groups of incoming students with different types of preparation may be assigned to specific language classes on the basis of the students' level of competence. Those with low proficiency will be grouped separately from those with high proficiency. There are other functions of a Pilipino language proficiency test. It can serve as a diagnostic screening test; on the basis of the individual's performance on each subtest, we can plot a performance profile which will show the examinee's specific strengths and weaknesses in the various areas tested. It may also serve as a basis for predicting future performance. Furthermore, it will also serve to check whether the objectives of the Pilipino language programs at the elementary and secondary levels, especially those that have college preparatory curricula, have been achieved and to what extent, if not, the deficiencies and gaps can be identified. It can also be used as a research instrument.

1. OBJECTIVES

This study aims: 1) To construct a Pilipino language proficiency test (PLPT) for College Freshmen; 2) To administer this test as a pilot study to establish its validity and reliability; 3) To determine its criterion validity by correlating the two variables — the Pilipino language proficiency scores and final marks in the Pilipino Communication Arts courses.

2. SAMPLING

This Pilipino language proficiency test (PLPT) is specifically designed for incoming College Freshmen at the Ateneo de Manila University. It will be used for classifying the students in their Pilipino classes according to their current level of competence in the language. The Pilipino language teachers will also be guided accordingly on what to expect from their students, what their syllabus should include, the methods and materials to use in their respective classes.

¹An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the LSP Annual Convention, Language Study Center, PNC on May 9, 1980. This is an on-going team project being conducted at the Ateneo de Manila University with the author as the principal investigator. The other members of the research team are Aida Caluag, Nena A. Reyes, Teresita Palo, Fe Quetua, and Arlene Matociños. The research is funded by the Faura Research Center, Inc.

I would like to express my thanks to all the faculty members of the Ateneo Pilipino department who have been very cooperative in helping us with the try outs and for their valuable comments in order to improve the test.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. CONTENT SPECIFICATION

The content specification of the Pilipino Language Proficiency Test (PLPT) was based on the classroom experience encountered by the intended Ss and on the test constructors' decisions as to the particular variety of Pilipino language to be sampled and the level of competence expected of an incoming college freshman to perform satisfactorily in his Pilipino classes. Specification of the content of the PLPT also involved the determination of the following: (a) what to test, (b) how to test, (c) length and time limit of the test, (d) level of difficulty of the test, and (e) the passing or cut-off points of the test. Each of these five considerations will be discussed here along with its application to the content specification of the PLPT.

3.1.1. WHAT TO TEST

Determining what we want to test, according to Cooper (1968), also involves making specifications along each of the following dimensions: (1) language variety, (2) knowledge, and (3) skills. *Language variety* refers to the dialect, register, style or level of formality in which language proficiency is to be tested. *Knowledge* refers to the aspects or elements of the language to be tested. These are identifiable in terms of phonology (or sound system), grammatical structure, lexicon (vocabulary) and cultural meanings. *Skills* refer to the behavior through which the knowledge of linguistic or communicative competence is realized. These are the listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills.

The Metro Manila Tagalog variety was chosen as the language variety with which to measure Pilipino language proficiency. The language sampled is closer to the conversational type. As to the elements or knowledge, the PLPT consists of items on phonology, grammatical structure, and vocabulary. The element of semantics is also included in acknowledgment of insights arising from transformational-generative grammar. Subsequently, items were added to measure some aspects of communicative competence i.e. to produce appropriate sentences that convey information, ask questions, give commands, and to understand the sentences of other speakers. Knowledge of the language component according to transformational-generative grammarians calls for the ability to interpret sentences, specifically, the ability to recognize synonymous sentences or give different interpretations to structurally identical sentences, or the ability to detect anomalous and ambiguous sentences. No provision was made to test cultural understanding. The PLPT is a paper-and-pencil test. The partial production technique is employed in phonology, structure, vocabulary, reading, and writing. There has been no provision to test speaking and listening skills.

3.1.2. HOW TO TEST

This simply means the specification of tasks to be included in the test. Lado calls these tasks strategies (1961). Carroll refers to them as approaches (1961) and Cooper considers them as types of operations (1968). According to Cooper, specification of these tasks calls for a number of considerations: (1) the suitability for the examinees at a given age and level of proficiency, (2) the limitations imposed by time and money, (3) the objectivity and ease of scoring and (4) the linguistic or contextual content of the task.

The PLPT is an objective type of test, a multiple-choice type with two to four options except for one subtest, Test O, which is a completion type. It is presumed that

the examinee has already been exposed to this type of operation before entering college. Scoring of the PLPT is done manually using a super-imposed key. All items in the test receive one point each.

3.1.3. LENGTH AND TIME ALLOTMENT FOR THE TEST

The specification of the time allotment for the whole test determines the length of the test, while specification of the running time for each subtest in the test depends on what particular language knowledge or skill the test constructor wants to test. The PLPT has an aggregate total time of one hour. Details of the number of minutes allotted for each subtest are indicated in the Table of Specifications.

3.1.4. LEVEL OF DIFFICULTY

This refers to the specification of either of these two: (1) the percentage of examinees expected to answer each item correctly or (2) the percentage of examinees who are expected to get a specific number of items right. For a proficiency test designed to distinguish individual differences among examinees, Cooper suggests a moderately difficult test; it is expected that the items as a whole should have half of the total number of examinees obtain the correct answers for these items. Likewise, half the examinees should be able to attain a specified score for the whole test. The PLPT established a moderately difficult criterion for the same reason given by Cooper.

4. TEST CONSTRUCTION

The PLPT was prepared by a panel of item writers in the Department of Language and Linguistics, Ateneo de Manila University.² The test was reviewed and content validated by a panel of judges. In validating the content of the PLPT we inspected the items to determine the following: (a) adequacy of sampling, (b) if sampled items and skills were measured in valid context or communication situations, (c) possible extraneous factors introduced (Lado cites intelligence and memory factors as examples of extraneous factors while Carroll cites failure to understand instructions through lack of sufficient number of sample items or wrong instructions, for example, asking the examinees to select answers that are printed when what is given is an auditory comprehension test), and (d) appropriateness and relevance of the language variety sampled in the test. The rationale, the directions for administering, and scoring the test were also considered.

The PLPT for College Freshmen consists of the following parts: phonology, vocabulary, grammatical structure, semantics, reading comprehension, and writing. The items of the test were set against linguistic and communicative contexts presumed to be representative of the kinds of communicative situations in which the intended examinees are likely to hear or use the Metro Manila language variety in a conversational setting. There were 187 items included in the PLPT.

The table of specifications as shown below gives a detailed description of the content of the test, the performance objectives, the types of sub-tests, the number of items, the percentage of the number of items in each type of sub-test in relation to the total number of items, and the time allotment.

²Teresita Palo and Fe Quetua, who are both Tagalog native speakers from Bulacan, are Ateneo faculty members and have formal training in Linguistics and Language teaching.

1. TABLE OF SPECIFICATIONS

Areas	Performance Objectives	No. and Types of Items	%	Time Allotment (Mins.)
Part I				
Pronunciation				
A. Word Stress	Distinguish the correct stress of words as used in context	20 Written Objective Partial Production Multiple choice	10.69	3
Structure				
B. Related Sentences	Recognize related synonymous sentences	15 Multiple Choice 3 options	8.02	6
K. Aspect forms of verbs	1. Identify the correct aspect form of the verb to complete a sentence	15 Multiple Choice 3 options	8.02	2
Time	2. Identify the appropriate time expressions that go with a certain verb aspect			
D. Clitics	Distinguish the appropriate form of clitics that will complete the sentence correctly	10 Multiple Choice 3 options	5.35	2
E. Sentence Comprehension	Identify the correct answer to the question that goes after a sentence	20 Multiple Choice 3 options	10.69	8
G. Sentence Comprehension	Recognize the most probable	20 Multiple	10.69	10

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	(idiomatic expressions)	and appropriate explanation or meaning given to a sentence	Choice 3 options		
H.	Reading comprehension (Organizing in proper sequence)	Distinguish the correct sequencing of ideas to form a paragraph	1 Multiple Choice 4 options	0.05	3
PART II					
(Vocabulary recognition in sentence context except B)					
A.	Synonyms	Identify the word that has the same meaning as the underlined word in the sentence	34 Multiple Choice 4 options	18.18	10
B.	Grouping words according to a common characteristic	Recognize the word that does not belong to a group	15 Multiple Choice 4 options	8.02	4
K.	Counters for certain types of nouns	Identify the most appropriate noun that goes with a counter	6 Multiple Choice 4 options	3.21	1
D.	Antonyms	Distinguish the word that has the opposite meaning as the underlined word in the sentence	5 Multiple Choice 4 options	2.67	2
G.	Derivation (affixation)	Form a new word (through the use of affixes) from a given root word that will fit and complete a sentence	10 Completion Type Filling in the Blanks	5.35	3
TOTAL			187	99.50	60

5. SAMPLE TEST ITEMS

The PLPT consists of thirteen subtests broken down as follows:

Part I

Phonology

Test A – *Word Stress* – distinguishing from two identical words with different patterns the correct stressed word as used in context.

e.g. Malaki ang galit niya sa akin.

- (a) Galit
- b. gaLIT

Test B – *Related Sentences* – Recognizing related or synonymous sentences.

e.g. HINATIAN KO SI ANA NG TINAPAY.

- a. Naghati ako ng tinapay para kay Ana.
- (b.) Pinaghatian namin ni Ana ang tinapay.
- k. Hinati ko para kay Ana ang tinapay.

Test K – *Aspect Forms of Verbs* – identifying appropriate aspect form of verb as used in context. It also includes appropriate time expressions that go with verb aspects.

e.g. Kung sakaling mabuti ang panahon, _____ kami sa dagat mamaya.

- a. pumunta
- (b.) pupunta
- k. pumupunta

Test D – *Clitics* – distinguishing appropriate types of clitics.

e.g. Kakain _____ ako; gutom pa ako, e.

