

The Legacy of Consuelo J. Paz: A Festschrift

Edited by Wystan de la Peña



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To my generation, Dean Paz is the female college administrator whose intellect, strength of character and a meticulously paired sense of propriety and fashion informed the academe's brand of 90s feminism. Hers is a quest for academic excellence informed by an acute sense of independence from colonialism in both its old and new forms. In the presence of Dean Paz, calls to celebrate diversity, end sexism and for gender equality were neither fragmented nor matters of individual choice. Rather, they were framed within a larger whole, each being part and parcel of a vision we all must strive for. In the hands of Consuelo Paz, the future depended on connecting the bigger picture with day-to-day urgencies, big and small.

— Sarah Raymundo, Director, UP Center for International Studies

Connie's support for the [UP] union continued even when she was dean. She was generous in responding to solicitations for striking workers or urban poor communities, attended union meetings, as well as union sponsored symposia and fora on university and national issues. She joined marches and rallies in UP, even as far as Ayala Avenue, during the Resign GMA campaign, and to Ever Gotesco, during the State of the Nation Address (SONA). She was one of those who rallied in front of the house on campus of then budget secretary Benjamin Diokno during the Estrada administration to take him to task for the removal of benefits already enjoyed by public service employees.

— Judy Taguiwalo, retired professor,
UP College of Social Work and Community Development
and former secretary of the Department of Social Welfare and Development

[I]sang alagad ng wikang Filipino si Consuelo Paz dahil sa kaniyang pagiging produktibo at progresibong linggwist para sa wikang pambansa at mga wika sa Pilipinas. Hindi maikakaila ang ambag ng lawas ng kaniyang mga sulatin at pag-aaral tungkol sa Filipino, sa mga wika sa Pilipinas, at maging sa pagpapakilala at pagsusulong ng mga ito sa labas ng bansa.

— Ronel Laranjo, assistant professor,
UP Diliman Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas

If asked, what is the legacy of Dean Consuelo Paz? I will say that she continued a tradition of women with strong character and influence in academe, a minority in UP until quite recently. She joined the ranks of women academics — the likes of historian Encarnacion Alzona (1895-2001), sociologist Ofelia Anganco (1926-2019), and writer Virginia Moreno (1925-2021) — who asserted their rights, opinion, and scholarship in a male-dominated academic atmosphere. After her generation, there were more women academics and academic leaders in the university — parity among the genders has never been better.

— Vic Paz, former director, UP Archaeological Studies Program

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University of the Philippines
Center for International Studies

Quezon City

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The work of producing a Festschrift to honor an elderly and esteemed colleague is a team effort. This Festschrift is no exception.

I thank Sarah Raymundo and Chim Zayas, both directors of the UP Center for International Studies (UPCIS) — the first, the incumbent; the second, her predecessor — for welcoming and supporting my idea of a Festschrift for Dean Paz. They infected the rest of the UPCIS faculty with their enthusiasm and excitement for the project. Jina Umali, Rae Macapagal, Bomen Guillermo, and retired faculty affiliate Veca Hernandez contributed articles and advice in the course of the birthing of this book.

Funding from the UP System came through President Danilo Concepcion, with facilitation by Lisa Grace Bernales, vice president for planning and finance, and Noreen Escultura, assistant vice president for planning and finance and director of the UP System Budget Office.

At the UP Diliman level, no small endorsement and encouragement came from Chancellor Fidel Nemenzo and Dean Paz's former students-now-faculty at the Department of Linguistics of the College of Social Science and Philosophy.

To Jina Umali goes the credit for marshalling all the needed administrative resources for this dream book, and carrying out tedious managing editor tasks, from coordinating with the contributors and the editorial staff, navigating the university bureaucracy for funding, and performing the final editorial gatekeeping. She was the captain that kept the figurative ship steady and afloat as it waded through the emotional ups and downs that came with working during a pandemic.

UPCIS administrative personnel — Laureen Lioanag, Vianca de la Cruz, Darwin Desoacido, Iyah Lafuente, Alexis de la Torre and Melvin Mabini — provided the behind-the-scenes muscle that kept things in motion, making the preparation of this book an easier task than it would have been otherwise. Chelsey Jan Perez, who proofread the text, and JV de la Cruz, whom we consulted on the layout and the book cover, did a fine job in giving this Festschrift its final form. Acknowledgment is also due to Vicky Vidal, administrative officer of the Department of Linguistics of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, for the many ways she has been of help in this endeavor.

Old friends and colleagues of Dean Paz also enthusiastically gave of their time to come up with contributions to this Festschrift. On the editorial side, Joey Baquiran provided helpful insights on language.

The family of Dean Paz, especially son Vic and his wife, Lisa, wholeheartedly gave all the assistance they could in bringing this dream to reality.

To all of them, my deepest gratitude.

— The Editor

Foreword

What's in a Legacy

Sarah S. Raymundo¹

The Consuelo J. Paz legacy encompasses disciplinary development from theory construction to qualitative and quantitative research. The same legacy is founded on institutional building, from administrative development of academic units to labor union building among education workers.

To my generation, Dean Paz is the female college administrator whose intellect, strength of character and a meticulously paired

This tribute brings together colleagues, friends, students, and family whose lives Dean Paz has touched at different phases of her life. It is a collective reflection of a life that cannot be divorced from disciplines, institutions and perennial struggles that Dean Paz herself has enriched.

sense of propriety and fashion informed the academe's brand of 90s feminism. Hers is a quest for academic excellence informed by an acute sense of independence from colonialism in both its old and new forms. In the presence of Dean Paz, calls to celebrate diversity, end sexism and for gender equality were neither fragmented nor

matters of individual choice. Rather, they were framed within a larger whole, each being part and parcel of a vision we all must strive for. In the hands of Consuelo Paz, the future depended on connecting the bigger picture with day-to-day urgencies, big and small.

¹ Editor's note: Raymundo is a sociologist and the director of the UP Center for International Studies.

One of those urgencies is an emblematic move to decolonize commencement exercises and other important university rituals through the academic costume. An outspoken Consuelo Paz, along with a few others, pointed out the incompatibility between the traditional mortarboard and toga and the tropical climate in these shores. She proposed an alternative. The Sablay was subsequently introduced in 1990 and officially adopted in 2000. That graduates do not have to drown in their own colonized sweat on graduation day, we owe to Consuelo Paz. Consistent with her quest for sovereignty, the Sablay symbolizes nationalism and the importance of our indigenous culture.

Remarkably, her stakes on academic excellence and union building are well known to scholars because of her drive to build the foundation for a democratized Filipino language. She remains to be a pillar of strength in resisting academic elitism and obscurity. During her active service, Dean Paz was much sought after on account of her incomparable skills as a clear-headed communicator, strategist and tactician. Her approach to the study of language turned the latter into a dynamic process that is founded on people's shared meanings and aspirations. No pedagogy can be more inspiring.

This tribute brings together colleagues, friends, students, and family whose lives Dean Paz has touched at different phases of her life. It is a collective reflection of a life that cannot be divorced from disciplines, institutions and perennial struggles that Dean Paz herself has enriched. The contributors to this volume are an inter-generational team of academics. It is reflective not only of Consuelo Paz's legacy, but of the solidarities she herself painstakingly forged in order to build a common ground and front in an atmosphere of atomization.

We, at the Center for International Studies, thank each contributor to this well-deserved tribute to Dean Paz. In the spirit of unionism, we wish to recognize the invisible work of the Center's staff that went into the finalization of this volume. With much gratitude and respect, we thank Dr. Cynthia Neri Zayas and Dr. Amparo Adelina Umali III for their enabling ways and direction. The idea of a Festschrift to honor the legacy of Consuelo Paz was conceived by no less than the editor of this volume, Prof. Wytan de la Peña, to whom we are infinitely grateful.

To our beloved, Dean Paz, we thank and honor you for showing us and always finding ways to defend the gains of our past struggles.

Introduksiyon

Noong ika-17 ng Marso 2021, sa okasyon ng ika-88 kaarawan ni Dean Consuelo Paz, ginanap ang *soft launch* ng librong ito. Sa loob ng isa't kalahating oras, nagsama-sama online — ang tinaguriang *new normal* — ang mga kaibigan ni Dean Paz at mayakda ng mga artikulo sa *The Legacy of Consuelo J. Paz* upang bumati, mangumusta at magbahagi ng maiikli at magigiliw na mga kuwento tungkol sa kaniya.

Itong Festschrift, tulad ng kahulugan nito sa wikang Aleman, ay isang piyesta ng pagsusulat. Isa itong koleksiyon ng mga sanaysay at mga paggunita kay Dean Paz ng mga propesor mula sa UP Center for International Studies (UPCIS), na pinaglingkuran niya bilang unang direktor nito, at mula sa Department of Linguistics, na pinamunuan din niya bilang tagapangulo. Kasama rin sa Festschrift na ito ang ilang mga nakasalamuha ni Dean Paz mula sa iba pang mga departamento at kolehiyo ng UP sa loob ng 40 taon na pagseserbisyo sa unibersidad, bilang teaching assistant sa simula hanggang full professor at direktor ng UPCIS nang tuluyan nang magretiro.

Nahahati ang Festschrift sa tatlong seksiyon. Magbubukas ito sa mga paggunita ng kaniyang mga ka-kontemporanyo sa kaniyang personal na buhay at karerang akademiko. Susundan ito ng seksiyon ng Linguistics. Kasama ang isang sanaysay na isinulat upang gawing babasahin sa isang klase sa UPCIS, binubuo ang huling bahagi, ang International Studies, ng mga papel na binasa ng grupo ng UPCIS na lumahok sa isang internasyonal na kumperensiya na ginanap noong 2018 sa Busan, South Korea tungkol sa pagtuturo ng paksang Southeast Asia.

Bagaman nakatutuwang makita ang Festschrift bilang aklat ngayon — isang trabahong itinaguyod ng sociologist na si Sarah Raymundo, kasalukuyang direktor ng UPCIS, at ng marine anthropologist na si Cynthia Neri Zayas, dating direktor ng sentro, at matagal at matiyagang tinutukan ng staff ng UPCIS sa pangunguna ng Japanese theater scholar na si Amparo Adelina C. Umali III — nakalulungkot isiping hindi na nakita ng dalawang mga kasamang may-akda ang pinal na produkto. Namayapa na sina Jonathan Malicsi, professor emeritus ng Department of Linguistics, at Dean Aurora Roxas-Lim, ang dating dekana ng Asian Center, bago pa man ganapin ang *soft launch*.

Sa kaniyang *Foreword*, binubuksan ni Sarah Raymundo ang Festschrift sa paglalarawan kay Dean Paz bilang maimpluwensiyang babaeng akademiko't aktibista ng kaniyang henerasyon at simbolo ng feminismo ng dekada 90. Para kay Sarah, huwaran si Dean Paz ng pagpupunyagi sa akademya habang sinisikap makaalpas sa tanikala ng bago at lumang kolonialismo.

Isang malapitan at personal na pananaw — *up close and personal*, sabi nga sa Ingles — ang ambag ng arkeologo na si Victor Paz, bunsong anak ni Dean Paz. Di-pangkaraniwan ang naging papel ng batang Paz — ang magsulat tungkol sa sariling ina na kasamahan din niya sa trabaho. Sinusugan ni Vic ang naunang obserbasyon ni Sarah tungkol sa naging papel ng ina sa pagsusulong sa adhikain ng mga kababaihan.

Ayon kay Vic, nahahanay si Dean Paz sa mga naunang mga propesora sa UP, tulad ng historiadorang si Encarnación Alzona (1895-2001), ang unang Filipina na nagtamo ng PhD at isa sa mga unang babaeng Regent ng UP; ang sociologist na si Ofelia Angangco (1926-2019), ang unang babaeng dekana ng UP Diliman College of Social Sciences and Philosophy; at ang kapapanaw pa lamang na

makata at mandudulang si Virginia Moreno (1923-2021). Katulad ng tatlo, ani Vic, ipinaglaban ni Dean Paz ang mga karapatan at opinyon ng kababaihan, at itinaguyod ang mga ginawang pag-aaral ng mga kabarong akademiko sa isang larangang higit na nakararami ang mga kalalakihan.

Inihatag naman ni Ronel Laranjo ang isang bio-bibliograpiya kung saan ipinakilala niya ang iba-ibang mga isinulat at nalathalang mga saliksik ni Dean Paz, mula sa kaniyang master's thesis at PhD dissertation hanggang sa pinakahuli niyang libro, ang *Ginhawa, Kapalaran, Dalamhati: Essays on Well-Being, Opportunity, Destiny and Anguish* (UP Press, 2008). Pinatunayan ni Ronel, sa pagsulong ni Dean Paz sa wikang pambansa, na isa siyang tunay na alagad ng wikang Filipino.

Mga personal at nakagigiliw na mga gunita naman ang nilalaman ng tatlong maiikling sanaysay mula kina Dean Aurora Roxas-Lim, Professor Emerita Rosario de Santos, at Judy Taguiwalo. Pinuri ni Dean Roxie si Dean Paz bilang isang dalubhasa sa Linguistics at isang magaling na faculty administrator at mentor. Binigyang-halaga niya ang di-matatawarang huling dalawang kontribusyon ni Dean Paz sa UP — ang pagiging sinaunang direktor ng UP Center for International Studies at ang pangunguna sa pagtatag ng Archaeological Studies Program, na kinikilala ngayong isa sa magagaling na programa sa Arkeolohiya sa Asya.

Nagbalik-tanaw si Sario sa dekada 60 nang una niyang makilala si Dean Paz. Isa raw ito noong araw na litaw ang ganda at galing sa pagdala ng mga usong damit at paglagay ng make-up. Ngunit ang pinakamahalagang alaala ni Sario ay tungkol sa mga sandaling kapit-bisig na kasama niya si Dean Paz at ilan pang mga kawani at propesor sa pagtatag ng unyon ng mga empleyadong administratibo at faculty sa UP.

Patunay ang sanaysay-alaala ni Manay Judy, retiradong propesora sa College of Social Work and Community Development at dating kalihim ng Department of Social Welfare ng bansa, na magandang metodolohiya sa pananaliksik sa buhay ninuman ang ipakuwento ito sa iba-ibang mga tao. Sa ganitong paraan, lalabas ang mga detalyeng hindi bibigyang-pansin ng isa ngunit pahahalagahan ng iba. Bagama't binanggit ni Vic na ibinuhos ni Dean Paz ang sarili sa pagiging maybahay at ina mula noong dekada 50, hindi niya ikinuwento ang isang detalyeng naalala at hinangaan ni Manay Judy — na habang nag-aaral ng kaniyang Masters at PhD at nagtuturo sa UP, pinamahalaan ni Dean Paz ang kaniyang tahanan tulad ng isang ulirang ina't maybahay. Sa katunayan, kuwento ni Manay, si Dean Paz mismo ang nananahi ng mga damit ng kaniyang mga anak upang makatipid.

Ibinahagi rin ni Manay Judy ang ilang kuntil-butil sa pag-iisip ni Dean Paz na makikita sa kaniyang mga kilos at pananalita. Minsan, gunita niya, habang nagmamartsa patungo sa tahanan ng isang opisyal ng gobierno upang iprotesta ang ginawa nitong pag-alis sa ilang mga benepisyong mga kawani ng pamahalaan, iginiit ni Dean Paz na maglakad ang mga kasamahan sa kalye mismo, hindi sa bangketa. Kailangan daw maramdaman ng mga motorista (mga pribadong sasakyan lang ang dumaraan sa nasabing kalye) ang abala ng trapiko upang maidiin sa kanilang isipan ang bigat ng isyung ipinoprotesta.

Sa seksiyon ng Linguistics, nagsama-sama ang ilang mga bata at retiradong propesor ng Department of Linguistics upang talakayin ang kani-kanilang mga saliksik sa isang larangan na yumabong at yumaman bunga ng walang-kapagurang pagpupunyagi ni Dean Paz. Sa limang mga sanaysay, sinusuri ng apat ang bokabularyo bilang tema, samantalang tinatalakay ng panlima ang pragmatics sa likod ng paggamit ng mga pangatnig.

Si Jonathan Malicsi ang may-akda ng panlima, na siyang unang sanaysay sa seksiyon. Binigyang-halaga niya ang tamang paggamit ng mga pangatnig upang magkaroon ng malinaw na komunikasyon. Hinimay niya ang iba-ibang uri nito at sa bandang huli’y ipinakita ang relasyon ng tamang paggamit sa kritikal na pag-iisip at wastong pagdedesisyon.

Ang mga pinagmulan ng mga salitang-hiram sa wikang Ibatan naman ang sinuri ni Maria Kristina Gallego. Ipinakita ni Tina — na kinilala si Dean Paz bilang inspirasyon sa naging desisyon ng batang propesora na mag-aral ng historical linguistics — na malaki ang maitutulong ng mga imbestigasyon tungkol sa mga pagbabago ng bokabularyo para maunawaan ang proseso ng language contact.

Bokabularyo din ang sinuri ni Jem Javier. Sa kaniyang sanaysay, inaral niya ang mga salitang ginagamit — at bakit iyon ang ginagamit — ng mga estudyante sa UP sa harap ng maraming ibang pagpipilian. Isang mahalagang mensahe ang lumilitaw sa pag-aaral ni Jem: ang mga tunay na awtoridad ng wika ay ang mga tagapagsalita nito, hindi lang ang mga tagapagpatupad ng ideolohiya ng lipunan sa wika. Dapat itong isaisip sa sandaling bubuo ng mga patakarang may kinalaman sa paggamit ng wika, giit niya.

Isang magandang halimbawa ng leksikal-historikal na rekonstruksiyon ang ginawa ni Jesus Federico Hernandez, dating tagapangulo ng Department of Linguistics, sa kaniyang sanaysay tungkol sa salitang *atay*. Bilang panimula, binanggit ni Tuting ang naunang pag-aaral ni Dean Paz sa salitang *dalamhati*, ang emosyong sinasabing may kaugnayan sa atay. Inilagay ni Tuting sa konteksto ng pamilya ng mga wikang Austronesian ang pagsusuri sa ugnayang *dalamhati-atay* at ipinakita niya ang halaga ng bahaging tiyan (*abdominocentric*) para sa mga sinaunang Filipino

bago dumating ang mga Kastila — isang bagay na makikita sa mga ekspresyong *halang ang bituka, malayo sa bituka, matibay ang sikmura*, at *mahirap sikmurain*.

Wika ng mga Ayta naman ang tema ng sanaysay na kolaborasyon ng dalawang retiradong propesora, ang linguist na si Viveca Hernandez, dating tagapangulo ng Department of Linguistics, at ang anthropologist na si Cynthia Neri Zayas. Hinimay nila ang gamit ng salitang *tsibi* ng mga Ayta sa Pinatubo, ang kahulugan nito, at ang mga pamahiin at mga ipinagbabawal kaugnay sa nasabing konsepto. Obserbasyon nila: nakadikit sa pangangalaga sa kalikasan ang lahat ng mga taboo sa kulturang Ayta na may kinalaman sa *tsibi*, at masama ang idinudulot ng pagwawalang-bahala sa kanilang mga tradisyonal na tagubilin.

Makikita sa mga sanaysay sa bahagi ng International Studies ang pilosopiyang ipinaiiral sa UPCIS sa pagtuturo tungkol sa Southeast Asia — ang pagkatuto mula sa karanasan (*experiential learning*), hindi lamang sa pagbabasa at pakikinig sa mga lektura. Mababasa sa seksiyong ito ang iba-ibang estilo ng pagtuturo — gamit ang mga awit, sayaw at kuwentong-bayan, walking tour, pagkain, at wika.

Pambungad ang sanaysay ni Ramon Guillermo na orihinal na isinulat upang gamiting babasahin sa subject na SEA 30. Dito, sinuri ni Bomen ang tagumpay ng awiting “Anak” ni Freddie Aguilar nang pasukin nito ang merkado ng *Dunia Melayu* (mundong Malayo). Ipinakita niya ang ginawang pagbabago sa letra nang ilipat sa wikang Bahasa Indonesia at ang dahilan sa likod nito. Pinuna rin niya ang mga nakitang kahinaan sa puntong artistiko ng mga ginawang pagbabago.

Ang sumunod na apat na mga sanaysay ay mga ipinalawak na papel ng grupo ng UPCIS na nakilahok sa isang internasyonal na kumperensiya sa pagtuturo tungkol sa Southeast Asia. Tinatalakay sa apat ang iba-ibang mga module na nakapaloob sa SEA 30 (Asian Emporiums: Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia), na team-taught na subject sa UPCIS.

Ang ugnayan ng Pilipinas at sa mga karatig-bansa nito sa pamamagitan ng mga dagat na nakapalibot sa Southeast Asia ang sinuri ni Cynthia Neri Zayas. Gamit ang salitang '*wansalwara*' — mula sa pidgin na Ingles sa Papua New Guinea na ibig sabihin ay *one salt water* — bilang metáfora ng pagbubuklod, ipinakikita ni Chim kung paano di pinaghihiwalay kundi pinag-uugnay ng mga karagatan ang iba-ibang mga bansa sa rehiyon. Ipinaliwanag niya ang metodong walking tour sa Manila — kung saan bumibisita sa mga pamilihan at sagradong lugar ng tatlong malalaking relihiyong makikita sa Southeast Asia — bilang pandagdag-karanasan at pagpapayaman sa mga natutuhan sa mga lektura.

Hindi lahat tungkol sa Southeast Asia ay itinuturo gamit ang mga libro at lektura. Sa kaniyang sanaysay, inilahad ni Raymond Macapagal ang pagtuturo niya tungkol sa gastronomiya ng rehiyon. Ipinaliliwanag niya ang mga iba-ibang pampalasa na inihahalo sa mga lutuin at ang mga prosesong ginagawa sa paghahanda ng pagkain. Matapos talakayin ang usapin tungkol sa bigas, ang pagkaing makikita sa lahat ng bansa sa Southeast Asia, at ang pagkakaiba ng pananaw at pagluluto nito ng mga Southeast Asian sa mga Europeo, binubuksan ni Macapagal ang diskusyon tungkol sa seguridad sa pagkain bilang huling puntong tatalakayin sa kaniyang module. Tinatapos ito sa pagluluto ng mga estudyante ng iba-ibang putahe mula sa rehiyon na sila mismo ang pumili at paghanda ng dokumentasyon ng prosesong pinagdaanan.

Tinalakay ni Amparo Adelina C. Umali III ang pagtuturo niya ng paksang Intangible Cultural Heritage gamit ang mga kuwentong-bayan na may tinaguriang celestial maiden, isang nilalang na nasa maraming folktale sa Southeast Asia. Maliban sa pagpapabasa ng mga naratibo tungkol sa celestial maiden, pinaaaral din ni Jina sa mga estudyante ang mga tradisyonal na sayaw na itinuturo ng mga dalubhasa o ng kanilang mga naging estudyante. Hangarin niya na sa pamamagitan nito, malinaw na makikita ng mga estudyante ang pagka-Asyano ng mga Pilipino at ang pagkakahalintulad nila sa mga tao sa mga kalapit-bansa sa Southeast Asia. Ikintal sa isipan ng mga estudyante ang kahalagahan ng pag-alaga sa mga kuwentong-bayan at iba pang mga tradisyong oral at performance ang pinakapakay ng metodo ni Jina.

Ginagamit naman ni Wytan de la Peña ang fenomeno ng mga hiram na salita mula sa Kastila na makikita ngayon sa Filipino bilang pambungad sa pagtalakay tungkol sa pagpasok ng impluwensiyang Kanluranin sa wika sa Southeast Asia, lalong-lalo na sa Pilipinas. Giit niya, di-pangkaraniwan ang sitwasyong linggwistikong ng mga Filipino bunga ng naging pakikisalamuha sa Kastila at Ingles — mga wikang maaaring gamiting tulay upang madaling aralin ang mga wikang galing sa Latin at mga galing sa pamilyang Germanic. Isama pa rito ang impluwensiya ng Sanskrito at ang matatawag na “language genes” mula sa pinagmulang pamilyang-linggwistikong Austronesian. Gamit ang wika, madaling maipakikilala ang Europa sa mga Filipino; ngunit dapat bigyang-pansin, babala ni Wytan, ang halaga ng pagpapabasa ng mga libro at iba pang mga materyales na mga Asyano mismo ang may-akda at isinulat para sa mga mambabasang Asyano.

Sa sampung mga sanaysay sa huling dalawang seksiyon, makikita ang impluwensiya ni Dean Paz sa mga sumunod na henerasyon ng mga akademiko sa UP — ang pag-aaral ng historical linguistics na

may kinalaman sa pagkabansa ng Pilipinas; ang pagsuri sa papel ng wika sa lipunan; at ang Asyanong pananaw na idinidiin sa pag-aaral sa kultura at kasaysayan ng Timog Silangang Asya. Ito ang isang pamanang tunay na nagpapayaman sa diskurso ng dalawang nabanggit na larangan at tumatagal kahit malaon nang nilisan ni Dean Paz ang pagtuturo.

Isang payak na pagkilala sa pamana ni Dean Paz ang Festschrift na ito.

— Wylan de la Peña

CONSUELO PAZ, THE PROFESSOR AND FRIEND

Consuelo J. Paz: The Dean, the Mentor, and the Mother

Victor J. Paz¹

I am a third-generation UP graduate and second-generation UP academic from both sides of my family. I had a bit of an awkward start as an academic, because my mother and I both belonged to the College of Social Science and Philosophy (CSSP) — she, a senior faculty member of the linguistics department; and I, a lecturer, then instructor, at the Department of History. Needless to say, I benefited immensely from this set-up.

I have a dual role in this Festschrift: as a junior colleague who will share the legacy of Dean Paz, and as a son who represents our large family in this tribute to our mother. I believe I am the most capable in performing this role among us siblings, even though the youngest, in light of the three decades of interaction with her, during which our careers in UP overlapped.

Consuelo Joaquin Paz was born in 1933 in Manila, along Oroquieta Street in the Santa Cruz district. The second of five siblings, her formative years were spent growing up in what was then the bucolic Kamuning area in Cubao, in a chalet-inspired home with a — sadly no longer — clear and bubbling stream running next to it. She was born to an unusual family of more English than Spanish, Tagalog or Kapampangan speakers, due to an English grandmother on her mother's side.

¹ Editor's note: The youngest son of Dean Consuelo Paz, Vic, who started as a lecturer in history, used to be the director of the Archaeological Studies Program, and now is professor of archaeology at UP Diliman.

Grandma, as she was called Frances Alden Morales (1884-1970), lived a long life and was a central figure in the growing-up years of the Morales grandchildren. Frances's husband, Eusebio Morales (1888-1950), was a chemical engineer who was instrumental in setting up the first industrial-scale ice plant across the Metropolitan Theater in Manila. He also helped build a cement company in Rizal province, and was involved in other similar industrial projects in various parts of the Philippines. During the Japanese occupation, in order to spare his wife from internment in UST as an enemy alien, Morales agreed to maintain the water filtration plant in Balara. They were placed under house arrest in one of the housing units within the Balara compound.

Mary Morales (1911-1990), my mother's mother, studied in UP. A campus personality at the pre-war Padre Faura campus, she was the first Sweetheart of the Engineering fraternity, Beta Epsilon. She was very sociable and readily overflowed with empathy for everyone she met. As an uncle of mine once put it, Mary would not only take the shirt off her back to help people, but would also take the shirt off relatives to help those in need. Mary, my grandmother, was a journalist, advertising executive, and, for most of her later working career, a public relations specialist.

My mother's father, Pacifico Joaquin (1908-1987), hailed from Bacolor, Pampanga and had a good ear for music, though he mainly played for pleasure and made a living as an entrepreneur. My mother can still recall the funeral of her grandfather, Modesto Joaquin (1866-1939), who was known as a *Maestro* and *Katipunero* in Bacolor. This and other associated memories got etched in my mother's mind and helped form her lifelong steadfast nationalist position.

My mother was still a child at the start of the Pacific war, and was hardly in her teens by the time it ended. At an early age, she already had a strong sense of responsibility — she took care of her family, did the marketing on her own at age 10, learned to cook for the household and sewed her own dresses.

Soon after the war, my mother and her sisters went back to school at the St. Theresa's College (STC) in Manila. The formidable European nuns of STC did not waste time in giving them a Catholic education. In her senior year, the nuns reprimanded her for wearing something from a “godless institution,” the guilty accessory a UP High School pin, a gift from her boyfriend, who would become my father. Worse still, when the nuns found out that she was going to UP for university studies, they made her take an oath that she would continue to be a good Christian and Catholic. Indeed, she was one during her entire stay in UP and after.

UP's 1949 freshman batch was the first to completely hold classes in the new Diliman campus, then still mainly barren of trees and dominated by cogon grass stands. My mother recalls getting a sunburn from walking to her various classes across open fields during those early days. Their generation proudly points out that they started the greening of UP Diliman, with their annual Arbor Day tree-planting activities across campus.

Very active in campus life, she, just like her mother, became the Sweetheart of the Beta Epsilon Fraternity. She also joined the Delta Lambda Sigma Sorority. Her older sister, Sonia Valenciano (speech and drama faculty at UP Diliman and Manila), was in the same sorority and was also active in campus politics. The sisters were popular members of the tightly-bonded Diliman student body at that time. In 1953, she earned her undergraduate degree in English.

Soon after college, she got married and became a full-time housewife for almost a decade, raising a brood of children all through the rest of the 1950s and into the 1960s. With her sixth child still a toddler, she decided to return to UP. In 1962, at her old academic home, the Department of English, she worked as a teaching assistant for a year before giving birth to her seventh child. She later worked as a research assistant at UP's Office of Research Coordination before getting recruited to be an instructor in the Department of Linguistics, then known as the Department of Oriental Languages and Linguistics.

While an instructor from 1963 to 1971, she received mentoring from Cecilio Lopez (1898-1979) and the slightly-older Ernesto Constantino (1930-2016). Both scholars were instrumental in her interest and pursuit of historical linguistic issues. Constantino was a significant influence in my mother's decision to make linguistic fieldwork data gathering the central method in her praxis of linguistics.

In 1967, at age 34, five months after giving birth to her youngest son, and while running a large household, she successfully defended her master's thesis on "The Morphology and Syntax of Tagalog Nouns and Adjectives." Her academic career went on full-throttle soon afterward: in 1971, she was promoted to assistant professor, to associate professor in 1975, and, after earning her PhD in 1977, full professor of linguistics.

She wrote her dissertation on "A Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonemes and Morphemes." At that time, dissertation drafts had to go through three readers, whose approval was required before the candidate was permitted to have an oral defense. Her readers, who truly engaged her work, were Ernesto Constantino, Cecilio Lopez, and a young faculty of history, Zeus Salazar.

Two years into teaching linguistics, she started publishing. Her first academic publication, “-ad in Isinai,” broke print in the *Asian Studies* journal in 1965. Dozens of articles and conference papers later, she ended her career with four² books to her credit:

- * *A Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonemes and Morphemes* (1988), her dissertation;
- * *Ang Wikang Filipino, Atin Ito* (Filipino, the Language of all Filipino) (1995), which banners her advocacy — dating back to the early 1970s — for the national language;
- * *Ang Pag-aaral ng Wika* (1995), co-written with Veca Hernandez and Irma Peneyra, and which now serves as a manual in teaching Filipino (this work has had four editions, the last coming out in 2005);
- * *Gabay sa Fildwurk* (2005), which encapsulates her ideas on how to do linguistic fieldwork, based chiefly on her own experience; and
- * *Ginhawa, Kapalaran, Dalamhati: Essays on Well-Being, Opportunity, Destiny, and Anguish* (2008), which she edited, a groundbreaking multi-disciplinary work into core concepts that make a Filipino and form Philippine societies.

She became the chair of the Department of Linguistics twice, in 1979-1982 and in 1988-1991.³ Active not only in department

² Editor’s note: Based on R. Laranjo’s bibliography of Paz’s works (p.26), Paz edited or co-edited seven books.

³ The Department of Linguistics has an admirable system of designating the chair: full-time faculty members sit as department head on a rotational basis.

committee work, she also presided over university-wide committees and at the University Council, did not shy away from debates and controversies.

Throughout her career, she had advocacies within the university and national ones in scope. A major advocacy was her campaign to push for Filipino as a national language and a medium of instruction in schools. This eventually led to her being named one of the main consultants in the framing of the language provision in the 1987 Philippine Constitution. In UP, she was instrumental in the creation of the Sentro ng Wika, which guaranteed a sustained effort for the use of Filipino in the UP System.

My mother was an effective dean and academic leader. This was especially made possible by surrounding herself with very competent and dedicated colleagues from the college as her core officials.⁴ While CSSP dean (1992-1998), she implemented her brand of Filipino to drive home a point — using the Filipino version of the college's name and employing Filipino in her memos and communications.

A believer in multi-disciplinary research, on research full-stop, she initiated the *Inisyatibo sa Pag-aaral ng mga Etnolinggwistikong*

⁴ These include Maria Serena Diokno, who served as associate dean, director of the Graduate Program and the Philippine Studies Program, and during Dean Paz's second term, she was also concurrent director of the Third World Studies Center; Luzviminda Valencia, Eufrazio Abaya and Viveca Hernandez, who worked as coordinators for Folklore Studies; Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, director of the Third World Studies Center; Ma. Carmen Jimenez, coordinator for student affairs; Laura Samson (+), coordinator for publications; Mario Sto. Domingo and Willie Tamayo (+), as college secretary; Peter Sy, coordinator for the computer center; Lyn Marie Sycip, coordinator for the Computer Center, Cynthia Neri Zayas, coordinator for research and development, later called the Programa sa Pag-aaral ng mga Etnolinggwistikong Grupo sa Pilipinas (PPEG), concurrent with Folklore Studies.