- a. na
- (b.) pa
- k. nga

Test E – *Semantics* (sentence comprehension) – includes making correct interpretations or inferences about a sentence, making correct interpretations of answers to questions, giving correct answers to questions, identifying the correct reference of a pronoun.

e.g. Kung gabi ka ba namamasyal? Ito ay

- a. Nagtatanong kung ano ang ginagawa niya kung gabi.
- (b.) Nagtatanong kung anong oras siya namamasyal.
- k. Nagtatanong kung siya ang namamasyal kung gabi.

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Test G — *Semantics* (sentence comprehension) — includes giving appropriate meaning or interpretation to idiomatic expressions, making correct explanations about a sentence, giving the main idea of a sentence.

e.g. ...ano mang trabaho ay kanilang tinatanggap magkaroon lamang ng pakpak para makalipad?

- a. gusto nilang mag-eroplano.
- b. kailangan nila ng maraming pera para makabili ng lahat ng gusto.
- (k.) tinatanggap nila kahit anong trabaho para kumain.
- d. gusto nilang magsarili upang magawa ang anumang nais gusto.

Test H — *Reading Comprehension* (organizing ideas in proper sequence) — arranging ideas in correct sequence to form a comprehensible paragraph.

1. At sapagkat wala nga kayong muwang sa bagay na iyan kung kaya naman hindi mapanuto at ang mabubuting hangarin ay hindi rin matamo.
2. Ngunit bakit iba ang inyong pamumuhay at kalagayan kaysa sa kanila.
3. Taglay ninyo ang lakas at kapangyarihang taglay din ng iba na inyong pinupuri at hinahangaan.
4. Ang pagkukulang at mga kamalian ng tao sa kanyang sarili ay napakarami.
5. Narito ang isang bagay na marahil ay hindi ninyo nalalaman.
6. At dahil dito kung kaya nagiging aba at hindi makatulad sa iba.
 - a. 5-3-2-4-6-1
 - b. 3-2-5-1-4-6
 - k. 4-5-3-2-6-1
 - d. 5-4-6-1-3-2

Part II

Vocabulary

Test A — Synonyms

Test B — Classification of words — identifying a word that does not belong to the group according to a common inferred characteristic.

- e.g. a. singkit
b. duling
(k.) malat
d. banlag

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Test K — Counters — knowledge of some familiar counters associated with a particular noun.

- e.g. Mayroon akong isang tangkal na _____.
- a. kambing
 - b. ibon
 - (k.) manok
 - d. kalabaw

Test D — Antonyms

Test E — Word Derivation — knowledge of the affix system. It includes forming a new word from a given root word by using an affix appropriate to the context in which it is used.

- e.g. SUWERTE
_____ na naman kahapon si Mang Tomas. Nanalo na naman siya sa sabong.

Test G — Writing — knowledge of the appropriate style of expression to be used in formal writing. It is closely linked with the grammatical structure.

- e.g. a. Itanong mo kay Maria kung mamimili siya.
b. Itanong mo si Maria kung mamimili siya.
(k.) Tanungin mo kay Maria kung siya'y mamimili.
d. Tanungin mo si Maria kung mamimili siya.

6. TRY-OUTS OF THE PLPT

The PLPT was put through four trial runs, each trial run with a different group of Ss.

6.1. FIRST TRY-OUT

One hundred sixty-four outgoing college freshmen of the Ateneo de Manila University took the PLPT last January, 1978. This experimental group was composed of examinees who belonged to the upper socio-economic level and who were native speakers of the Metro Manila Tagalog variety. The main purpose of the first try-out was to select those items of satisfactory discrimination index and level of difficulty. Ambiguities in the test directions were also identified. In the item analysis 47 items (23.13%) were rejected.

The first revision of the PLPT was made and it was based on the results of the item analysis done in the first try-out. The classification of the subtests into Parts I and II was found unnecessary and was discarded. The thirteen subtests were retained and they were labeled consecutively as Test A to O. There were 140 test items included in this first revision.

6.2. SECOND TRY-OUT

The second try-out was conducted last February 1978 among a group of 587 high school seniors from 5 high schools in Quezon City namely: Ateneo de Manila High School, Philippine Science High School, Ramon Magsaysay High School in Cubao, St.

Bridget's School, and the University of the Philippines Integrated School. This group of examinees would have comparable characteristics with those for whom the test was designed in terms of age, sex, educational background, language experience in Pilipino, type of school attended, and diversified levels of socio-economic status. The heterogeneity of this group more or less gave us an assurance that we would get a more realistic picture of the test results than from the group in the first try-out.

The second trial run had four aims: (1) to find out whether the revised format was more efficient, (2) to determine the ease of scoring arrangement, (3) to assess the administrability of the test in as much as the test was administered by examiners whose traits were comparable to those who were likely to administer the test in the future, and (4) to detect any other extraneous factor that may affect the test.

Item analysis was also applied to this second try-out and those items that did not meet our criteria were noted. The PLPT was not revised, however, after the item analysis in this try-out. As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this particular try-out was to determine the distribution of scores of the test among the examinees presumed to 'know' the language. An investigation of the language proficiency profile of two of the schools chosen for this try-out (UPIS and PSHS) revealed that in both schools most of the scores clustered above the mean and that the mean scores represented about 75% of the total number of items in the PLPT. This meant that native speakers would get higher scores, in other words, they would perform better.

6.3. THIRD TRY-OUT

The first revised form of the PLPT was then administered to 464 incoming college freshmen at the Ateneo de Manila University last June, 1978. Based on the language background of the examinees, 30% came from the provinces and the other cities outside of Metro Manila. It can be inferred therefore that they spoke different Philippine languages as well as different varieties of Tagalog. This particular group in this third trial-run formed the experimental group for the next try-out conducted.

Another item analysis was done for this particular try-out. The results of this analysis and the one done for the second try-out served as the basis for the second revision of the PLPT. The argument here was that since the Ss in the second trial run were native speakers of the Pilipino language, it was expected that most of the items would fall under the easy category. Inversely, since the Ss of the third trial run consisted of both native and non-native speakers of Pilipino, it was also anticipated that most of the items would be found in the moderately difficult category. The decision on whether to retain or discard a test item took into account what was common (in terms of discrimination and difficulty indices) in the results of the two analyses. For example, if an item was found to be easy in the item analysis of the second try-out but difficult in the third try-out, then that item was retained. If, however, an item revealed a high index of difficulty and poor discrimination results in both analyses, then that item was eliminated.

Only ten (or 7% of the 140 items) did not pass the statistical rigor required; hence, they were eliminated. Based on the item analyses in the second and third try-outs, another revision of the PLPT was made. This second revision had a total number of 130 test items. In the two revisions made so far, a total of 57 test items or 30.48% of the original 187 items were eliminated.

To further item analyze the PLPT and to establish its reliability and construct validity, the fourth try-out using the second revised form of the test was administered to a group of 625 examinees having different language backgrounds (Ilocano, Pangasinan, Bicol, and Cebuano)².

The table given below indicates the specific language group, the particular school that participated in each language group, and the locality of the school.

REPRESENTATIVE SCHOOLS AND LOCATIONS BY LANGUAGE GROUPS

Language Group	Representative School	Location
Ilocano	University of Northern Philippines (P)	Vigan, Ilocos Sur
	Divine Word College (PS)	Vigan, Ilocos Sur
Pangasinan	Central Luzon Teachers College (P)	Bayambang, Pangasinan
	St. Columban's College (PS)	Lingayen, Pangasinan
Bicol	Bicol University (P)	Daraga, Albay
	Ateneo de Naga	Naga City
Cebuano	Cebu State College (P)	Cebu City
	University of San Carlos (PS)	Cebu City
Metro Manila Tagalog	Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila (P)	Manila
	Ateneo de Manila University (PS)	Quezon City

(P) Public

(PS) Private Sectarian

7. RELIABILITY

The type of reliability established in this study was based on the internal consistency of the PLPT or the consistency within the instrument itself. The coefficient of internal consistency indicates how homogeneous the content of a test is or how consistently the items in the test measure the same trait or capability.

²This is a separate study submitted as an M.A. thesis at the Ateneo Graduate School, Department of Language and Linguistics, by Arlene Matociños last summer 1979.

To determine the internal consistency coefficient of the PLPT, the Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 was employed. The KR Formula 20 is based on the proportion of persons passing each item (computed index of difficulty) and the standard deviation. Since in this study, item analysis was done and the standard deviation of the whole test was computed, the use of the KR Formula 20 was not only practical but also economical in terms of time and effort. It yielded a coefficient of .93.

8. ESTABLISHING THE LEVEL OF DIFFICULTY OF THE TEST

The obtained indices of difficulty in the fourth try-out were made as the basis for establishing the level of difficulty of the test. This was done by computing the average index of difficulty of the whole test based on the indices of difficulty of all the items.

The average index of difficulty for each subtest was also calculated to determine the rankings of the subtest according to difficulty level.

The average index of difficulty for the whole test and for each subtest was computed by adding all the indices of difficulty for the whole test (or each subtest) and dividing the sum by the number of items in the whole test (or in each subtest).

The Table given below gives the computed average index of difficulty for each subtest and also for the whole test in the four try-outs.

AVERAGE DIFFICULTY (MEASURED IN PERCENTAGES OF OF CORRECT RESPONSES) OF THIRTEEN SUBTESTS AND WHOLE TEST IN FOUR TRY-OUTS

Test	First Try-Out	Second Try-out	Third Try-out	Fourth Try-out
A	79	70	69	57
B	74	75	52	56
K	74	81	76	63
D	93	91	86	74
E	82	77	73	57
G	68	83	72	67
H	44	42	33	24
I	71	69	59	51
L	57	66	57	47
M	51	73	49	67
N	64	69	44	58
NG	90	85	62	67
O	61	69	42	30
Whole Test	70	73	60	55

The calculated percentages of correct responses of the whole test in the four trial runs indicated in the above table show that the highest percentage of correct responses (73%) occurred in the second try-out and the second highest (70%) in the first try-out. The third in rank (60%) occurred in the third trial run and the fourth, which was also the lowest, occurred in the fourth try-out (55%). These varying results may be explained by mentioning again the types of subjects involved in each trial run.