Grupo (IPEG) which later evolved into Programa sa Pag-aaral ng mga Etnolinggwistikong Grupo (PPEG) that continued even after her deanship. She encouraged faculty members, several young students, and researchers from the various CSSP departments to do actual fieldwork and make public their findings. A new journal, IPEG Journal (later called PPEG Journal), first edited by the dean herself, and soon after by Cynthia Neri Zayas, was created to publish the PPEG project's field data.

Aside from compiling original data obtained from several rounds of fieldwork done by researchers associated with the project, this publication outlet released an important bibliography on Batanes (a major area of concentration of the project) written by the Japanese scholar, Yukihiro Yamada. Herself an advocate of fieldwork as a data-gathering method,

Dean Paz headed a study of the Agtas, went out into the field and organized meetings to encourage younger academics to join.

If asked, what is the legacy of Dean Consuelo Paz? I will say that she continued a tradition of women with strong character and influence in academe, a minority in UP until quite recently. She joined the ranks of women academics — the likes of historian Encarnacion Alzona (1895-2001), sociologist Ofelia Angangco (1926-2019), and writer Virginia Moreno (1925-2021) — who asserted their rights, opinion, and scholarship in a male-dominated academic atmosphere. After her generation, there were more women academics and academic leaders in the university — parity among the genders has never been better.

She recruited Laura Samson (1953-2020) of the Department of Sociology to head CSSP's publication arm and ensure the regular release of the *Philippine Social Science Review* (PSSR). Since then, the college has produced an admirable amount of output, which includes monographs and the faculty's professorial chair lectures.

My mother is a known activist, but not of the national democratic type. She could, however, work and march hand-in-hand with any variation of activism in UP, from the liberals to the radicals. When the swell of protests started after Ninoy Aquino's assassination, she joined the Kaakbay group and was very active in all its activities. Equally, when thousands of farmers and workers came to UP in the first Lakbayan organized by the National Democrats in 1984, she spent countless hours helping out in the kitchen and lobby of Vinzons Hall to feed the marchers who were on their way to Malacañang. At the very beginning of the 1986 EDSA revolt, way before the crowd would amass around Camps Aguinaldo and Crame, she was already inside the latter, bringing clothes and supplies to her brother-in-law, Ramon Farolan, who had earlier joined Fidel Ramos and Juan Ponce Enrile when the two were still seriously fearing for their lives. Her zeal unabated, she continued her street parliamentarism and cause-oriented activities until her worsening physical sense of balance made it too dangerous for her to march.

Very few people from the younger generation may know that Dean Paz was instrumental in the creation of the Archaeological Studies Program (ASP). She and I have been ribbed countless that the ASP had been created for me. I would always quickly reply that true institution building is always bigger than any single person, and the ASP's success proves that what has taken place is indeed genuine institution building.

Back in 1965, the young academic Connie Paz would not have imagined, when she participated in a symposium organized by Mario Zamora, former chair of the Department of Anthropology, at the Faculty Center to honor American anthropologist H. Otley Beyer, that she would be involved in building a lasting institution for archaeological teaching and research 30 years later. Her paper,

written with E. Constantino and M.N. Posoncuy on “The Grammar of the Personal Pronouns of Tagalog, Ilokano, Kapampangan and Isinai” and published in *Studies in Philippine Anthropology* in 1967, would be the precursor to her career-long interest in historical linguistics.

In the early 1990s, historical linguistics and archaeology were in tandem in addressing the question of deep Philippine historical time. Despite stiff resistance from the Department of Anthropology, which saw archaeology as part of anthropology, and university administrators’ worry that the initiative would not prosper because of lack of expertise and resources, Dean Paz spearheaded a convincing campaign for the creation of the Archaeological Studies Program (ASP). She had the help of colleagues such as Roxy Lim (1935-2020), then Asian Center dean; Maris Diokno, then CSSP associate dean; Tet Maceda (1949-2019), the first director of the Sentro ng Wika; and Chim Zayas, who headed the PPEG Field Projects and Publication. National Museum archaeologists, led by Wilfredo Ronquillo, Sandy Salcedo and Eusebio Dizon, also placed their support behind the proposal.

The University Council, after much debate, approved the creation of the ASP and the Board of Regents soon after gave its thumbs-up in 1995. The only question left at that time was where to house it. In those days, no degree-granting program could stand alone, and must exist organizationally inside an academic college. Dean Paz showed her commitment to collegiality and transparency in the long discussions and debates that transpired to decide whether to accept the ASP as a unit in the CSSP. She patiently allowed long-drawn discussions that lasted at least four college council meetings in an attempt to get a consensus. In the end, the CSSP faculty voted down the proposal and supported the position of colleagues from the Department of Anthropology.

Our anthropology colleagues, who opposed the creation of a dedicated program of archaeology in their department, objected to the ASP arguing that the discipline was one of anthropology's four component fields. What was fascinating about this position was that linguistics, one of the four fields, and the dean's department at the time, had already been an independent unit in the college since the early 1960s. Archaeology had been glaringly neglected as a field of study within the Department of Anthropology, evidenced by the lack of research output and its development as a discipline.

Even though she had proposed that the ASP be housed at the CSSP and had pushed for the program's acceptance, Dean Paz did not steamroll its approval in the college. With CSSP's rejection of the ASP, then chancellor Roger Posadas placed the program under the Office of the Chancellor. He also did the same to the Technology Management Center, another initiative that did not comfortably fit disciplinary colleges. By supporting these two new non-college-based academic programs, Posadas introduced a 21st century approach in UP, making degree-granting programs exist outside traditional academic colleges.

Dean Paz was also at the forefront of the indigenization of the university's academic costume. For years, people had been complaining about how uncomfortable the rented togas were during graduations held at the peak of the summer season. There was also the growing view that we should do away with the toga, it not being aesthetically fitted to most Asian-looking individuals, and it being a tradition from our colonial past.

The University Council created a committee to look into the matter. My mother was the leading voice in the committee, which proposed changing our academic costume to the Sablay. Heated debates ensued in the University Council as certain quarters

fiercely defended the continued use of the toga. While it would take a few more years before the few resisting colleges would shift to the Sablay, the entire university now acknowledges and is proud of our homegrown academic attire. It has inspired other universities to follow suit. At the beginning, the cloth used and the design were very rudimentary. I remember my mother asking my fine arts student brother to lay out the initial design on cartolina. The specifics of how to use the Sablay were intentionally left undictated. Along with many of us, she celebrated the various ways colleges and individuals wore the Sablay in the first few years of its use. There was confidence that, eventually, we would come to an accepted way of using the costume.

At my mother's retirement, then UP president Emerlinda Roman asked her to help create a new unit in the university to boost the profile of international studies in UP. This unit, to be called the UP Center for International Studies (UPCIS), encountered the same problem of turf mentality that the ASP had undergone, but the University Council eventually approved it. There was really no duplication with the creation of the UPCIS. It was formed not to query and study the world from a Philippine perspective, but for foreign cultures and systems to be studied and presented on an international and multi-disciplinal platform – from the perspective of their own cultures. It was not a disciplinary department but a clearing house, and a center to coordinate interaction from the various disciplines.

Dean Paz was appointed the center's officer-in-charge following its creation in 2000, then its director in 2002. She held the position until her final retirement from formal affiliations with the university in 2003. But her sterling reputation for transparency and honesty led Dean Ned Echanis and colleagues from the College of Business Administration to recommend her to be the treasurer of the UP

Foundation, a position she held until the day she could not anymore physically sign documents.

As a young boy I was a lazy student and a dreamer. My mother always had time to help me review for exams, even at the last instance, no matter how tired she was. Although she deferred to my father, she was the real center of the family, a true matriarch. How she was with her children and relatives was the same way she was with younger colleagues and students all throughout her UP career — tireless in empathy and always willing to lend an ear to anyone who wanted her advice, her help, or her opinion. She was a reliable champion of causes, no matter how large or small, inside UP or on the national stage.

If asked, what is the legacy of Dean Consuelo Paz? I will say that she continued a tradition of women with strong character and influence in academe, a minority in UP until quite recently. She joined the ranks of women academics — the likes of historian Encarnacion Alzona (1895-2001), sociologist Ofelia Angangco (1926-2019), and writer Virginia Moreno (1925-2021) — who asserted their rights, opinion, and scholarship in a male-dominated academic atmosphere. After her generation, there were more women academics and academic leaders in the university — parity among the genders has never been better.

I would like to believe that she had a contribution to these positive changes in the sociology of the university with her dedication to UP and her commitment to the unwritten doctrine across generations that dictates: *when the university asks you to serve, you do not say no without a very good reason*. Collegiality and mentorship come with the above two legacies, for there are many active academics from various disciplines who have benefited from her mentorship and her respect for them as colleagues.

By way of an ending, on behalf of our family, I would like to thank the organizers of this Festschrift — to Chim Zayas, Jina Umali, Sarah Raymundo, and Wystan de la Peña, thank you. My mother has difficulty speaking and has a full-time caregiver, but she still has a clear mind and comprehends what she sees or reads. It is unfortunate that a series of small strokes has diminished her body. Her sharp mind will appreciate what is written here, dedicated to her work and life. I can hear her speak in her mind, as she absorbs the essence of this volume, a quiet smile showing at the edges of her eyes and mouth, saying – *Thank you, thank you, thank you.*

Si Consuelo Joaquin Paz Bilang Alagad ng Wikang Filipino

Ronel O. Laranjo¹

Sa likod ng tagumpay ng paghirang sa wikang Filipino bilang wikang pambansa, may mga personalidad na nakibaka at nagsulong ng pagkilalang ito. Isa sa mga masigasig na nagtaguyod nito ang linggwist na si Consuelo Joaquin Paz.

Isinilang si Consuelo Joaquin Paz noong Marso 17, 1933. Lumaki siya sa Maynila kasama ang kaniyang Briton na lola — kaya naman, kahit na Kapampangan ang kaniyang ama at Ilokano ang kaniyang ina, Ingles ang kanilang sinasalita sa tahanan, at ito ang kaniyang naging unang wika. Ingles din ang wikang panturo sa mga paaralan na pinasukan niya mula elementarya hanggang kolehiyo. Nag-aral siya sa Kamuning Elementary School, at sa St. Theresa's College (STC) sa Maynila naman siya nagtapos ng hayskul.

Natuto siya ng Tagalog sa murang edad mula sa mga kalaro, kaibigan at kapitbahay. Nalubog naman siya sa Ilokano dahil ito ang wikang sinasalita ng mga kasambahay nila. Ito rin ang naririnig niya sa tuwing umuuwi ang pamilya sa kanilang bahay sa Tarlac. Ngunit hindi siya naging matatas dito. Sa panahong ito, kuntento na siya sa Ingles dahil ito ang ginagamit niya sa pang-araw-araw na buhay.

Nagtapos si Consuelo Paz ng Bachelor of Arts (AB) in English sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) Diliman noong 1953. Noong 1953

¹ Editor's note: Si Laranjo ay assistant professor sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman, Kolehiyo ng Arte at Literatura, Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas.

rin siya nakipag-isang dibdib kay Jaime Paz (†) at nagbunga ito ng walong anak — sina Jaime, Jr., Martha, Gerardo (†), Gabriel, Carlos (†), Daniel, Marcus, at Victor.

Dahil túbong-Rizal ang asawa, mas napadalas ang paggamit niya ng Tagalog bagaman hindi siya naging matatas dito noong panahong iyon. Sa Ingles niya kinakausap ang mga anak dahil hindi niya maiwasang gamitin ito bilang unang wika. Naging mga unang wika naman ng mga anak nila ang Ingles at Tagalog.

Dahil pakiramdam niya ay napag-iiwanan siya ng mundo at hinahanap-hanap ang pagdidiskurso sa akademya, bumalik siya sa UP Diliman noong 1962 upang mag-aral ng Master of Arts (MA) in Linguistics. Naging interesado siya sa larangang ito nang kumuha siya ng klase sa subjek na iyon noong huling semestre ng pag-aaral niya ng A.B. Natapos niya ang kaniyang M.A. noong 1967 at natamo ang PhD in Linguistics noong 1977, mula rin sa UP Diliman.

Pumasok siya noong 1962 sa Department of English sa UP bilang *teaching assistant* at matapos ang isang taon, lumipat siya sa Department of Oriental Languages and Linguistics (DOLL) bilang katuwang na mananaliksik. Sa panahong ito, walang tigil ang pananaliksik ng nasabing departamento, na pinangunahan ni Dr. Ernesto Constantino, tungkol sa iba't ibang wika sa Pilipinas. Malaki ang kontribusyon ng mga pananaliksik na ito sa pagpapatibay ng konsepto ng wikang Filipino.

Bilang katuwang na mananaliksik, nakisalamuha si Consuelo Paz sa iba't ibang pangkat etnolinggwistiko sa kapuluan. Naobserbahan niya ang pag-uusap ng mga Pilipinong may iba't ibang unang wika tulad ng mga nasa Nueva Vizcaya, Nueva Ecija, Isabela, Tuguegarao, Bontok, Vigan, Laoag, Naga, Albay, Palawan, Cebu,

Dumaguete, Bacolod, Tacloban, Bohol, Davao, Cagayan de Oro, Surigao, Sulu, Zamboanga, Jolo at Tawi-tawi. Dito niya natuklasan na may nasyunal na linggwa frangka na ginagamit sa buong kapuluan at naiintindihan siya saan mang dako ng Pilipinas habang nakikipag-usap sa Pilipino (tawag sa wikang pambansa mula 1959 hanggang 1972). Nakumbinsi siya na isang buhay na wika ang Filipino, wikang komon sa buong Pilipinas ngunit kaiba na ito sa purong Tagalog at maging sa Pilipino.

Malaki ang naging papel nina Dr. Cecilio Lopez, ang unang Pilipinong linggwist, at Constantino bilang kaniyang mga guro sa linggwistiks. Natutunan niya mula sa una ang historikal na linggwistiks na nag-aaral sa pagbabago at pagyabong ng wika sa pagdaan ng panahon. Si Constantino naman ang nagturo sa kaniya ng pag-aaral ng istruktura ng mga wika at sa kahalagahan nito. Ang dalawang propesor ding ito ang nagsulong na ideklara ng Konstitusyonal Kumbensiyon (1971-1972) ang Filipino bilang wikang pambansa. Ayon kay Orara (1993):

Buhat sa kanila [mga propesor sa linggwistiks ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, kabilang sina Dr. Lopez at Dr. Constantino] ang kuru-kurong dahil sa pinakahuling mga natuklasan sa makabagong linggwistiks at kasabay nito ng makabagong edukasyon, maaari nang makalinang o makabuo ng isang wikang pambansa na batay sa kung ilang wika ng Pilipinas, at maaari ring lahat ng wika sa Pilipinas kung may sapat na kaalaman tungkol doon. (p. 126)

Ipinanukala nila ang *language universal approach*² tungo sa pagbuo ng wikang Filipino na tinanggap naman ng komite ng nasabing kumbensiyon. Upang mapatibay ang nasabing panukala, nagsagawa ng mga pananaliksik si Constantino, kasama ang mga estudyante niya tulad ni Consuelo Paz.

Naging katuwang din ni Constantino si Consuelo Paz sa pakikibaka para sa Filipino sa Konstitusyonal Kumbensiyon ng 1986. Nangako sila sa isa't isa na susulat sila gamit ang Filipino sa kabila ng maraming batikos, tulad ng paniniwalang walang babasa sa mga isusulat nila at hindi pa pwedeng gamitin ang Filipino sa akademya dahil hindi pa ito intelektwalisado. Pinasinungalingan ito ni Paz. Lumabas ang kaniyang unang artikulo sa Filipino, ang “Ang Historikal na Pag-aaral ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas” sa *Trends in Philippine Linguistics*, noong 1978. Tinalakay nito ang historikal linggwistiks.

Buhat nang maging instraktor sa DOLL noong 1963, Ingles ang kaniyang ginamit dahil nasa wikang ito ang mga babasahin. Ngunit habang nagtuturo, ipinagpatuloy niya ang pag-aaral at pananaliksik sa mga wika sa Pilipinas. Sinimulan niyang gamitin sa klase ang Filipino matapos makita sa fildwurf na isang buhay na wika ito.

Naging aktibo si Consuelo Paz sa pagsusulong sa Filipino kasama ng ibang mga propesor. Noong Konstitusyonal Kumbensiyon ng 1986, ibinalangkas at inihatag nina Constantino, Prop. Rosario Torres-Yu (tagapangulo ng Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas), Prop. Jesus Fer Ramos (tagapangulo ng Pambansang Samahan sa Wika), at Consuelo Paz ang “Proposal para

² Tinutukoy ng ‘*language universal approach*’ ang mga pare-parehong linggwistikong katangian (tunog, salita at pangungusap) ng mga wika sa Pilipinas at ang mga elementong ito ang ginagamit na basehan sa pagdevelop ng wikang pambansa. Tinawag itong ‘unibersal na nukleyus’ ni Paz sa kanyang mga artikulo.

sa CONCOM: Probisyon para sa Pambansang Wika.” Inirekomenda nila ang mga sumusunod:

- 1) Ang konstitusyong ito ay opisyal na ipoproklama sa Filipino at isasalin sa mga rehiyunal na wika ng Pilipinas, sa Ingles at sa Arabik. Sakaling may pagtatalo, ang teksto sa Filipino ang mangingibabaw.
- 2) Ang Filipino, na pambansang linggwa frangka, ang magiging opisyal na wika kasama ng mga rehiyunal na wika bilang mga wikang pantulong. Hangga’t di pinapawalang-bisa ng batas, wikang-pantulong pa rin ang Ingles.
- 3) Itatatag at bubuuin ng mga eksperto sa wika — mga titser ng wika, linggwistiks at mga manunulat — ang Komisyon ng Wikang Pambansa upang idebelop at palaganapin ang Filipino base sa pambansang linggwa frangka at sa mga wika sa Pilipinas na siyang nagbubuklod at nagbibigay kapangyarihan sa sambayanan.
- 4) Dapat gamiting wikang panturo ang Filipino sa lahat ng eskwelahan. Mga wikang pantulong lamang ang mga rehiyunal na wika at kung kailangan pa, ang Ingles. (Orara, 1993, pp. 177-178)

Hindi man nasunod ang lahat ng kanilang mga rekomendasyon, naging matagumpay ang kampanyang opisyal na ideklara ang Filipino bilang wikang pambansa ng Konstitusyon ng 1987. Matagumpay rin silang nangampanya sa mga senador sa pagtatatag at pagbubuo ng Komisyon sa Wikang Pambansa.

Unang naging tagapangulo si Consuelo Paz ng Departamento ng Linggwistiks noong 1979-1982. Muli siyang namahala rito noong 1988-1991. Nang maghiwalay ang College of Arts and Sciences sa tatlong kolehiyo noong 1983, sumama ang kaniyang departamento sa College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (CSSP) at inigsian ang pangalan bilang Department of Linguistics mula sa Department of Linguistics and Asian Languages. Hinikayat niya sa kaniyang termino ang paggamit ng Filipino sa mga klase sa linggwistiks. Sa Filipino rin isinulat ang mga silabus ng mga subjek. Naging maluwag naman ang pagtanggap ng mga guro rito dahil gusto rin nila ang paggamit ng Filipino sa klase. Isinulat noong kaniyang termino ang tatlong unang tesis tungkol sa linggwistiks gamit ang Filipino. Tinutukan naman niya ang sosyolinggwistiks at pagpaplanong pangwika sa mga panahong ito. Noong 1988, naging tagapangulo siya ng Sub-Committee on the Implementation of the Language Policy sa UP Diliman. Naging miyembro rin siya ng lupong tagapayo ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino-Sistema mula 1990 hanggang 1996.

Nang maging dekana ng CSSP (1992-1998), ginawa niyang opisyal na wika ng pamamahala ang Filipino. Bago rito, Ingles ang gamit ng kolehiyo sa lahat ng mga transaksyon — memo, liham o pananaliksik. Dahil ginawang Filipino ang lengguahe ng mga transaksyon sa loob at labas ng kolehiyo, Filipino rin ang nagiging sagot sa mga komunikasyon sa kaniya. Nabigyan din ng mga salin sa Filipino ang mga pangalan ng departamento sa CSSP:

- Linangan ng Populasyon (Population Institute)
- Sentro ng Aralin Ukol sa Ikatlong Daigdig
(Third World Studies Center)
- Departamento ng Antropolohiya
(Department of Anthropology)
- Departamento ng Agham Pampulitika
(Department of Political Science)

- Departamento ng Kasaysayan (Department of History)
- Departamento ng Pilosopiya (Department of Philosophy)
- Departamento ng Heograpiya (Department of Geography)
- Departamento ng Sikolohiya (Department of Psychology)
- Departamento ng Sosyolohiya (Department of Sociology)
- Departamento ng Linggwistiks (Department of Linguistics)

Dumami naman ang mga pag-aaral na isinulat sa Filipino noong termino niya bilang dekana, partikular sa antropolohiya, linggwistiks, kasaysayan, agham pampulitika, pilosopiya at sikolohiya. Mula 1992 hanggang 1996, batay sa tala ng dating Aklatan ng CSSP (na ngayon ay Aklatan ng Third World Studies Center), may naitalang 44 na mga tesis na isinulat sa Filipino.³ Patunay ang mga ito na intelektwalisado na ang Filipino at maaari nang magamit sa iba't ibang larangan. Itinatag din ni Dekana Consuelo Paz ang Programa sa Pag-aaral ng mga Etnolinggwistikong Grupo na nangolekta, nag-analays ng mga database mula sa mga etnolinggwistikong grupo at inilathala ang mga pag-aaral sa journal na IPEG, o ang *Inisyatibo sa Pag-aaral ng mga Etnolinggwistikong Grupo*.

Sa kanyang panunungkulan din naitatag ang Archaeological Studies Program (ASP) noong 1995.

Sa pagtatapos ng kanyang termino bilang dekana, hinirang siya bilang direktora ng UP Center for International Studies (UPCIS) at naglingkod mula 2001 hanggang sa pagreretiro niya noong 2003.

Matapos magretiro noong 2003, ipinagpatuloy niya ang pagsulong ng Filipino sa pamamagitan ng pagbabasa ng mga papel sa loob

³ Isa (1) sa agham panlipunan, tatlo (3) sa pilosopiya, anim (6) sa sikolohiya, lima (5) sa antropolohiya, lima (5) rin sa linggwistiks, at dalawampu't apat (24) sa kasaysayan.

at labas ng bansa. Nagbigay rin siya ng manaka-nakang lektur at nagpaunlak sa ilang mga interbyu kaugnay sa Filipino at mga wika sa Pilipinas. Noong 2004, kasama siya sa *Pambansang Direktoryo ng mga Alagad ng Wika* na inilabas ng UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino. Noong 2019, inilunsad ng UP Departamento ng Linggwistiks ang Consuelo J. Paz Lecture na isinasagawa tuwing dalawang taon bilang pagkilala sa ambag niya sa linggwistiks sa Pilipinas at aralin sa kultura.

Naglabas din siya ng artikulo sa *Philippine Daily Inquirer* noong 2003 na pinamagatang “What is the Root of the Language Problem?” kung saan inilahad niya kung paano nagiging sagabal ang paggamit ng Ingles bilang wikang panturo sa pagiging litereyt ng mga estudyante. Iminungkahi niyang gamitin ang wikang bernakular, o ang Filipino, na malapit sa mga istruktura ng mga wika sa Pilipinas, upang mapataas ang kalidad ng pagkatuto ng mga mag-aaral.

Bilang linggwist, guro, administrador at tagapagsulong ng wikang Filipino, marami rin siyang natamong mga gawad at pagkilala: Gawad Cecilio Lopez ng UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino (1997); Pinakamabusay na Administrador ng Kolehiyo, Gawad Tsanselor (1996); at ang Santiago Fonacier Professor of Linguistics (1979-1982, 1988-1989, at 1995-1997).

Noong 2003, bilang sagot sa HB 5814 o Gullas Bill na ipinanukalang gawing Ingles lamang ang midyum sa pagtuturo sa mga paaralan, sinulatan niya si Congressman Jose Gullas tungkol dito at inilahad ang kaniyang komento — base sa kaniyang pag-aaral bilang isang linggwist at tagapagtaguyod ng wikang Filipino — sa explanatory note ng House Bill 5814 at sa mismong panukalang batas. Isinaad

niya sa sulat,⁴ na sadya niyang isinulat sa wikang Ingles, ang limang kontra-argumento sa panukalang batas:

- 1) Language as medium of instruction and language for communication within the country and outside of it should not be lumped together;
- 2) Literacy should be the paramount concern of education, and literacy is best attained in a language a child knows (or one similar to it) and has varied use for;
- 3) 'Exposing' students to more subjects taught in English will improve their competence in this language only minimally since they will hardly use it outside the school;
- 4) Well trained English teachers armed with effective teaching/learning material would be of more help in stemming the perceived deterioration of English, the only drawback being teachers of this caliber hardly ever remain in the profession considering its starvation salaries;
- 5) The multilingual situation, influence of media and so many other factors contribute to the development of what is known as Filipino English (which is what might be perceived as English deterioration) but all languages have varieties and we may ask, what standard are we measuring ourselves by: American, British, Australian, Singapore? All of these are varieties of English and each has its own standard variety.

⁴ Personal na binigyan ni Paz ng kopya ng sulat ang mananaliksik at may permiso mula sa kanya na isama ito bilang apendiks sa tesis (Laranjo, 2010) ng mananaliksik na pinagbasehan ng artikulong ito.

Bilang linggwist, guro, administrador at tagapagsulong ng wikang Filipino, marami rin siyang natamong mga gawad at pagkilala: *Gawad Cecilio Lopez* ng UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino (1997); Pinakamahusay na Administrador ng Kolehiyo, *Gawad Tsanselor* (1996); at ang *Santiago Fonacier Professor of Linguistics* (1979-1982, 1988-1989, at 1995-1997). Ginawaran din siya ng professorial chair grant bilang Pi Gamma Mu Professor of Linguistics (1985) at ng Metro Manila Commission-Diamond Jubilee Professor of Linguistics (1991-1994).

Binigyan din siya ng Sanggunian sa Edukasyong Pangwika ng Pilipinas ng *Gawad Pagpapahalaga* noong 1993. Ginawaran siya ng National Commission for the Culture and Arts (NCCA) ng *PAMA-AS Gintong Bai Award* sa 2005 Centennial Year of the Feminist Movement in the Philippines para sa pagsusulong niya ng wikang pambansa. Natanggap niya rin ang University of the Philippines Alumni Association (UPAA) Lifetime Distinguished Achievement noong 2016.

Mga Isinulat ni Consuelo Paz

Mahahati ang mga pananaliksik ni Consuelo Paz bilang linggwist sa apat na kategorya: (1) ang kaniyang mga libro; (2) mga artikulong tungkol sa Filipino; (3) mga artikulo tungkol sa mga wika sa Pilipinas; at (4) mga papel na binasa o nalathala sa labas ng bansa.

Mga libro

Makikita sa talaan ang mga aklat na sinulat ni Paz mula 1981 hanggang 2008.

TAON	MGA AKLAT
2008	Editor ng <i>Ginhawa, Kapalaran, Dalamhati: Essays on Well-Being, Opportunity, Destiny and Anguish</i> (UP Press)
2005	<i>Gabay sa Fildwurf</i> (UP Press)
	<i>Ang Wikang Filipino, Atin Ito</i> (Pangalawang paghlimbag, unang inilimbag noong 1995, UP Diliman Sentro ng Wikang Filipino)
2003	<i>Ang Pag-aaral ng Wika</i> , kasama sina Viveca Hernandez at Irma Peneyra (UP Press)
1997	<i>Diksiyunaring Filipino-Ingles</i> , kasama sina Ernesto Constantino at Pamela Constantino (The Archive)
1995	<i>English-Filipino Legal Dictionary ni Cezar C. Peralejo</i> , kasamang mga editor sina Virgilio Almario, Pacifico Agabin, Rosa-Maria Juan-Bautista, Jose dela Rama, Viveca Hernandez, Antonio Lavina, at Teresita Maceda (UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino)
1981	<i>A Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonemes and Morphemes</i> (The Archive)

Napakalaki ng naging ambag ng kaniyang mga pag-aaral sa Filipino at sa mga wika sa Pilipinas. Sa kaniyang disertasyon na “A Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonemes and Morphemes,” (1977) masusing inalam at sinaliksik niya ang mga katumbas ng isang salita sa 29 wika sa Pilipinas.⁵ Mula rito, binuo ang posibleng sinaunang (proto) anyo ng salita. Layunin ng pag-aaral na ilarawan ang pagbuo ng sinaunang (proto) anyo ng ponema at morpema ng mga wika sa Pilipinas. Napakakumprehensibo ng pag-aaral na gumamit ng *comparative method*. Mahihinuha mula sa pag-aaral na magkakapamilya ang mga lengguwahe sa Pilipinas at nagmula sa iisang wika. Nalathala ito noong 1981 bilang isang aklat.

⁵ Ang mga wikang ito ay ang Tagalog, Kapampangan, Iba Zambal, Pangasinan, Ilocano, Itbayat, Itawes, Ibanag, Isinai, Kalinga, Bontok, Ilongot, Naga, Virac, Kamaligon, Waray, Sebuano, Aklanon, Buhid, Tagbanwa, Agutaynon, Maranaw, Tausug, Subanon, Yakan, Blaan, Bagobo, Bukidnon at Manobo.

Kasama sina Dr. Viveca Hernandez at Dr. Irma Peneyra, mga kapwa guro at linggwist sa Departamento ng Linggwistiks, isinulat ni Dekana Paz ang “Ang Pag-aaral ng Wika”, ang unang libro na introduksyon sa linggwistiks gamit ang Filipino.

Inipon at inilimbag bilang aklat (*Ang Wikang Filipino Atin Ito*) ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino-UP Sistem noong 1995 ang mga pag-aaral at papel na binasa ni Paz tungkol sa Filipino. Muli itong inilimbag ng UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino-Diliman noong 2005. Laman ng nasabing aklat ang mga artikulong “Filipino: Pinagkaisahang Wika,” “Ang Unibersal na Nukleyus at ang Filipino,” “Ang Filipino Bilang Linggwa Frangka,” “Ang mga Wika sa Pilipinas at ang Filipino: Kompetisyon at Simplifikasyon,” “Ang Standardisasyon Bilang Isyu,” at “Ang Pagsalin sa Filipino.”

Mga artikulo tungkol sa Filipino at mga papel na binasa sa mga kumperensiya at kongreso

Makikita sa listahan ang mga artikulong isinulat ni Paz tungkol sa Filipino mula 1985 hanggang 1998. Nalathala ang mga artikulong ito sa mga magasin, aklat, at pahayagan. Nagmula sa kaniyang mga binasang papel sa mga forum, kumperensiya, at kongreso ang malaking bahagi ng mga kaisipan sa mga artikulo na isinulat sa Filipino at Ingles.

TAON	MGA ARTIKULO AT PAPEL SA KUMPERENSIYA
1998	“Pagsilang ng Wika: Ang Kaso ng Filipino” Binasa sa Ikawalong Kongreso ng Linggwistiks, 1997, Wika at Pagpapalaya. <i>The Archive</i> , UP Departamento ng Linggwistiks
	“Pakikibaka sa Wika: Ganon pa rin ngayon” <i>Kasarinlan</i> , UP Third World Studies
	“The National Lingua Franca for People Empowerment” <i>The Philippine Star</i>
1997	“Wika sa Hila ng Globalisasyon” Binasang papel sa Globalization: Issues and Areas for Research, NRCP, Division I. <i>The Archive</i> , UP Departamento ng Linggwistiks
1996	“The Effects of Language on Social Structures: The Philippine Multilingual Scene” <i>Kasarinlan</i> , UP Third World Studies
1995	“Ang Pagsasama ng mga Salita sa Filipino” Nalathala sa Professorial Chair Papers ng CSSP Publications
	“Wika sa Konteksto ng Komunidad” Nalathala sa Professorial Chair Papers ng CSSP Publications
	“Pagsusuri sa Kulturang Pilipino” <i>IPEG Journal Studies in Language and Culture</i> , CSSP Publications
1993	“Ang Filipino Bilang Lingua Franca” <i>Dahuyan at Wikang Filipino: Atin Ito</i> , UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino
	“Ang Standardisasyon Bilang Isyu” Binasang papel sa 10 th Anniversary Language Educational Council, <i>Ang Wikang Filipino: Atin Ito</i> , UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino
1990	“Filipino-Pinagkaisahang Wika” Binasa sa 3rd International Philippine Studies Conference, <i>Mga Babasahin Tungkol sa Filipino at Ang Wikang Filipino: Atin Ito</i> , UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino
	“Ang Unibersal na Nukleyus at ang Filipino” <i>Ang Wikang Filipino: Atin Ito</i> , UP Sentro ng Wikang Filipino
1987	“Language as a Communication Tool for Conquest” <i>Philippine Communication Journal</i>

1985	“Wika ng Naghaharing Uri” Pi Gamma Mu: Chair Lecture, Proceeding of the Fourth Philippine Linguistics Congress nalathala sa <i>Mga Piling Diskurso sa Wika at Lipunan</i> , UP Press
1982	“Wika: Nag-iiba at Naiiba” <i>Ang Wika sa Loob at Labas ng Paaralan</i> , LEDCO

Mga artikulo tungkol sa mga wika sa Pilipinas

Pinag-aralan din ni Consuelo Paz ang iba’t ibang mga wika sa Pilipinas tulad ng Tausug, Ilokano, Kapampangan, Isinai, Tagalog, at ilang mga dayalek nito, pati na rin ang ilang maynora na wika sa bansa. Nasa listahan sa ibaba ang mga artikulong isinulat niya mula 1965 hanggang 2003.

TAON	MGA ARTIKULO
2003	“What is the Root of the Language Problem?” <i>Philippine Daily Inquirer</i> , Pebrero 19, 2003
1997	“A multidisciplinary Study of Stigma Among the Tausug in the Philippines” <i>Social Sciences and Health PSSR</i> , CSSP Publications
1996	“The Morphology and Syntax of Tagalog Nouns and Adjectives” Nalathala sa <i>The Archives</i> , UP Departamento ng Linggwistiks
1994	“Isang Preliminaryong Pag-aaral ng Tagalog sa Rizal” Santiago Fonacier Professorial Chair Lecture, <i>The Archive</i> , UP Departamento ng Linggwistiks
	“Ay Hao: Ang Dayalek ng Tagalog sa Rizal” Santiago Fonacier Professorial Chair Lecture, <i>The Archive</i> , UP Departamento ng Linggwistiks
	“Ang Gitnang Konsonant-Klaster na may Glotal sa Tagalog” Santiago Fonacier Professorial Chair Lecture, <i>The Archive</i> , UP Departamento ng Linggwistiks

1988	“Economic Issues Related to the Stigmatization of Hansenites” <i>Economic Health and Tropical Diseases</i>
1984	“Wika ng Kineketong sa Ilokos Sur” <i>Proceedings of the 16th Seminar on Psycholinguistics</i>
1978	“Ang Historikal na Pag-aaral ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas” <i>Trends in Philippine Linguistics</i> , UP Diliman
	“Ang Wika’t Tao” <i>Proceedings of the 16th Seminar on Psycholinguistics</i> , 2nd Annual Social Science Conference
1967	“The Grammar of the Personal Pronouns of Tagalog, Ilokano, Kapampangan and Isinai” kasama si Ernesto Constantino at Marietta Posoncuy, <i>Studies in Philippine Anthropology</i>
1965	“-ad in Isinai” <i>Asian Studies</i> , UP Asian Center

Pinag-aralan niya rin ang sosyolinggwistiks at etnolinggwistiks sa kaniyang mga papel tungkol sa wika at lipunan, ang mga wika ng mga may ketong sa Ilokos at ang pagtingin sa mga Tausug.

Mga papel na binasa o nalathala sa labas ng bansa

Makikita sa susunod na listahan ang mga binasa niyang mga papel sa mga kongresong panlinggwistiks at inilathalang mga artikulo sa labas ng bansa mula 1982 hanggang 2002.

TAON	MGA PAPEL
2002	“Dalamhati” <i>Southeast Asian Studies Bulletin</i>
1997	“The Effects of Language on Social Structures: The Philippine Multilingual Scene” <i>National Build-up and Literacy/Cultural Problems in Southeast Asia</i> sa Moscow at <i>Kasarinlan</i>
1996	“The Nationalization of a Language: Filipino” <i>Proceeding of the 4th International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics</i> , January 8-10, Vol. V. Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University sa Salaya, Thailand

1990	“A Multidisciplinary Study of Stigma in Relation to Hansen’s Disease Among the Tausug” kasama sina Isagani R. Medina and Elizabeth R. Ventura, <i>The Philippine Social and Economic Research Project</i> , Report No. 7, TDR, WHO, Geneva, Switzerland
1984	“Society and Leprosy: A Study of the Knowledge, Beliefs, Attitudes and Practices of Ilocanos on Leprosy” kasama sina Luzviminda B. Valencia, Elizabeth R. Ventura and Adelwisa Ortega. <i>Social and Economic Research Projects</i> , Reports No. 2, WHO Special Programme for Research and Training in Tropical Disease
1982	“The Application of the Comparative Method to Philippine Languages” <i>Proceedings from the 3rd International Conference on Historical Linguistics in Current Issues in Linguistic Theory</i> , Amsterdam

Dahil binasa sa labas ng bansa, nakasulat sa wikang Ingles ang mga ito. Sa artikulong “The Nationalization of a Language: Filipino,” (1996) na nalathala sa Thailand, ipinakilala ni Paz sa ibang bansa ang Filipino bilang wikang pambansa ng Pilipinas at inilahad kung paano ito nabuo at naging nasyunal na linggwya frangka.

Tunay na maituturing na isang alagad ng wikang Filipino si Consuelo Paz dahil sa kaniyang pagiging produktibo at progresibong linggwist para sa wikang pambansa at mga wika sa Pilipinas. Hindi maikakaila ang ambag ng lawas ng kaniyang mga sulatin at pag-aaral tungkol sa Filipino, sa mga wika sa Pilipinas, at maging sa pagpapakilala at pagsusulong ng mga ito sa labas ng bansa.

Mga Sanggunian

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Pagpugay kay Consuelo J. Paz, Ph.D.

Aurora Roxas-Lim¹

Isa sa mga mahuhusay na dalubhasa sa linggwistiks ng ating pamantasan si Dr. Consuelo J. Paz. Isa siya sa mga masigasig na mananaliksik at manunuri ng wika sa kasalukuyang pang-araw-araw na buhay. Pinalawak niya ang pag-aaral ng iba't ibang wika at diyalekto sa ating kapuluan at sa pakikilahok sa lipunan upang maranasan kung paano ginagamit ang wika sa pang-araw-araw na buhay ng nakararami, ipinakita niya ang kahalagahan ng “field research” sa linggwistiks.

Pinag-aralan ni Consuelo Paz ang mga wika sa kalagitnaang Bisaya at pinatunayan niya sa kaniyang mga pananaliksik ang maraming pagkakaiba ng wikang tinatawag na Bisaya sa iba't ibang

pook at lalawigan — Cebuano, Boholano, Kinaray-a, pati na ang Binisaya sa mga kalapit na pulo sa Palawan at Mindanao. Higit sa lahat, ipinakita rin niya ang masiglang pagbabago ng mga wika sa pang-araw-araw na buhay. Pinag-aralan ni Dr. Paz ang iba't ibang antas ng paggamit ng wika — mula sa pananampalataya at

Bukod sa pagiging dalubhasa sa linggwistiks, nanguna si Dr. Paz sa pagtatag ng Archaeological Studies Program at Center for International Studies sa unibersidad. Mahalagang kilalanin siya bilang isang marubdob na makabayan na ginamit ang lahat ng kanyang pag-aaral at pananaliksik upang pagyamanin ang ating wika at kalinangan, at pagtibayin ang ating tinala sa sariling kakayahan upang magtulungan tayong lahat para sa kapakanan ng nakararaming mga Filipino.

¹ Editor's note: Dating dekana ng Asian Center, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas si Roxas-Lim.

panitikan, hanggang sa mga tinatawag na pang-araw-araw na kolokyal na pananalita. Samakatuwid, sa pamamagitan ng pagsusuri at pag-aaral ng pang-araw-araw na salita ng mga ordinaryong tao, sa pagpapahalaga sa pananalita, karanasan, kaisipan at damdamin ng nakararaming Filipino na walang pagkakataong magsulat dahil nakasubsob sa paghahanap-buhay, ginawa niyang isang kasangkapan tungo sa “demokratisasyon” ang linggwistiks.

Ambag din ni Dr. Paz sa ating pamantasan ang pagiging mahusay na pinuno ng Departamento ng Linggwistiks at mga Wikang Asyano. Hindi matatawaran ang galing niya sa paghanap ng pantustos sa pananaliksik sa iba’t ibang lalawigan, pati na rin ang kanyang pagsusubaybay sa mga guro at nakababatang mananaliksik upang magtagumpay rin sila sa kani-kanilang hangarin. Bukod sa pagiging dalubhasa sa linggwistiks, nanguna si Dr. Paz sa pagtatag ng Archaeological Studies Program at Center for International Studies sa unibersidad. Mahalagang kilalanin siya bilang isang marubdob na makabayan na ginamit ang lahat ng kanyang pag-aaral at pananaliksik upang pagyamanin ang ating wika at kalinangan, at pagtibayin ang ating tiwala sa sariling kakayahan upang magtulungan tayong lahat para sa kapakanan ng nakararaming mga Filipino.

Connie Paz, Cherished Colleague

Rosario Bona de Santos¹

One could not miss noticing Connie Paz. I first saw her in 1967, when high fashion and full make-up were in vogue, and few had the beauty and flair to display them, naturally, as she did.

We would often cross each other going up or down the steps of the Arts and Sciences (AS) building, where she taught and later became its dean, and where I would teach for a while, my desk lost in the dusty midst of pottery sherds, skulls, and bones in the Beyer Anthropology Museum on the third floor of the AS building.

Connie was like the big sister I never had—always there when needed, bridging the gap between UP sectors and factions, through her sincerity, fairness, motherly attitude, and deep knowledge of UP life.

I did not see Connie for some time when I taught anthropology for two summers in UP Baguio, conducted summer field research in Ifugao, and taught at the Ateneo de Manila University, then at the Department of Community Development of the UP College of Social Work and Community Development, which was across the UP campus.

In 1987, Connie and I, together with Resty Reyes, Belle Fabe, and other faculty and non-Academic and Research and Extension employees of UP Diliman, organized the All-UP Workers' Union — the first ever nation-wide union of all UP employees. Together,

¹ Editor's note: de Santos is a UP professor emeritus of the College of Social Work and Community Development (CSWCD), UP Diliman.

we experienced many challenges, struggles and mess-ups in and outside the campus.

During those times, Connie was like the big sister I never had — always there when needed, bridging the gap between UP sectors and factions, through her sincerity, fairness, motherly attitude, and deep knowledge of UP life.

I will always cherish her.

Connie Paz: A Woman's Place is in the Home and in the Struggle

Judy M. Taguiwalo¹

Connie Paz was dean of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy when I started my PhD in Philippine studies in 1997. But I was not fortunate to be her student inside the classrooms of Palma Hall as my fields were history, labor relations and women's studies. Instead, I was her student in unionism and activism in the university.

Together with Dr. Rosario Bona de Santos,² former UP Manila chancellor Marita V. Reyes and other professors, Connie was the third of the triumvirate of women academics who founded the All-UP Workers' Union in 1987. The three, working together with the administrative staff and REPS, formed a union representing the three sectors of the university. They pursued the unionization of faculty members in spite of opposition from the Javier administration.³

1 Editor's note: Taguiwalo is a retired professor from the College of Social Work and Community Development. Shortly after retirement, she briefly served as secretary for the Department of Social Welfare and Development in the Duterte administration.

2 Santos is a professor emeritus of the College of Social Work and Community Development and served for a time as faculty affiliate at the UP Center for International Studies.

3 The UP administration argued that "only those holding appointments at the instructor level may be so considered, because those holding appointments from assistant professor to associate professor to full professor take part, as members of the University Council, a policy-making body, in the initiation of policies and rules with respect to faculty tenure and promotions."

The Javier administration lost this argument when the Supreme Court ruled that in light "of Executive Order No. 180 and its implementing rules, as well as the university's charter and relevant regulations, the professors, associate professors and assistant professors (hereafter simply referred to as professors), cannot be considered as exercising such managerial or highly

I was a latecomer to unionism in UP. I started teaching in UP, first as a lecturer, in 1992, after spending the whole martial law period either in the underground or in prison, then pursuing my masters in public administration in Canada. By 1994, I was on tenure track and became active in the union in 1997, first as a volunteer staff, and later, as its secretary.

Dean Connie epitomizes the spirit of militant unionism in the university: unity of the three sectors of faculty, REPS and administrative staff and being militante, progresibo at makabayan. She is definitely a woman whose place is in the home and in the struggle.

Connie's support for the union continued even when she was dean. She was generous in responding to solicitations for striking workers or urban poor communities, attended union meetings, as well as union-sponsored symposia and fora on university and national issues. She joined marches and rallies in UP, even as far as Ayala

Avenue, during the Resign GMA campaign, and to Ever Gotesco, during the State of the Nation Address (SONA). She was one of those who rallied in front of the house on campus of then budget

confidential functions as would justify their being categorized as 'high-level' employees of the institution."

The court also ruled that membership of professors in the University Council is not sufficient to consider them as "policy-determining" since decisions of the University Council are subject to review, evaluation and final approval of the Board of Regents. The Supreme Court further clarified that whatever policy-determining functions the University Council has are in the realm of "academic matters, those governing the relationship between the university and its students, and not the university as an employer and the professors as employees."

The same 1992 Supreme Court decision's final paragraph stated that academic employees of the institution – i.e., full professors, associate professors, assistant professors, instructors and the research, extension and professional staff — "may, if so minded, organize themselves into a separate (from the administrative staff) collective bargaining unit" (University of Philippines v. Pura Ferrer-Calleja, July 14, 1992, p. 4).

secretary Benjamin Diokno during the Estrada administration to take him to task for the removal of benefits already enjoyed by public service employees.

Connie is an unapologetic militant. Marching along C.P. Garcia Avenue on the way to Diokno's house sometime in 1999, she made sure we walked on the road not on the sidewalk. Unfazed by the traffic this action caused, she said mass actions create traffic and justly so, in order to highlight the issue. Rain did not stop her even, as one can see from the pictures taken by UP College of Engineering alumnus Mon Ramirez (✚),⁴ who proudly proclaimed Connie as sweetheart of his Beta Epsilon fraternity, like her mother who was also frat sweetheart in an earlier time.

What also amazes me about Connie was how she managed to raise eight children (even learning how to sew their clothes so she could economize), earn a PhD, even do field research for her classic book on linguistics, and become not only a well-known academic leader in the university but an innovator as well. She headed the committee that designed the Sablay to replace the toga as UP's graduation attire, highlighting not only its weather appropriateness but also the beauty of our indigenous textile, design and alphabet.

For me, Dean Connie epitomizes the spirit of militant unionism in the university: unity of the three sectors of faculty, REPS and administrative staff and being *militante, progresibo at makabayan*. She is definitely a woman whose place is in the home and in the struggle.

⁴ Mon Ramirez who was 2011 UPAA Outstanding Alumni for Social Cohesion and who called himself "professional engineer, amateur photographer" passed away on August 28, 2021.

Reference

University of Philippines v. Pura Ferrer-Calleja, G.R. No. 96189
(July 14, 1992).



SENIOR CITIZEN ACTIVISTS. Connie Paz and Judy Taguiwalo brave the rain to join the protest rally along Commonwealth Avenue in front of Ever Gotesco during the 2009 State of the Nation Address (SONA) of then president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. (Photo: Mon Enriquez. Judy Taguiwalo collection).

LINGUISTICS

Mga Pangatnig at ang Mapanuring Pag-iisip

Jonathan C. Malicsi¹

Bibigyang-pansin dito ang pangatnig bilang salita o parirala na nagkakabit ng dalawa o higit pang batayang-pangungusap. May tatlong grupo ang mga ito, ayon sa estruktura ng mabubuon pangungusap — ang *coordinating*, ang *subordinating*, at ang *conjunctive*.

Ang *Coordinating*. Lumalabas ito sa pagitan ng dalawang pangungusap. Pinapayagan ang ilan na kaltasin ang isa sa magkatulad na elemento. Ang pagtanggap na ito ang pinagmumulan ng estrukturang pinagkakabit ng pangatnig ang dalawang salita o parirala.

Kumakanta ang mga bata at kumakanta (rin) ang mga magulang nila.		Kumakanta ang mga bata at [ang] [mga] magulang nila.
Nagdidiskas sila o nagtsitsismisan sila.		Nagdidiskas o nagtsitsismisan sila.

Ang *Subordinating*. Ito ang mga unang lumalabas sa pagitan ng dalawang pangungusap, pero ang sugnay na mabubuo ay maaaring ilipat sa simula ng unang pangungusap.

¹ Editor's note: Yumaong propesor emeritus sa linggwistiks si Malicsi sa University of the Philippines Diliman.

Sumali pa siya sa maraming org, imbes na mag-aral na lang nang husto.	Imbes na mag-aral na lang nang husto, sumali pa siya sa maraming org.
Tumakbo siya sa pagkameyor, kahit hindi siya tagaroon.	Kahit hindi siya tagaroon, tumakbo siya sa pagkameyor.

Ang Conjunctive. Ito ang mga pang-abay na lumalabas lang sa pagitan ng dalawang pangungusap, tulad ng coordinating na pangatnig. Kaiba sa coordinating na pangatnig, hindi nagkakaroon ng pagkaltas ng isa sa magkatulad na elemento, at maaaring magkaroon ng pansamantalang pagtigil sa pagbigkas sa pagitan ng unang pangungusap at ng conjunctive na pang-abay. Sa pagsulat, maaaring lagyan ng pinal na tuldok ang unang pangungusap, o gamitin ang conjunctive na pang-abay na sinusundan ng kuwit bilang simula ng pangalawang pangungusap. Maaari ring gamitan ng tuldok-kuwit sa katapusan ng unang pangungusap kasunod ang conjunctive na pang-abay na sinusundan naman ng kuwit.

**Maraming Pinoy ang mahusay daw sa Ingles. Sa katunayan, mahusay sila sa Ingles-Pinoy.*

**Nakakuha siya ng 3.0 sa unang exam; samakatuwid, mahihirapan siyang makakuha ng 1.0 sa kurso.*

Para mailapat sa mapanuring pag-iisip ang mga pangatnig, maaaring suriin ang dalawang klaseng koneksyon - ang koneksyong temporal at ang koneksyong lohikal.

Koneksyong Temporal

Relasyong *sabayan*

Kahulugan	Coord	Subord	Conj Adv
Sabayan		habang hangga't hanggang samantalang tuwing	samantala
Pagdagdag	at at saka gayundin		

Sa relasyong *sabayan*, isinasaad ang pagkakasabay ng pagganap ng dalawang pangungusap. Kailangang suriin kung totoong sabayan nga. May mga tambalang pangungusap na gumagamit ng *habang* para magsaad ng kaduda-dudang pagsasabay.

*Dapat magwalis ka **habang** naglalaba*
(Maaari itong gawin kung gamit ang washing machine sa paglalaba).

May mga pangungusap din na nagsasaad ng relasyong sabayan na dapat hindi nangyayari:

*Nagda-drive siya **habang** nagte-text na ngayon ay labag sa batas.*

May mga tambalang pangungusap na gumagamit ng *samantala(ng)* na nagsasaad ng relasyong *sabayan* at relasyong *di-ayon*:

Namili siya ng alahas samantalang hindi siya nakakabayad ng ilaw at tubig.

Madalas na napagkakamalan ang mga ganitong pangungusap na nagsasaad ng *salungat* na relasyon (o kontradiksiyon). Subalit kapag totoo ang unang pangungusap, hindi kailangang totoo rin ang pangalawa. Hindi tuwirang nagsasalungat ang dalawang pangungusap. Sabayan ang relasyon na isinasaad ng *samantala*.

Relasyong sunuran

Kahulugan	Coord
Pagdaragdag	at at saka gayundin

May tatlong gamit ang mga pangatnig na “*at*” at “*at saka*” (na madalas bigkasin bilang *tsaka*) — para magdagdag ng ideya at para magsaad ng mga pangyayaring sabay o mga pangyayaring magkakasunod.

** Gusto kong kumain ng spaghetti at gusto kong uminom ng juice.*

** Hawak ako ni mommy at sumusunod kami kay daddy.*

Madaling makita ang kaibahan ng idinaragdag sa isinusunod, pero dahil nakasalalay sa kanilang aktwal na pagkakasunod sa salaysay ang pagkakasunod ng mga pangungusap na pinagkawing

ng **at**, maaaring magkaroon ng kalituhan. Sa mga pangungusap na kailangan ng eksaktong panahunan, mahina ang kahulugan ng **at**.

Nakarinig ako ng sigaw at nakita ko siyang sinusuntok ng saspek.

Hindi madaling sabihin na nauna ang pagsigaw sa pagsuntok, kung kaya't sa ganitong pangungusap kailangang suriin kung hindi sabay ang dalawang aksiyon. Sa katunayan, nahuhuli ang nagsisinungaling kapag ipinakukuwento muli sa kaniya nang pabaligtad ang kaniyang salaysay — mula sa katapusan pabalik sa simula. Kung batay sa karanasan, mas madali itong baligtarin dahil babaligtarin lang niya ang pagkakasunod ng mga pangyayari. Kung inimbento lang, lalo na't kung hindi pinagsanayan, mahirap baligtarin ang mga kaganapan.

Kahulugan	Coord	Subord	Conj Adv
Sikuwens	tapos (at) saka	bago matapos (na) pagkatapos (na) makaraan na buhat nang mula nang nang noong sa sandaling sa oras na	kasunod nito mayamaya muli pagkatapos sa bandang huli di kalaunan sa wakas

Alin pa mang uri ng sunuran ang piliin, isang malimit na pagkakamali ang paggamit ng relasyong sunuran upang magsaad ng dahilan. Marami ang nagkakamali sa pag-intindi sa kaibahan ng relasyong *sunuran* at relasyong *dahilan*:

Namatay ang bata matapos maturukan ng Dengvaxia.

Maaaring isipin na magkalapit sa panahon ang pagturok ng Dengvaxia at pagkamatay ng bata. Pero malawak ang kahulugan ng pangatnig na *matapos*, halimbawa:

Naging katoliko ang karamihan ng Filipino matapos silang sakupin ng mga Kastila.

Kung talagang malapitan ang sunurang gustong isaad, dapat gamitin ang intensibong *pagkatapos na pagkatapos (na maturukan)*, o *pagkaturok na pagkaturok*. Mas malalang pagkakaintindi rito ang isiping Dengvaxia ang dahilan ng pagkamatay ng bata. Maling pag-iisip ito na tinatawag na *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, o “pagkatapos nito, kung gayon dahil dito.” Isa pang halimbawa ng sunuran na napagkakamalang dahilan:

** Mula nang maupo ang bagong sekretaryo sa DOTr, lumala ang serbisyo ng MRT-3.*

** Makaraang umupo si Clinton bilang Presidente, umunlad ang ekonomiya ng US.*

Maaaring malaman ang katotohanan ng pangungusap sa pamamagitan ng (1) aktwal na karanasan; (2) tradisyon o dokumentong nagpapatunay rito; at (3) sariling pananaw ng nagsasalita. Kung direktang patutunayan ang sinasabi ng isang

pangungusap, dapat gawin ito ayon sa mga kinikilalang batayan. Halimbawa, ang anunsyo ng PAGASA ang tanging batayan upang sabihin na mayroong bagyo, kahit pa man walang nararanasang ulan ni malakas na hangin. Sa larangan ng batas, kailangang patunayang nasa pagtatago ng isang tao o natagpuan ang droga o armas sa kaniyang mga ari-arian para akusahan ng iligal na posesiyon.

Kapag hindi matagpuan ang magpapatotoo sa pangungusap, madaling isipin na wala talagang pumatay. Ito ang maling kaisipan na *argumentum ad ignorantiam* (kung walang makitang ebidensiya, patunay ito na talagang walang ebidensiya). Sagot-panangga rito ang kasabihang “ang kawalan ng ebidensiya ay hindi ebidensiya ng kawalan.”

May dumulog sa Census office para makakuha ng kopya ng kaniyang birth certificate dahil nasunog ang mga records sa kanilang probinsiya. Walang records daw roon na siya’y ipinanganak. Kung gayon, hindi pa siya isinisilang.

Madalas gamitin ang karakter ng isang tao bilang patunay sa kaniyang sinasabi, lalo sa korte. Pero sa katunayan, kahit na kilalang sinungaling ang testigo, maaari pa ring patunayang totoo sinasabi niya.

“Hinipuan niya ako,” sigaw ng waitress na naghabla ng sexual harassment sa isang customer.

Ang sabihing hindi kapani-paniwala ang kaniyang testimonya dahil sa kaniyang trabaho at ipinapalagay na katauhan ay maling kaisipan na tinatawag na *argumentum ad hominem* (ang pagduda o pagpaniwala sa katotohanan ng isang pangungusap ayon sa katauhan ng nagsasalita). Madalas mangyari ito.

Bakit ako titigil manigarilyo samantalang naninigarilyo ang doktor ko?

Madaling maniwala sa mga may karanasan at mga eksperto. Pero mahalagang tingnan kung ang kanilang estado ay may kinalaman sa katotohanan ng kanilang sinasabi.

Ang pag-inom ng 1000mg ng bitamina C ay nakakagamot ng sipon ayon kay Dr. Linus Pauling, isang Nobel prizewinner.

Ngunit si Pauling ay nanalo ng Nobel para sa Chemistry at Peace, hindi sa medisina. Ito ang maling kaisipang tinatawag na *argumentum ad verecundiam* (ang pagsandig sa maling awtoridad).

Kung hindi direktong mapapatunayan ang pangungusap, kailangang susugan ito ng iba pa, at dito natin kailangan ang mga relasyong lohikal.

Koneksyong Di-Lohikal

Kahulugan	Conj Adv
Pagdiin	basta

Sa pangatnig na *basta* isinasaad na hindi argumento ang kasunod, kundi ang kagustuhan ng nagsasalita na dapat siyang paniwalaan dahil sa kaniyang estado. Dahil walang koneksyong lohikal sa pagitan ng mga pangungusap, tinatawag itong *argumentum ad baculum* (argumentong nakasalalay sa pwersa, pananakot, o posisyon ng nagsasalita).

*Yayaman ka **basta** manalangin ka nang taimtim at magdonate sa simbahang ito.*

Koneksyong Lohikal

Relasyong at

Kahulugan	Coord	Subord	Conj Adv
Pagdagdag	at at saka gayundin	bukod sa	
Afirmasyon			kumbaga kung tutuusin sa katunayan
Pagbibigay-diin			kahit ni

Nakasalalay sa relasyong *at* ang pagbuo ng heneralisasyon: kung ang A ay may katangiang x , at ang B ay may katangiang x , kung gayon, may katangiang x ang pangkat na binubuo ng A at B . Mahalaga rito ang pagpili ng mga representante ng grupo o populasyon na ginagawan ng heneralisasyon.

Sina A at B ay mga honor student at mga estudyante sa UP.

==> Ang mga estudyante sa UP ay pawang mga honor students.

Mahalaga ang bilang at pagiging representatibo ng mga datos sa pagbuo ng heneralisasyon. Madalas, gumagawa ng konklusyon batay sa iilan lamang na datos.

Nag-order ako ng apat na putahe. Hindi ko nagustuhan ang tatlo. Kung gayon, hindi masarap ang pagkain sa restoran.

Ito ang maling pag-iisip na tinatawag na *converse accident* (pagtalon sa konklusyon). Bagaman karaniwang iniisip na ang tatlo sa apat o 75% ay pasado sa eskwela, hindi natin tinatanggap na pasado ang 75% sa maraming larangan sa ating buhay.

Madalas, may mga ekspresyong nakakalito o nakakapandaya.

Siyam sa sampung dentista ang gumagamit ng toothpaste na ito.

Iisiping sinasabi na 90% ng mga dentista ang gumagamit ng naturang toothpaste, pero sa literal na interpretasyon, maaaring siyam sa sampung dentista na nakausap ang tinutukoy, at maaaring ang siyam na iyon ay nabigyan ng libreng toothpaste. Hindi rin naman sinasabing iniendorso nila ang toothpaste. Pansinin ang kaibahan ng mga pangungusap na sumusunod:

**Marami sa mga kongresista ang sumusuporta sa diborsyo.*

**Karamihan sa mga kongresista ay tutol sa diborsyo.*

Hindi malinaw sa ***marami sa*** kung ilan ang mga sumusuporta sa diborsyo. Walang tiyakang bilang ang ekspresyong ***marami sa*** (tulad ng *ilan sa*), kaiba sa ***karamihan sa*** o ***mayoriya ng***, na tumutukoy sa kalahati at isa (50% + 1), bilang pinakamaliit na numero.

Relasyong nakapaloob

Kahulugan	Conj Adv
Pagbibigay-halimbawa	halimbawa

Kung ang isinasaad ng isang pangungusap ay nakapaloob sa inilalahad ng iba pa, mayroon silang relasyong lohikal. Subalit walang direktang pangatnig na nagagamit dito maliban sa **halimbawa**, na pahiwatig na ang kasunod na pangungusap ay nakapaloob sa nauna.

Magagaling ang mga Filipino choir; halimbawa, ang Philippine Madrigal Singers ay nanalo sa halos lahat ng international competition na sinalihan nila.

Marahil dahil sa kakapusan ng mga pangatnig na direktang magsasaad ng relasyong nakapaloob, madalas nating maisip na kung totoo sa mga parte ay totoo rin sa kabuuan. Madalas ding maisip ang kabaligtaran, na kung totoo sa kabuuan ay totoo rin sa mga parte nito. Pero taliwas ito sa lohika — ang una’y tinatawag na maling pag-iisip na komposisyon; ang pangalawa’y maling pag-iisip na dibisyon.

Lahat ng mga sangkap sa restoran na ito ay galing sa Italya; samakatuwid, tunay na masarap na lasang Italyano ang pagkain dito.

Galing man sa Italya ang mga sangkap, at kahit na Italyano pa ang nagluto, kung hindi naman magaling, hindi rin nakakasigurong masarap at lasang Italyano ang kaniyang maluluto.

Napakagaling kumanta ng UP Concert Chorus. Pero limitado ang budget natin. Kumuha na lang tayo ng 12 sa kanila para kumanta sa kasal natin.

Maaaring ang tunog ng 12 na napili ay hindi kasinghusay ng higit 30 na miyembro ng grupo.

Sa relasyong *nakapaloob* din makakakuha ng konklusyon mula sa isang heneralisasyon. Kung totoo ang *nakapaloob* ang sinasabing *nakapaloob* na pangungusap, at tunay nga ang heneralisasyon, tinatawag itong *sylllogism*.

Mas madaling yumaman ang mga nakapag-aral.

(halimbawa)

Nakapag-aral ako.

[Kung gayon] *Mas madali akong yumaman.*

Taglay ng unang pangungusap ang tinatawag na pangunahing (o *major*) premise, ang terminong ***ang mga nakapag-aral***. Nakapaloob ang terminong “ako” sa pangalawang pangungusap, o ang pangalawa o *minor premise*. Konektado ang dalawang *premise* dahil sa terminong “ang mga nakapag-aral,” na nagsisilbing panimula ng *major premise* at panaguri ng *minor*. Kaya’t walang ibang konklusyon kundi sabihing *nakapaloob* sa *major* na terminong “mas madaling yumaman” ang *minor* na terminong “ako.” Ginagamit ang argumentong ito para gawing kapani-paniwala ang isang pangungusap na hindi direktang mapatunayan, pero maaaring sabihing ito ay balidong konklusyon mula sa mga totooang *premise*.

Kapag hindi nagamit nang tama ang gitnang termino, hindi magkakaroon ng balidong konklusyon.

Mapait ang mga lason.

Mapait ang arsenic.

Lason ang arsenic.

Kung isasaayos ito sa pormang kumakawing ang gitnang termino:

Mapait ang mga lason.

Lason ang arsenic

Mapait ang arsenic.

Hindi kailangang patunayan kung totoo o hindi na mapait ang *arsenic*. Isa pa, hindi naman totoo ang unang premise — may mga lason na matatamis at napagkakamalan pang inuming pampalamig. Dito makikita ang kaibahan ng pagiging totoo at pagiging balido ng isang konklusyon. Maaaring direktang patunayan na totoo ang isang pangungusap; kapani-paniwala naman ang pangungusap na balido kung tama ang mga *premise* nito.

Ang mga Martian ay may violet na mata.

Si E.T. ay isang Martian.

Si E.T. ay may violet na mata.

Hindi malalaman kung totoo o hindi ang unang *premise*, gayundin ang pangalawa. Pero maaaring mapatunayan ang konklusyon kung may kulay ang litrato ng mata ni E.T., ngunit hindi ang Extraterrestrial sa pelikulang E.T. (1982), kundi ang artistang si Elizabeth Taylor (1932-2011).

Relasyong *di-ayon* (incompatible)

Kahulugan	Subord
Konsesyon	kahit ke maski (na)/ke bagaman/bagama't kung kailan man

Ang relasyong *di-ayon* ay katangian ng dalawang pangungusap na hindi direktang nagsasalungatan. Kung totoo ang isa, malamang isipin na hindi totoo ang pangalawa. Madalas nakakagulo ang pagtatalo kapag ginagamitan ng ganitong relasyon dahil parehong maaaring maging hindi totoo ang dalawang pangungusap.

Kahit hindi siya honor student, umaasa siyang makapasa sa UPCAT.

Kung totoo hindi siya honor student, iisipin na dapat hindi na siya umasang makapasa sa UPCAT, pero ito ay suspetsa lang. Kung siya ay honor student (ibig sabihin, hindi totoo hindi siya honor student), maaari pa ring hindi totoo dapat siyang umasang makapasa sa UPCAT.