It should be recalled that the examinees in the second try-out possessed more native-like characteristics of a Metro Manila Tagalog speaker than those in the first try-out; hence, the existence of a higher percentage of correct responses in the second try-out. This means that the Ss in the second trial run found the test easier than the Ss in the third try-out; the latter had fewer native-like characteristics of a Metro Manila Tagalog speaker than the former since the examinees in the third trial run consisted of both Metro Manila Tagalog and non-Tagalog speakers; hence, the occurrence of a lower percentage of correct responses in the third try-out. This means that the Ss of the third trial run found the test more difficult than those of the first trial run. Meanwhile, the existence of the lowest percentage of correct responses in the fourth try-out can be explained by the fact that the Ss in this particular try-out (those included for item analysis) were non-native speakers of Tagalog; hence, they found the test more difficult than their native counterparts.

On the limited strength of the data and analysis presented so far, it could be postulated at this point that the PLPT 'worked' (in terms of difficulty level) in a manner predictable and consistent with the implied assumption, namely, that among the three groups of examinees who were Metro Manila Tagalog speakers, the groups with fewer native-like traits of a Metro Manila Tagalog speaker would find the test more difficult and that non-Tagalog subjects would find more difficulty in the test than the native speaker Ss.

It can also be posited at this point that as far as the established average percentage of correct responses (an indicator of ease or difficulty) were concerned, the PLPT met its objective after undergoing four trial runs. The PLPT was meant to be a moderately difficult test in order to be able to differentiate among examinees. Marshall and Hale state that a test, in order to obtain maximum differentiation among examinees, should have about 50% difficulty. The obtained percentage of difficulty of the PLPT in the fourth try-out was 55% -- a percentage still very close to the standard set by Marshall and Hale.

8.1. RANK ORDER OF SUB-TESTS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF DIFFICULTY

In the table given below the rank order of the thirteen subtests in terms of level of difficulty is shown. The results indicate that subtest B (Clitics) was the easiest part of the test. Subtest that could be included in the easy category were subtests G (Semantics); M (vocabulary/counters); NG (Writing); K (Aspect form of verbs); and N (vocabulary/antonyms).

Subtests that could be considered difficult included subtests A (Word Stress); E (Semantics); B (Related Sentences); I (Vocabulary/Synonyms); L (Vocabulary/Classification); and O (Word Derivation). The most difficult part of the test was subtest H (Reading Comprehension/Organizing Ideas into a Paragraph).

RANK ORDER OF THE SUBTESTS IN TERMS OF
LEVEL OF DIFFICULTY
(Fourth Trial-Run)

Test	Average Percentage of Correct Responses as an Indicator of Difficulty	Rank Order
A	57	8
B	56	9
K	65	5
D	74	1
E	59	6.5
G	68	3.5
H	24	13
I	51	10
L	49	11
M	68	3.5
N	59	6.5
NG	69	2
O	30	12

Test A, although considered quite difficult, should still occupy the first slot following the usual practice of putting first items on phonology or sound discrimination in a series of subtests measuring different skills or elements. Test A could then be followed by the subtests on structure – K, G, E, and B. Subtest NG (Writing) could come after the subtests on structure since the format of the test and the operation needed to answer this part is similar to the structure part.

The subtests on vocabulary could come following each other: M, I, N, L, and O. In the data presented in the above table, the test on synonyms (subtest I) was more difficult than the test on antonyms (subtest N). This statistical result may be disregarded in the case where psychological factors are considered more important during the process of taking the test [which in effect is actually an outgrowth of teaching technique]. These factors alluded to are the presentation of the known before the unknown and the similar before the different.

The test on word derivation (subtest O) can remain in its original form occupying the last slot among the vocabulary subtests inasmuch as this was the most difficult and because it required a different type of operation, that of producing the correct answer in written form.

Test H (Reading Comprehension) should be in the last part of the test because it was the most difficult part among the thirteen subtests and because the skills needed in answering the item required a higher level of thinking process as well as longer time needed to answer the item.

8.2. THE STATUS OF THE ITEMS OF THE PLPT

A total of sixty-one items (33%) were discarded after three revisions of the PLPT. More than half of the total items (60%) in subtest B (Related Sentences) were eliminated. Half of the total items (50%) in subtest G (Semantics) were discarded. Subtests K, D, I, L, M and NG had a moderate number of items (Maximum of 35%) rejected. The least number of items discarded were in subtest A (Word Stress).

No item was found to be unsatisfactory throughout the four trial runs in subtest N (Vocabulary/Antonyms) and subtest O (Word Derivation). Subtest H, a one-item subtest, was included in all through the four try-outs of the test.

It appears that most of the discarded items were found in the structure sub-test (19.8%).

The table given below shows the number of items in the pretest in each subtest and the corresponding number of discarded items after three revisions.

COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF ITEMS IN THE PRETEST
AND NUMBER OF ITEMS DISCARDED AFTER THREE REVISIONS

Test	No. of Items in Pretest	No. of Items Discarded After Three Revisions	%
A	20	2	10
B	15	9	60
K	15	5	33
D	10	2	20
E	20	9	45
G	20	10	50
H	1	0	0
I	34	7	21
L	15	4	27
M	6	2	33
N	5	0	0
NG	16	6	38
O	10	0	0
Total	187	61	33%

The PLPT, after undergoing four trial runs and two revisions, has been found to be relatively easy to administer and score; it has likewise been found to be moderately difficult. It can therefore be used to differentiate examinees. On the average, the test can be completed in one hour by non-native Tagalog examinees and 45 minutes by native Tagalog examinees. This means that native language is a factor to be considered in setting up the time allotment for a language proficiency test in the process of validation.

9. VALIDATION

The following types of validity have been established in the present form of the

PLPT: content, face and construct.

To determine the criterion validity of the PLPT, the two variables, namely, the Pilipino language proficiency scores and final marks in the Pilipino Communication Arts course, were correlated. The second revised form of the PLPT was administered to 419 incoming College Freshmen at the Ateneo de Manila University last June 1979 with the cooperation of the Pilipino department.

The scores of the students in the PLPT were plotted against their final marks in the Pilipino Communication Arts course obtained during the first semester of the school year 1979-1980. Since their final marks in Pilipino were in letter form (A, B+, B, C+, C, D and F), a numerical value was assigned to each letter in order to arrive at a similar numerical base for both variables. Also, since the converted letter marks covered a particular range for their equivalents, i.e. A = 92-100; B+ = 87-91; etc., an arbitrary limit was set to arrive at only one equivalent numerical value for each letter. The lower limit of the range was arbitrarily chosen. Thus, A = 92; B+ = 87; B = 83; C+ = 79; C = 75; D = 71 and F=67.

Since the variables under consideration in this study fall under the interval category and show a linear relationship as indicated in the scatterplot, Figure 1, Appendix A, the Pearson statistic was used to arrive at the correlation coefficient. The data were fed into Program 101 of a mini-computer at the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.

The obtained correlation coefficient was +.62, indicating a positive moderate relationship between the Pilipino proficiency test scores and the final marks in the Pilipino Communication Arts course. This correlation coefficient is statistically significant at the .01 level. This means that the PLPT has criterion validity. Those students who got high scores in the PLPT also got high marks in their Pilipino Communication Arts course.

The scatter diagram shown in Figure 1, Appendix A, reveals the extent to which the two measures, Pilipino proficiency test scores and final marks in Pilipino, are related. Considering the figure as a whole, it is apparent that there is a positive relationship between the variables inspite of the deviations. These deviations, on the one hand, do account for the obtained moderate correlation coefficient.

Downie and Heath (1972) claim that the criterion-related validity coefficient tends to be much lower than the reliability coefficient. An examination of the research over the years, according to these two authors, will show that the criterion validity coefficient tends to fall within the band of .4 to .6 with a median value of .5. A comparison of the reliability coefficient (.92) and the criterion validity coefficient (.62) obtained by the PLPT in two separate investigations tends to support the claim. The existence of moderate correlation coefficients in criterion validity coefficients is justified. As applied to the present study this means that if the relationship between proficiency test scores and final marks in Pilipino is considered, factors other than proficiency test scores in getting final marks are involved. Some of these factors include motivation, attitude and interest of the students, grading system of the teacher, length of study periods, etc.

Downie and Heath caution, however, that the most important point in the evaluation of the criterion related correlation coefficient is not the size but rather the situation or purpose for which it is being used. In some situations, therefore, a high correlation may be expected while in others, a much lower one can be tolerated.