Maraming mga relasyong *di-ayon* ang napagkakamalang relasyong *salungat* kung magkaiba ang posisyon sa isang isyu ng dalawang nagtatalo. Dapat suriin muna kung *di-ayon* o *salungat ang mga posisyon*, dahil kung ang relasyon ay *di-ayon*, walang pagpupuntahan ang pagtatalo. Halimbawa nito ang debate sa pagitan ng mga *creationist* at *evolutionist*: naniniwala ang nauna na nilikha ang mundo at lahat ng nabubuhay rito sa loob ng anim na araw; ang huli nama'y naniniwala na milyong-milyong taon ang kinailangan para unti-unting mabuo ang mundo, magkaroon ng buhay na organismo at ng iba't ibang nilalang. Dahil ang sinasabing “araw” ng mga *creationist* ay hindi naman tiyakang

nangangahulugang 24 oras, at dahil ang pananaw na ito ay galing sa kwentong-bayan at hindi sa siyensya, tulad ng pinaniniwalaan ng mga *evolutionist*, hindi mareresolba ang debate.

Bagaman maraming pangatnig na nagagamit sa relasyong ito, madalas napagkakamalang relasyong *salungat*.

Todo tanggi pa rin siya maski klaro ang nakita sa CCTV.

Ang mga imahen sa video, dahil sa limitasyon ng anggulo, sakop ng lente, at resolusyon ay maaaring magkaroon ng maraming interpretasyon, lalo na kung ang hinahanap ay hindi ang aktwal na nangyari kundi ang intensyon sa likod ng pangyayari.

Relasyong o (salungat o contradictory)

Kahulugan	Coord	Subord	Conj Adv
Alterneysyon	o o kaya	imbes na kaysa sa halip na sa lugar na	sa halip imbes
Kontras	pero kaya lang samantalang gayong ngunit subalit datapwat bagkus		ang totoo sa totoo lang gayunpaman magkagayon man kaya lang samantala manapa
Negasyon	(at) hindi kundi		

Sa relasyong *o*, mas lalong lumalabas ang relasyong *salungat*. Nakakalito ito dahil madalas gamiting salin sa Ingles ay “**or**,” pero

ang “**or**” sa Ingles ay maaaring gamiting pangatnig sa dalawang pangungusap kung saan isa lang sa kanila ang totoo.

Punta tayo sa mall; manood tayo ng sine o kumain sa labas.

Isa lang sa dalawang gawain ang maaaring mangyari, na kung manonood ng sine ay hindi na kakain sa labas, o kung kakain sa labas ay hindi na manonood ng sine. Pero ang Ingles na:

Let's go to the mall, to see a movie or to eat out.

maaaring mangyari ang panonood lang, o ang pagkain lang, o pareho. Kung isa lang ang maaaring mangyari, gagamitin ang pangatnig na “unless”.

Kailangang himayin kung totoong salungat ang relasyon ng mga pangungusap o hindi.

Nagsumite ang kandidato ng mga dokumentong hinihingi ng komite kung kaya't isinama siya sa listahan ng mga kwalipikado sa posisyon. Gayunpaman, makaraan ang ilang taon, kulang daw ang mga dokumento at hindi siya dapat nahirang.

Umiikot ang argumento sa kung kumpleto ba o hindi ang mga dokumentong isinumite. Kung hindi kumpleto, dapat aminin ng komite na nagkamali sila, na hindi nila pinansin ang kakulangan ng dokumento noong naglista sila ng mga aplikante.

Maraming naghihirap sa Pilipinas. Gayunpaman, nagbibigay tayo ng tulong pinansyal sa ibang bansa lalo na sa mga komunidad na nasalanta.

Maaaring totoo ang dalawang pangungusap na ito, ngunit kung totoo nga ang unang pangungusap, iisipin nating dapat hindi nangyayari ang pangalawa, na ang tulong pinansyal ay dapat sa Pilipinas ipamahagi. Ang relasyong ito ay *di-ayon*.

Relasyong o...din

Mukhang walang pangatnig sa Filipino na nagsasaad ng relasyong *or* sa Ingles. Pinakamalapit ang kombinasyong *at/o* na hindi naman ginagamit sa ordinaryong pananalita.

Maaaring magbayad sa pamamagitan ng cash at/o check.

Siguro magagamit din ang ekspresyong *o...din*.

Utang tayo nang malaki sa bansang Hapon, o sa bansang Tsina rin.

Maaaring sabihin na dahil walang ordinaryong pangatnig para sa relasyong ito, bihira tayong makaisip ng ganitong sitwasyon. Pero kailangan ang ganitong relasyon sa pagbuo ng *hypothesis*, kung isa sa dalawa o higit pang posibilidad ang maaaring mangyari o maaaring payagan.

Pwede kang makagradweyt with honors kahit underloaded ka sa ilang semester kung mapapatunayang wala ka nang makuhang required course, o nagtatrabaho ka, o may sakit ka sa panahong iyon.

Kapag pinatunayang nagtatrabaho nga kaya may underloading, hindi na kailangang patunayang may sakit sa panahong iyon: bakit nga naman magtatrabaho kung may sakit, at kung nakapagtrabaho, dapat nakapasok at nakakuha ng full load. Ito ang karaniwang interpretasyon para rito. Pero maaaring relasyong *at/o* ito, kung saan dahil may sakit sa panahong naturingan, madalas na nasa bahay lang, at nakakuha ng trabaho sa pamamagitan ng internet.

Relasyong “kung”

Kahulugan	Subord
Kondisyonal	kung (kung) sakaling kapag basta('t) + e di

Mula sa relasyong *at*, makikita ang asosasyon sa pagitan ng dalawang pangyayari. Tuwing nangyayari ang isang *phenomenon* ay nagaganap din ang isa pa, tulad ng asosasyong paninigarilyo-sakit sa baga: napansin na habang dumarami ang mga naninigarilyo, dumarami rin ang mga nagkakasakit ng emphysema, bronchitis, at kanser sa baga.

Tinutukoy ng salitang “maaari” ang posibilidad na kapag sinabing naganap ang isang pangyayari ay maaaring magkatotoo ang isa pa. Dalawang uri ng posibilidad mayroon: ang *historical possibility*, kung saan ang nangyari ay maaaring maulit; at ang *theoretical possibility*, kung saan hindi pa man nangyayari, alam na kung paano magaganap.

Historical possibility

Nangaliwa ang asawa niya pero nagsisi na. Posible pang mangaliwa ulit.

Theoretical possibility

Posibleng makarating ang mga astronaut sa Mars dahil may ilan na ring spacecraft ang nakalapag doon. Hindi lang alam kung kayang mabuhay ang tao dahil sa tagal ng kaniyang exposure sa cosmic radiation.

Sa mga debate o paglilitis madalas nagagamit ang posibilidad para buksan ang maraming pagpipiliang interpretasyon. Halimbawa, maaaring sabihin ng abogado ng isang pusher na posibleng nilagyan lang ng droga sa pantalon ang kliyente niya nang kapkapan ng pulis, na kahit hindi nangyari ay posibleng nangyari. Mahina ang argumentong nakasalalay sa posibilidad.

Sumusunod dito ang kaisipang kung magaganap ang isang bagay, malamang mangyayari ang isa pa. Ito ay isang probabilidad na nakabatay sa katiyakan ng mga sumunod na pangyayari ayon sa karanasan. Habang higit na nagiging tiyak, mas mataas ang probabilidad.

Kung may mga mali sa grammar ang iyong aplikasyon, malamang hindi ka papansinin ng HR personnel.

At dahil meron nang probabilidad, maaari nang gamitin ang relasyong *kung* o kondisyonal.

**Tuwing umuulan nang malakas, bumabagal ang daloy ng trapiko.*

**Umulan nang malakas kanina, pero posibleng mabilis din ang daloy ng trapiko.*

* *Umulan nang malakas kanina. Malamang gagabihin na naman ang uwi niya.*

* *Kung uulan nang malakas bukas ng hapon, gagabihin siya ng uwi.*

May isang problema sa relasyong *kung*: ang interpretasyong *biconditional*. Ibig sabihin, kung totoo ang unang pangungusap, malamang totoo rin ang sumunod; o kung totoo ang pangalawa, malamang totoo rin ang nauna. Subalit sa relasyong *kung*, may direksyon ang daloy ng konklusyon kung totoo o hindi ang mga pangungusap na pinagkawing.

Sabi ng babae sa kanyang nobyo, “kung talagang mahal mo ako, e di pakakasalan mo na ako.”

Dahil pinakasalan siya, inisip ng babae na mahal nga siya. Pero maaari namang iba ang rason kaya pinakasalan siya; halimbawa, nalaman nglalaki na mayaman ang babae at nag-iisang tagapagmana. Maling kaisipan ito, o *fallacy*. Hindi masasabi kung totoo o hindi ang *kung* na pangungusap. Kung ganoon, dapat *biconditional* ang tambalang pangungusap.

Pakasalan mo lamang ako kung talagang mahal mo ako.

Laganap ang maling kaisipan sa paggamit ng relasyong *kung* at maaaring isa itong dahilan sa mga maling desisyon. Maaari ring tingnan ang paglago ng relasyong *kung* sa ating pag-iisip batay sa ating karanasan. Una rito ay ang pagsasaad ng pagsisisi.

Kung nag-review sana ako nang masinsin, nakapasa sana ako sa bar.

Parehong nasa panahunang nakaraan ang dalawang pangungusap at kapwa hindi nagkatotoo. Sa pagbuo naman ng prediksiyon, kapwa nasa panahunang hinaharap sila.

Kung magre-review ako nang masinsinan, papasa ako sa bar.

Kung maraming pagkakataong nagkakatotoo nga ang prediksiyon, maaaring hanguin mula rito ang pagsasaad ng isang prinsipyo, na totoo sa lahat ng panahon.

Ang nagre-review nang masinsinan, pumapasa sa bar.

Sa Filipino, ang **kung** at **e di** na mga pangungusap ay nasa parehong panahunan. Kung ang **kung** na pangungusap ay nasa pang-nakaraan at hindi natupad, at nasa pang-hinaharap at malabo nang mangyari ang **e di** na pangungusap, naiiba ang ekspresyon sa Filipino.

Dahil hindi ka nag-review nang masinsinan noong isang buwan, malabong makakapasa ka sa bar sa susunod na buwan (o malamang hindi ka makakapasa sa bar sa susunod na buwan).

Makikitang **dahil** ang ginamit sa ekspresyong ito, kung kaya't ang relasyong **kung** ay nakatuon sa pagsisisi, prediksiyon, at prinsipyo.

Relasyong dahil

Kahulugan	Coord	Subord
Sanhi	kesyo mangyari anupat	
Sanhi o Dahilan		kasi dahil sa dahilang porke (sa)pagkat palibhasa (ay) gawa ng komo tutal (ya)yamang
Epekto		kaya
Resulta		para upang
Epekto o Ikinabunga	so kung kaya tuloy nang (sa gayon ay) kundi	

Nahahango sa konsepto ng probabilidad o malamang na mangyari ang relasyong **kung**. Nabibigyan ito ng interpretasyon na relasyong **dahil** kung mataas ang probabilidad, lalo na kung nadiskubre ang organikong koneksyon sa pagitan ng dalawang pangyayari.

Kung malakas kang manigarilyo, malamang na magkakasakit ka sa бага.

Napatunayang may mga kemikal ang usok na galing sa sigarilyo na nakakapagdulot ng kanser at iritasyon sa hingahan at бага. Kaya't mula sa "smoking may be dangerous to your health," nabuo ang babalang "smoking causes cancer, bronchitis, emphysema, and other pulmonary diseases."

Dahil malakas kang manigarilyo, nagkasakit ka sa baga.

Bagama't may mga malalakas manigarilyo na hindi naman nagkakasakit, at mga hindi naninigarilyo na nagkakakanser sa baga, hindi ito sapat para buwagin ang relasyong *dahil* sa pagitan ng paninigarilyo at pagkakasakit sa baga. May mga pagkakataon na maaaring magkaroon ng ilang eksepsyon. Isang maling pag-iisip na tinatawag na *accident* ang paggamit ng ilang eksepsyon upang pasinungalingan ang isang napatunayang konklusyon.

Nauuna ang dahilan sa epekto, kung kaya't napagkakamalang kung ano ang nauuna ay siyang dahilan. Maling kaisipan din ang ituring na dahilan ang isang bagay o pangyayari na kasama ng tunay na dahilan. Tinatawag itong *cum hoc ergo propter hoc* o “kasama rito kung gayon dahil dito”.

Ang sakit na diyabetes ay kaugnay sa pagkain ng matatamis at pagtaas ng asukal sa dugo. Ang salungat na lasa sa tamis ay ang pait. Kung gayon, kung may pagkaing mapait, marahil ito ay panlaban sa matamis. Sa mga suplementong hango sa ampalaya, sinasabi ang ganito:

Kung iinumín ito kasama ng mga gamot, makakatulong ito sa pagkontrol ng diyabetes.

Ang tunay na pruwera ay kung may mga napatunayan nang maraming kaso ng mga pasyenteng gumaling sa suplementong gawa sa ampalaya lamang ang iniinom. Kung iinumín ang suplemento kasama ng gamot, hindi matutukoy na tunay siyang dahilan ng pagkontrol ng sakit.

Mas malala pang maling kaisipan ang tukuying dahilan ang isang bagay o pangyayari na hindi naman tunay na sanhi. Ito ang

kasong sa mga pamahiin. Malas daw kung may tumawid na itim na pusa sa harapan mo o dumaan ka sa ilalim ng hagdan. Malas daw magbukas ng payong sa loob ng bahay o mag-abot ng pera sa pintuan o bintana. Malas din daw magwalis sa gabi, maging ang numero 13, kung kaya't walang building na may pang-13 na palapag. Maaaring sa mga pamahiing ito ay nanggaling sa nag-iisip na *cum hoc ergo propter hoc* (gawa nito, dahil dito) na maaaring nangyari nang ilang beses sa naniwala.

Napatunayan na kahit mga hayop ay nagkakaroon ng “pamahiin” kapag paulit-ulit na maranasan ng mga ito na nagaganap ang pangyayaring Y kapag natutupad ang pangyayaring X. Naturuan ang ilang manok na tumuka sa isang buton upang palabasin ang pagkain nila. Sumunod, tinuruan sila ng relasyong *dahilan* sa pagitan ng pagtuka sa buton at paglabas ng pagkain. Natutunan din nila na dapat munang tumingin sa kaliwa upang mapagana ang buton. Sumunod ay naglabas ng pagkain ang mga siyentipiko kapag tumingin sa kaliwa ang manok kahit na hindi sila tumuka sa buton, kung kaya't natutunan ng manok na ang pagtingin sa kaliwa ang tanging dahilan ng paglabas ng kanilang pagkain.

Kailangan natin ang mga relasyong *dahil, kung, at, at/o, at o* para makabuo ng *hypothesis* - ang paliwanag tungkol sa lohikal na relasyon ng mga bagay o pangyayari na hindi agad nakikitang magkarelasyon. Halimbawa, sa halip na sabihin ang simpleng:

Namatay ang bata dahil naturukan siya ng Dengvaxia.

Batay sa mga impormasyong lumabas sa pagdinig ng Senado, lalo na noong tumestigo si Dr. Scott Halstead, isang dalubhasa sa dengue at pagtuklas ng bakuna para rito, mas kumpleto ang hypothesis na:

Kung ang isang tao ay hindi pa nagkaka-dengue, at naturukan ng Dengvaxia nang tatlong beses, maaari siyang magkaroon ng malalang klase ng dengue kung makakagat ulit siya ng lamok na nagtataglay ng mas malalang dengue virus at mahina ang kaniyang resistensiya, o hindi maagapan ang kanyang impeksiyon. Kung magkaroon ng malalang dengue, magdudulot ito ng pamamaga at pagdurugo ng utak at mga internal organ.

Malinaw na hindi Dengvaxia ang nakamamatay kundi ang mas malalang dengue virus. Nagagamit ang ganitong *hypothesis* sa pamamagitan ng pagtaya kung totoo o hindi ang bawat pangungusap. Sa relasyong *at*, kailangang totoo ang mga pangungusap na pinagkawing para maging totoo ang buong tambalan. Ang nakakalito sa *hypothesis* sa itaas ay nasa unang pangungusap na *hindi pa nagkaka-dengue*, dahil maraming taong nagka-dengue na pero dahil kahawig nito ang sintomas ng malalang sipon o trangkaso, kaya't kahit sabihin ng magulang na ang anak niya ay hindi pa nagkaka-dengue, hindi pa rin talagang nakasisiguro na iyon nga ang totoo. Ang tiyak na patunay ay ang pagkakaroon ng tao ng mga *antibody* sa dengue.

Isa pang sanhi ng kalituhan ang salitang *maaari*, dahil hindi naman siguradong magkakasakit ng dengue ang isang nakagat ng lamok na may dengue. Depende ito sa kaniyang resistensiya. Isa pa, hindi sinasabi ng *hypothesis* na magkakasakit ang isang tao dahil sa Dengvaxia, kundi lumalabas na hindi siya naprotektahan ng Dengvaxia sa mas malalang dengue. Ang relasyon ng mahinang resistensiya at *hindi maagapan* ay nakasaad sa pangatnig *o* — relasyong *at/o* ito, dahil maaaring maging totoo ang dalawang pangungusap. Nagpapasalimuot din dito ang paggamit ng pangalawang pangungusap sa itaas para patunayan, sa pamamagitan

ng awtopsiya, na nagka-dengue nga ang namatay. Maling kaisipan ito dahil mayroon pang ibang mga impeksyon na nagdudulot ng kaparehong pagdurugo at pamamaga.

Hindi sinasabing tama ang *hypothesis* na ito; isa lamang itong halimbawa ng pagkakawing-kawing ng mga pangungusap gamit ang mga pangatnig para makatulong sa pag-unawa ng isang komplikadong pangyayari.

Sa pamamagitan ng mapanuring pag-iisip, mas makakasiguro na totoo o mas kapani-paniwala ang ating mga konklusyon, lalo na sa mga desisyong makakaapekto sa ating buhay.

Lexical Sources for Ibatan

Maria Kristina S. Gallego¹

Introduction

The Philippines occupies an important position in understanding the history of the Austronesian language family as it is the first step out of homeland Taiwan (cf. Blust, 2013). Thus, understanding the development of the Philippine languages has huge implications not only in reconstructing the archipelago's cultural history, but the wider Pacific region's as well. Paz's seminal work (1981) is one of the few works that deal with the systematic reconstruction of Proto-Philippines, the putative ancestor of the present-day Philippine languages. It is a valuable contribution to the ongoing debate about whether or not the languages spoken in the archipelago comprise a single subgroup under the Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian.²

¹ Editor's note: Gallego is an assistant professor at the Department of Linguistics of the UP Diliman College of Social Sciences and Philosophy and a PhD candidate at the School of Culture, History and Language at the Australian National University. She would like to thank the Ibatans and Ilokans of Babuyan Claro, especially Nanette, Adod, Ancho, B-Anne, Yunga, Nancy, and Orlando Tomas, and Chieftain Cruzaldo Rosales for welcoming her into their community and sharing their knowledge of Ibatan. She also thanks her supervisors, Beth Evans and Tuting Hernandez, for their substantial comments on an earlier draft of this paper, as well as friends Fui Swen Kuh and Jed Pizarro-Guevara. She is deeply honored to write this paper for a Festschrift in honor of Dean Connie Paz, whose contributions to Philippine historical linguistics inspired her to delve into the history and development of Philippine languages more deeply.

² For the most recent discussion of this debate, see Blust (2019, 2020), Liao (2020), Reid (2020), Ross (2020), and Zorc (2020).

Language contact provides one of the ways to understand and reconstruct linguistic histories such as that of the Philippine languages, particularly because of the country's high linguistic diversity, which entails a high degree of multilingualism. That is, insights from contemporary small-scale multilingual communities contribute to understanding the processes of language contact, emergence, and change that must have also operated in the past. This paper is a small case study on contact-induced change in the lexicon of Ibatan, a language spoken in the far north of the Philippines. Argued to be the main vehicle for contact-induced change in Ibatan, lexical transfer³ reflects the nature and intensity of contact the Ibatan community underwent. For instance, the distribution of loanwords across different semantic domains in Ibatan indicates the kinds and patterns of interaction with various source languages (SLs) for these words. Specifically, this study explores a) the extent to which the various SLs affected the Ibatan lexicon; and b) what this can reveal about the Ibatan community's history.

The Ibatans of Babuyan Claro

Babuyan Claro (or Babuyan) is an island community that belongs to the Babuyan group of islands in Cagayan. Ibatan is the community's local language used by about 1,240 to 3,000 speakers (Ebarhard, et al., 2021 and the author's fieldwork). Babuyan Claro residents are also proficient in Ilokano, the regional lingua franca, and Filipino, the Philippine national language. The three languages, while related under the Malayo-Polynesian branch, belong to different subgroups: Ibatan to Batanic,⁴ Ilokano to Northern Luzon (also called Cordilleran), and Filipino to Greater Central Philippines.

³ The term *transfer* is used in a broad sense to refer to the transmission of linguistic elements or materials from a source to a recipient language.

⁴ The Batanic subgroup consists of (1) Ibatan of Babuyan Claro, (2) Ivatan (a different language from Ibatan), spoken on the Batan and Sabtang islands

The Ibatans trace their ancestry from both Batanic- and Ilokano-speaking populations, a result of a series of migrations that began 150 years ago (Maree, 1982; Maree, 2005). This mixed ancestry is reflected in contact-induced features in their language's lexicon, phonology, and grammar. Given the history of intense contact between the Ibatans and Ilokanos, as well as the ongoing bilingualism of the speakers in both languages, most contact-induced features in Ibatan can be traced back to Ilokano. However, the community's dynamic nature and ongoing integration within the larger region of Cagayan and mainland Luzon entail changing patterns of individual- and community-level multilingualism, seen as layers of contact-induced change in Ibatan (cf. Gallego, 2020). There are several ways in which these layers are evident in the lexicon, such as how loanwords come from various SLs at different points in time, and how they get integrated into Ibatan.

Lexical Transfer in Ibatan

Given Ibatan's contact history, a huge proportion of its lexicon are loanwords that come from different SLs. For this study, the data is based on the Ibatan dictionary by Maree, et al. (2012), where the SL is typically identified for each lexeme. The loanwords are then classified into different semantic fields, following Haspelmath and Tadmor's categories (2009) (Figure 2). The words are also sorted as either peripheral or core vocabulary, wherein the latter consists of a small number of words said to be universally more resistant to change or contact, such as words for body parts, specific kin terms, pronouns, and some basic actions such as eating and drinking. This study follows Greenhill et al. (2019) in determining whether or not a word falls under core vocabulary. Finally, the semantic

of Batanes, (3) Itbayaten, which is spoken on Itbayat Island Batanes, and (4) Yami or Tao, spoken on Orchid Island, Taiwan.

word class is also identified, namely nouns, verbs, modifiers,⁵ and function words. While these classes mostly coincide with traditional categories, they more accurately correspond to the notions of ‘things and entities’, ‘actions and processes’, ‘properties’, and ‘grammatical meanings,’ respectively (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009, p. 7).

Figure 1: The location of Ibatan



⁵ Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) distinguish between adjectives and adverbs, but Philippine languages do not typically show a clear boundary between these two categories, and they are thus conflated here under the wider category of modifiers.

Figure 2: Semantic fields following Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009)

The physical world	Quantity
Kinship	Time
Animals	Sense perception
The body	Emotions and values
Food and drink	Cognition
Clothing and grooming	Speech and language
The house	Social and political relations
Agriculture and vegetation	Warfare and hunting
Basic actions and technology	Law
Motion	Religion and belief
Possession	Modern world
Spatial relations	Miscellaneous function words

Source Languages

Out of over 5000 entries in Maree et al. (2012), 1,998 are tagged as loanwords, which are traced to five SLs: Ilokano, Spanish, English, Chinese, and Japanese. The biggest donor is Ilokano (58.66%), followed by Spanish (37.89%) (Figure 3). The other languages have had minimal influence on Ibatan. Interestingly, Filipino is not identified as an SL for any of the loanwords in the dictionary.⁶

⁶ This may reflect the lexicographers' bias in tracing the source to Ilokano in cases where the word is shared by both Ilokano and Filipino. In such instances, the SL here is tagged as *uncertain*. Alternatively, it may also reflect the minimal influence of Filipino on Ibatan, given the community's relative isolation from mainland Luzon for many years. Filipino's influence has become stronger only recently, as reflected in some speakers' shifting patterns of multilingualism (cf. Gallego, 2020).

That Ilokano and Spanish are the main SLs for the loanwords in Ibatan is reflective of the Ibatan community's history. Ilokano has been the main contact language since the Babuyan Claro community's early beginnings. While Spanish appears to have made a similar significant impact, its loanwords are likely to have come through an intermediate SL (typically through Ilokano). Contact through bilingualism (Ilokano) or colonization (Spanish) has yielded different outcomes, observable in the distribution of loanwords according to various semantic fields.

Figure 3: Distribution of non-native words according to SLs

SOURCE LANGUAGES	WORDS	PERCENT
Ilokano	1172	58.66
Spanish	757	37.89
English	43	2.15
Chinese	5	0.25
Japanese	3	0.15
Uncertain	18	0.9
TOTAL	1998	100

Semantic Fields

Categorizing the loanwords according to semantic fields gives a clearer picture of the context of contact between Ibatan and the respective SLs. Figure 4 shows that Ilokano is the primary SL in 14 of the 24 domains, and these mostly concern everyday life and activities, such as THE PHYSICAL WORLD (86%), BASIC ACTIONS AND TECHNOLOGY (62%), and FOOD AND DRINK (57%). Ilokano's dominance in certain domains is also striking, namely KINSHIP (79%), AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION (78%), EMOTIONS AND VALUES (74%), and WARFARE AND HUNTING (64%). For instance,

terms for some technologies and techniques concerning agriculture and hunting (mainly fishing), such as different kinds of traps — *balais* ‘snare trap’, *bobo* ‘underwater trap’, *koyayaw* ‘kind of snare’, and *saltok* ‘cage trap’ — are mainly from Ilokano.

The extent of culture contact between Ilokano and Ibatan can be seen in the domains of KINSHIP and EMOTIONS AND VALUES — terms for nuclear kin, namely, *potot* ‘child (of a man)’, and *abagis* ‘sibling’ are from Ilokano; and Ilokano abstract concepts such as *anos* ‘patience’, *ayat* ‘love’, *bileg* ‘power’, as well as *linteg/kalintegan* and *rombeng* that encode the concept of what is ‘right and proper’ are also used in Ibatan. The preponderance of Ilokano loanwords in such domains points to two possible explanations — that there is a significant transfer of cultural and linguistic features from Ilokano, or that what is seen in Ibatan today is a coming together of the Batanic and Ilokano groups, reflecting the mixed genealogy of Babuyan Claro’s founding populations. Both explanations must have actually operated in the Ibatan language’s development, as the mechanisms that drive contact-induced change are intimately linked to the community’s dynamic sociolinguistic context.

The domains where there is a preponderance of Spanish loanwords are also reflective of the context in which Spain has influenced not only Ibatan but also various other Philippine ethnolinguistic groups. Domains concerning THE MODERN WORLD (89%), RELIGION AND BELIEF (73%), LAW (58%), and SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS (51%) show a great number of words of Spanish origin and illustrate how the Spanish brought western influences into Philippine indigenous groups’ sociopolitical systems. Terms for governance (*gobyirno* ‘government’, *korti* ‘court case’, and *sinador* ‘senator’) and religion (*Dios* ‘God’, *Nabidad* ‘Christmas’, and *Simana* ‘holy week’) show how foreign concepts are introduced either as new or as replacements for traditional ones. To illustrate, the Spanish

introduced Christian festivities and religious events such as Christmas and the Holy Week in the Philippines, but the notion of an unseen Supreme Being believed to have power over humans and nature — encoded in the Spanish word *Dios* ‘God,’ referring to the Christian monotheistic idea of a ‘Creator’— exists side by side with Ibatan indigenous concepts of spirits and unseen beings, which similarly affect human affairs, like the Ilokano *ogaw* ‘grain spirit,’ the Batanic *anyito* ‘residential or wandering spirit’, *isem* ‘ghost’, and *pahad* ‘the departed soul of a dead person.’

Figure 4: Distribution of loanwords according to semantic fields

SEMANTIC FIELD	ILOKANO		SPANISH		OTHERS		TOTAL
The physical world	49	86%	8	14%	0	0%	57
Kinship	33	79%	9	21%	0	0%	42
Animals	71	77%	19	21%	2	2%	92
The body	122	83%	20	14%	5	3%	147
Food and drink	57	57%	37	37%	6	6%	100
Clothing and grooming	24	36%	36	55%	6	9%	66
The house	14	30%	31	66%	2	4%	47
Agriculture and vegetation	88	78%	23	20%	2	2%	113
Basic actions and technology	139	62%	73	32%	13	6%	225
Motion	87	70%	35	28%	2	2%	124
Possession	26	43%	30	49%	5	8%	61
Spatial relations	53	65%	27	33%	2	2%	82
Quantity	19	28%	49	71%	1	1%	69
Time	36	48%	37	49%	2	3%	75
Sense perception	55	76%	17	24%	0	0%	72
Emotions and values	117	74%	40	25%	2	1%	159
Cognition	24	71%	10	29%	0	0%	34
Speech and language	40	68%	18	31%	1	2%	59
Social and political relations	31	44%	36	51%	4	6%	71
Warfare and hunting	35	64%	20	36%	0	0%	55
Law	20	38%	31	58%	2	4%	53
Religion and belief	14	22%	47	73%	3	5%	64
Modern world	3	3%	87	89%	8	8%	98
Misc. function words	15	45%	17	52%	1	3%	33

Core/Peripheral Vocabulary

Certain parts of the lexicon are argued to be more resistant to language contact and change and these are said to form a language's core vocabulary. In Ibatan, a small number of loanwords (61 out of 1,998, or just 3%) can be classified as core vocabulary. Within this small percentage, 38 (62%) are of Ilokano origin, and 22 (36%) are traced to Spanish. In contrast, peripheral (or non-core) vocabulary form 97% of loanwords, where majority is traced to Ilokano, followed by Spanish (Figure 5).

Loanwords classified as core vocabulary are mostly terms for basic actions, body parts and processes, kinship, color, and numbers. However, while some of these words are classified as core, their usage appears to be more constrained than native ones. To illustrate, Spanish words tagged as core are mostly numerals, from *ono* 'one' to *dyis* 'ten', but these numerals do not actually replace native Ibatan terms, but are rather only used in restricted domains, namely in time-telling, referring to book chapters, and for counting money.

For kinship terms, Ilokano *lakay* and *baket* encode polysemous meanings, and are used in Ibatan as well as Ilokano to refer to 'old man' and 'husband', and 'old woman' and 'wife,' respectively. It can be argued that these two words have been transferred to Ibatan carrying such semantics, and have come to introduce this husband–wife distinction in Ibatan kinship, alongside the native word *kabahay*, 'spouse' without gender distinction.

In some instances, some words which may be considered core do not seem to be encoded in the native Ibatan lexicon and are thus derived from Ilokano or Spanish. This is primarily seen in color terminologies, namely Ilokano *kyaw* and Spanish *amarilyo* for 'yellow' and Spanish *berdi* 'green'. Native Ibatan color terminology

only consists of three terms — *mabaheng* ‘black/dark’, *maydak* ‘white’, and *mabaya* ‘red.’ Other color terms can be traced to non-native sources.

Figure 5: Distribution of loanwords according to core and peripheral vocabulary

SOURCE LANGUAGES	CORE		PERIPHERAL	
Ilokano	38	62%	1134	58.50%
Spanish	22	36%	735	38%
Others	1	2%	68	3.50%
TOTAL	61		1937	

Semantic Word Class

Multilingualism is the norm across many speech communities of the world, and so the fact of language contact is an essential aspect of any language’s history. For Ibatan specifically, many of its features are the result of over a century of contact primarily with Ilokano speakers. Contact-induced language change is always contingent on the changes in the community’s social, political, and cultural landscape.

In terms of semantic word class, nouns appear to be more frequently transferred than verbs, seen in both Ilokano and Spanish (Figure 6). That is, 48% of words of Ilokano origin are nouns while 40% are verbs; in Spanish, 79% are nouns and only 10% are verbs. Similarly, function words (a closed class of words that carry grammatical functions such as prepositions and conjunctions) exhibit lesser degree of transferability than content words (such as nouns

and verbs). Only 83 function words can be seen out of a total of 1,998 non-native words in the data.

These apparent differences in the transferability of various word classes and categories are discussed widely in the contact linguistics literature (cf. Haugen, 1950; Weinreich, 1953; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988 among others). Such differences are argued to be based on stability and integration within the linguistic system. More structured materials — articulatory habits, grammatical patterns, and function words — are argued to be more stable and less affected by transfer, compared to other language components, like content words and nouns (cf. van Coetsem, 1995; 2000). The same logic can account for the difference between core and peripheral vocabulary, where the former is taken to be more stable and thus less transferable compared to the latter. Such tendencies for contact-induced change are clearly attested in the distribution of loanwords in Ibatan.