The other statistical results obtained from the data which may prove useful in the interpretation and evaluation of the obtained correlation coefficients in this study are the following:

Mean of the PLPT scores	= 87.99
Error of the Mean (PLPT scores)	= 16.1879

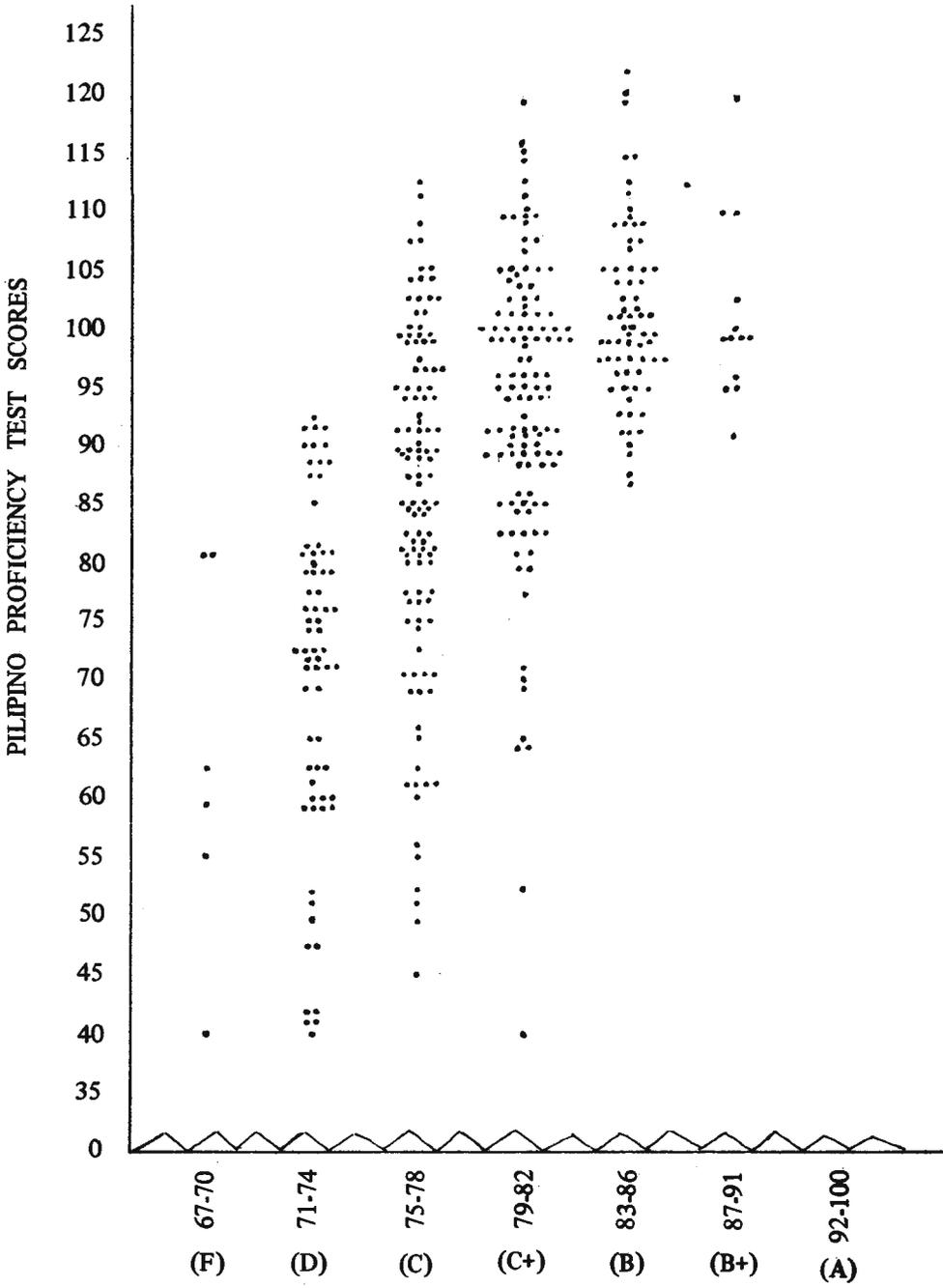
Mean of the final marks	= 77.21
Error of the Mean (Final marks)	= 4.45
Standard Deviation	= 12.6330

Since this is an ongoing research we have just completed the third revision of the test and we will be administering it to the incoming Ateneo College Freshmen in June 1980. Our ultimate goal in this research project is to standardize this test so that other schools can use it for classification and other purposes.

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APPENDIX A
 FIGURE 1
 SCATTERPLOT SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
 PILIPINO PROFICIENCY SCORES and PILIPINO FINAL MARKS
 BY COLLEGE FRESHMEN



FINAL MARK in PILIPINO II (Sining ng Pakikipagtalastasan)

APPENDIX B

EXPECTANCY TABLE SHOWING NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS
WITH VARIOUS FINAL MARKS IN PILIPINO WHO CAME FROM SPECIFIED SCORE GROUPS BASED ON THE
PILIPINO LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TEST

Number in Each Score Group Receiving Each Final
Mark in Pilipino II

Percentage in Each Final Mark that Fall in
Each Score Group

Number in Each Score Group Receiving Each Final Mark in Pilipino II							PILIPINO PROFICIENCY TEST SCORES	Percentage in Each Final Mark that Fall in Each Score Group							
F	D	C	C+	B	B+	A		F	D	C	C+	B	B+	A	
				2			120 - 124					3			
			3	1		1	115 - 119				2	1		1	
		2	6	5	2		110 - 114			1.5	5	7	15		
		6	13	13	1		105 - 109			4	11	18	8		
		10	20	18	2		100 - 104			7	17	24	15		
		15	22	21	6		95 - 99			11	19	28	46		
	7	14	16	10	2		90 - 94		10	10	14	14	15		
	5	24	17	4			85 - 89		7	18	14	5			
2	9	21	10				80 - 84	33	13	15	8				
	11	19	2				75 - 79		16	14	1.7				
	13	7	3				70 - 74		19	5	2				
	4	6	2				65 - 69		6	4	1.7				
1	7	5	2				60 - 64	17	10	4	1.7				
2	5	2					55 - 59	33	7	1.5					
	1	3	1				50 - 54		1	2	.8				
	3	2					45 - 49		4	1.5					
	5		1				40 - 44		7		.8				
1							35 - 39	17							
Total	6	70	136	118	74	13			100	100	98.5	98.7	100	99	100

SOME RESEARCH PRIORITIES FOR LINGUISTICS IN
THE PHILIPPINESANDREW GONZALEZ, FSC
De La Salle University0. INTRODUCTION¹

In summary form and in rather rapid strokes, I would like to give a brief view of the state of research as well as point out areas needing further investigation in Linguistics, taking as my frame of reference the traditional division of Linguistics into the following sub-disciplines or fields of specialization: Descriptive Linguistics; Historical and Comparative Linguistics; the Hyphenated Disciplines of Anthropological Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics, and two new areas of investigation for which I would like to coin words, Politicolinguistics and Juridicolinguistics; and finally Applied Linguistics.

1. DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS

Most of the languages of the Philippines and Philippine-type languages outside of the Philippines have already been described, thanks to the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and to Graduate Schools offering MA's and Ph.D's in Linguistics here and abroad and requiring dissertations.

Occasionally, a 'new' (in the sense of special variety or member of a particular existing sub-group) language may be 'discovered': e.g. Llamzon a few years ago learned of 'Sinauna Tagalog', which turns out to be a Dumagat language; Reid found another Northern language to add to his tree a few years ago; Elkins came across another variety of Manobo in Palawan. By and large, future 'discoveries' will be varieties of existing languages more or less mutually intelligible with languages already well-studied.

Where further research would be of significance is in the use of these languages as test-cases to verify the suitability of theories of language and more recent linguistic models. For example, case-grammar has proven to be a boon to Philippine linguistics because of the close fit between the model and the structure of the Philippine languages and their interesting process of topicalization or subjectivalization. Some aspects of generative semantics (Lakoff *et al.*) prove attractive for describing and explaining aspect marking in certain negatives of the Bisayan languages through a process called 'predicate raising'. The rearrangement of clitics in the surface structure of the Philippine languages has been used to prove the necessity of singularly transformations without semantic import; moreover, the ordering of these clitics demands that transformations take place even after phonetic realization has taken place since the ordering depends on whether or not the clitics are monosyllabic or disyllabic – again, phenomena with important theoretical implications for the linguistic models being used.

¹An earlier draft of this paper was given at a symposium sponsored by the Linguistics – Anthropology Section of the National Research Council of the Philippines at Vinzons Hall, University of the Philippines, on May 24, 1980.

What we need therefore in the area of descriptive linguistics is in-depth analysis of features of the Philippine languages which can be theoretically model-enriching or model-verifying.

2. COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS

In the tradition of Dempwolff, there are half-a-dozen practitioners of comparative and historical Austronesian linguistics in the world today. Their work has resulted in the reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian (improving upon Dempwolff as a result of new data) and Proto-Philippine (as one main group in the West Indonesian branch).

In the area of sub-grouping, Dyen and his students (including McFarland, who is a Philippinist) have used various techniques (qualitative and quantitative) to create family trees to enable us to see the relationships between the language families better. These groups have been given spatial correlates through McFarland's linguistic atlas.

The most significant project that is needed in this area would be the completion of an etymological dictionary of the Philippine languages, with focus on Tagalog, because of its importance as the base of Pilipino. Zorc has come up with fifteen thousand reconstructions and entries in his *Core Etymological Dictionary*. These entries have to be increased.

In grouping and sub-grouping, although the main outlines are now clear, thanks to the work of Reid in Northern Luzon, McFarland in Southern Luzon, Zorc for the Bisayan languages, and SILists such as Elkins, Gallman, Walton, and Pallesen for the Southern Mindanao groups, we would need details to confirm and consolidate our hypothetical groupings at present.

One specific area of comparative linguistics which needs looking into and which can be done by local linguists is the area of dialectology. Using various features for our isoglosses (adding to structural and lexical data the results of mutual intelligibility testing, which has been pioneered in by the SIL linguists), we need to look at the actual boundaries of various language groups, the effects of languages in contact in boundary areas where several languages are spoken, and the distinctive features of dialects of the same language (especially Tagalog, again because it is the basis of Pilipino).

3. THE HYPHENATED DISCIPLINES: ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS, PSYCHOLINGUISTICS, SOCIOLINGUISTICS, POLITICOLINGUISTICS, JURIDICOLINGUISTICS

Offering the most interest to Philippine linguists are the hyphenated disciplines because of their interface with the social sciences and their practical implications for Philippine life and needs.

As I mentioned earlier, straight linguistic data gathering leading to grammatical sketches and descriptions and word lists of relatively unknown and minor languages would perhaps not be too useful at this stage because these studies have already been done by other ethnologists and linguists. More important would be the collection of texts (chrestomathies, especially of folklore and oral literature) valuable to us in searching for a

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usable past and in seeking an authentic Philippine culture. What would be needed would be critical and annotated editions of these texts (with translations) for wide circulation.

Under the rubric of 'ethnography of speaking', *who* speaks *what* to *whom*, *when* and *where*, there have been significant language surveys conducted in various parts of the Philippines (Dagupan, Paniqui, Greater Manila, Surigao) and national surveys of different types, which provide us with baseline data to observe sociolinguistic change and for planning purposes.