Figure 6: Distribution of loanwords according to semantic word class

SOURCE LANGUAGES	FUNCTION		MODIFIER		NOUN		VERB	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Ilokano	32	3%	109	9%	566	48%	465	40%
Spanish	51	7%	31	4%	600	79%	75	10%
Others	0	0%	5	7%	54	78%	10	14%
TOTAL	83		145		1220		550	

Adaptation, Integration, and Change

Structural differences between the source and recipient languages require modification of the transferred materials to fit the latter's system. In terms of lexicon, the linguistic material gets adapted or modified phonologically, morphologically, and semantically.

Phonological Adaptation

There are two directions of change in Ibatan. On one hand, the pronunciation of loanwords is often modified to fit Ibatan's phonological system. For instance, in *korismas* 'Christmas gift' from English *Christmas*, the word-initial consonant cluster is broken by inserting an intervening vowel *o*. On the other hand, lexical transfer can also lead to modification of the recipient language's (RL) phonological system. To illustrate, some loanwords have retained their original consonant clusters, leading to a restructuring of Ibatan's phonotactics, as in *krodo* 'crude oil' from English *crude (oil)*, and *bronsi* 'bronze' from Spanish *bronce*.

Tarabako 'work' from Spanish *trabajo* illustrates these two directions of change. The older form *tarabako* shows the breaking of the word-initial consonant cluster in order to fit the older phonological system. However, Maree, et al. (2012) note that younger speakers prefer the form *trabaho*, which is phonologically closer to the original source word. This variation shows that language contact can have layers of transfer, wherein the same concept or word can be transferred more than once in a language, as attested by the different ways the same word has been adapted into the RL.⁷

The same explanation can account for some Ilokano loanwords that involve the vowel *e* (pronounced as a high central vowel): Ibatan *akbet* 'shriveled, deflated', *aldag* 'almost ripe', and *askad* 'resist' are traced to Ilokano *kebbet*, *leddag*, and *sekkad*, respectively, reflecting a systematic change in the ordering of sounds. Historically, the Batanic languages show a metathesis of the consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) sequence to VCC, as in

⁷ Haugen (1950) discusses a similar concept—*reborrowing*—in which non-native words are "subject to continual interference," (p. 222) thereby resulting in variant forms of the same word in the recipient language.

Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *besuR⁸ ‘satiated’ to Itbayaten *absoy*, PMP *deket ‘to stick, adhere’ to Itbayaten *adket*, and PMP *teda ‘leftover, remain’ to Itbayaten *atda* (Blust, 2017).⁹ In Ibatan, this same change happened even for older Ilokano loanwords with the CVCC sequence. These were adapted as VCC following the Batanic metathesis. This is not a productive process in Ibatan anymore, exemplified by *sekeg* ‘inside beam’ and *sekka* ‘harvest’ from the Ilokano *sekkeg* and *sekka*, respectively.¹⁰ The latter forms — exhibiting less adaptation and more easily identifiable as loanwords — represent newer layers of transfer, whereas the former ones are older layers that manifest greater adaptation, as evidenced by the application of this relatively rare sound change, and which speakers now often treat as native Ibatan words.

Morphological Adaptation

Ibatan shows the development of the non-native durative verbal paradigm of *pag-* (along with forms *mag-* and *nag-*), which exists in parallel to the native paradigm of *pay-* (along with *may-* and *nay-*). Native stems typically occur with native prefixes, whereas loanwords occur with non-native ones: *may-abang* ‘to ride a rowboat’ (native stem) and *mag-lampitaw* ‘to ride a motorized boat’ (loanword). This non-native morphology in Ibatan, traceable to Ilokano, developed primarily through the transfer of complex loanwords (combination of affix and stem). Moreover, speakers’ proficiency in both Ibatan and Ilokano allows for an easier

⁸ Starred forms <*> represent reconstructions of older forms in the proto-language.

⁹ Alternatively, Reid (personal communication) analyzes this initial *a-* as a retention of the old stative prefix **ʔa-* (which has been replaced by the newer forms *ma-* or *na-*), and where the original unstressed *e* in the Batanic languages has been lost.

¹⁰ Application of the sound change would yield the expected form *askeg* and *aska*, respectively.

morphological analysis, thus promoting the productivity of this paradigm (Gallego, forthcoming).¹¹ Other structural changes that have arisen from contact with Ilokano involve the development of some derivational and inflectional morphology, likewise the result of lexical transfer.

Semantic Change

Lexical transfer involves the transfer of both form and meaning. In a number of cases, the original and most concrete meaning of a word in the SL is retained in Ibatan, as in Ilokano *ikit* ‘aunt’, English *bir* ‘beer’, and Spanish *sigarilyo* ‘cigarette’. However, the contexts in which Ibatan speakers use and understand foreign concepts may be different from SL users, and this may lead to a change in meaning. To illustrate, the Ilokano word *uli* ‘to go up’ has changed to *oli* ‘premarital arrangements’ in Ibatan. This shift follows the Ibatan tradition of the man and his family going up to the bride’s house as part of marital arrangements and negotiations with the bride’s family.

Lexical transfer has a significant effect on the RL’s meaning system. This may involve insertion, or the addition of a new word into the lexicon, where no earlier word of corresponding meaning existed; coexistence, in which a loanword exists alongside a native counterpart; or replacement, the substitution of an earlier word of the same meaning by a loanword (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009). Insertion can be observed in technology terms such as Ibatan *dyip* ‘jeep’ from English *jeep* and *korinti* ‘electricity’ from Spanish *corriente*. A number of loanwords also co-exist with native ones, leading to synonyms in the language, as in Ilokano *ayat* and Batanic

¹¹ See Seifart (2015, 2017).

adaw for ‘love’, and Ilokano *kannawan* and Batanic *kawanan* ‘right (hand, side)’. At times, co-existence may eventually lead to replacement, when loanwords have replaced native ones, which are now considered archaic or obsolete. For example, Batanic *pagad* has been replaced by Ilokano *nwang* ‘carabao’. Older speakers still know the meaning of *pagad*, but the younger speakers have completely shifted to using *nwang*.

Lexical replacement, particularly within the kinship domain, reflects the nature and extent of the Ibatan-Ilokano contact. Replacement occurs in some kin categories: Proto-Batanic **kateysa* ‘cousin’ by Ilokano *kasinsin*, and Proto-Batanic **kaminan* ‘aunt’ by Ilokano *ikit sibling*’ (Gallego, 2017). Such replacements in core cultural domains illustrate how Ibatan culture has been shaped by its complex contact history, with cultural features coming from the mix of Batanic and Ilokano sources.

Conclusion

Multilingualism is the norm across many speech communities of the world, and so the fact of language contact is an essential aspect of any language’s history. For Ibatan specifically, many of its features are the result of over a century of contact primarily with Ilokano speakers. Contact-induced language change is always contingent on the changes in the community’s social, political, and cultural landscape. The Babuyan Claro community’s extremely dynamic sociolinguistic landscape entails layers of change in Ibatan. Changes in the community’s multilingualism patterns, for instance, can be seen in loanwords which have been transferred at multiple points in time, and where proficiency in the SL affects the words’ adaptation into Ibatan, as in the Ilokano *aksiw-kissiw* ‘epileptic seizure’: *aksiw*, the older form, reflects heavier adaptation, whereas

the newer *kissiw* is identical to the original form in the SL, and is preferred by the younger generation. Higher proficiency in the SL typically involves less adaptation and modification.

The lexicon is a good area to investigate a speech community's history. In terms of language contact, it reflects the nature and extent of influence of the various SLs on the RL. For Ibatan, Ilokano is the most significant SL, given its longstanding presence in the Babuyan Claro community, and its influence can be seen in the ways in which it has affected domains of speakers' everyday life and activities. Because of Philippine colonial history, Spanish has also significantly shaped the Ibatan lexicon, albeit indirectly through an intermediate SL, affecting domains such as politics, law, and religion.

The high linguistic diversity in the Philippines offers plenty of opportunities in understanding contact mechanisms and outcomes. If one hopes to reconstruct the country's deeper linguistic history (i.e. the Proto-Philippine debate), this should be informed by insights from mechanisms that govern both language contact and change.

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Sosyolingwistikong Pagsusuri sa Lexical Choice ng Kontemporaryong Gamit ng Wikang Filipino

Jem R. Javier¹

Kung ihahambing sa ibang mga pambansang wika sa Timog-Silangang Asya, higit na demokratiko ang kasaysayan ng pagkabuo at kasalukuyang katangian ng pambansang wika ng Pilipinas — dahil pangunahing nakasandig sa mga nagsasalita ng Filipino ang kayarian, katayuan, at gamit nito. Batay sa ekstensibong pag-aaral nina Constantino at Paz (C.J. Paz, 1995; 1996b; 1998), umiiral hindi lamang ang mga rehiyunal na lingua franca, kundi maging ang isang pambansang lingua franca sa mahigpit na pangangailangang makipagtalastasan sa mga kababayang nagsasalita ng magkakaibang wika. Inilahad din ng mga pag-aaral ang dinamikong katangian ng pambansang lingua franca: bukas sa inobasyon at panghihiram (C.J. Paz, 1982), na maaaring dulot ng pulitikal/ekonomikong pagtingin sa ibang wika o sa pagpapakilala ng mga bagong konsepto at ideya (C.J. Paz, 1987; 1993).

Nakatutok ang papel na ito sa deskriptibong pagtingin sa kalagayan ng Filipino, ayon sa aktuwal na paggamit ng mga tagapagsalita. Nakatuon ang pananaliksik sa dalawang wikang banyaga—Kastila at Ingles—na nag-uugat sa halos apat na siglo ng kolonisasyon.

Sisiyasatin sa pag-aaral na ito, gamit ang kuwantitatibong paraan, ang ingklinasyon sa lexical choice sa pasulat na Filipino. Mga mag-aaral ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman (UPD) ang mga

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respondent dahil: (1) itinuturing na melting pot ang UP Diliman (ang campus na may pinakamaraming degree programs) kung kaya inaasahan ang mataas na diversity sa populasyon ng mga mag-aaral ayon sa lalawigang pinanggalingan at wikang kinagisnan o ginagamit; at (2) mayroong malinaw na patakarang pangwika ang UP Diliman, na ipinatutupad at itinataguyod ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino (SWF) mula pa noong dekada '90 (C.J. Paz, 1990).

Dalawang palagay ang ginamit na panimulang-batayan:

- 1) Para sa mga mag-aaral na ang kinagisnang wika ay hindi Filipino, 'mala-Tagalog lamang' ang Filipino — ibig sabihin, sa usapin ng pagpili ng salitang ilalapat sa isang pangungusap sa Filipino, higit ang pagkiling sa mga salitang Tagalog kaysa Ingles o Kastila; at
- 2) Higit na malaya ang paggamit ng mga salitang mula sa mga wikang banyaga ng mga respondent na Filipino ang kinagisnang wika at lumaki sa isang lugar gaya ng Kalakhang Maynila.

Ipinapakita sa dalawang palagay na nabanggit ang tendensiya ng Filipino na umiral bilang lingua franca, anuman ang wikang kinagisnan at etnolinggwistikong grupong kinalakihan.

Malaon nang tinatalakay sa estandardisasyon ng ortograpiya at leksikon ng Filipino (Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino [KWF], 2001) ang usapin ng lexical choice sa pasulat (at maging pasalita) na anyo ng wika. Mayroong tatlong pangunahing opsiyon na sumasagisag sa tatlong wikang nakaiimpluwensiya sa wikang pambansa: Tagalog, English, at Kastila. Maraming pag-aaral ang naglalarawan sa Filipino bilang variety ng Tagalog na sinasalita sa

Kalakhang Maynila (Guzman et al., 1998). Dahil naroon ang sentro ng komersiyo at pamahalaan, hindi naging mahirap ang pagkalat ng mga pormang Tagalog upang mahulma ang pambansang lingua franca.

Nagbunga naman ng overlay ng maraming terminong Kastila sa Tagalog at sa maraming wika sa Pilipinas ang mahabang panahon ng pananakop ng Espanya. Gayunman, naiakma na ang ortograpiya ng mga ito sang-ayon sa sinusunod na phonological representation at spelling ng mga wika ng Pilipinas (Lopez, 1965).

Mas bago ang kaso ng English. Bunga ng pagdating ng mga bagong paraan ng pamumuhay, nanghiram ng maraming termino sa English, na hindi na tinumbasan sa Filipino (Liwang, 2001). Nagdulot ang ganitong sitwasyon ng mga tanong hinggil sa limitasyon ng panghihiram at kung ire-respell ang mga ito ayon sa phonotactics at ortograpiya ng Filipino, gaya ng ginawa sa mga terminong Kastila.

Sa UP, itinatag ang SWF upang ipatupad at subaybayan ang paggamit ng Filipino bilang wika ng pagtuturo at pananaliksik, bilang pagtalima sa mandato ng Saligang-Batas na dapat gawing wikang opisyal at panturo ang Filipino, at paunlarin ito sa pamamagitan ng paggamit sa akademikong diskurso. Marami nang publikasyon ang SWF na may kinalaman sa pagbaybay, lalo na ng mga salitang hiram mula sa English, Spanish, at iba pang mga wika gaya ng French, German, at Japanese (Zafra et al., 2004; V. Paz, 2004; at Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, 2005). Gayunman, kailangang salaminin ng mga polisiyang pagbaybay ang pananaw mismo ng mga pangunahing stakeholder, ang end-user ng wika.

Makikita rito ang pulso ng mga estudyante ng UP Diliman sa kanilang paggamit sa Filipino. Sa pamamagitan ng survey at

pagsusuring estadistika, makikita ang lexical choice at kung gaano ang pagkiling sa tatlong anyo — mula sa tatlong wika — na pawang mga variant ng iisang lexeme.

Ang Mga Respondent

Siyamnapu't siyam (99) na estudyante ang sumagot sa survey. Pinakamarami ang nagkukumpol sa edad 17-20. Ito ay dahil na rin sa pawang mga estudyante ng UP Diliman ang respondent ng pag-aaral, bagaman mayroon pa ring bilang ng respondent na kabilang sa labas ng range na edad 17-20, i.e., siyam (9) na respondent na edad 22 pataas (o yaong inaasahang nakapagtapos na ng kolehiyo at anim na edad 16 (na inaasahang nasa high school pa lamang). Mayroon ding significant na bilang na lampas edad 21, na higit na marami kaysa menor de edad. Sa usapin ng sex, halos doble ang dami ng mga babae (n=64) sa lalaki (n=35).

Table 1. Bilang ng mga respondent batay sa edad.

EDAD	BILANG
33 taon	1
26 taon	2
25 taon	1
23 taon	3
22 taon	2
21 taon	6
20 taon	19
19 taon	15
18 taon	27
17 taon	15
16 taon	6
Hindi tinukoy	2

Tinanong ang mga respondent kung ano ang kinagisnan nilang wika (L1), o ang unang wikang natutunan na hindi inaral nang pormal sa paaralan. Open-ended question ang ginamit kung kaya naging malaya sila sa pagsagot. Sa sampung (10) tugong nalikom, walo (8) ang wikang katutubo sa Pilipinas (Bisaya, Bikol, Cebuano, Filipino, Ilokano, Ivatan, Kinaray-a, at Tagalog). Samantala, walo (8) ang nagsabing English ang kanilang L1, at isa naman para sa Japanese. Pinakamarami ang Filipino ang L1; pumangalawa ang Tagalog.

Table 2. Bilang ng respondent batay sa L1.

L1	BILANG
Bisaya	2
Bikol	1
Cebuano	1
English	8
Filipino	47
Ilokano	2
Ivatan	1
Japanese	1
Kinaray-a	1
Tagalog	35

Sa usapin ng wikang ginagamit sa tahanan, pinakamarami ang iisa lamang ang gamit—ang kinagisnang wika. Sa mga bilingual na tahanan, English ang isa sa mga wikang ginagamit ng nakararami. Ang iba nama’y sinasalita ang wikang kinagisnan ng kanilang magulang. Gumagamit lahat ng mga tahananang multilingual ng English bilang isa sa mga wika sa bahay. Sumunod ang Filipino at Tagalog, bagaman ang dalawa, anila, ay mutually intelligible.

Table 3. Bilang ng respondent batay sa ginagamit na wika sa tahanan.

WIKA SA TAHANAN	BILANG
Kinagisnang wika	63
Bilingual	27
Multilingual	9

Ang Survey

Binigyan ang mga respondent ng tig-iisang pormularyong sasagutin. May kinalaman sa profile ang unang bahagi. Opsiyonal ang paglagay ng pangalan at tiniyak na hindi kailanman ibubunyag ang kanilang pagkakakilanlan.

Sa ikalawang bahagi ay may 25 patlang na paglalagyan ng sagot sa mga tanong na may tig-tatlong pagpipilian. May 25 pangungusap na random na kinalap mula sa mga pahayagang nakalimbag sa Filipino at may pinakamalaking distribusyon sa bansa — *Bulgar*, *Abante*, at *Pilipino Star Ngayon*. Naglalaman ang 25 pangungusap ng mga salitang maaaring magkaroon ng iba't ibang bersiyon ng pagkakasulat: Tagalog (*Tag*), English (*Eng*), at Hispanized (*His*) na anyo, at itinuturing na synonym ng isa't isa (C.J. Paz, 1995). Pagkatapos, inalam kung ginagamit din ang ibang mga anyo sa mga napiling publikasyon. Halimbawa:

- Q1: Ito ang pinuna ni Cavite Governor Jonvic Remulla na nagsabi pa na lumilitaw na wala ring silbi ang mga _____ na iniharap sa pagdinig.
- (a) witness
 - (b) testigo
 - (c) saksi

Kinopya ang pangungusap sa itaas nang verbatim mula sa pahayagan. Ginamit sa orihinal na pangungusap ang salitang *witness*, na nasa anyong *Eng.* Humanap ang mananaliksik ng mga pangungusap sa napiling mga pahayagan na naglalaman ng dalawang ibang pamalit sa salitang *witness*: ‘*testigo*’ (anyong *His*) at ‘*saksi*’ (anyong *Tag*). Inihanay ang tatlong salita bilang mga pamimilian.

Sinabihan ang mga kalahok na makikita nila sa screen ang hinalaw na 25 pangungusap. Kailangan nilang pumili mula sa tatlong opsiyon kung ano ang gagamitin nila kung sakaling ikukuwento nila sa kaibigan o kapamilya ang pangungusap. Isusulat nila sa pormularyo ang titik ng piniling salitang pinakaangkop o pinakakomportable nilang gagamitin. May ilang segundo lamang ipapakita ang mga pangungusap (nakadepende sa average na oras ng isang mambabasa na taal na tagapagsalita ng Filipino ang tagal), kung kaya kung ano ang unang makitang akma sa pangungusap ang kailangang isagot. Bagaman hindi tuwirang sinabi ang kabuuang layunin ng survey sa simula, tiniyak sa mga kalahok na maaaring ipakita anumang oras ang resulta kung ninanais.

Pagkatapos makakalap ng sapat na bilang ng respondent (sa huling bilang ay 99), isinalang ang datos sa NVIVO.² Kinalap ang bilang ng tipa sa bawat form (*Tag*, *Eng*, o *His*) sa mga pangungusap at sinuri ito mula sa iba’t ibang anggulo, batay sa mga impormasyong nakalap mula sa unang bahagi ng survey.

² Pasasalamat kay Prop. Madilene B. Landicho ng UP Departamento ng Antropolohiya sa pagtulong sa pagkuha ng estadistika mula sa datos na nakalap sa survey.

MGA RESULTA

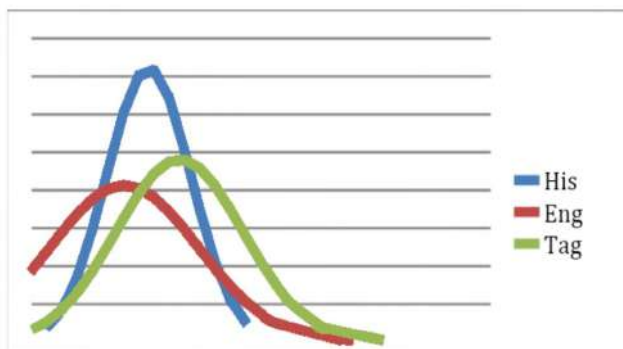
Makikita sa sumusunod na table ang resulta ng estadistika mula sa mga nakalap na tugon sa survey:

Table 4. Pangkalahatang estadistika mula sa survey.

	TAG	ENG	HIS
n	99	99	99
hi	23	21	14
lo	0	0	1
mean	9.67	6.05	7.66
median	10	5	8

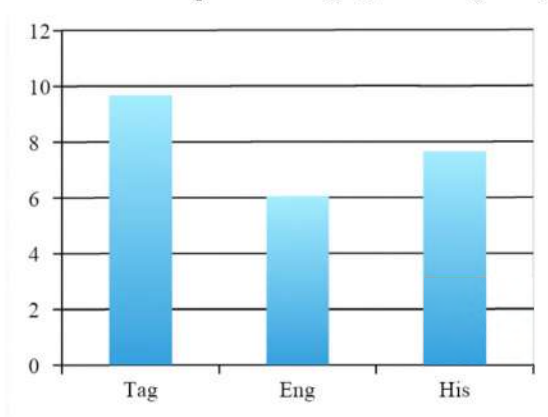
Sa pangkalahatan, makikitang hindi nagkakalayo ang highest frequency ng pagpili sa anyong *Tag* at *Eng*. Umabot lang sa 2/3 ng bilang ng dalawa ang mga piniling anyong *His*. Tunghayan sa ibaba ang bell curve chart ng tatlong series:

Larawan 1. Bell curve chart ng 3 series.



Inihahambing naman ng graph sa ibaba ang mga mean ng tatlong anyo:

Larawan 2. Paghahambing ng mean ng 3 anyo.



Naungusan sa mean ng *His* ang *Eng*, samantalang *Tag* ang may pinakamataas. Ganito rin ang pagkakasunud-sunod sang-ayon sa median.

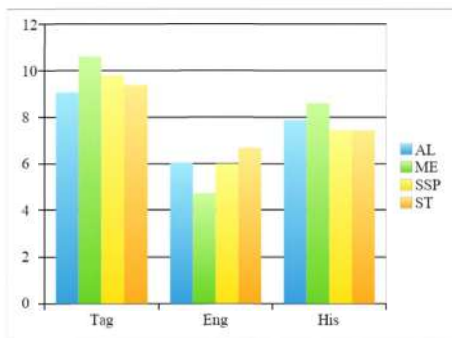
Academic Cluster. Pinagpangkat-pangkat ang nakalap na datos sa programang tinatahak ayon sa academic cluster: (1) Arts and Letters (AL); (2) Management and Economics (ME); (3) Social Sciences and Law (SSL); at (4) Science and Technology (ST):

Table 5. Estadistika ng mga tugon batay sa academic cluster.

	TAG				ENG				HIS			
	AL	ME	SSL	ST	AL	ME	SSL	ST	AL	ME	SSL	ST
n	17	10	36	34	17	10	36	34	17	10	36	34
hi	16	19	19	23	15	20	20	21	11	13	14	12
lo	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	1
mean	9.06	10.6	9.78	9.38	6.06	4.7	6	6.68	7.88	8.6	7.44	7.44
median	9	10	10	8.5	6	3	5	6	8	9.5	7	8

Nasa ibaba ang consolidated chart bilang sanggunian sa apat na cluster:

Larawan 3. Paghahambing ng estadistika ng mga tugon batay sa academic cluster.



Arts and Letters (AL) Cluster. Labimpito (17) ang respondent mula sa AL. Bahagyang mas mataas kaysa *Eng* at *His* ang naitalang frequency para sa *Tag*.

Management and Economics (ME) Cluster. Bagaman nakuha ng *Eng* ang highest frequency count, malayo ang agwat ng mean nito sa *Tag* at *His*. Ganito rin ang pattern sa median ng *Tag*, *Eng*, at *His*.

Social Sciences and Law (SSL) Cluster. Hindi nagkakalayo ang highest frequency sa *Tag* at *Eng*, subalit gaya sa ME, nahigitan ng *Eng* ang *Tag*. Samantala, kapwa nakakuha ng pinakamababang frequency count ang *Tag* at *His*. Mayroon namang respondent na walang piniling salitang *Eng*.

Mahalagang pag-aralan ang direksiyon ng pagkilang sa variant ng mga lexical item sa isang wika, lalo na sa punto de bista ng mga gumagamit nito. Sa paglikha ng mga patakarang may kinalaman sa language use, hindi mapasusubalian ang kabingiang malaman ang saloobin ng mga tunay na awtoridad ng wika — ang mga tagapagsalita — at hindi lamang ang ideyolohiya ng iilang magpapatupad nito.

Science and Technology (ST) Cluster. Iba ang sitwasyong makikita sa ST. Nakuha kapwa ng *Tag* at *Eng* ang pinakamababang posibleng frequency. Halos doble sa naitala para sa *His* ang nakuha para sa *Tag* at *Eng* sa highest frequency count.

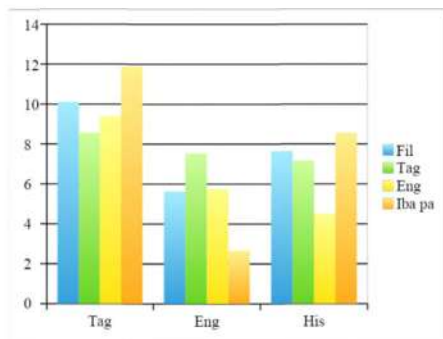
Kinagisnang Wika o L1. Bagaman 10 ang naitalang L1, hinati na lamang sila sa apat na kategorya: (a) Filipino; (b) Tagalog; (c) English; at (d) Iba pa. Tunghayan ang table sa ibaba:

Table 6. Chart ng estadistika ng mga tugon ng mga respondent batay sa L1.

	TAG				ENG				HIS			
	Filipino	Tagalog	English	Iba pa	Filipino	Tagalog	English	Iba pa	Filipino	Tagalog	English	Iba pa
n	47	35	8	9	47	35	8	9	47	35	8	9
hi	23	15	15	16	20	21	15	6	13	14	13	11
lo	1	0	4	8	0	0	0	0	1	3	5	5
mean	10.11	8.57	9.375	11.89	5.64	7.54	5.75	2.67	7.66	7.17	8.75	8.56
median	10	8	9.5	12	5	7	4.5	2	8	7	9	9

Filipino bilang L1. Ang *Tag* ang may highest frequency count. Pumangalawa ang *Eng*. Sa kabilang banda, hindi malayo ang kaibahan ng lowest frequency sa tatlong wika.

Larawan 4. Graph ng estadistika ng mga tugon ng mga respondent batay sa L1.



Tagalog bilang L1. Kapansin-pansin ang sitwasyon sa mga taal na tagapagsalita ng Tagalog na nakapagtala ng highest frequency count sa *Eng*. Samantala, magkadikit halos ang *Tag* at *His*.

Filipino bilang L1. Sa grupong ang L1 ay Filipino, pumangalawa ang *His* sa madalas piliin kaysa *Eng*; sa grupong Tagalog naman, mas mataas ang mean score ng *Eng* kaysa *His*. Hindi nagkakatayo ang mean score at median ng tatlong wika.

English bilang L1. Para sa grupong ito, magkakatayo ang highest frequency ng tatlong wika. Ang pangkat na ito ay may respondent na *Eng* ang L1. Masasabing significant ang agwat ng mga mean at median ng tatlong anyo. *Tag* pa rin ang pinakakinikilingan batay sa mean; sumunod ang *His*, at pangatlo ang *Eng*.

Iba pang mga wika bilang L1. Sa pangkat na ito, matingkad din ang pagkakaiba-iba sa pagtrato sa *Tag*, *Eng*, at *His*. Namalaging *Tag* ang may highest frequency count at pumangalawa ang *His*. Kapuna-puna rin ang pagkakaiba ng pinakamabababang score ng tatlong anyo.

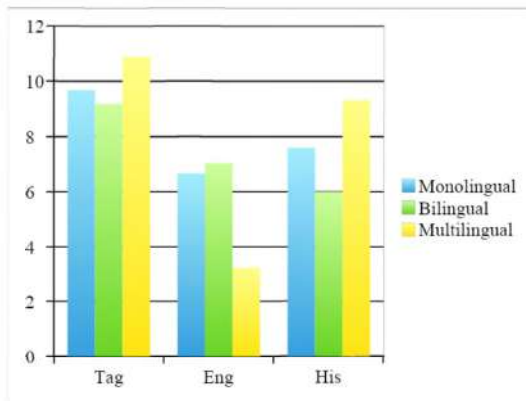
Wikang ginagamit sa tahanan. Pinagpangkat ang mga respondent ayon sa linggwistik na sitwasyon sa kanilang tahanan: Mono (L1 ng respondent ang ginagamit), Bi (maliban sa L1 ng respondent, may isa pang wikang karagdagang ginagamit sa tahanan), at Multi (may dalawa o higit pang karagdagang wikang ginagamit maliban sa L1 ng respondent).

Table 7. Chart ng estadistika ng mga tugon batay sa wikang ginagamit sa tahanan.

	TAG			ENG			HIS		
	Mono	Bi	Multi	Mono	Bi	Multi	Mono	Bi	Multi
n	63	27	9	63	27	9	63	27	9
hi	19	23	16	21	20	7	14	14	11
lo	0	1	6	0	0	0	2	1	7
mean	9.7	9.19	10.89	6.67	7.04	3.22	7.6	7.22	9.33
median	10	9	10	6	6	3	8	7	10

Narito naman ang graph na nagpapakita ng pagkakaiba-iba ng mga mean score:

Larawan 5. Graph ng estadistika ng mga tugon batay sa wikang ginagamit sa tahanan.



Monolingual na Tahanan. Sa pambihirang pagkakataon naitala ang highest frequency count sa *Eng*, na sinusundan ng *Tag*. Kapwa mayroon ang *Tag* at *Eng* na respondent na di sila pinili. Sa kategoriyang ito naitala ang pinakamababang frequency count sa *His*.

Bilingual na Tahanan. *Tag* ang may pinakamataas na frequency count, pumangalawa ang *Eng*, at malayong pangatlo ang *His*.

Multilingual na Tahanan. Malaki ang kaibahan ng *Eng* sa *Tag* at *His* sa mga tahananang multilingual. May pinakamataas na highest frequency count ang *Tag*, sunod ang *His*. Sa grupong ito, *Eng* lamang ang may respondent na walang piniling salitang *Eng*.

Interpretasyon ng mga Resulta at Ilan Pang Mga Tala

Sa kabuuan, ipinakikita ng pagsusuring estadistika, partikular sa average ng pagpili ng salita, ang pagkiling sa mga salitang *Tag*. Pumapangalawa rito ang *His* at pangatlo ang *Eng*. Gayunman, mahalagang itala rin ang resulta mula sa iba't ibang pangkat na nakuha mula sa survey at pagsusuring estadistika upang makabuo ng mas malawak at detalyadong larawan tungkol sa pattern ng lexical choice sa kontemporaryong gamit ng wikang Filipino para sa mga respondent na pawang estudyante ng UP Diliman.

Sa 11 pangkat na natukoy (apat na pangkat batay sa academic cluster, apat na pangkat batay sa wikang kinagisnan, at tatlong pangkat batay sa wikang ginagamit sa bahay), kapansin-pansin ang mataas na score ng lowest frequency ng pagpili sa anyong *His*. Sa katunayan, ito ang nakakuha ng pinakamataas na lowest frequency na 7 mula sa multilingual na tahanan. Ibig sabihin walang respondent na hindi bababa sa 7 beses na pinili ang anyong *His* sa buong survey.

Sa lahat ng pangkat, mayroong respondent na walang piniling anyong *Eng* mula sa questionnaire. Mayroon ding mga pangkat na may respondent na walang piniling anyong *Tag*. Kapansin-pansin na ang isa sa mga grupong ito ay ang grupong Tagalog ang kinagisnang wika, na may 35 respondent. Maaaring ipalagay na para sa mga respondent na Tagalog ang kinagisnang wika, ang mga salita gaya ng *mananakay*, *kasintahan*, at *apatnapu't walong taong gulang*

ay “malalalim na Tagalog” at mas ginagamit ang mga katumbas na variant na *pasahero/commuter*, *nobyagirlfriend/boyfriend*, at *forty-eight years old / kuwarenta’y otso anyos* sa nosyon nila ng wikang Filipino. Kapuna-puna rin na walang 0 hit ang anyong *His* sa lahat ng pangkat ng respondent, at may mataas pa ngang lowest frequency ito mula sa pangkat na mula sa multilingual household.

Mahalaga ring itala ang matinkad na contrast sa pattern ng pagpili sa mga anyong *Tag* at *His* kung ihahambing sa *Eng* sa panig ng pangkat na ang kinagisnang wika ay wika ng Pilipinas maliban sa Tagalog o Filipino at pangkat na multilingual ang tahanan. Ipinapalagay kung gayon na dahil sa matinkad ang dalang ng pagpili sa anyong *Eng* ay mas malay silang huwag piliin ang anyong *Eng* sa isang pangungusap na nasa Filipino; bagkus, higit ang pagkiling sa pagpili sa anyong *Tag* o *His*.

Mapapansing ang pangkat na ang kinagisnang wika ay isang wika ng Pilipinas na hindi Tagalog o Filipino ang may pinakamataas na average ng pagpili sa anyong *Tag* at pinakamababang average ng pagpili sa anyong *Eng*. Ang pangkat naman na Tagalog ang kinagisnang wika ang may pinakamababang average ng pagpili sa anyong *Tag* at may pinakamataas na average ng pagpili sa anyong *Eng*. Maipapalagay na tumataliwas ito sa naunang haka-haka na tinitingnang magkatulad ang Filipino at Tagalog para sa naturang pangkat. Manapa, maaaring ipinapakita ng datos na malaya ang pagpili ng anyong *Eng* sa bokabularyo ng kasalukuyang gamit ng wikang pambansa. Samantala, napakalapit sa isa’t isa ang mga mean score ng anyong *His* para sa 11 pangkat, kumpara sa mga anyong *Tag* at *Eng*.

Para sa partikular na pangkat na Tagalog ang kinagisnang wika, kapansin-pansin na ang anyong *Eng* ang may pinakamataas na highest frequency ng pagpili, ngunit ito at ang anyong *Tag* ang may

0 hit, habang 3 ang pinakamataas na lowest frequency ng pagpili sa anyong *His*. Sa pangkat na ito makikita ang pinakamagkakapantay na distribusyon ng pagpili sa tatlong anyo. Ipinapalagay kung gayon na para sa naturang pangkat, hindi gaano o walang pagkiling kundi naging malaya sila sa paggamit at pagpili ng salita sa alinman sa tatlong anyo kung ang pag-uusapan ay pagbuo ng pangungusap sa wikang Filipino.

Sa konteksto ng pag-profile ng mga estudyante ng UP Diliman, kapansin-pansin ang naging resulta ng estadistika para sa ME cluster. Kadalasang iniisip na tagapagsalita ng English o Taglish, o pangkaraniwang nagko-codeswitch lalo na sa modang pasalita ang mga mag-aaral sa cluster na ito. Gayunman, maaaring isiping ipinapakita ng matingkad na pagkakaiba ng score ng *Tag* at *Eng* na mas malay ang grupong ito sa kung aling wika ang ginagamit sa iba't ibang konteksto. Ipinapakita ng datos ang pagkiling sa mga salitang *Tag* bilang mas akmang gamitin sa isang idineklara nang pangungusap sa Filipino.

Mahalagang pag-aralan ang direksiyon ng pagkiling sa variant ng mga lexical item sa isang wika, lalo na sa punto de bista ng mga gumagamit nito. Sa paglikha ng mga patakarang may kinalaman sa language use, hindi mapasusubalian ang kahingiang malaman ang saloobin ng mga tunay na awtoridad ng wika — ang mga tagapagsalita — at hindi lamang ang ideyolohiya ng iilang magpapatupad nito. Sa gayon, maisusulong ang tunay na demokratikong pagtingin sa pambansang wika sapagkat inilalarawan ang pagpapasya ng karamihan, malayang nag-aambag ng mga katangian ng wikang kinagisnan sa pambansang wika, at nakabatay sa katotohanang dinamiko ang wika at nakikibagay sa pangangailangan ng pamayanang gumagamit nito (C.J. Paz, 1995; 1996a).

Iminumungkahing palawakin pa ang panimulang pag-aaral na ito upang ilahok ang iba pang mga sektor, at langkapan ng iba pang aspekto ng pag-profile sa mga respondent upang mas maging matibay ang pagtatatag ng correlation at association pagdating sa lexical choice at preference, na siyang magiging gabay sa pagbuo ng mas inklusibo at progresibong patakarang pangwika.

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Atay, The Heart of the Matter

Jesus Federico C. Hernandez¹

Paz (2008) has explored lexico-historical reconstructions of proto-Philippine etyma relating to well-being and anguish — *ginhawa*, *kapalaran*, and *dalamhati*. Meticulous morphological analyses, methodical appraisal of every sound's environment and position of occurrence, complemented by conceptual techniques of ethnolinguistics, identified the core concepts of *pneuma* or breath for *ginhawa*; the palm and by extension, the hand, for *kapalaran*; and the liver for *dalamhati*. Paz's essays contribute to studies on pan-Philippine categories that serve as identity markers and measures of commonness. This essay aims to elaborate on *dalamhati* and the liver.

The liver (*atay*) as source of emotion (*bukal ng emosyon*) was already of interest among other Philippinists even before Paz. Mojares (1997) notes that in Southeast Asia, many consider the liver the seat of love, the center of a person's being, and source of power, courage, and strength. In Arriola (1993), the *atay* is, for most Filipinos, the seat of life. Both scholars provide illustrative examples, mostly phrasal metaphors and other literary expressions, from Philippine languages:

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Tagalog	atay ng lupa	‘most fertile land’
Tagalog	pagmamay atay	‘a proud and powerful man’
Cebuano	makapadaku sa atay	‘glowing praise’ lit. ‘enlarges the liver’

(Mojares, 1997, p.109)

Mamagan lisak dalam	<i>On the areca tree by the wayside</i>
limpaka kung kindugan	<i>I left a sign:</i>
Atay ku mangan-mangan	<i>“My liver hungers for you.”</i>

- *Palawanon verse* (Arriola, 1993, p.141)

Santiago (1993) proposes an alternative analysis of *dalamhati*. While he mentions the possibility of the liver as the base of this compound, he offers a different breakdown of the morphology, suggesting a *dala* (‘to bring or to carry’) and *hati* (‘the half of something’) dissection. While visually compelling, his imagery of someone with only half of something fails to explicate *dalamhati*’s structural complexity, e.g., the identity of the medial nasal in this construction. If the medial nasal is a linker and not an epenthetic sound, the expected form of the nasal, given Tagalog’s assimilation rules, is the velar nasal and not the bilabial nasal, thus rendering *dalanghati* instead of *dalamhati*.

Santiago’s analysis invites other questions: if it is indeed *dala* and (*kala*)*hati*, and the idea is not exclusively Tagalog, would other Philippine languages exhibit such form-and-meaning pairing? Irrelevant questions had Santiago look beyond Tagalog word formation processes and consider lexical configurations of other

Philippine languages. Herein lie the strengths of Paz's dissection of *dalamhati*: an understanding of Tagalog morphology and Philippine linguistic diachrony.

Paz dissects *dalamhati* into two components: *dalam* and *hati*. Paz says *dalam* generally means 'deep' and is a cognate of the Tagalog *lalim*, Pangasinan *daləm*, Kapampangan *lalam*, Cebuano *lawum*, Hiligaynon *dalum*, and even of *dalam* and *dalim* from Malay and Javanese, respectively. *Hati* also shows cognatic relationship with Philippine lexicon such as Bikol-Naga *katuy*, Pangasinan *ʔaltəy*, Kapampangan *ʔate*, and Tagalog *atay*. Paz offers the reconstruction ***kagtəy** for liver based on the sound correspondences she established for Philippine languages.

Paz's identification of cognates from languages that are genetically related to Philippine languages but are not direct descendants of Proto-Philippine — like Malay, Javanese, Indonesian, Toba Batak, and Ngaju-Dayak — supports her assertions on ethnolinguistic connectivity and relatedness between the languages and cultures of archipelagic Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

The assemblage of cognates and equivalents of *dalam* and *hati* in various Philippine and some Southeast Asian languages presents an interesting, if not curious, form-meaning pairing. In Ilocano, liver is *dálem*, a cognate of *dalam* 'deep'. The lexical form for 'deep' in Ilocano is *adálem*, also a cognate of *dalam* 'deep'. The semantic shift of the Ilocano *dálem* 'liver' is perhaps a product of a historical metaphorical extension. According to Blust and Trussel (2010), the Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) form ***dalem** may have meant 'insides, area within, inner part of something', and in some PMP descendants, a secondary sense developed which extended the meaning to 'inner self, feelings, disposition'. The Ilocano *dálem* is one example, but not unique to Ilocano: Paz

notes that the Indonesian *dalim* means ‘intestines’ and Toba Batak *dalom* means ‘uterus’. Blust and Trussel list more supporting data on the development of a secondary sense of PMP ***dalem** in some of its descendants: Bolaang Mongondow *si-dalom* ‘liver’; Muna *lalo* ‘heart, seat of emotions’; Central Malayo-Polynesian, Rotinese *dale(k)* ‘insides of something (particularly a person), seat of emotion, the inner person’; Leti *rarma* ‘heart, feelings’; Wetan *ralma* ‘inside, heart, feelings’; Erai *ralan* ‘inside; heart; contents’; Selaru *rala* ‘inside; feelings, heart’; Alune *lale* ‘heart; inner part’; and Proto Oceanic ***ralom** ‘insides, inner part of something, below, under, deep, mind, feelings’.

Dalamhati: Provenance

The Tagalog *dalamhati* is intriguing not only in its morphological structure and semantic attribution, but also in its provenance. The Tagalog forms for liver (*atay*) and deep (*lalim*) are not reflected in the compound — the pairing *lalim-atay* is not an existing Tagalog compound, suggesting a non-Tagalog provenance. The form may have been borrowed from a language where this compound is attested, or a language where both forms are the reflexes of the proto-Austronesian forms for deep and liver. A candidate is Malay, particularly the variety spoken or once spoken in Borneo (Wolff, 1976). Tagalog may have borrowed the form(s) from early contact with Malay speakers. A couple of scenarios can be posited for the possible provenance.

First, Tagalog borrowed the form and meaning in its entirety. It may have borrowed *dalamhati* as a compound. However, Wolff (1976) notes that the *dalam-hati* pairing does not exist in what may have been the source language. In some Indonesian languages, the juxtaposed *dalam* and *hati* (lit. in my liver), which means ‘in

my mind' (Siahaan, 2008), differs in meaning and metaphorical association (being in someone's mind/heart as opposed to deep sorrow) from the Tagalog compound, suggesting a different provenance. The compound may possibly have once existed in the source language but eventually lost its significance, causing its disappearance. The retention of a form in the borrowing language is not uncommon. In Philippine lexicon, *soft drinks* has been fossilized while in the source language, American English, the term has an almost non-existent state, given the preference for *pop* or *soda*, depending on the dialect. In the same way that American English retained *faucet* and *diaper* while British English has replaced these with *tap* and *nappy*. Fossilization in the borrowing language may explain the existence of *dalamhati* in Tagalog and its absence in what may have been the donor language.

Another possibility is the intense, consistent, and prolonged contact between early Tagalog speakers and the source group, that the former became comfortable with using and manipulating Malay. This suggests that early Tagalog speakers did the pairing of *dalam* and *hati* and the ascription of the metaphorical sense of 'deep sorrow.' Using as basis his analysis of borrowed forms from Malay to Tagalog, Wolff (1976) suggests that at some point in Tagalog's history, Malay enjoyed a level of acceptance or prestige, similar to the current acceptance of, even preference for, English in some contexts and domains. Such condition allows Tagalog (Filipino) speakers to manipulate the language and create novel constructions and utterances (e.g., *presidentiable*, *senatoriable*).

Wolff cites other examples of pairings or combinations that are clearly of Malay origin but with meanings not attested in Malay. For example, *lapastangan* from Malay *lepas* 'free' and *tangan* 'hand'. However, the most significant pieces of evidence in Wolff's classification that supports the latter scenario are the mixed Malay-

Tagalog compounds, where one component of the compound is a borrowed term from Malay and the other, Tagalog. An example is *bahaghari*, composed of Tagalog *bahag* paired with a Malay loan, *hari*. This linguistic creativity suggests proficiency and comfort in using both languages.

Wolff’s classification itself paints a cultural history of the degree and nature of contact between these two groups of speakers. A huge part of the borrowings and lexical reworkings are in the domains of (1) everyday life, (2) sensorial and affective sensitivities, (3) physical and spiritual cosmologies, (4) capacities, mindsets and states, and (5) prominence and politeness, among other things. These domains are quite fundamental and cover the basic, the common, the mundane, and the immediate, clearly illustrating the intimacy of exposure and Malay’s deep impact on early Tagalog.

Austronesian *Atay*

Blust (2005) reconstructs ***aCay** for liver in Proto-Austronesian and ***qatay** in Proto Malayo-Polynesian (*C merged with *t in PMP), based on Dempwolff’s reconstruction of liver (***qatay** ‘liver’). The forms for liver in the various Austronesian languages show cognancy for this lexical item. Below are some examples of the forms of ***aCay** in various Austronesian languages. The languages were chosen to represent all the branches of the Austronesian arboriform.

Table 1: Liver in some Austronesian languages (Blust & Trussel, 2010)

<i>Formosan</i>	
Sakizaya	ʔasay
Pazeh	qaCay
Amis	ʔatay

<i>Western Malayo-Polynesian</i>	
Itbayaten	atay
Tagalog	atay
Kapampangan	ate
Bikol Naga	katuy
Tboli	katay
Berawan	atay
Karo Batak	ate
Madurese	ate
Balinese	ati
Sasak	ate
Makarese	ate
Wolio	ate
<i>Central Malayo-Polynesian</i>	
Komodo	ate
Kedang	ate-n
Bimanese	ade
Erai	ate-(n)
<i>South Halmahera West New Guinea</i>	
Buli	yatay
Kurudu	ate
Kowiai	lata
<i>Oceanic</i>	
Motu	ase
Tuvalu	ate
Samoan	ate
Rarotongan	ate
Fijian	yate-na
Maori	ate

The examples above show a widespread distribution of this particular lexical item — from the languages of Formosa down to the Oceanic languages — indicative of its persistence, resilience, and retention in a lot of present-day Austronesian languages. This

persistence may be due to several factors: (1) the liver is a basic, discrete, and an easily identifiable body part; (2) it is often used in divination and is prominent in other beliefs and rituals; and (3) its meaning expanded beyond the literal to the metaphorical. In various Austronesian languages, the word for liver exhibits various semantic extensions and senses.

Beyond Emotion

Numerous Austronesian languages also attribute emotion and personality to the liver, the same way that the heart gains a secondary function as the seat of emotion in English. The Tagalog *dalamhati* ‘extreme sorrow’, *pighati* ‘grief’, *salakhati* ‘suffering’ are expressions of emotions with *-hati*, or the liver, at the core of the compound. Paz’s (2008) data from Tausug also shows character descriptions with the liver at its core: *atay-itum* (lit. liver-black), *atay-batu* (lit. liver-stone), and *way atay* (lit. negation-liver) all negate integrity and honor. The first negates conscience, the second the heart, and the last, gratitude and a sense of indebtedness. The Tagalog *pagmamay-atay* ‘a proud and powerful man’ is a similar semantic expansion, i.e., from liver to character description.

Mojares (1997) also lists the Tagalog examples *atay ng lupa* (lit. liver of the earth) and *atay ng paa* (lit. liver of the leg/feet) — the former referring to the most ‘fertile part of the land’, and the latter, ‘the softest, most feeling part of the leg.’ Both examples expand *atay*’s meaning to signify prominence, importance, and value.

Data from various non-Philippine Austronesian languages also exhibit similar metaphorical expansions. In Karo Batak, the liver houses a person’s emotions, will, and desire. Sundanese includes intelligence and understanding as the liver’s secondary functions.

Ngadha, a Central Malayo-Polynesian language, expresses intention, obligation, and conviction with the liver. Like the Tagalog *atay ng paa* ‘the softest, most feeling part of the leg’, Javanese also uses the liver to describe the fleshy part of the hand or foot. Other examples:

*Table 2: Liver in some Malayo-Polynesian languages
(Blust & Trussel, 2010)*

<i>Western Malayo-Polynesian</i>		
Ngaju Dayak	ataei	heart, soul, sentiment
Iban	ati	feeling, mind, disposition
Karo Batak	ate	seat of emotions, will, and desire
Sundanese	hate	mind, inner self; intelligence, understanding
Balinese	ati	mind, soul, desire, will
Tontemboan	ate	mind, mental condition
Makasarese	ate	inner self, seat of emotions
Sasak	ate	inside; heart of palms; pith of bamboo
Javanese	ati	heart, mind; pith; soft inner pith of stalk; fleshy part of hand/foot
<i>Central Malayo-Polynesian</i>		
Bimanese	ade	inner part; inside; want, wish, desire
Ngadha	ate	sense, mind, opinion, understanding, desire, will, intention, affection; obligation; prosperity; conviction
<i>Oceanic</i>		
Tubetube	kate	center of life
Maori	ate	the seat of affections; emotion; spirit
Hawaiian	ake	to desire, yearn
Mbula	kete-	place of feelings, conscience

While the primary or denotative meaning of Proto Malayo-Polynesian ***qatay** is liver, it has gained additional senses or multiple connotations in various Malayo-Polynesian languages that include or implicate emotions, mind, will, intelligence, desire, prominence, value, and life force.

Further Expansions

Additional metonymic and metaphoric senses of the denotative liver provide for a productive neutral base for various constructions that denote emotions, dispositions, and temperament. The modifiers for the liver can be classified into several dichotomous types: size, temperature, relative health or state, color, depth, texture, and existence.

The size dichotomy (big/small) usually describes courage versus fear — a big liver denoting bravery, fearlessness, and even arrogance, while a small one means to be afraid, worried, alarmed, and even sad. The liver’s smallness also denotes jealousy, envy, and ill-will. In Fijian (*yate lialia*), the liver’s texture or firmness, instead of size, connotes courage. Note the following examples:

Table 3: Big vs. small liver (Blust & Trussel, 2010)

<i>Language</i>	<i>big liver</i>	
Iban	ati besai	boastful
Sundanese	gede hate	fearless
Kambera	bokulu eti	satisfied; proud, arrogant
Rarotongan	ate-nui	brave, courageous; arrogant
	<i>small liver</i>	
Sundanese	litik hate	afraid, alarmed
Madurese	kene? ate	feel sore; bear a grudge
Ngadha	ate kedhi	worried; faint-hearted; envious, jealous
Kambera	marahu eti	afraid; sad, sorrowful

The contrast between black and white to describe moral opposites is a common metaphorical representation. These expressions, when used to modify the liver, relate to ideas of sincerity, honesty, or the absence of integrity and honor. Goddard, writing on *hati*, notes “the moral ambivalence of the liver, which is seen as a potential source of wrong-doing and error, as well as of morally correct actions” (2008, p. 88). The liver’s neutral morality is shown by a color modification structure illustrated by the following metaphorical phrases: Mansaka *mapoti? na atay* (lit. white liver) ‘kind-hearted’ and Madurese *pote ate* (lit. white liver) ‘upright, honest’, as opposed to the Tausug *atay-itum* (lit. black liver), which describes a person without a conscience. Tausug also uses *way* ‘non-existent’ to negate *atay* ‘liver’ to describe someone without a sense of gratitude and indebtedness.

Temperature is also a common metaphorical descriptor of intensity and degrees of emotions.

English expressions like hot-headed, cold-hearted, or Tagalog phrases such as *mainit ang ulo* ‘to be in a bad mood,’ *kumukulo ang dugo* ‘angry’, *nanlamig ang pakiramdam* ‘to lose interest, particularly of a romantic target’ are examples of how temperature is used to describe the level or fluctuations of emotions. Heat, and, by extension, burning, as a modifier for liver in Madurese, Toba Batak, and Lakalai expresses anger. Madurese *panas ate*, Toba Batak *m-ohop ate-ate*, and Lakalai *la hate-la mamasi* (lit. his liver is burning) denotes feelings of annoyance, agitation, irritation, and anger.

Paz’s collection of essays on dalamhati, ginhawa, and kapalaran, introduces and highlights the need to look at a wider comparable language data in studies that relate or attempt to characterize and identify core categories that define the Filipino.

Anger and resentment can also be expressed in terms of the liver's health or condition. A sick or hurt liver denotes resentment, annoyance, or anger: Malay *sakit hati*, Madurese *sake? ate*, and Komodo *beti ate* (lit. sick/hurt liver). Another liver state observed in the data is the idea or the state of rot of a liver. Malay *busok hati* (lit. rotten liver) is indicative of malice and an ill-natured disposition. Ngadha *ate zée* (lit. rotten liver) describes a quickly-offended person or someone who takes everything the wrong way.

Apart from temperature as indicator of intensity, Paz's analysis of *dalamhati* submits that in the dialogue that surrounds Tagalog emotions, intensity can also be expressed using depth as a metaphor — *malalim ang galit* (lit. deep anger), *malalim ang pagmamahal* (lit. deep love). On the other hand, *luwalhati* 'joy, glory', composed of two morphemes *luwal* and *hati*, expresses the inverse of *dalamhati*. Panganiban (1972) defines *luwal* as 'outside, exterior', and also 'to give birth'. The idea of birthing or surfacing of *hati* contrasts with that of *dalamhati*, where the liver is within, at the base of a pit. An interesting metaphor that goes beyond the surfacing or birthing of the liver, expanding the idea to that of blossoming, or of the liver bearing fruit, is seen in the Sundanese expression *buah hate* (lit. fruit of my liver), a term and reference for endearment.

Beyond Words

The liver occupies a central position in the conceptual imaginings and lexical expressions of emotions and personhood in Austronesian languages. This centrality reflects its importance as the seat of life and source of power in the traditions and beliefs of various ethnolinguistic groups in this language family. It is not uncommon for rituals to include the divination or ingestion of a person or animal's liver. As Mojares (1997) notes, the ingestion of an enemy's

liver in the war ritual of the Bagobo, Manobo, and Mandaya is an act deemed as a transfer of power from the vanquished to enhance the victor's strength.

The ingestion of the liver is also a common narrative in Philippine lower mythology. Scott (1992, 1994) writes about flesh-eaters who devour the liver like a slow cancer. These flesh-eaters, known as the *aswang*, *matatangal*, and *silagan*, feed on the liver of living persons. The consumption of the liver may be slow and death may not be instantaneous. People exhibiting liverish symptoms are said to be *kinibitan ang atay* 'liver being chipped away' (Scott, 1992).

Liver divination is also common among several Philippine and Indonesian groups. Siahaan (2008) cites an Indonesian ritual where a sacrificed animal's liver is read for messages from gods or divine spirits. "Reading the liver" was also prevalent in the Philippines. Animal liver is also used to diagnose and treat illness and to counter spells.

Liver and Other *Lamang-Loob*

Examining different systems for encoding emotionality and rationality, Niemeier (2011) identifies three classifications based on the location of the core of both affect and reason: (1) abdominocentric, (2) cardiocentric, and (3) cerebrocentric. Philippine languages and the wider Austronesian group can be classified as abdominocentric. But this is not unique to Austronesian languages. Korean, for example, also implicates the liver in its lexicon relating to feelings. Note the following examples:

Table 4: Some Korean lexicon with liver as core²

		<i>gloss</i>
간이	작다	‘timid/faint-hearted/ chicken-hearted’
gan-i	jakta	
liver.SM	small	
간이	첩렁하다	‘feel a shock/be shocked at/to’
gan-i	cheolleonghada	
liver.SM*	lap/splash	
간이	타다	‘be anxious/pine’
gan-i	tada	
liver.SM*	be burned	
간(을)	녹이다	‘charm; fascinate; bewitch’
gan(-eul)	nogida	
liver.SM*	melt	
간(을)	졸이다	‘worry oneself’
gan(-eul)	zorida	
liver.SM*	boil down	
간(이)	크다	‘be courageous’
gan(-i)	keuda	
liver.SM*	big	

SM: subject marker

Siahaan notes that “the conceptualization of the liver as the seat of life and soul was also very common among ancient Babylonian, Assyrian, Etruscans, and later, among the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans” (2008, p. 45).

² A.P. Lee, personal communication, July 25, 2017.

Thai, being cardiocentric, identifies the heart as a source of feeling and life. The word *jai* ‘heart’ occupies the core of compound words relating to emotion, as the following examples illustrate:

Table 5: Some Thai lexicon with heart as core

		<i>gloss</i>
dii	jai	‘glad’
good	heart	
jing	jai	‘sincere’
true	heart	
jai	yen	‘calm’
heart	cool	
tok	jai	‘surprised’
fall	heart	

Other languages exhibit a mixed system. Basque, according to Niemeier, relates emotions to a diversity of inner organs (heart, liver stomach, intestines) and “positive feelings are associated with the heart, negative feelings are associated with the liver” (2011, p. 8).

A typological classification based purely on a single imagined core might not be as clear-cut. English, for example, while predominantly cardiocentric in modern usage, diachronically showed the liver as an equally important base for emotions. This might have been eroded through time, giving the heart more prominence. Expressions like *liver-hearted* ‘cowardly’ may be remnants of this erosion. In Philippine languages, it seems that the location for emotions is shifting from the liver to the heart, probably because of the Philippine colonial experience and the current

contact situation with English. But it might also have always been a mixed system. Emotion, soul, temperament and disposition are also felt, imagined and expressed beyond the liver, but still within the abdominals. Tagalog expressions such as *halang ang bituka* (lit. obstacle + intestines) ‘evil in nature’, *malayo sa bituka* (lit. far from the intestine) usually said of a non-fatal wound, *matibay ang sikmura* ‘to have a strong stomach’, *mahirap sikmurain* ‘difficult to stomach’, or the belief that the *pusod* ‘navel’ is a passageway for the soul, show a multi-core system in Philippine languages.

Conclusion

Paz’s collection of essays on *dalamhati*, *ginhawa*, and *kapalaran*, introduces and highlights the need to look at a wider comparable language data in studies that relate or attempt to characterize and identify core categories that define the Filipino. The identification of concepts should involve investigation of keywords not only from Tagalog but also from languages representative of various Philippine linguistic micro-groups. To anchor these concepts in its history and geography, it is also necessary to compare the data to languages genetically related to those in the Philippines but are not direct descendants of proto-Philippine. The comparison will provide clues, if not answers, to questions about provenance and descent. It will also help identify forms borrowed from other languages, forms retained from a higher proto-node, and forms that developed exclusively at some point in the language’s history. These are some of the principles and procedures of diachronic linguistics that Paz employed in her essays that may be useful in the continuing attempts to discover pan-Philippine categories that mark identity and themes that indicate affinity and place in the Austronesian language family.

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Tamaan Ka ng Kidlat! — Tsibi, Parusa ng Ayta

Viveca V. Hernandez at Cynthia Neri Zayas¹

Simula

Para sa mga Ayta, ‘tamaan ng kidlat’ ang kahulugan ng *tsibi*. “Tamaan ka sana ng kidlat!” — ang sumpa sa Filipino kapag nagagalit. Narito ang ilang mga cognate ng *kidlat* sa ilang wika sa Pilipinas, at ang rekonstruksyon nito sa Proto-Philippine at sa Proto-Austronesian:

Png **kirmát**, Iba Bon **kimát**, Tag War **kidlát**, Kap **kildáp**, Agt **kuldáp**, Akl Tau Tbw Bag Bah Buk **kílat**, Itw Seb **kílat**, Nag Vir Kam **kikilát**, Mar **kilakilát**, Ibg **kilakilá?**, Yak **lalát**, Sub **gilát**, Buh **hílat**, Igt **kəját**, Itb **tjílát**, Isi **?ílat**, Proto-Philippine ***kimlát** (Paz, 1981), Proto-Austronesian ***likaC**, Proto-Austronesian (Zorc, 1977) ***kilát**.

Kasing-kahulugan ng *kidlat* ang salitang *lintik* na ginagamit din sa pagsumpa. *Lintik Lang Ang Walang Ganti* ang titulo ng kantang ipinasikat ng dating napakapopular na mang-aawit na si Fred Panopio (1939-2010). Ginamit din ito bilang pamagat ng isang pelikula noong 1960.

¹ Editor’s note: Kapwa mga retiradong propesor sa U.P. Dating puno ng Departamento ng Linggwistiks at faculty affiliate sa UP Center for International Studies (UPCIS) si Hernandez samantalang dating UPCIS director si Zayas.

Saan kaya galing ang sumpang ito? Sa folklor, maraming makikitaan ng kahulugan. Mayroong makikitang pagkakahawig sa paggamit ng salita/metapor na *kidlat* sa mga katutubong Ayta ng Mt. Pinatubo. May paniniwala ang mga Ayta na kapag sinuway ang ilang pinagbabawal ng kultura o mga *taboo*, *matsibi ka* — ‘tatamaan ka ng kidlat.’ Hindi ka pagagalitan o mumurahin, pero kapag nagkamali ka ng dala o kain, tatamaan ka ng kidlat.

Ang Ayta ng Mt. Pinatubo

Ang Ayta ay mga katutubong Pilipino na may malalim na kaalaman sa kanilang embayronment sa Mt. Pinatubo. Ayon kay Fox (1952), walang pagkaubos ang kaalaman nila sa mga halaman at hayop, pati na sa kinaroroonan nila at mga ugali nito. Ayon sa aming pag-aaral, kilala ng mga Ayta ang 450 halaman, 75 ibon, karamihan sa mga ahas, isda, kulisap at iba pang mga hayop. May nalalaman din silang 20 klase ng langgam. Gusto naming ibahagi ang katutubong-alam ng Ayta sa paggagamot ng táong natsibi o tinamaan ng kidlat. Ipapakita rito ang lalim ng kanilang sistema ng pagklasifay ng lamang-bundok at ilang paniniwalang may kinalaman sa paninimbang nila sa kalikasan.

Mula sa bakuran, kaingin, at gubat ang mga halamang gamot ng mga Ayta. Gamit nila ang mga ito para sa simpleng sakit ng tiyan, ulo, o sa masalimuot na karamdamang inaakalang gawa ng anito dahil sa paglabag nila sa mga kaugalian. Bago pumutok ang bulkang Pinatubo noong 1991, galing sa gubat at bukirin ang halos lahat ng kanilang pangangailangan. Hindi sila nakadepende sa mga sakadora o mangangalakal na nagpapauna ng bayad sa ani bago pa man ito hanguin sa kaingin. Bagkus, umaasa sila sa biyaya ng bundok. Kaya hindi sila makapaniwala nang pumutok ang

Pinatubo. Ilang buwan matapos ang pagputok nito, palagi nilang tinitingnan ang kondisyon ng lupa. Hindi sila sanay sa pagkain ng mga unat na taga-patag na bigay o tulong ng gobyerno.

Bagamat kabilang sa sangay ng mga wikang Sambalic ng Gitnang Luzon ang mga salita ng Ayta sa Mt. Pinatubo (Stone, 2006; Simons & Fennig, 2018), itinuturing nilang magkakaiba ang kanilang mga wika. Sa kanilang punto de bista, may dalawang pangunahing mga grupo: (a) ang mga taga-Botolan, at (b) ang mga taga-Pampanga. Sambal ang tawag ng mga taga-Botolan sa kanilang wika. Nahahati naman sa dalawang grupo iyong mga taga-Pampanga: (a) iyong mga nakatira sa Floridablanca at Porac; at (b) iyong mga nakatira sa Angeles City at Mabalacat hanggang katimugang bahagi ng Tarlac.

Ayon sa *Ethnologue* (Simons & Fennig, 2018), kabilang ang tatlong mga wikang Sambal (Bolinao, Botolan at Tinà) at limang wikang Ayta (Abellen, Ambala, Bataan, Mag-antsi at Mag-indi) sa mga wikang kinaklasifay bilang Sambalic. Maliban sa huling dalawa na sinasalita sa silangang bahagi ng Mt. Pinatubo, at sa Bolinao na ginagamit sa hilagang-kanluran ng Pangasinan, sinasalita ang lahat na ito sa kanluran ng Mt. Pinatubo, mula sa Tarlac at Zambales hanggang sa Bataan. Nagkakaintindihan ang mga tagapagsalita ng lahat ng mga lengguaheng ito.

Ipinapalagay ni Stone (2006) ang tatlong sabgruping batay sa leksikal na pagkakatulad sa loob ng mga wikang Sambalic: (1) Abellen Ayta at Botolan Sambal, (2) Tinà Sambal at Bolinao, at (3) Mag-antsi Ayta at Mag-indi Ayta. Sa pag-aaral ni Stone, mahirap tiyakin kung kabilang ang Ambala Ayta sa Abellen at Botolan sa hilaga, o sa Mag-antsi at Mag-indi sa silangan. Gayunpaman, may dalawang mahalagang grupo ang mga Ayta: ang mga grupong sedentaryo mula sa Botolan at ang mga grupong semi-nomadik

mula sa Porac. Mayroon ding mga magkahalong-grupo tulad ng mga taga-San Marcelino sa Zambales, mga taga-Mabalacat sa Pampanga, at iyong mga nasa Tarlac.

Tsibi

Ayon sa *Ayta Mag-antsi-English Dictionary* (Storck & Storck, 2005), ang ibig sabihin ng *tsibi* ay '*pamahiin, sumpa*'. Pero batay sa nakalap naming mga datos, hindi ito ganito kasimple. Sa mga Ayta, ibig sabihin ng *matsibi* o *matsimbi* ay 'matamaan ng kidlat' dahil may ginawang bawal o paglabag sa *taboo*. Para maiwasan ang epekto ng sumpa, dapat iwasan ang gawaing *makatsibi*.

Ayon sa pag-aaral nina Fox (1952) at Shimizu (2001), gálit ng anito ang pinaniniwalaang sanhi ng pagkakasakit. Sinasabing bunga ng pananamantala sa mga anito (ispirito), ang malalang sakit, o pinalala ng anito ang karamdaman. Meron itong ilang dahilan: isa na rito ang di-pagsunod sa katutubong kaugalian. Katutubong pamamaraan (o ang tinatawag na magico-religious) din ang paggamot nito. Isang halimbawa ng karamdaman ang *tsibi*.