In the area of the psychology of language, we have barely begun our investigations of the ontogenesis of language (the pre-language stage, child language acquisition, child bilingualism, acquisition of more complex structures in preschool and the school years, the acquisition of a second language among adults and children, common strategies in learning a second language and evidence of interlanguage; experimental studies on bilinguals, their brain lateralization and dominance configurations, their special characteristics; studies of Philippine aphasics).

In the Philippines, the one field which has been quite systematically explored the past ten years has been sociolinguistics with regard to topics relating to problems of language planning and implementation and problems concerning the national language. Except for the Cebu area, we now have reliable data on almost all major urban centers in the Philippines, data on language preferences, attitudes, and patterns of multilingualism and language use among our people; this provides us with the necessary data base for language planning and the quantitative measures needed for programming and implementation. We also have studies on language standardization and language cultivation and elaboration. On a pilot basis, many creative faculty members are beginning to write in Pilipino and are thus contributing to the intellectualization of the language. We have data on language domains and needs and the perceptions of people on which languages are needed for social mobility as well as studies on indicators of language welfare and their relation to socio-economic development.

Still needed in the sub-discipline of language planning are the completion of a Tagalog reference grammar in Pilipino (supplementary to the excellent Schacter and Otones reference grammar) and an update of the Lope K. Santos *Balarila*. We also need a monolingual dictionary, preferably with etymological entries. We need lexical frequency counts of Tagalog usage for teaching materials preparation. We still need data on the dialects of Tagalog (or Pilipino), the dialect boundaries of Tagalog, data on what is happening to Pilipino in other urban centers outside of Metro Manila, descriptions of the styles and registers of Pilipino.

Politics cannot be separated from Linguistics, especially in this country, where so many aspects of our lives are governed by political decisions. We need studies on the history and the development of the national language and our problems with it, arising from regionalism and inter-ethnic rivalries and political compromises. This area is relatively new as an area of investigation even outside of the Philippines. It bears looking into since we can develop theories and models which can enrich not only Philippine intellectual life but scholarship and research abroad. For example, what political decisions influence the selection of the language of mass media programming and the extent of the use of vernaculars, Pilipino, and English in the Philippine mass media? Which political messages in which languages have the most impact and credibility? How does government policy with regard to language affect not only educational policy but actual Philippine

life? Or is this an area where law has to mirror reality rather than try to change it? What political implications would the slogans *Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa* or *Isang Bansa, Isang Wika* have in terms not only of efficiency of communication but the management of news on the part of the civil and military authorities?

A final area, again a relatively undeveloped one, now finding new applications in the United States especially with regard to the legal rights of minorities and culturally disadvantaged people, is the area of jurisprudence and language. Why is it that the language of the courts, in a period of rapid social change, is the most resistant to changes in language policy? For example, Spanish continued to be a major language of our courts during the entire American Period, and it took the Second World War to finally eliminate it (after 48 years). One predicts that English will stay in Philippine courts and legislation for a long time even if Pilipino expands its domains. How does the administration of justice suffer from the fact of the imposition of a foreign language as the language of deliberation and even sometimes of testimony (although here we do better than the Americans since we have always used interpreters especially when taking the depositions of witnesses who do not speak one of the major languages)? How effective for law and order and the conduct of life is the use of signs on our streets and other public places? Will a new code (a picture or sign system instead of a verbal one) be more efficient or create more of an impact?

4. APPLIED LINGUISTICS

In this field, our country represents one of the most advanced in Asia and the World. We have had a lot of experience teaching foreign languages (especially English) and in the process have learned to think for ourselves and to judge what works and what does not work. We have thus become more critical of the latest fads in language approaches and pedagogy and have learned to be quite skeptical of new proposals without being reactive or unduly conservative.

With the recognition of the right of Third World Englishes to exist, we have gathered data on the standardization of a local variety of Philippine English and have competent descriptions of the distinctive features of this local variety. More interesting is the documentation of language change and the prediction of the directions that this change will take in the next quarter century. Thus even language has undergone the scrutiny of the futurists.

We have likewise compiled sociological data and documented the spread of languages (especially of Pilipino) and in the process have learned to extrapolate on the future of this language.

If we are going to continue to use the vernaculars and other languages, then the work of linguistic description aimed towards application or practical usage must continue through the publication of bilingual dictionaries (using Tagalog or Pilipino rather than English as the other language) and through the compilation of reference grammars and eventually a pedagogical grammar, for use in the production of materials.

Moreover, we have expertise and experience in the production of teaching materials, both of English as a second language and of Pilipino as the national lingua

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franca. We continue to hone our skills in this area but will now need to produce materials aimed towards communicative competence and practice since we have found inadequacies in the structural approach.

We still need to do further research in reading in Pilipino and in the development of listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in Pilipino. Likewise we need to develop better instruments or tests for measuring competence in Pilipino and not merely in English. We have expertise in the area of achievement, proficiency and aptitude testing, but this expertise is more or less aimed at measuring general ability, quantitative and qualitative (and therefore language dependent) reasoning; we need to focus more on communicative competence testing and language use.

We also need to test our theories on methods, for although we have an intuitive feeling regarding what works and what does not work in the classroom, we have to be able to document the process and control the teaching variables to give our teaching a scientific basis.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this all-too-rapid view, I have tried to pinpoint lacunae or gaps which call for investigation in the Philippines in the various sub-disciplines of linguistics.

The harvest is great but the laborers are few.

Organizations such as the National Research Council of the Philippines and the Linguistic Society of the Philippines will hopefully provide the necessary laborers through their members to work as researchers to gather this rich harvest.

THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS OF *MAKABAGONG BALARILA
NG WIKANG TAGALOG*

by T. A. LLAMZON, F. L. DEL ROSARIO and M. SANCHEZ:
A Reply to Palo's Review of the book in PJJ
Vol. 6 No. 2 (1975), pp. 58-61

Back in the early 70's, many Tagalog language teachers were voicing the hope that someday someone would come up with a pedagogical grammar of Tagalog which would utilize the latest advances in grammatical theory and make its advantages available at least to college students. Such a task, they realized, would not be easy, since, first of all, the complexities of the model used must be presented in such a way that the students would not be overwhelmed by its formidable formulations; and secondly, technical terms would have to be devised to enable the teacher to explain in clear and plain language how the model worked and could be applied to Tagalog; thirdly, from the pedagogical point of view, copious drills and exercises would need to be provided after each section of the grammar to enable the student to proceed step by step in his effort to master both the model and the structure of the language.

These three felt needs and requirements became the objectives which the three authors of *MAKABAGONG BALARILA NG WIKANG TAGALOG* (MBWT) originally set out to achieve in 1972, when they began work on MBWT. At that time, some doubted that Tagalog could be used at all to explain the intricacies of transformational analysis. Moreover, at that time, the 1965 model of Noam Chomsky's transformational grammatical theories were the latest advances in this area of research; and in 1968, his followers Roderick A Jacobs (of the University of California at San Diego) and Peter S Rosenbaum (of the Teachers College at Columbia University) wrote their book entitled *ENGLISH TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR* (ETG).

The ETG was a pedagogical grammar of English and was based on what Chomsky was to call later the 'Standard Theory'. Under pressure from colleagues and many nagging problems, he was forced to revise the theory in 1969, and designate the revised model 'Extended Standard Theory'. Actually, the 'Standard Theory' was the result of the so-called 'integrated theory', which J. Katz and P. Postal worked out in 1964, after J. Katz and J. Fodor had designed their framework for analyzing the 'structure of meaning' in 1963. Chomsky made use of the results of the work of these scholars, and presented it in his book *ASPECTS OF THE THEORY OF SYNTAX* in 1965; and this was the theory that Jacobs and Rosenbaum used for their pedagogical grammar of English, the ETG.

Since the ETG was highly successful in summarizing and presenting the interesting features of English structure, which Chomsky's followers had discovered through the use of the 1965 model, the authors of MBWT became interested in applying the grammatical model to Tagalog. They asked themselves whether it would likewise lead to new insights into Tagalog structure; and they found out that it did. Thus, a better understanding of the relationships in the nominal, pronominal and verbal systems of Tagalog was achieved such as the underlying contrasts between the case markers of the nouns, the oppositions between the different forms of the personal and demonstrative pronouns, and most important of all, the characteristic structures involved in the verbal and syntactic features of 'focus and emphasis' in Tagalog.

It was no secret, therefore, that the authors used the ETG as a model for the transformational component of MBWT. Anyone who was familiar with ETG would recognize the similarities of presentation in these two books immediately. Moreover, the authors had cited the ETG as one of the books that they had used in preparing the MBWT in the section on references that they had used in preparing the book. To say then, as Palo did in her review of MBWT, that 'the similarity in the presentation of Jacobs and Rosenbaum of some transformational rules in English (English Transformational Grammar, 1968) and that of Llamzon et al. in MBWP (1974) is so great that some portions of MBWP are probably a conservative translation of their equivalent portions in English Transformational Grammar', is to give the impression, if not actually to imply, that the authors of MBWT did nothing more than do free translation of ETG to produce MBWT. This is simply not true. Anyone who has read MBWT will agree that the sections on the nouns, pronouns, verbs and focus are strikingly different from their equivalent sections in ETG.

The section cited by Palo on the notions of deep structure, surface structure and transformational rules is an exception. That section involves basic principles of transformational analysis which both books used, and the authors felt that there was no need to recast the presentation in ETG, since it was crystal clear. All that was needed was to say the same thing in Tagalog — and that was precisely what they did. Should there have been quotation marks in the Tagalog version of the presentation? The authors of MBWT did not think so, because the section was not actually an exact quotation from the ETG.

Palo asserts that the 'MBWP appears to be a result of an *ad hoc* mixture of different, although not entirely contradictory, principles of language description'. She then proceeds to cite some examples of what she means by an '*ad hoc* mixture of different principles of language description.' Her first example is that MBWP claims phrase-structure rules can be applied to the phonology of a language. This is, of course, untrue. What is true is that without phonological rules, it is impossible to have phrase-structure rules. Hence, any treatment of the phrase-structure rules of a language, must start with a description of its phonological structure. To omit the phonological description of the language is to make it impossible for representations or transcriptions of any kind of the utterances of the language, and for any analysis to be carried out either on the morphological or syntactic level.

The second example that Palo cites is that the classification of the sentence types into monadic, diadic, triadic and quadradic structures is based on intuition, and the notions of what is an obligatory or optional constituent can only be determined on the discourse level and not on the sentence level. Again, this assertion is completely false. When one says that *namulot* is a complete sentence, one means that either it is anaphoric (i.e. the subject and object have been omitted), as Bloomfield does in his description of Tagalog (1917:151), or the sentence is a grammatically acceptable sentence without a subject and object in another language — but not in Tagalog. No native speaker of Tagalog would accept *namulot* by itself as a complete sentence. The sentences of Tagalog have been classified according to the number of their obligatory constituents, and any native speaker of Tagalog need not carry out his analysis of what is an obligatory and what is an optional constituent on the discourse level to do this successfully. Palo claims that if one analyzes the utterances *namulot* and *namulot ng kabibe* on the discourse level, they can be considered grammatically complete sentences. This is true, but even on the sentence level, one can likewise claim that these sentences are grammatically complete, provided one adds that their subjects and objects have been omitted. All that the analysis on the discourse level would add to the result of the analysis on the sentence level is the

specification of precisely what that subject and what that object was. The context on the discourse level would make this possible. This specification of subject and object is, however, not necessary for the classification of the utterance according to sentence types. Hence, the charge that the analysis of the various sentence types is *ad hoc* and relies mainly on intuition is untrue and incorrect.

Palo's third example is *kain ng kain*, which the authors claim is the result of a nominalization transform from *kumakain ng kumakain* and therefore carries the meaning of progressive action which was originally in *kumakain ng kumakain*. One of the cardinal principles of the 'standard theory' is that deep structures are meaning preserving (Katz and Postal 1964). This means that the derivation of the surface structure from the deep structure through a transformational rule or series of transformational rules should not result in the loss on the surface structure of the meaning of the utterance as specified in the deep structure. This is the principle on which the analysis of *kain ng kain* was analyzed by the authors and not, as Palo claims, her strong suspicion 'that the authors have been forced to do this sort of analysis by their phrase-structure claims that verbs in Tagalog do not have cases'. In short, Palo's charges of *ad hoc* mixtures of different principles of language description have no foundation in fact. A consistent model has been used in the formulation of the phrase-structure rules as well as the transformational rules of the language.

It is unfortunate that Palo chooses to write a review of MBWT which consists entirely of negative and meaningless nit-picking, which leaves the reader with the impression that the book being scrutinized is not only not useful, but what is worse, theoretically unsound. A good book review should point out the contributions as well as the genuine defects of a piece of work. Any author would be grateful for constructive criticisms, especially if they are well taken. Such criticisms would then be regarded as helpful suggestions for possible improvement and a better revised version of the book. As it is, Palo's review serves no purpose except to cast unfounded doubts on the usefulness and soundness of MBWT as a textbook for college students.

Fortunately, the authors of MBWT have received many favourable comments from teachers of Pilipino on the college level, who have specifically stated that they have found the book very helpful and practical. To date, it is still the only pedagogical grammar of the National Language which reveals interesting insights into its structure by using principles of transformational analysis.

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CUBAR, NELLY I. 1974. The Philippine linguistic landscape: 16th - 19th centuries. *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 39.311-470.

Reviewed by Jose S. Espallargas, Adamson University

Research on Philippine linguistic endeavors of the 16th to the 19th centuries is scanty, and whenever a new study gets published, it draws the attention of students of linguistics. If Nelly I. Cubar's *The Philippine linguistic landscape: 16th - 19th centuries* had no other merit but to increase the number of studies in such a field, it would still deserve commendation.

The study comes in three parts: the first part is a bird's eye view of Philippine linguistics during the Spanish era; the second is a running commentary on Fr. Joaquin de Coria's syntax of Tagalog; the third part, set as an appendix of the second, is Cubar's translation of four chapters of the *Nueva Gramatica Tagalog Teorico-practica* written by Fr. Joaquin de Coria and published in Madrid in 1872.

The first part is meant to provide a backdrop to the commentary on Coria's syntax. In fact, since Cubar's commentary does not describe the extent of Joaquin de Coria's dependence on previous Tagalog works, it is not easy to see the connection between the first two parts of the volume. For this reason the remarks in the present review will refer separately to the three parts of the paper.

In the words of the author herself, the first part shows

. . . the nature and extent of the grammars of Philippine languages written by the Spanish missionaries. Manuscripts of Tagalog and other Philippine languages are first listed, followed by annotated bibliographies of published grammars of Tagalog and other Philippine languages. The Manila libraries where some of the still existing works are to be found are also indicated. A summary of dates of publication of these grammars is also given to give an idea of the number of published works on grammar during the Spanish era. The last two sections list published bibliographies and general bibliographies of Philippine materials.

A research of this nature can hardly ever be complete and without error. The present study, however, seems to possess more than an ordinary share of oversights. It gives us first a chronological list of some manuscripts in Tagalog, gathered, it appears, from the works of Ernest J. Frei, Frank R. Blake, Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, and Marcelino A. Foronda, with allusions to the works of Emma H. Blair and James Alexander Robertson and Jose T. Medina. The list includes sixteen titles. However, in the next section, a few pages ahead, dealing with the manuscripts of the grammars of Philippine languages, the author gives us another list of twenty-six titles, including those already mentioned in this first section.

One wonders why the author duplicated the list. If she intended to tell us who among the friars was the first to write a grammar of Tagalog we should have been referred

to the excellent and lengthy essay with which Edwin Wolf prefaced his edition of *Doctrina Christiana: The First Book Printed in the Philippines* (Philadelphia, 1947) or to the equally good *Ensayo Historico-Bibliografico* added by Fr. J. Gayo Aragon to *Doctrina Christiana: Primer Libro Impreso en Filipinas* (Manila, 1951). Or at least she should have mentioned the remarks made by W.E. Retana in *Origenes de la Imprenta Filipina* (Madrid, 1911) on whom both Wolf and Gayo Aragon depend so heavily as Fr. Gayo readily acknowledges. As a matter of fact, Cubar does not mention any of these three works.

The first list does not indicate the religious order to which the authors belong and even the names are not systematically arranged. In some cases the surname comes first, in others it is the Christian name that comes ahead. The names themselves are often misspelled. Number five (5) in the list is one Montes y *Escamilla*, without a first name. His manuscript is dated 1600. Later, in the second list his name appears as Jeronimo Montes y *Escamilla*, and his manuscript is not given any date although he himself is said to have died in 1610. It is known, however, that Fr. Jeronimo Montes y Escamilla, a Franciscan, was still alive in 1614. (Fr. Eusebio Gomez Platero, *Catalogo Biografico de los Religiosos Franciscanos*, Manila: 1880, p. 60).

In the same list there appear other authors, without any indication of dates: Fr. Bencuchillo, J. Monte and Miguel Sanchez. In the second list of manuscript Tagalog grammars, Cubar says that Fr. Sanchez died in 1716. Fr. Francisco Bencuchillo, an Augustinian, is not included at all in this second list, although both W.E. Retana and Fr. Miguel Selga, authors appearing in the bibliography cited by Cubar, say that he wrote an *Arte Tagalog* and that he died in 1776.

Regarding the manuscript attributed to J. Monte, this reviewer has a sneaking suspicion that it is the same work referred to above as belonging to Fr. Jeronimo Montes. His name appears in some sources written as Jeronimo Monte. If so, this entry would be a duplicate of the other already examined.

The task of checking out the data offered in Cubar's entries of manuscripts and books is difficult because all too often names are incorrectly spelled, and indication as to the religious order to which the writer belonged is sometimes missing or incorrectly given. Thus, on page 323 of the monograph, two abbreviations are given to represent the Augustinians: O.E.S.A. and O.S.A. while in the list of manuscripts we find three such abbreviations, O.E.S.A., O.R.S.A. and O.S.A. A cursory check of the names reveals that O.R.S.A. indicates the writer was an Augustinian Recollect, but O.E.S.A. and O.S.A. point out an Augustinian (in Spanish, Orden de Ermitafios de San Agustin).

The list of manuscripts of grammars of Philippine languages has been compiled almost exclusively from the works of Robert Streit and Jack H. Ward. Streit is cited, the number of his entry given, along with the volume and page, but references to Ward just mention his name. Other entries in Cubar's list give no reference at all.

The list of manuscripts is certainly impressive and should perhaps lead to a revision of John Leddy Phelan's reference to the linguistic work done by the Spanish friars as laborious, even heroic, but inadequate.

After the list of manuscripts, Cubar offers us her list of Tagalog grammars written in Spanish from 1610 to 1899. She means, of course, manuscripts that reached printing. The books are given first in chronological order with bibliographical notes. The list certainly includes all Tagalog grammar books printed during the Spanish period plus the brief treatise on the Tagalog language written by Jose Rizal but printed in 1943 for the first time, and the studies on Tagalog grammar by Pedro Serrano Laktaw that came off

the press in 1929. Unexpectedly also, we see on this list of printed books the work of Pedro Andres de Castro, which is not a grammar at all but a description of the structure of the ancient Philippine syllabary. A beautiful copy of this manuscript was owned by the bibliophile Antonio Graño, but now it is deposited in the Lopez Memorial Museum. It is this manuscript that was reproduced in facsimile, not printed, in 1930, and 150 copies issued. It is, therefore, surprising to read what Cubar says about this book: 'Most copies are reproductions from the original'.

The bibliographical notes incorporated in the list, although compiled from well-known sources, are of interest precisely because thanks to Cubar they are now made available to us in a compilation. Surprisingly, Cubar does not seem to have used Retana's *Aparato Bibliografico* as a source of bibliographical information.