Ayon kay Norman King, 29, isang Ayta na taga-Inararo, Porac, Pampanga, ang *tsibi* ay isang uri ng karamdaman na galing sa kalikasan o sa mga ispiritong tagapagbantay. Nangyayari ito kapag may mga bagay na ginawa o ginagawa na hindi ayon sa normal na takbo ng mga bagay sa paligid. Halimbawa, ang pagtawanan ang likas na pangyayari sa paligid; ang paglalaro at ginagawang katatawanan ang mga hayop at insekto. Aniya, maihalalintulad ito sa parusa na walang masamang mangyayari kung hindi ginawaan ng mali. Dagdag niya na depende ang *tsibi* sa bigat ng nagawa ng tao.²

² N. King, personal communication, Agosto 11, 2012.

Sa pakikipagpanayam namin kay Roman King, 49, (2012) tatay ni Norman, chairman ng Porac Ayta Ancestral Domain Federation, Inc. (PAADFI) at dating barangay captain ng Inararo, Porac, Pampanga at ngayon ay nakatira sa Macapagal Village, Clark, Mabalacat, Pampanga, napag-alaman namin na may dalawang uri ang “natamaan ng kidlat”:

(1) ang *natanhag/tinanhag ning kilat* (Mag-indi) o *nataluh/tinaluh ning kilat* (Mag-antsi), isang direktang tama, kaya’t patay at sunog ang tinamaan; at

(2) *natsibi/natsimbi* na isang hindi direktang tama, o “nasingawan/nabugahan” lamang ng kidlat at pwede pa itong gamutin gamit ang mga halamang-gamot.

May mga lugar na bawal sa Ayta. May mga bawal na paghaluin. May mga gawaing ipinagbabawal, mga pagkaing bawal pagsama-samahin, at iba pa. Kung titingnan ang komon sa mga bawal, mapapansin na may kinalaman ito sa pagsasamantala sa kalikasan.

Ilan sa mga sintomas o palatandaan ng isang *natsibi* ang pangngilabot, biglang pakiramdam ng pag-iinit ng katawan na parang lalagnatin at pamumula ng mga mata, paninigas ng puso/ tiyan na hindi maintindihan kung nalamigan ito o di kaya’y nainitan. Dagdag pa ni King, kapag kinapa at hinatak ang buhok, kung magaspang at lumalagatok ito, ibig sabihi’y talagang *natsibi* ang tao.

Mga halimbawa ng ipinagbabawal

Para sa mga Ayta, ang *tsibi* ay hindi lamang paniniwala; ito ay mana mula sa kanilang mga ninuno. Dahil isa itong realidad para sa kanila, i.e. may kilala sila o sila mismo ang nakaranas ng ganitong karamdaman, karaniwang nag-iingat sila na huwag gumawa ng anumang ikabubunga ng pagtama sa kanila ng kidlat. Ilan sa mga matinding ipinagbabawal ang sumusunod:

Paghalo/pagsama	Mga halimbawa
<p>Kulay (a) pula, dilaw, matingkad, e.g. tanso, ginto</p> <p>(b) parehong kulay</p>	<p>— suot na pulang damit, singsing na tanso/ginto, gintong ngipin</p> <p>— kamote at kalabasa</p> <p>— inihaw na pulang mais at kamatis na pula</p> <p>— langka, siling pula, <i>paraw</i> ‘isang uri ng isda na mahaba ang palikpik’</p> <p>— karneng usa at hipon</p>
<p>Pagkaing “magkakontra” sa pagdadala sa isang lalagyan at paghahanda o pagluluto sa isang ulam</p>	<p>— <i>kwat</i> ‘kabute’ at langka</p> <p>— hipon at siling pula</p> <p>— siling pula at alamang</p> <p>— kalabasa at manok</p> <p>— karne ng anumang hayop na nahuli sa gubat at siling pula</p> <p>— paghahain ng kung anu-ano sa hapag-kainan. e.g. karne bilang ulam, tapos langka bilang panghimagas, o kaya’y mangga na may sawsawan na bagoong na may siling pula</p>
Pagwawalang-galang sa paligid, kalikasan	
<p>Pagtawanan ang mga normal na pangyayari sa paligid</p>	<p>— pagtatalik ng mga aso sa daan</p> <p>— bulateng nakikitang gumagapang sa daan</p> <p>— bawal magpatawa habang hinahanda/niluluto ang mga pagkaing nakuha sa gubat</p> <p>— mga anyo ng halaman, bato, puno na nasa paligid</p>

Pagkutyay/Paglaruan ang mga hayop, e.g. aso, isda, ibon, insekto, etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — paghuli ng tutubi tapos paglalaruan, e.g. talian sa puwit/buntot nito at ginagawang parang saranggola — paglaruan at pagtawanan ang mga nahuling mailap na hayop, e.g. bayawak, alamid, pagong na galing sa sapa, etc. — paglaruan ang mga bulateng gumagapang sa lupa
Paglapastangan sa mga sagradong lugar/ paglalambingan sa mga ipinagbabawal na puno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — paglalambingan/pagtatalik ng mag-asawa sa may puno ng antipolo o ‘bread fruit’ — paglaro ng mga bata sa may mga puno

Ayon sa mga matatanda, lapitin sa kidlat ang pula, anumang kulay na malapit sa pula, ginto o dilaw, kaya bawal itong isuot o kaya’y pagsamahin ang mga bagay na magkasingkulay. Ilan sa mga pinagbabawal:

- Bawal pagsamahin ang kalabasa at kamote sa isang basket dahil magkakulay sila; mapula-pula raw kasi.
- Bawal magsuot ng pula at dapat alisin at itagong mabuti ang tanso/gintong singsing kapag kumukulog at kumikidlat.
- Bawal ngumiti-ngiti o buksan ang bibig kung may gintong ngipin.
- Bawal magsabay/magkasunod ang may dala/bitbit na mga pagkain sa gubat, e.g. karneng usa at hipon.
- Bawal pagsamahin ang mga pagkaing mula sa lupa at mula sa ilog.

Matindi ring ipinagbabawal ang paghalo/pagsamahin sa isang basket o ulam ang mga pagkaing “magkakontra”, i.e. pagkaing kulay pula at dilaw, tulad ng hipon at siling pula; *kwat* ‘kabute’ at langka; inihaw na pulang mais at kamatis na pula; langka at siling pula; at gulay na *ontsi* (maliliit na dahon at parang duhat kapag hinog ang bunga) at ampalaya.

Mariin ding ipinagbabawal ang pagtawanan/pagkutya/paglapastangan sa kalikasan o sa likas na ugali ng tao. Paniniwala ng mga Ayta na tatamaan ng kidlat ang taong pinagtatawanan ang pagtatalik ng tao o hayop. Kahit mag-asawa, bawal magtalik sa may puno ng antipolo. *Matsibi* ang magiging parusa kapag pagtatawanan ang mga halaman, bato, at puno na may anyo ng ari ng tao, mga bato na parang nakasimangot, o di kaya ay hinahalintulad sa kahit anong bagay at pagkatapos ay pagtatawanan. Ganito rin kung paglalaruan ang mga hayop, (e.g. bulate, isda, linta, atbp.) o kaya’y nagpapatawa kapag naghahanda/nagluluto ng mga pagkaing galing sa gubat (e.g. palaka, ahas, baboy damo, atbp).

Lunas sa Natsibi

Galing din sa kanilang mga bakuran, bukirin at gubat ang mga tradisyonal na paggamot sa mga sakit tulad ng lagnat, sakit ng tiyan at ulo, lalo na ang mga karamdamang dulot ng mga matatapang at nananakit na ispirito, o bunga ng paglabag/pagpasok sa mga bawal na lugar sa gubat, o pagkain ng ipinagbabawal na kombinasyon ng mga pagkain at iba pa.

Siguradong mamamatay at hindi na malulunasang ang *tinaluh ning kilat*, o iyong direktang tinamaan ng kidlat. Iyong *natsibi* naman, i.e. iyong nasingawan o nadampian lamang, ay maaari pang

gamutin ng mang-aanito sa pamamagitan ng mga halamang gamot tulad ng *kambubulok*, *kakawate*, *maglalamiran* o *kilikiran*. Pero pwede ring maiwasan ito kung may dalang *gogot kilat* ‘ngipin ng kidlat’, o anting-anting kontra sa kidlat.

Kapag *natsibi*, ito ang dapat gawin: dikdikin ang dahon ng *kakawate*, *maglalamiran* o *kilikiran*, haluan ng suka at konting asin, at imasahe sa buong katawan ng *natsibi* mula paa hanggang ulo. Pagkatapos, itapon kaagad ang ginamit na pinanghilod. Bagamat mga matatandang manggagamot ang karaniwang gumagawa nito, pwedeng manggamot ng isang *natsibi* ang kahit sinong marunong. Sa ngayon, alam ito gawin ng mga maybahay ng pamilya. Sabi nga ni Norman King —

Kumukuha sila ng dahon ng *maglalamiran*, isang uri ng halaman na may katamtamang amoy ang dahon, at ginagamit ding pampaampat ng dugo kapag nasugatan, at panlinis na rin nito. Tanging dahon lamang ang kukunin at lalagyan ng asin at pagkatapos ay imamasaha sa buong katawan magmula sa paa paakyat hanggang ulo. Ito ay kadalasang nagtatapos sa paghila ng buhok palibot ng ulo, pagkatapos ay babanggitin ang “Umalih kayna bahen!”, na ibig sabihin ay “Umalis ka na diyan,” isang pag-utos sa ispirito na nagbigay ng karamdaman sa tao. Maaari ring gumamit ng gaas at asin sa panghihilot sa *natsibi* upang pagalingin ang may karamdaman.³

Ayon sa pag-aaral ni Fox (1952), ang *timbi* ay nagagamot ng *iilo*, isang uri ng lima beans (*Phaseolus lunatus*). Dinidikdik ang dahon at hinahaplos mula paa hanggang ulo sa taong natamaan ng kidlat. Maaari ring gamitin ang dahon ng *madre de kakaw*

³ N. King. personal communication, Agosto 10, 2012.

(*Gliricidiasepium (Jacq) steud*) (Fox, 1952) na dinidikdik at hinahaplos sa buong katawan.

Ayta at kalikasan

May mga lugar sa Pinatubo na para sa mga Ayta ay bawal puntahan, ayon kay Fox (1952). *Palyan* o “sinumpang paraiso” ang tawag nila sa tabú na lugar. Pwedeng daanan ng mga Ayta pero bawal nila itong kukunan ng hayop o halaman maliban kung sila ay *baliwan* at/o kasangkapan (medium). Dito nagmumula ang kanilang *abay* ‘spirit guardian’ o tagapagtanggol ‘tutelary’. Sa lugar na ito, tabú ang lahat ng kalikasan. Ibig sabihin, bawal ang kumuha o manira/pumatay ng kahit anong bagay, halaman, bato, ibon o hayop man mula rito.

Sa aming pagrereserts sa Bgy. Camias, Porac, Pampanga, may tinatawag na *palyan*. Ayon sa kanilang paniniwala, ang sinumang lumabag ay *medelow* ‘mangingilaw,’ isang uri ng parusa kung saan maninilaw ang maysala at magkakasakit. Ayon sa isang nagkuwento sa amin ng kaniyang karanasan, para raw siyang namalikhata sa ganda at amo ng kunehong nakita. Kaya lang hindi siya natukso dahil naisip niya na baka iyon ay isang ilusyun lamang. Kaya’t pinabayaan niya itong makawala. Napag-alaman namin na sa Bgy. Camias, may isang lugar malapit sa eskwelahan na ang tawag ay sinumpang paraiso. Dito makikita ang iba’t ibang uri ng hayop, mayayabong na puno, at iba pang lamang-gubat. Bagama’t hitik ito sa likas-yaman ng gubat, bawal ang sinumang manghuli o manguha ng anuman sa loob nito.

May mga lugar na bawal sa Ayta. May mga bawal na paghaluin. May mga gawaing ipinagbabawal, mga pagkaing bawal pagsama-samahin, at iba pa. Kung titingnan ang komon sa mga bawal, mapapansin na may kinalaman ito sa pagsasamantala sa kalikasan.

Sa punto ng *tsibi*, ang parusa ay mabugahan ng kidlat, o sa pinakaseryosong parusa, ay tamaan nito na siyang ikamamatay ng tao.

Dapat pag-aralan sa susunod ang napaka-interessanteng tema ng lojik ng klasipikasyon ng flora at fauna, at ang relasyon sa *tsibi* ng flora na endemik at hindi endemik sa Mt. Pinatubo.

Bokabularyo (*Mga salitang may kinalaman sa tsibi*)

natsibi ‘nakilatan, nasingawan ng kilat’

natanhag/tinanhag ning kilat (Mag-indi)

tinalo ning kilat (Mag-antsi)

gogot kilat ‘(literal) ngipin ng kidlat, gamit bilang anting-anting’

} ‘sapul ng kidlat,
} nakuryente’

Mga Informant

Roman King, 49, Macapagal Village, Clark, Mabalacat, Pampanga

Norman King, 29, panganay na anak ni Roman

Rolly Cosme, 39, Bgy. Inararo, Porac, Pampanga

Rolly Baclay, 51, Bgy. Inararo, Porac, Pampanga

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INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Ang Paglalakbay ng “Anak” ni Freddie Aguilar sa *Dunia Melayu* (Daigdig na Malay)¹

Ramon G. Guillermo²

Isa sa mga pinakakilalang awitin mula sa Pilipinas ang “Anak” ni Freddie Aguilar. Noong 1978, naging pinalista ito sa Metropop Song Festival, isang malaking bagay para sa isang baguhan sa industriya.³ Sinasabing isinalin na ang “Anak” sa mahigit 29 na wika at nai-release na sa 53 bansa (Senate Resolution No. 658, 2018). Sa Timog Silangang Asya, naging labis na popular din ito sa *Dunia Melayu* (Daigdig na Malay) dulot ng iba’t ibang bersyon at salin na kumalat sa Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, at Brunei. Sa katunayan, magkasing-kahulugan ang salitang “anak” sa Filipino at wikang Malay, na siyang batayan ng mga modernong wikang Bahasa Indonesia at Bahasa Malaysia.

Maaaring pinakauna sa mga bersyong banyaga na narinig sa *Dunia Melayu* (Aguilar, 1979a) ang estilong *folk rock* na ini-release ng bandang Singapore-Malaysian na Sweet Charity noong 1979, isang taon matapos sumikat ang orihinal sa Pilipinas. Sinulat ng kompositor na si Ahmad Husaini Ajmain (1951-2013) ang liriks (nasa Talahanayan 1A), na mas adaptasyon kaysa pagsasalin. Dinagdagan ng subtitulong “*Balada Ibu Tua*” (Balada ng

1 Babasahin para sa klaseng SEA (Southeast Asia) 30.

2 Editor’s note: Dating miyembro ng UP Board of Regents bilang faculty regent at mananaliksik sa ugnayan ng Pilipinas at Timog-Silangang Asya si Guillermo. Kasalukuyang propesor sa UP Center for International Studies din siya.

3 Nakamit ng “Kay Ganda ng Ating Musika” ni Ryan Cayabyab (na inawit ni Hajji Alejandro) ang unang gantimpala (Aguilar, 2009).

Matandang Ina) ang pamagat at kapansin-pansin ang “hard rock style” sa paos at mabagal na pag-awit ng bokalistang si Ramli Sarip. Nagsimulang sumikat ang Sweet Charity kasunod ng malakas na benta sa Singapore, Malaysia, at Brunei ng unang album nilang naglalaman ng “Anak.”

Kung ikukumpara ang liriks nito sa payak na salaysay ng orihinal, mapapansin agad ang matingskad na himig pang-relihiyon sa bersyon ng Sweet Charity sa paggamit ng mga pariralang *zuriat yang suci* (“anak na banal”) at *kurnia ilahi* (“banal na kaloob”) bilang pantukoy sa anak. Tinatampok din sa kanilang liriks ang ideya ng anak bilang *harapan* (pag-asa) hindi lamang ng magulang kundi pati na rin ng *bangsa* (bansa). Nagdagdag din ng korus —

*Hai anak ... mengertilah engkau
dalam hidup bersyukur dan berbakti
hai anak ... engkau lah harapan bangsa
murni sejati ...*

[Ay anak, unawain mo sana,
ito ay buhay ng pagpapasalamat at paglalaan
Ay anak, ikaw ang kinabukasan ng bansa,
dalisay at tapat ...]

Inilarawan ang napariwarang anak bilang *pentingkan dirimu saja* (“nagpapahalaga sa sarili lamang”), *angkuh* (“mayabang”), *bangga* (“palalo”), *kuasa* (“mapagmataas”) at *durhaka* (“suwail,” “matigas ang ulo”). Isang matandang inang mag-isang nakaupo at umiiyak ang maiiwang imahen sa dulo ng awit. Taliwas sa “Anak” ni Aguilar, ang ina lamang ang lumuha sa katapusan ng awitin. Tila hindi na nakauwi sa ina ang naligaw na supling — isang imaheng makakapukaw ng damdamin ng pagsisisi sa isang anak. Sa kabila ng nabagong eksena, hindi nawala ang tema ng *hutang budi* (utang

na loob) sa magulang — na mariing maririnig sa orihinal — kahit pa pinalawak ng Sweet Charity ang liriks patungo at hanggang sa bansa.

Taóng 1979 din nang inilabas ng grupong Carefree ang kanilang bersyon sa sumikat nilang album na *Kebebasan* (Kalayaan) (Aguilar, 1979b). Sinulat ni Sharifah Aini ang liriks, ayon sa liner notes (tingnan ang Talahanayan 1B). Umaayon ang estilo ng Carefree sa usong disco pop na mala-Earth, Wind & Fire noong dekada 70.⁴ Pinatingkad din ang himig pangrelihiyon sa liriks at ipinasok sa salaysay ang pagbibigay ng mga magulang ng mga perpektong aral pangrelihiyon sa anak para sa kanyang kinabukasan.

Kaugnay nito, isang malaking pagbabago ang pagtalikod ng anak sa Panginoon. Sa orihinal, walang ganitong direktang pagtukoy sa relihiyon. Ngunit tulad sa orihinal, naging *sikapmu kasar* (“magaspang ang pakikitungo”) at *menderhaka* (“matigas ang ulo”)⁵ ang anak sa kanyang mga magulang, na siyang “*meracuni hati*” (“lumason sa kanilang puso”). Dahil sa kanyang pagkapariwara, kailangan ng anak magpakitang-galang sa kanila.

Walang dramatikong eksena ng lumuluhang anak o ina sa bersyon ng Carefree. Halos puro didaktikong paglalahad lamang ang kabuuan ng liriks, na nagtatapos sa realisasyon ng anak na lagi siyang tatanggapin ng kanyang mga magulang, kahit ano pa man ang kanyang gawin, dahil tungkulin nilang magsakripisyo para sa kanya.

Noong 1980, tinangkang pasukin ng Filipinong mang-aawit at aktor na si Victor Wood (1946-2021) ang pamilihing pangmusika ng Indonesia nang ilabas ng Indo Jaya Records ang kanyang album na

⁴ Gayunpaman, kulang sa dating ang pag-awit ng bokalistang si Jay Jay.

⁵ Tulad ng “*durhaka*” sa bersyon ng Sweet Charity.

“Anak” (Aguilar, 1980). Naglalaman ito ng 15 na awitin sa Bahasa Indonesia, na ilan ay sikat na. Bagama’t sumikat din naman ang bersyon ni Wood, tila “maksá” (“pilit”) raw at hindi gaanong madulas ang kanyang pagbigkas ng Bahasa Indonesia (Wirya, 2008).⁶

Mas malapit sa orihinal ang liriks na inawit ni Wood (makikita sa Talahanayan 1C) kaysa sa bersyon ng Sweet Charity. Inilarawan sa una ang anak na suwail bilang *keras kepala* (literal na “matigas ang ulo”). Naroon din ang tema ng pagbingi-bingihan at pagsuway sa payo ng magulang na nasa orihinal.

Makikita rin ang tema ng huli-nang pagsisisi sa bersyong ito dahil nahulog na ang anak sa “lambak ng kahihyan.” Maliban dito, may

[M]akikita sa orihinal na Tagalog ang bigit na matagumpay na pagbabalanse ng pagsasalaysay at pangangaral (binggil sa tema ng “utang na loob” sa magulang). Totoong tumatalakay sa utang na loob ang labat ng bersyon ng “Anak,” ngunit tila nanaig na nang husto sa una at ikatlong bersyong Malay ang pangangaral alinsunod sa pangrelibiyong balangkas na nasimulan sa paggamit ng terminong kurnia ilabi (“banal na kaloob”) para sa anak.

implikasyon sa liriks na wala nang saysay ang pagsisisi dahil hindi na niya maaabutang buhay ang ina, na ang huling mga salita ay “*nak, kembalilah kau segera*” (“nak, umuwi ka na”).⁷ Wala na siyang magagawa kundi magluksa at dito na lamang siya matatauhan. Maluluha rin siya nang hindi niya namamalyan.

⁶ May kahirapang intindihin ang kanyang nag-aalangan pagbigkas sa maraming bahagi. Mas magaan pa nga sa pandinig at mas madaling maintindihan ang bersyon ng mang-aawit na Indones na si Aries Kelana (2020) na may parehong liriks. Mapapanood ito sa YouTube (Sembilan Bintang, 2020).

⁷ Pinagmamadali siyang umuwi, gawa ng salitang *segera* (“agad-agad”).

Ang sinabi ng ina sa orihinal na “anak, ba’t ka nagkaganyan” ay nagbigay pa ng pagkakataon sa anak na magbago. Walang ganitong posibilidad sa bersyon ni Wood, kung saan matinkad ang larawan ng inang nag-iisang lumuluha dahil sa pagkapariwara ng anak.

Nakakatuwa naman ang pag-awit ng taga-Sabah na si Felix Agus sa palabas na Malaysian na Akademi Fantasia Musim 3 (30 July 2005) dahil ipinaghalo niya sa bandang dulo ng kanyang pagkanta ang liriks sa Bahasa Malaysia / Indonesia at mga linyang Tagalog mula sa orihinal (“pagsisisi at sa isip mo’y/ nalaman mong ika’y nagkamali”) (Vibes Qameera, 2009). Malakas ang naging palakpakan ng madla nang mag-Tagalog si Felix. Mula sa rendisyon mismo ni Aguilar sa wikang Bahasa Indonesia⁸ ang bersyong ginamit niya. Galing ito sa album na *Kenangan Ayah* (Alaala kay Ama) (1979) na may 13 komposisyon ni Aguilar na inawit niya sa Bahasa Indonesia (Aguilar, 1979c). Hindi nakatitiyak ngunit marahil si Harman Basiman, batay sa liner notes (Talahanayan 1D), ang nagsulat ng liriks ng “Anak” para sa album na ito. Tulad sa bersyon ng Sweet Charity, litaw rito ang konsepto ng anak bilang *kurnia illahi* (“banal na kaloob”). Nagdagdag din ang nagsulat ng liriks ng korus na nagpapaalala sa anak ng utang na loob niya sa kanyang mga magulang:

*Hai Anak Kau Tak Mengerti
Betapa Mulia Pengorbanan Mereka
Memberikan Kasih-sayang
Agar Dapat Menikmati Dunia*

[Ay, anak hindi mo maunawaan
Gaano kadalisyang ang kanilang sakripisyo
Sa pagbibigay ng pagmamahal
Para masiyahan ka sa mundo]

⁸ Maliban sa ilang maliliit na problema sa pagbigkas, mas madulas sa bersyon ni Wood ang pagkanta ni Aguilar sa Bahasa Indonesia.

Tinutukoy ng linyang “*betapa mulia pengorbanan mereka*” (“gaano kadalisay ang kanilang sakripisyo”) ang maraming sakripisyo ng mga magulang para sa kanilang anak ngunit hindi ito nauunawaan ng huli, na inilarawan na *durhaka* (“matigas ang ulo”). Tinanong din ang anak kung saan nagkulang ang kanyang mga magulang kung kaya’t nagkaganoon siya (“napakatigas ng ulo mo sa kanila / bakit ganito, ano ang pagkakamali nila?”).

Tulad sa unang dalawang bersyon, naligaw, nawala sa sarili, at nawalan ng gabay ang anak. Walang nagmamalasakit sa kanya sa gitna ng kanyang malalim na pagkalugmok na katulad ng “pagkahulog sa lambak ng kahihiyan” (*terjerumus sudah di lembah hina*) sa bersyon ni Wood.

Habang siya’y umiiyak na walang pumapansin, lalapit ang kanyang mga magulang. Hindi gaanong malinaw ang katapusan ng awit. Walang masasabing catharsis dahil hindi dulot ng kanyang alaala o pagharap sa mga magulang, tulad sa orihinal, ang dahilan ng pag-iyak ng anak, kundi dahil lamang sa kinasadlakang masamang sitwasyon. Medyo istatiko ang larawan ng unti-unting paglapit ng mga magulang sa kanilang anak sa dulo ng awit at halos maituturing ito bilang walang katapusang asimptotik na kilos. Ang pagkabiting ito marahil ang dahilan kung bakit naisipan ni Felix na idagdag ang huling mga linya ng orihinal sa Tagalog kahit hindi ito maiintindihan ng karamihan sa kanyang tagapakinig.

Konklusyon

Hutang emas boleh dibayar

Hutang budi dibawa mati

[Ang utang na salapi ay mababayaran
Ang utang na loob ay dadalhin sa libingan]

Mainam balikan ang napakakilalang kasabihang Melayu hinggil sa *hutang budi* (utang na loob) dahil masasabing ito ang pangunahing konseptong umuugnay sa “Anak” ng Pilipinas sa iba pang mga “Anak” sa ibang mga bansa sa *Dunia Melayu*. Lalo’t higit ang tinutukoy dito ay ang utang na loob ng anak sa kanyang mga magulang.

Sa kabila ng mga kongkreto at pisikal na imahe nito, at higit na sekular na pagwiwika, hindi maitatangi ang nakapailalim na Kristiyanong balangkas ng orihinal na awit sa Tagalog hinggil sa pagkapariwara o pagkakaligaw ng anak.⁹ Kapansin-pansin naman sa una, ikalawa, at ikatlong bersyong Malay na naging higit na abstrakto na ang wika at hindi na gaanong nakatuon sa estilong pasalaysay ng orihinal. Mas malinaw rin sa ginamit na lenggwahe ang pagtampok sa diwang panrelihiyong nakakabit naman sa Islam.

Dulot ng higit na abstraktong katangian ng wika ng tatlong bersyong ito, hindi na rin sila rumurok sa dramatikong engkwentro ng anak at kanyang ina. Nawala sa apat na bersyon ang lumuluhang ina na nagtanong ng, “anak, ba’t ka nagkaganyan?” Sa bersyon ng Sweet Charity, ang larawan ng isang matandang inang nag-iisa at “nalulunod” sa sariling luha ang nagtatapos sa awit. Sa bersyon naman ni Wood, kung saan higit na nanatili ang katangiang naratibo ng awit, mapapaluha nga ang anak ngunit tila hindi na niya naabutan nang buhay ang ina. Sa huling bersyon ni Aguilar na inawit ni Felix, maiiwan sa tagapakinig ang istatikong larawan ng mga magulang na lumalapit sa kanilang anak na mag-isang umiiyak. Pinakamahina sa lahat ang liriks ng Carefree dahil sa lubos na katiyakan at panatag na paniniwalang ipinapahayag na lagi namang tatanggapin ng mga magulang ang anak kahit ano pa ang kanyang gawin.

⁹ Sa katunaya’y maiuugnay ang temang ito sa karamihan ng mga awitin ni Aguilar.

Taliwas sa apat na bersyon sa Malay, makikita sa orihinal na Tagalog ang higit na matagumpay na pagbabalanse ng pagsasalaysay at pangangaral (hinggil sa tema ng “utang na loob” sa magulang). Totoong tumatalakay sa utang na loob ang lahat ng bersyon ng “Anak,” ngunit tila nanaig na nang husto sa una at ikatlong bersyong Malay ang pangangaral alinsunod sa pangrelihiyong balangkas na nasimulan sa paggamit ng terminong *kurnia ilahi* (“banal na kaloob”) para sa anak. Sa kabila ng mga pagkakaibang ito, ang pangunahing pagkakatugma ng tatlong bersyong Malay (hindi kasama ang sa Carefree) ay ang pangyayaring hindi na kusang nakabalik o makakabalik sa kanyang mga magulang ang napariwarang anak na labis nang napalayo. Sa mga awiting Malay, hindi na nakauwi sa kanilang mga magulang ang mga anak, samantalang nagawa pa ring makauwi mula sa pagkaligaw ang anak sa orihinal na bersyon ni Aguilar.