It is unfortunate that the bibliographical notes include some erroneous statements. For example, on page 332, we are told that the *Arte* of Fr. Francisco de San Jose is the 'oldest production from a printing press in the monastery of the Franciscan order in Bataan'. In fact, Fr. San Jose was a Dominican and his book was printed under his personal supervision in the Dominican convent of Abucay, Bataan. It is likewise erroneous to say that the book is addressed by San Jose to his fellow-Franciscans, or that it is the first book printed in the Philippines.

On page 334 Cubar tells us that Fr. Ortiz finished the manuscript of his *Arte y Reglas* in 1739, but the correct date is 1729. On page 337 it is stated that the third to the twelfth editions of Fr. Hevia Compomanes's *Lecciones de Gramatica Hispano-Tagala* were printed at the University of Santo Tomas, implying of course, that the first, second and third were printed somewhere else. The fact is that those three editions were printed at Santo Tomas. The title of Serrano Laktaw's grammar is given as *Sobre la Lengua Tagalog*, but the complete title is *Estudios Gramaticales sobre la Lengua Tagalog*.

The author has also arranged the list of the Tagalog grammars in alphabetical order, this time adding indications about which book repositories in Manila possess copies of these grammars. These details seem to have been taken from the *Union Catalog of Philippine Materials* by Maxima Magsanoc Ferrer (Quezon City, 1970). A number of editing lapses are found on this list, too; notable among them is the inclusion of Fr. Miguel Selga's *Estudio Bibliografico del Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala de Fr. Tomas Ortiz*. This is a fine bibliographical study on Fr. Ortiz's book, but it is not a grammar book at all.

In the next section the author lists the grammar books of other Philippine languages printed during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The lists can hardly be said to be complete and the bibliographical notes accompanying them are taken almost exclusively from Pardo de Tavera. The author does not seem to have utilized the monumental *Aparato Bibliografico* of Retana. Had she used it she would not have said, for instance, that the *Arte de la Lengua Bicol* of Fr. Andres de San Agustin was printed only three times, in 1647, 1795 and 1879. Retana describes the second edition done in 1739. She would also have found out that Fr. Santos Herrejon's *Lecciones de Gramatica Bicol-Hispano* is rather a bilingual textbook intended mainly to teach Spanish to children whose native language is Bicol.

The list of Cebuano grammars includes only three entries. Cubar does not mention the *Gramatica Visaya-Cebuano* of Fr. Manuel Vilches, O.R.S.A. (Manila: 1877).

About the first edition of R. Francisco Encina's *Arte de la Lengua Zebuana* (1801), we should be told that it is a pirated edition without place and date of publication, although there is no doubt that it is Encina's *Arte*.

Cubar attributes to Fr. Julian Bermejo an *Arte de la Lengua Zebuana* printed in

1800. The existence of such grammar, however, is quite doubtful. We have not seen it cited in any reputable bibliography. Besides, it is known that Fr. Bermejo arrived in the Philippines in 1797 and three years of residence in the country is too short a period to learn a language well enough to write a decent grammar of it.

Perhaps with not too clear consistency, Fr. Nicolas Gonzalez's *Gramatica Bisaya-Cebuana* is entered under the name of Fr. Francisco Encina. For, if it is correct that Fr. Gonzalez's work is just a paraphrase of Fr. Encina's work, so too, Fr. Bermejo's *Arte* was worked out of Fr. Encina's earlier grammar.

Fr. Ramon Zueco's *Metodo del Dr. Ollendorff para aprender a leer, hablar y escribir un idioma cualquiera adaptado al Bisaya* (Manila, 1871), really a grammar of Cebuano, is mentioned together with his *Compendio de la Gramatica Bisaya-Espanola* (Guadalupe, 1889), which is rather a method for Bisayan speakers to learn Spanish. However, Fr. Antonio Sanchez's *Gramatica Bisaya-Hispana*, written for Waray speakers, is not mentioned by Cubar at all, nor is Fr. Pedro Nolasco de Medio's *Gramatica Ibanag-Castellana*, which is a similar work for Ibanag speakers.

Again, with puzzling inconsistency, Cubar includes De La Cuesta's *Gramatica Ilocana-Castellana* and Vivo y Juderias's *Breve Compendio*, which are rather Spanish grammars for Ilokano children, but she omits Fernando Ferrer's *Manual Iloco-Castellano*, which has the same purpose.

Writing about the Pampangan printed grammars, Cubar fails to mention Fr. Francisco Coronel's *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga*, printed in 1617. She also fails to cite a previous *Arte de la Lengua Pangasinan* written by Fr. Andres Lopez and printed in 1690.

The last paragraphs of this first part of Cubar's study offer a bibliography of Philippine Materials. It is fairly complete although we do not see mentioned here either a *Catalogue of Filipiniana at Valladolid* edited by Helen R. Tubangui (Quezon City, 1973), or the *Philippine Retrospective National Bibliography: 1523-1699* by Gabriel A. Bernardo, Natividad Verzosa and John N. Schumacher, or *Filipiniana Materials in the National Library* by Isagani R. Medina (Quezon City, 1972), or the *Union Catalogue of Philippine Materials* by Maximo Magsanoc Ferrer (Quezon City, 1970). However, the field of Philippine bibliography has been well researched in the past and so none of these bibliographic volumes would have added items to the list provided us by Cubar.

The second part of the research is a commentary on the Tagalog syntax of Fr. Joaquin de Coria. Cubar justifies her study of this particular work on the grounds that Coria's *Arte* is the only one that includes a section on syntax. Although Pardo de Tavera stated that Coria's treatment makes it impossible to tell the true nature of Tagalog, Cubar believes otherwise. She tells us that even though Coria framed his Tagalog syntax on existing Latin and Spanish grammar models, since languages share a number of categories which are universally valid, he came out giving us a pretty good idea of the syntax of Tagalog.

Cubar seems fascinated by a number of ideas she has read in Coria's *Arte* that foreshadow contemporary developments, particularly those brought to the fore by Charles Fillmore and Wallace Chafe. The description of Tagalog cases is one of them, so also is the analysis of reflexive affixes, the statement that no sentence can exist without a verb at least implied, and that Tagalog *sa* is a marker of the accusative case.

Coria states that Tagalog *na* is the equivalent of the Spanish *que* and therefore a relativizer and subordinative particle. Cubar, however, seems to be uncommitted on this point. Still, she does see in Coria's treatment of this part of the grammar another way of expressing the notion of sentence embedding.

Cubar also notices that Coria's idea of government seems to provide a causative explanation for the existence of certain parts of the sentence. It is correct that Coria gives that impression, but one wonders if a real causative relation is implied by Coria, or simply the factual presence of a part of the sentence dictated by the presence of another, more or less like Hockett and Chafe assert.

A deeper study of Coria's ideas would reveal that most of them were not really his own. They had been said before, although rather than Gonzalo Correa's *Arte de la Lengua Española Castellana*, cited by Cubar, who wrote more than two hundred years before Coria, we should look for them in the grammatical books of Vicente Salva, J.M. Hermosilla, Pedro Martínez López and Eduardo Benot, and above all in the *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* of the Real Academia Española. Coria's *Nueva Gramática* follows the outline of the official *gramática* of the Real Academia.

This second part of the monograph is likewise very poorly edited. The misprints are too numerous to be listed down here. On two occasions Cubar misquotes Coria and makes him say the opposite of what he wrote. In some two dozen instances the English translations added to Coria's examples differ from the translations found in the appendix that follows Cubar's commentary.

Appended to the commentary is the English translation of the four chapters from Coria's *Nueva Gramática* containing his ideas on Tagalog syntax. This translation, too, is a work of Cubar. In the preface she acknowledges that her translation is literal. So it is, to the point of being unintelligible at times. This plus the poor editing makes its reading an unpleasant task. One instance of such editing: pages 415 and 418 contain comments made by Cubar side by side with the translation itself. They should have been incorporated into the commentary itself or placed in a footnote.

Cubar's work points out a field of profitable linguistic research. It is too bad that her labors have not been presented to students of Philippine bibliography and linguistics with a bit greater care. Still she succeeds in making her point: the landscape reconstructed from books on Philippine languages written by the Spanish friars must be studied systematically and its linguistic landmarks not to be ignored. Truly, for those times of unsophisticated linguistic methods, such works should be considered great.

BAUTISTA, MA. LOURDES S. 1979. Patterns of speaking in Pilipino radio dramas: a sociolinguistic analysis. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Monograph Series No. 13).

Reviewed by Richard A. Benton, New Zealand Council for Educational Research

The Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa is to be congratulated for making available yet another monograph concerned with Philippine languages. Much valuable work in Philippine linguistics which has been completed over the last few decades still remains almost inaccessible in graduate theses and unpublished manuscripts, and it is encouraging to see the Institute helping to remedy this situation by making significant research reports like the one under review available to an international audience.

This is a compact, attractively presented volume. The work is divided into four chapters, followed by a bibliography and two appendices. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-13) includes a brief discussion of the Philippine language situation (pointing out that the National Language controversy has served as a stimulus to sociolinguistic research in the Philippines, particularly in the area of language planning), and presents the reasons for conducting the study and why radio dramas were used as basic data sources. A number of related studies are also briefly reviewed—some of them are referred to again at greater length in the theoretical discussions incorporated in subsequent chapters. Chapters 2 (pp. 14-74) and 3 (pp. 75-129) are the substantive ones, where the data are presented, discussed, and analyzed. Chapter 4 (pp. 130-145) ties together themes developed in the preceding chapters, and includes suggestions for research. The appendices provide summarized plots of the non-serialized dramas in the corpus, and the complete script of one such drama.

The author explains that the study has been conducted 'to lay the groundwork for an ethnography of speaking of the Pilipino speech community'—it is 'an attempt to describe the patterns of speaking prevalent in social interaction in [this] community' (p.5). The 'patterns of speaking' in which she is interested are grouped into six categories: address forms, and five specific speech acts—greetings, apologies, compliments, directives, and probes. One chapter (Ch. 2) is devoted entirely to the address forms, and another (Ch. 3) to the specific speech acts.

Radio dramas have been chosen as the raw materials for the study because they provide an easily available corpus of conversational data which, there is good reason to believe, are authentic. Audience surveys have shown that these dramas are very popular, particularly with the lowest socio-economic groups (who make up the bulk of the population). Certainly, the plots summarized in Appendix I are strikingly similar to ethnographic life histories in anthropological literature (see e.g. those in Decaesstecker 1978). This authentication of the dramas as representative of natural speech implies that Bautista equates Pilipino with Manila Tagalog, and thus the 'speech community' to which she refers is Tagalog-speaking Metro-Manila. The referent of the term 'Pilipino' is never identified explicitly in the study, however, which could be very confusing to foreign readers, especially as *Pilipino* (the 'Tagalog-based' official language) and *Filipino* (the yet-to-emerge new National Language, whose creation is enjoined by the 1973 Constitution) are equated with each other in the introductory chapter (pp. 3-4).

Similarly, a theoretical discussion of the classification of speech acts and their components is included in a section headed 'Some Observations' near the end of Chapter 3 (pp. 116-125), but it is not at all obvious how the classification of speech acts proposed by John R. Searle which is sympathetically outlined here relates to the classification used by the author in organizing her data earlier in the chapter. The reasons for selecting certain kinds of speech acts for discussion while perhaps ignoring others are likewise unexplained. Despite those oversights, Bautista's analysis of her data within the framework she has chosen is interesting and perceptive.

The variety of scripts used is sufficient to ensure that the study is not one of the style of one or two individuals (and thus literary criticism rather than sociolinguistic in nature). Furthermore, although discussion is centered on the material in the corpus, evidence has also been drawn from the author's or others' observations of real-life situations. The constraints on scriptwriters and the extent to which the dramas can be regarded as linguistically representative of natural speech are explored in some depth in the final chapter.

Not dealt with explicitly, although discussed in different parts of the study in relation to various specific categories of speech acts or forms of address, is the significance of English intrusions into basically Tagalog discourse. Terms of endearment used particularly by partners in illicit relationships, for example, are mostly English in origin (pp. 22-23). This may simply be a case of lexical borrowing, but in some contexts the use of English phrases or sentences seems to result from deliberate code-switching, to emphasize the status of one of the participants or the formality of a situation (e.g. the exchange in Love Story No. 14, p. 102, where the use of English seems clearly to be an indicator of social distance); likewise, a switch from English to Tagalog may transform a formal situation into one of intimacy (cf. p. 42). However English is obviously not always associated with formality and increasing social distance—the discussion of apologies (pp. 89-93) shows that the English word *sorry* is used in connection with minor offenses, but the Tagalog root *tawad*, or an equivalent Tagalog form, occurs almost invariably in apologies for serious misdemeanors.

There is an excellent discussion of the pronouns and particles of respect on pp. 30-58. One point of interest which is not discussed here or elsewhere, however (perhaps because none of the dramas contained relevant exchanges), is the problem which certain groups of non-Tagalogs, especially speakers of certain Visayan languages, have in handling these respect markers when they learn Tagalog. These problems are frequently observed in real life, but they may not yet have been used for dramatic purposes (e.g. to indicate that a character is not from Manila, is a recent arrival, etc.).

The author notes on p. 58 that one tendency which may have been realistic—to show more use of overt respect markers between adults and their parents than between (contemporary) children and the same adults—resulted in protests about the corrupting influence of certain programs. The Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster ng Pilipinas – Broadcast Media Council—accordingly directed scriptwriters to reflect 'traditional Filipino values' in their work by portraying children as generally properly respectful to their elders. In this respect therefore the scripts may reflect social norms rather than actual practice.

There is a succinct discussion of the use of the word *kuwan* (a multipurpose substitute morpheme which has parallels in many Austronesian languages – e.g. *mea* in Maori) in evasive replies (pp. 114-115). It would be interesting to know if the particle *daw* ('so it is said') has similar functions in this regard. This particle has parallels in most

Philippine languages (*kano* in Ilocano, *kono* in Pangasinan and Tausog, etc.), and absolves the speaker from direct responsibility for the authenticity of the information conveyed. It is so common in Tagalog and Philippine English speech that it would be very odd indeed if it were absent from the scripts (such absence in itself would be worthy of remark), but its functions are not alluded to in this study.

After summarizing some of the major themes and discussing in some depth the constraints on script writers and the degree to which the dialogues can be regarded as natural speech, the author concludes her final chapter with suggestions for further research. Among the most important of these is that attention be given to content analysis of the dramas—are they, for example, conveying a ‘philosophy of poverty’ so that in their apparent realism they have truly become an opiate for the masses?

The format of the book is very helpful to the reader. Each chapter is preceded by a table of contents showing its major divisions. There are a number of charts and diagrams summarizing key points made in some of the more complex discussions, including an ingenious flow-chart on p. 65 summarizing the principles underlying selection of terms of address in the dramas (which can be contrasted with the much less complex American system illustrated in a similar style on p. 73). Typographical errors are few and mostly minor (e.g. ‘homw’ for ‘home’, line 10 p. 116). There is occasional confusion in references to other works. ‘Pascasio 1977’ is listed in the bibliography as a book edited by that author, for example, yet the reference ‘Pascasio 1977’ on page 3 appears to refer to a particular paper; whether this is by Pascasio or by a contributor to the volume is not clear. A reference to ‘Searle 1965’ on p. 127 has no counterpart in the bibliography, where the references to this author’s works are dated 1969 and 1976.

This monograph is an important contribution both to socio-linguistics and ethnography. It will be of interest to students of philosophy and literary criticism, as well as to anyone interested in the dynamics of contemporary Philippine society as these are reflected both in natural speech and in the dramas from which the speech has been drawn. The author has certainly more than fulfilled the expectations aroused by her modest aims, and it is to be hoped that this study will be the first of many such explorations in depth of the social dimensions of language use in Philippine settings.

REFERENCE

- DECAESSTECKER, DONALD DENISE. 1978. *Impoverished urban Filipino families*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press.

DOCUMENTATION SECTION

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES ACTIVITIES 1979 – 1980

1. The Board met monthly on the last Friday of the month to consider pending matters. The meeting was usually followed by the monthly lectures.

Lectures for last year were the following:

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| Jack C. Richards | : | 'Rhetorical and Communicative Styles in the New Varieties of English' |
| | : | 'Form and Function in a Basilectal Variety of English' |
| | : | 'Speech Acts and Second Language Learning' |
| R. David Paul Zorc | : | 'Philippine Accent – A New Look' |
| Nely Cubar | : | 'Grammars of Philippine Languages During the Spanish Era' |

2. Publications:

The combined June and December 1979 (Vol. 10 Nos. 1 and 2) issues of the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* were distributed.

3. Activities:

- 3.1. Through the courtesy of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dr. Kenneth Pike conducted a one-day workshop on 'Developments in Tagmemic Theory' at the De La Salle University Conference Room. The workshop was attended by senior linguists in the Metro Manila Area.
- 3.2. With the cooperation of the New Zealand Embassy and the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, Dr. Jack C. Richards, psycholinguistics specialist at the Regional Language Centre in Singapore, gave a series of lectures on 'The Psychology of Language and Language Learning' at the Graduate Seminar Room of De La Salle University.
- 3.3. Under the sponsorship of the Fund for Assistance to Private Education, Philippine Social Science Council and the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, a national consultation on the updating of the teaching of English in the Philippines was held on September 13 and 14, 1979 at the Graduate Seminar Room of De La Salle University. Participants were supervisors from 14 regions of the Ministry of Education and Culture as well as language educators from the Metro Manila area.
- 3.4. The national consultation was followed by a week-long seminar/workshop on the updating of English teaching in the Philippines – Elementary and High Schools, from October 22 to 26, 1979 at the St. Paul College of Manila Auditorium. The seminar/workshop was sponsored by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, the Philippine Association for Language Teach-

ing, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Cultural Affairs Office of the Embassy of the United States, and the Asia Foundation. Guest lecturers were Dr. Clifford H. Prator and Dr. Evelyn Hatch, both from UCLA.

- 3.5. The Goethe Institute (German Cultural Center) in cooperation with the Philippine Normal College-De La Salle University-Ateneo de Manila University Consortium for a Ph.D. in Bilingual Education, and the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, sponsored a seminar-workshop on the 'Production of Teaching Materials for English as a Foreign (Second) Language in the Philippines' conducted by Dr. Peter Mohr of the Hessian Institute for Educational Planning and Development, Federal Republic of Germany. The workshop was held at the Language Study Center, Philippine Normal College, from April 14 to May 8, 1980.
 - 3.6. The British Council made available the services of Ray Williams, a specialist in English for Special Purposes from Birmingham, England, for the Third National Seminar-Workshop on English for Special Purposes, from April 14 to May 23, 1980. The workshop, jointly sponsored by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, the Philippine Normal College-De La Salle University-Ateneo de Manila University Consortium and the Fund for Assistance to Private Education, was held at De La Salle University. A second specialist, Bernard Coffey, also sent by the British Council from the Regional Language Centre in Singapore, was likewise available from May 12 to May 16 during the period. Both Williams and Coffey gave lectures and conducted workshops.
 - 3.7. The Linguistic Society of the Philippines, in cooperation with the Pam-bansang Samahan ng Linggwistikang Pilipino, conducted two workshops during the summer of 1979 on the use of Pilipino as a medium of instruction at the secondary and tertiary level.
 - 3.8. The first group of Ph.D. candidates in the Bilingual Education consortium completed their comprehensive examinations and have begun work on their dissertations. The program is a joint project of the consortium and the Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
 - 3.9. With a grant from the National Science Development Board, through the Philippine Social Science Council, the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* will have two numbers in 1980.
4. Finances:

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

Andrew Gonzalez, FSC
Executive Secretary

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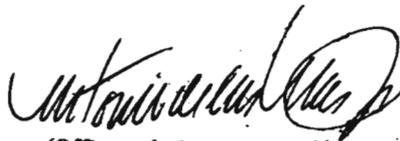
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