Mga Sanggunian

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Apendiks

Orihinal na Liriks ng “Anak” ni Freddie Aguilar (1977)

Anak

Freddie Aguilar

Noong isilang ka sa mundong ito
Laking tuwa ng magulang mo
At ang kamay nila ang iyong ilaw
At ang nanay at tatay mo’y
Di malaman ang gagawin
Minamasdan pati pagtulog mo
At sa gabi’y napupuyat ang iyong nanay
Sa pagtimpla ng gatas mo
At sa umaga nama’y kalong ka
Ng iyong amang tuwang-tuwa sa iyo

Ngayon nga ay malaki ka na
Ang nais mo’y maging malaya
Di man sila payag
Walang magagawa
Ikaw nga ay biglang nagbago
Naging matigas ang iyong ulo

At ang payo nila’y sinuway mo
Di mo man lang inisip na
Ang kanilang ginagawa’y para sa iyo
Pagkat ang nais mo’y
Masunod ang layaw mo’t
Di mo sila pinapansin

Nagdaan pa ang mga araw
At ang landas mo’y naligaw
Ikaw ay nalulong sa masamang bisyo
At ang una mong nilapitan
Ang iyong inang lumuluha
At ang tanong, “anak, ba’t ka nagkaganyan?”
At ang iyong mga mata’y biglang lumuha nang di mo napapansin
Pagsisisi at sa isip mo’y
Nalaman mong ika’y nagkamali
Pagsisisi at sa isip mo’y
Nalaman mong ika’y nagkamali

Pagsisisi at sa isip mo’y
Nalaman mong ika’y nagkamali
Pagsisisi at sa isip mo’y
Nalaman mong ika’y nagkamali

Talahanayan 1: Tatlong Bersyon ng “Anak” sa Wikang Malay (Bahasa Indonesia o Bahasa Malaysia)

<h3>A. Sweet Charity</h3>	
	<p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=II6FTIrfdv4</p>
<p>Anak (Balada Ibu Tua) (1979) Sweet Charity (Bahasa Malaysia)</p> <p>Bertahun lama menanti kebahagiaan suami isteri bagai guguran hujan yang lama kering ... menantikan zuriat yang suci bersangkut dikurnia ilahi teman hidup bersenda dan berduka</p> <p>Hai anak... mengertilah engkau dalam hidup bersyukur dan berbakti hai anak... engkaulah harapan bangsa murni sejati...</p> <p>apa yang hendak dikata.. hanya harapan ayah dan bonda putra putri mahkota kan dewasa</p> <p>pabila meningkat dewasa taat setia pun tiada harapan ayah bonda pudar hampa...</p>	<p>Anak (Balada ng Matandang Ina) (Literal na salin)</p> <p>Ilang taong naghintay Kaligayahan ng mag-asawa Tulad ng pagbuhos ng ulan pagkaraan ng tagtuyot Hintay ang banal na anak Hinggil sa banal na kaloob Kasama sa buhay sa saya at lungkot</p> <p>Ay anak, unawain mo sana, ito ay buhay ng pagpapasalamat at paglalaan Ay anak, ikaw ang kinabukasan ng bansa, dalisay at tapat</p> <p>Ano ang masasabi ... Tanging pag-asa ng magulang Ang kamilang mahal na anak ay Magkaroon ng sapat na gulang</p> <p>Kapag malaki na ay Wala na ang pagkamasunurin at katapatan Ang pag-asa ng ama at ina Napawi, nawala ...</p>

<p>Hai anak..mengertilah engkau dalam hidup bersyukur dan berbakti hai anak..engkaulah harapan segala bangsa murni sejati...</p> <p>Setelah engkau dewasa pentingkan dirimu saja itulah angkuh, bangga dan kuasa</p> <p>saat itu langit bergema penuh paduan suara anak harapan pun menderhaka</p> <p>seorang ibu tua duduk termenung menyepi tenggelam dalam selang tangis sendiri...</p> <p>Hai anak... mengertilah engkau dalam hidup bersyukur dan berbakti hai anak... engkaulah harapan bangsa murni sejati...</p>	<p>Ay anak, unawain mo sana, ito ay buhay ng pagpapasalamat at paglalaan Ay anak, ikaw ang kinabukasan ng bansa, dalisay at tapat</p> <p>Paglaki mo Ang mahalaga ay ang sarili mo na lamang Ito'y kayabangan, kapalaluan, pagka-mapagmataas</p> <p>Umalingaw mula noon ang langit Puno ng naghahalong tinig Sumuway ang anak na inasahan</p> <p>Isang matandang ina Nakaupong mag-isa, malungkot Nalulunod sa sariling mga luha</p> <p>Ay anak, unawain mo sana, ito ay buhay ng pagpapasalamat at paglalaan Ay anak, ikaw ang kinabukasan ng bansa, dalisay at tapat</p>
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B. Carefree



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iffLyCsFMj4>

Anak (1979) Carefree (Bahasa Malaysia)

Ketika engkau dilahirkan
Engkau menerangi alam
Kegelapan ayah dan ibu mu

Betapa murni kasihnya
Ketika kau nyenyak tidur
Menatapi wajahmu oh anak

Kenanglah ibu mu tidur tak lena
Menjaga tidur mu
Takut engkau terbangun
Menangis kehausan susu

Di belai mu dengan cermat
Penuh kasih dan sayang
Tiap detik dan setiap waktu

Kini masa terus berlalu
Di mandi dengan kasih sayang
Kau besar sudah oh anak

Anak (Literal na salin)

Nang ikaw ay isinilang
Ikaw ang nagbigay liwanag sa daigdig
Sa kadiliman ng iyong tatay at nanay

Gaano kadalisay ang kanilang
pagmamahal
Kapag ikaw ay natutulong nang
mahimbing
Nakatitig sa iyong mukha oh anak

Tandaan mong hindi nakatulog nang
mabuti
ang iyong ina
Sa pagbabantay sa iyo
Nag-aalala na magigising ka
Iiyak na uhaw para sa gatas

Maingat kang hinahaplos
Puno ng pagmamahal at pagsinta
Bawat segundo at bawat oras

Tumakbo na ang panahon
Pinaliguan ng pagmamahal
Malaki ka na ngayon oh anak

<p>Ibu dan ayahnya memberi kau kebebasan Yang engkau mahu Di samping didikan agama yang sempurna Untuk hari muka mu</p> <p>Kini kau telah jauh berubah Sikapmu kasar dan menderhaka Yang meracuni hati mereka</p> <p>Inikah balasanmu oh anak Yang membelakangkan sifat Tuhan Hormati ayah dan ibumu</p> <p>Walaupun apa yang kau lakukan Kini kau telah sedar Ibu dan ayah setia selalu menerimamu seperti biasa Begitulah sucinya kasih ayah dan ibu terhadapmu Kenanglah jasa mereka selalu berkorbankan untukmu anak</p>	<p>Binigyan ka ng nanay at tatay ng kalayaan Na ginusto mo Binigyan ka rin ng mga aral na pangrelihiyon na perpekto Para sa iyong hinaharap</p> <p>Ngayon ay malaki ang iyong naging pagbabago Magaspang ang iyong pakikitungo at matigas ang iyong ulo Na lumalason sa kanilang mga puso</p> <p>Ito ang iyong dapat itugon oh anak Na tumalikod sa Panginoon Galangin mo ang iyong ama at ina</p> <p>Anupaman ang iyong gawin Alam mo na ngayon Lagi kang tatanggapin ng ina at ama mo tulad ng dati Ganito na lamang kadalisa ang pagmamahal ng ama at ina mo sa iyo Tandaan mo na ang kanilang pagsilbi ay laging pagsakripisyo para sa iyo anak</p>
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C. Victor Wood



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZuROZ7V9OME>

Anak (1980) Victor Wood (Bahasa Indonesia)

Waktu kau lahir di dunia
Gembirahlah Ayah dan Bunda
Di pangkuan mereka kau bermanja

Ayahanda serta bundamu
Terlupakan segalanya
Menunggu sang bintang sedang tidur

Di tengah malam bundamu tersentak
Bangun untuk menyusuiimu

Dengan bangga di pagi hari
ayahmu menuntun dan menyayangimu

Kini engkau telah dewasa
Hidup bebas yang engkau pinta
Walau mereka takkan menyenanginya

Sifatmu kini berubah
Menjadi keras kepala
Kau selalu abaikan nasihatnya

Anak (Literal na salin)

Nang isilang ka sa mundo
Kaligayahan ng tatay at nanay
Sa kandungan nila nakuha mo ang lahat
ng iyong gusto

Nalimot ng tatay at nanay mo ang lahat
Sa paghihintay matulog ang kanilang
bituin

Sa gitna ng gabi mapapabangon ang
iyong ina
Para pasusuhin ka

Sa umaga ay may pagmamalaki na
Ginagabayan at minamahal ka ng ama mo

Ngayon ikaw ay malaki na
Kalayaan ang iyong hiling
Kahit hindi nila ito kagustuhan

Ngayon ay nagbago ka na
Naging matigas ang iyong ulo
Hindi ka nakinig sa kanilang mga payo

<p>Semuanya ito itu demi kebahagiaan diri mu sendiri Nasihatnya yang berguna hanya kau abaikan dengan begitu saja</p>	<p>Ang lahat nito ay para sa sarili mong kaligayahan Ganun na lang ang pagbalewala mo Sa payong makabubuti</p>
<p>Kini masa telah berlalu Sesal pun tiada guna Terjerumus sudah di lembah hina</p>	<p>Tumakbo ang panahon Wala nang saysay ang pagsisisi Nahulog ka na sa lambak ng kahihyan</p>
<p>Kau meratapi sang Bunda Yang hanya dapat berkata “Nak, kembalilah kau segera”</p>	<p>Nagluluksa ka para sa iyong ina Na ang tanging nasabi ay, “Nak, umuwi ka na”</p>
<p>Air matamu jatuh berderai tanpa engkau sadari lagi Barulah kau sadari tingkamu Selama ini Barulah kau sadari tingkamu Selama ini</p>	<p>Pumatak ang iyong luha na hindi mo namamalayan Ngayon ka lang natauhan sa iyong mga ikiniilos Sa buong panahon na ito</p>

D. Felix Bin Agus / Freddie Aguilar



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7WMJlqmhtvo>



Anak (2009)
Felix Bin Agus
(Bahasa Indonesia / Malaysia)

Semasa Engkau Dilahirkan
 Kau Pun Sudah Satu Impian
 Impian Nyata Kurnia Illahi

Engkau Anak Istimewa
 Kebahagiaan Ibu Ayah
 Bila Menangis dan Juga Tertawa

Hai Anak Kau Tak Mengerti
 Betapa Mulia Pengorbanan Mereka
 Memberikan Kasih-sayang
 Agar Dapat Menikmati Dunia

Masa Silih Berganti
 Kau Membesar Tak Dikenali
 Cepat Sungguh Kau Pandai Bicara

Apa Yang Telah Terjadi
 Pada Mereka Kau Durhaka
 Mengapa Begitu Apakah Salahnya

Hai Anak Kau Tak Mengerti
 Betapa Mulia Pengorbanan Mereka
 Memberikan Kasih-sayang
 Agar Dapat Menikmati Dunia

Anak
(Literal na salin)

Noong ikaw ay isinilang
 Ikaw ay isang panaginip
 Panaginip na naging totoo, banal na
 kaloob

Ikaw ay isang espesyal na anak
 Kaligayahan ng iyong ama at ina
 Kapag uniiyak at kapag tumatawa rin

Ay, anak hindi mo maunawaan
 Gaano kadalisay ang kanilang sakripisyo
 Sa pagbibigay ng pagmamahal
 Para masiyahan ka sa mundo

Mabilis na nagdaan ang panahon
 Lumaki ka na
 Totoong agad-agad magaling ka na
 magsalita

Ano ang nangyari
 Napakatigas ng ulo mo sa kanila
 Bakit ganito, ano ang pagkakamali nila

Ay, anak hindi mo maunawaan
 Gaano kadalisay ang kanilang sakripisyo
 Sa pagbibigay ng pagmamahal
 Para masiyahan ka sa mundo

<p>Kini Kau Telah Tersesat Hilang Diri dan Pedoman Tak Seorang Pun Mengambil Peduli</p> <p>dan Kini Engkau Menangis Ibu Ayah Menghampiri Walau Engkau Telah Terperosok Jauh</p> <p>Hai Anak Kau Tak Mengerti Betapa Mulia Pengorbanan Mereka Memberikan Kasih-sayang Agar Dapat Menikmati Dunia</p> <p>Hai Anak Kau Tak Mengerti Betapa Mulia Pengorbanan Mereka Memberikan Kasih-sayang Agar Dapat Menikmati Dunia</p>	<p>Ngayon ikaw ay nalgaw Nawala sa sarili at nawalan ng gabay Walang nagmamalasakit sa iyo</p> <p>At ngayon ikaw ay umiiyak nanay at tatay ay lumalapit sa iyo Kahit malalim na ang iyong pagkalubog</p> <p>Ay, anak hindi mo maunawaan Gaano kadalisay ang kanilang sakripisyo Sa pagbibigay ng pagmamahal Para masiyahan ka sa mundo</p>
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Wansalwara (One Salt Water): Teaching Southeast Asia as a Maritime World¹

Cynthia Neri Zayas²

How We Teach at the UP Center for International Studies

Established in October 2000, the University of the Philippines Center for International Studies (UPCIS) was envisioned to generate knowledge about the countries of the world and their interrelated cultural, ecological, social, economic, political, ideological, and gender systems. Mandated to be a center of scholarship with country and topic specialists particularly on Asia, the Americas, and Europe, the Center's ultimate goal is to enable Filipino students to appreciate their multicultural origins, enrich their own development, and to have a deeper understanding of the complex and diverse global issues.

UPCIS employs a multidisciplinary and cross-cultural teaching approach, combining theory, research, and practice. Moreover, it endeavors to examine global conditions from the optics of local needs and situations.

¹ Paper presented at the 2018 International Conference of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies/Busan University of Foreign Studies, Busan, South Korea. 10-12 May 2018.

² Editor's note: Zayas is a marine anthropologist and before her retirement, succeeded Dr. Consuelo Paz as the second UPCIS director.

Currently, the Center has four course offerings: Southeast Asia (SEA) 30,³ Global Studies (GS) 197,⁴ and Japan Studies (JS) 100⁵ and 101.⁶ All are team-taught and represent insights from various disciplines. SEA 30 exemplifies an area study course, while JS 100 and 101 are country studies focusing on Japan. Special Topics courses (labeled as GS 197) cover a wide range of topics.⁷ These courses offer students different perspectives on contemporary global issues, from the historical to the cultural and anthropological, to the psychological and sociological.

Resident UPCIS faculty members team-teach with faculty affiliates from different UP System units, as well as with invited outside lecturers, visiting professors and researchers. UPCIS has explored the use of telecommunications technology in its classrooms, employing teleconferencing in certain classes. For instance, this method has allowed a Noh master in Japan to conduct lecture-demonstrations in teaching Noh theatre. Opportunities like these complement on-site lectures by visiting Noh masters

3 SEA 30 — Asian Emporiums: Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia. An introduction to the world of monsoon Asia as formed by the interaction among its peoples throughout the centuries.

4 Special Topics courses, which may be taken twice, but on two different topics.

5 An Overview of Contemporary Japanese Culture and Society. Survey of contemporary insider and outsider views of Japanese culture and society.

6 Japanese Culture and Society I. Thematic discussions on the core elements of Japanese culture and society, the elements borrowed from other cultures and the way they are fused.

7 These topics, offered at least once during the academic year, are: Peace and Conflict; Culture, Gender, and Sexuality; Global Gastronomy; Cultures and their Global Entanglements; Cultures of Disaster; Eco-cultural Adaptations in Volcanic Environments; Globalizing Korean Culture and Society; Contemporary Issues on Korean Culture and Society; Asian Performance Practice; Global Diaspora; Japanese Traditional Performance Practices; Current LGBTQI Issues around the World; Introduction to Chinese Culture and Society; Islam in Contemporary Europe; Introduction to Turkish Culture and Society; Integration and Separation in Europe; and Mediterranean Europe.

and musicians. In other classes, visiting artists, culture bearers, and other professors provide a wide array of experiential learning to students through workshop-type and lecture sessions.

As Noh theater has emerged as the UPCIS' forte in the teaching of Asian theater performance traditions, the Center worked on expanding student learning with once-a-year exposure and training trips in Japan. Made possible by a cooperation agreement with Yokohama National University (YNU) and later with Ferris University, which sponsor the students and faculty with funds from the Japanese Ministry of Education, qualified students from JS 100 and 101 classes from 2011-2014 and who became members of the UPCIS Noh Ensemble were selected for a 10-day study visit to Japan to participate in a short student exchange program. During that trip, they participate in an intensive Noh Theater training-rehearsal from a Noh master and get to perform before a select Japanese audience. Since 2014, when the UPCIS began offering a Special Topics course, GS 197 (Japanese Traditional Theater Performance Practices), the best students who meet the academic requirements of the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) and who become members of the UPCIS Noh Ensemble have also been selected for the study visit to Japan for further Noh training.

These visits enabled four students to enjoy months-long, even year-long, training-rehearsal in Noh in Japan, under the watchful eye of a Noh grandmaster. The UPCIS Bunraku Ensemble has also been able to train with the Naoshima Onna Bunraku since 2012.

This model has proved so successful during its ten years of implementation — students not only train and familiarize themselves first hand with Japanese culture, they also get to perform their repertoire before appreciating Filipino and Japanese audiences — that the UPCIS is now working on inking similar academic exchange schemes with other universities in Indonesia, Malaysia,

Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, India, Spain, Norway, United States, Chile, Australia, and New Zealand.

At this point, for a better appreciation of UPCIS' teaching methods, we take a closer look at the teaching of one SEA 30 module with special focus on Old Manila.

Teaching SEA 30: A Case Study

SEA 30 (Asian Emporiums – Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia), is a general education (GE) course in the University of the Philippines with the following objectives:

- 1) Broaden students' intellectual and cultural horizons;
- 2) Hone critical and creative thinking;
- 3) Develop a passion for learning and scholarship;
- 4) Cultivate a high sense of intellectual and moral integrity;
and
- 5) Foster a commitment to nationalism and social justice.

As area studies also constitute a kind of cultural studies, SEA 30 has enabled students to take pride in their being Filipino while realizing its roots in a larger Southeast Asian identity. This is done by providing understanding of complex elements in the region's histories, geography, climate, and mercantilist human interactions in the vast expanse of a body of water, from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. Viewing Southeast Asia from the perspective of the ocean is certainly appropriate in educating Filipino students: like their Pacific Islander neighbors, the region is also *wansalwara* or 'one ocean, one people'.⁸

⁸ *Wansalwara* means 'those who share the same ocean' in Melanesian

Southeast Asia as part of the world of monsoon Asia is linked by maritime trade in a ‘single ocean’ — the wide expanse of sea from the Bay of Bengal to the China Sea, connecting the Indian and Pacific Oceans — or in the language of Pacific Islanders, one salt water, or *wansolwara* (Pacific Islanders’ pidgin for ‘one salt water’). This single-ocean concept conceives of a cosmopolitan world where all kinds of transcultural and multicultural dialogues take place. In pre-colonial times, ports and markets were the major sites of these dialogues. These port polities, or the *Bangsa*, were the homelands of seafaring people living along strategic sea lanes, thus controlling the traffic of people, goods, and services. The core *bangsa* are namely: the Malays of the Strait of Malacca; the Minangkabaus of Pagang Ruyong, Sumatra; the Javanese of the island of Java; the Bugis of Bugis Island, Sulawesi; the Tagalogs on the island of Luzon; the Tausugs in the Sulu archipelago; and the Maranaws and Maguindanaos of Northern and Southern Mindanao, respectively.

Students are introduced to the idea that their vibrant pre-Hispanic cultural identity emerged in an era of regional consolidation predating present-day globalization, and that Old Manila played a role in this union, as a port polity integrated in the trade networks that extended from other ports along the Indian Ocean routes all the way to the West Philippine Sea.

To capture the sea world of Southeast Asia, a brief module (“Maritime Trade and the Core *Bangsa*”), taught in six hours, consists of the following:

pidgin (i.e. one salt water). The first published academic reference to it I can find is by Brij Lal in his introduction to Brij V. Lal (ed.), *Wansalwara: Soundings in Melanesian History*, Working Paper Series, Pacific Island Studies Program, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa (1987) (Paul D’Arcy, personal communication, 2018).

- (1) The historical role of the seas in Southeast Asian civilization;
- (2) Case studies of Maynila Tagalogs, Kapampangans of Pampanga, and the Sama Dilaut of Sitangkai; and
- (3) Asian market systems (i.e. *tiangue*) and cuisine (*rendang*, *sinigang na ulang*, *ampong asan*, and *bringhe*) as emporium.

By illustrating the importance of the ocean in linking rivers to ports and ports to rivers, students get to see the exchanges between the Tagalogs and Kapampangans of Luzon and the Sama Dilaut sea people of Southern Philippines. Furthermore, the markets emerging from these interactions showcase the variety of the area's food culture, representing the sophisticated blending of spices that produce a cosmopolitan flavor.

Students learn all these through six hours of class lectures, after which they do a one-day walking tour of Old Manila, which is preceded by a ferry ride along the Pasig River (they board at the Guadalupe station in Makati and get off at the Binondo station across from Fort Santiago). This way, students experience, as concrete realities, the ideas discussed in the classroom. For instance, relics of the dialogues between peoples of the past are embodied as well in the former and current locations of ancient market places, religious sites, *kota* (Spanish walled fort; in Manila's case, now known as Fort Santiago, part of which was the original palisade of the Muslim ruler, Rajah Solaiman), *parian* (Chinese enclave), ancient ports (mouth of the Pasig River), and pre-colonial trade artifacts displayed in the Philippine National Museum.

During the tour, students are asked to visit four religious sites, namely: the Khalsa Diwan Sikh Temple (1350 U.N. Avenue, Paco, Manila); the Manila Golden Mosque or Masjid Al-Dahab (Globo de Oro Street, Quiapo, Manila); Quiapo Church or the Basilica Menor ng Itim na Nazareno (Parokya ni San Juan Bautista), in Quiapo, Manila; and the Seng Guan Buddhist Temple (Narra Street, Tondo, Manila). During visits to the sacred sites, they are instructed to sample the food being sold or peddled within the vicinity of the religious buildings. Students are also exhorted to observe appropriate religious dress codes and practices (head covers like a scarf or a *pandong* while inside the Sikh temple and mosque).

As a documentation exercise, students are asked to take notes of the rituals that they observe being practiced. They are told to look around and check what food and commodities are being sold in the vicinity and to take photographs of them. They are also encouraged to converse with the people in the area.

The Old Manila tour shows students that Filipinos are the very repository of cultural legacies originating from the dialogues of peoples whose homelands are encompassed by one single ocean. Students are introduced to the idea that their vibrant pre-Hispanic cultural identity emerged in an era of regional consolidation predating present-day globalization, and that Old Manila played a role in this union, as a port polity integrated in the trade networks that extended from other ports along the Indian Ocean routes all the way to the West Philippine Sea. The core Bangsa that provided socio-economic-political organization of trade and commerce attests to the sources of a variety of goods from archaeological evidence. Even though the relics are now found only in museums, the various religious structures, makeshift markets or food stalls that line the sacred places, the walking tour of Old Manila lets students journey into the past. The river trip allows them to experience the

water transport system which dominates the maritime world of Southeast Asia.

One example of student feedback on SEA 30:

When I chose this class at the CRS during pre-enlistment, it was because I knew basically nothing about the connected-ness of the Philippines to Southeast Asian nations. Except perhaps our claim to Sabah and our current membership in the ASEAN. To me, the Philippines has always been distinctively separate from our neighboring countries due to a largely Catholic faith and the resulting divergence of history. Now I know better. The Asian Emporiums, I now recognize, brought several important influences to the Philippines even before the Spaniards came. It is a large part of our history as a country, as islanders, and as a nation in the Pacific. Somehow it has made me more confident in our history as a country.... We have always been a people of the waters, connected across the country through trade and gift-giving. I hope one day this recognition will bring Filipinos closer to their neighbors — we are more similar than we think; we share these seas, we are children of the voyagers. (Carmela Isabel Evangelista, SEA 30 THX2, AY 2017-2018)

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THE FERRY TRIP LAST MARCH 15, 2018

MONDAY AT THE GUADALUPE FERRY STATION STARTED OUT WITH AN INTRODUCTION FROM A STAFF OF THE PASIG FERRIES. HE DISCUSSED THE HISTORY OF THE PASIG FERRIES AS WELL AS TELLING THAT THE PASIG RIVER IS NOT REALLY CONSIDERED A RIVER BECAUSE OF ITS FLOWING PATTERN IN CONTRAST WITH THE DEFINITION OF A RIVER. HE ALSO GAVE US A LEAFLET FEATURING THE

ANIG RIVER MURAL WHICH WILL BE SEEN ALONG THE WAY. AS WE BOARDED THE FERRY, I TOOK THE WINDOW SEAT ON THE LEFT SIDE BECAUSE FOR A GOOD VIEW OF THE SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE RIVER. TURNING OUT, THE OTHER SIDE WAS THE BETTER VIEW. BUT NEVERTHELESS, I WAS STILL ABLE TO APPRECIATE THE VIEW ON MY SIDE.

AS THE TRIP COMMENCED, I IMMEDIATELY LOOKED AT THE PLANTS ALONG THE RIVER. AND I RECOGNIZED THE ANIGAL PLANT FROM MY EFFORTS CLASS.



WITH ITS DISTINCT PURPLE INFLORESCENCE, I ALREADY KNOW THAT IT WAS EUPHORBIA CENSUREA COMMONLY KNOWN AS WATER HYACINTH. IF NOT CONTROLLED, THIS PLANT CAN SPREAD OUT RAPIDLY AND MAY CLOG WATERWAYS. WHILE ON THE FERRY, I NOTICED THAT THERE WAS NO FISHY SMELL AS I EXPECTED. THE HOUSES WERE VERY VIBRANT AND UNIQUE FROM ONE ANOTHER. AND THEN ON OUR FERRY TRIP SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE RIVER. WE PASSED BY MALACANANG AND WERE PERMITTED TO TAKE PHOTOS. ALL THROUGH THE FERRY TRIP, I'VE SEEN ABANDONED BOATS AS WELL AS CONTEMPORARY BOATS AND I'VE REALIZED THAT THERE IS STILL LIFE ALONG THE WATERWAY. HOWEVER,



PASIG FERRY



As we were nearing the last stop, I recognized two of the places which were earlier discussed in my field - the Aerobics Forest Park and El Hogar. The first one being the only green space left and is planned to be a stage center and the latter which is a heritage building which is in the danger of demolition. These two heritage sites are part of the Philippines' history and are contrary from the course of agriculture. Do our best to promote heritage conservation in the respective fields.



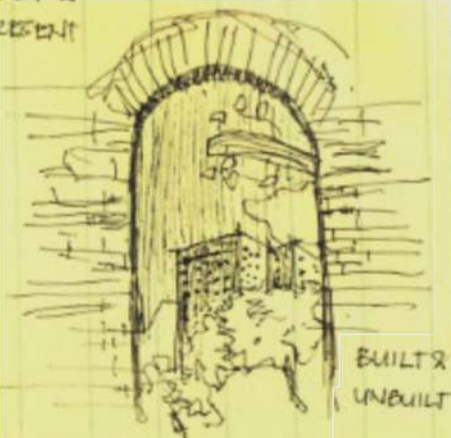


Fort Santiago, a 16th century military defense structure, stands witness to the valor and heroism of the Filipino through the centuries. Adaptive use of this famous historical landmark makes certain areas ideal for open air theater, picnics and promenades. The Intramuros Visitors Center gives an overview of various attractions in the Walled City.

P50.00

350017

PAST &
PRESENT



BUILT &
UNBUILT

AS WE ARRIVED THE LAST STOP, PLAZA MEXICO, WE WALKED TO FORT SANTIAGO. WITHIN INTRAMUROS, WE'VE SEEN ARTWORKS FROM THE LATEST BIENNALE DEPICTING THE COUNTRY'S CULTURE & HISTORY. A NUMBER OF TOURIST ARE SEEN ALONG THE WAY TO FORT SANTIAGO. AS WE ARRIVED FORT SANTIAGO, I REMEMBERED THAT IT WAS MY FIRST TIME THERE AND REALIZED THAT I AM ALSO A TOURIST. SAME WITH THE TOURISTS WE'VE SEEN. FORT SANTIAGO IS ALSO ONE OF THE ICONIC LANDSCAPES DISCUSSED IN LANDSCAPE

ARCHITECTURE. I AM GRATEFUL THAT SUCH SPACES EXIST BECAUSE IT BEING AN EVIDENCE OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION. SUCH SPACES WHICH ARE NOT ENOUGH TO BE SEEN IN BOOKS ARE MAINTAINED WELL FOR THE FUTURE GENERATION TO SEE AND REFLECT UPON. I HEARD A KID TOLD HIS DAD, "WHY BEE PEOPLE SO BAD?" REFERRING TO HOW PEOPLE WERE KEPT IN DUNGEONS TO DEATH.



FORT SANTIAGO

WE WENT TO THE RIVER SIDE OF FORT SANTIAGO AND THE VIEW WAS ALMOST THE SAME AS FROM WHEN WE WERE IN PLAZA MEDINA BUT FROM A HIGHER POINT OF VIEW. AS WE WERE ENJOYING THE VIEW, THERE WAS A BOY IN A SMALL BOAT PADDLING HIS WAY ALONG THE RIVER.



SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE RIVER ARE TRULY INEVITABLE AS EARLY INHABITANTS SETTLE HERE THE WATER FOR PRACTICALLY AND SOURCE OF LIVING. WE THEN HAD OUR LUNCH WITHIN INTRAAMIGI AND ALL THE TASTY STYLES OF STREETFOOD STOPS ARE MARKED WITH THE OVERALL STYLE OF INTRAAMIGI TO PRESERVE THE FEEL EQUIPPED BY THE PLACE.



NATIONAL MUSEUM



FROM INTERVALS, WE WERE A TRIP TO NATIONAL MUSEUM. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY - AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXHIBITION HOUSES ARTIFACTS FROM DIFFERENT TIME PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINE EARLY INHABITANTS. IN THE PHILIPPINES WERE ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND VARIOUS OTHER ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION.

SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES - MINDANAO CLEARLY SHOWS ITS HISTORY IN MARITIME TRADE WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA AS ITS STRATEGIC LOCATION BEING NEAR TO MALACCA, BORNEO, AND INDONESIA PROMOTING TRADE AND RELATIONSHIP ACROSS WITHIN THE LARGE-SCALE TRADING NETWORK ALONG THE COASTS WITHIN SOUTHEAST ASIA.



ALONG WITH THE NATIONAL CULTURE WITHIN SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION, HUMAN CULTURE, BELIEFS, AND LIFESTYLE ARE ALSO MIXED WITH THE ORIGINAL LIFE CYCLE AND RITUALS OF THE GREAT FILIPINO. MATERIAL ARTIFACTS TO LIVING ARTIFACT ARE ON EXHIBIT FOR THE MUSEUM - LOOK TO APPRECIATE AND REEVALUATE OUR CULTURE.

QUIAPO CHURCH

ON OUR WAY TO QUIAPO CHURCH, WE PASSED BY CUENTA MARKET. THIS MARKET HAS BEEN ONE OF THE PLACES WHICH ARE LOCATED SURROUNDED. THE MARKET DID NOT SHOW HOW MARKET ARE USUALLY PORTRAYED IN THE PHILIPPINES. IT IS DESIGNED TO INCORPORATE A MALL WITH THE EXISTING MARKET & FISH PORT. MODERNITY LITERALLY IS WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT BEHIND ON WHAT



IS PROVIDED REFLECTS THE OLD STRUCTURE BUT THE FILIPINO AS A MARKET CULTURE IS STILL INTACT. GOING TO QUIAPO CHURCH FROM NATIONAL MUSEUM MEANS PASSING THROUGH THE UNDERPASS TO CROSS TO THE CHURCH SIDE. THE UNDERPASS IN QUIAPO IS FILLED WITH DIFFERENT VENDORS BUT WHAT CAUGHT OUR ATTENTION WERE THE FORTUNE TELLERS LINED UP TILL WE'RE ABLE TO ENTER THE CHURCH. THE TIME WE VISITED THE CHURCH, THERE WAS PARACA AND THERE WERE A LOT OF CHURCH GOERS. WE WERE ABLE TO SEE A INDIAN WALKING DOWN THE AISLE ON HER KNEES. THIS SHOWS THE CULTURE OF FILIPINOS OF SHOWING SACRIFICING FOR REPENTANCE.

OUTSIDE THE CHURCH AT THE BACK WERE THE VENDORS OF A VARIETY OF MERCHANDISE. RELATED FORTUNE TELLERS, VENDORS OF ROBEES, GUM, AND OTHER COFFEES WERE SEEN JUST OUTSIDE THE CHURCH. A MIX OF OUR INDIGENOUS BELIEFS AND INHERITED BELIEFS

ARE OF WHAT IS BUENE TO THE SO-CALLED FOLK CATHOLICISM WHICH WE ARE PRACTISING NOWADAYS.



Sarap, Sedap, Enak, Aroy Mak: Teaching and Tasting Southeast Asian Gastronomy¹

Raymond Aquino Macapagal²

SEA 30: A General Education Course on Southeast Asia in a Multidisciplinary Center

The University of the Philippines Center for International Studies (UPCIS) at the Diliman campus is a multidisciplinary unit established in 2000. Currently, it conducts classes and research on four world regions grouped into three divisions: The Americas, Europe, and Asia (East & Southeast). Due to its location, the strongest links of the center are with East and Southeast Asia.

The UPCIS' first course offering was SEA 30 - Asian Emporiums: Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia. It is an undergraduate course described in the University of the Philippines Diliman (UPD) General Catalogue (2014) as “an introduction to the world of monsoon Asia as formed by interaction among its peoples throughout the centuries” (p. 581). As part of the trichotomous framework of UP's Revitalized General Education Program (UP-RGEP), students can credit the three units earned for this course for their Arts & Humanities and Social Sciences & Philosophy requirements.

¹ Paper presented at the 2018 International Conference of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies/Busan University of Foreign Studies, Busan, South Korea. 10-12 May 2018.

² Editor's note: Macapagal is an assistant professor at the UP Center for International Studies where he teaches food culture and gastronomy.

SEA 30 is a team-taught, multidisciplinary, non-prerequisite course taught by five to six lecturers over a span of 16 weeks. This course aims to give students a panorama of Southeast Asian culture and society with topics like: geography, history, politics, social movements, heritage, performing arts, film, literature, religion, food, and trade. Conceived and developed in the early 2000s by renowned Southeast Asianists in the region, with generous assistance from the Southeast Asian Regional Exchange Program (SEASREP), the main impetus for the development of SEA 30 was Filipinos' general lack of knowledge about Southeast Asia, probably due to centuries of Western colonization. Instituted as a UPD course offering in 2002, its original course title, "Asian Emporiums – A Global Dialogue," was subsequently changed to put more focus on Southeast Asia. Its original syllabus has also evolved to feature more current issues in Southeast Asia (e.g. maritime disputes). In order to widen students' appreciation of Southeast Asian culture, this course also includes many non-lecture activities, like intangible cultural heritage workshops and rice-themed study tours.

SEA 30 was also conducted as a traveling Asian Emporiums course. In this format, several students from various Southeast Asian universities would come together at a particular university of an ASEAN member country for about a month of daily classes with a group of professors and lecturers from all over the region recruited to teach various topics. Field trips and workshops in various sites enriched and complemented classroom discussions. Interaction among the students formed lasting bonds of friendship.

The UPCIS hosted the first region-wide Asian Emporiums course in 2004, with 17 students from the Philippines, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia participating. The teaching team was composed of Dr. Cynthia Neri Zayas (Philippines), Dr. Maria Serena Diokno (Philippines), Dr.

Shaharil Talib (Malaysia), Dr. Ana Maria Labrador (Philippines), Dr. Matthew Santamaria (Philippines), and Dr. Edi Sedyawati (Indonesia). Aside from daily classroom lectures, the students visited learning sites in the neighboring provinces of Cavite and Laguna.

A bigger group — 28 students from the same participating countries as the previous year — comprised the second batch for the Asian Emporiums course offering in 2005. Hosted by Thammasat University in Bangkok under its Southeast Asian studies program, the faculty roster featured Prof. Benedict Anderson (Ireland-Indonesia), Prof. Coeli Barry (Thailand), Prof. Nguyen Van Chinh (Vietnam), Prof. Sunait Chutitaranond (Thailand), Prof. Vattana Pholsena (Singapore), Prof. Charnvit Kasetsiri (Thailand), Prof. Withaya Sujaritthanarak (Thailand), Prof. Songyote Waehongsa (Thailand), Dr. Maria Serena Diokno (Philippines), Prof. Sutha Leenavat (Thailand), Prof. Sumit K. Mandal (Malaysia), and Senator Jon Ungphakorn (Thailand) (SEASREP, 2005). Since then, it has been offered in four other Southeast Asian universities (University of Indonesia and Gadjah Mada University in Indonesia, University of Malaya in Malaysia, and Chulalongkorn University in Thailand). UPD hosted the last edition of this Asian Emporiums course traveling classroom in 2010.

At the UPCIS, SEA 30 has become the most sought-after class during registration. From an initial 17 students in 2004, enrollment reached some 400 a little over a decade later (1st semester, Academic Year 2016-2017). The most recent enrollment (2nd Semester, Academic Year 2020-2021) stands at a low 75 because of pandemic-related problems. Student feedback on this course has been interestingly two-sided. For example, many students enjoy the novelty of having different lecturers introduce them to various topics (Zayas et al., 2014), while some complain about this

seemingly confusing set-up. When made to attend some out-of-classroom activities (e.g. study tours, workshops, performances), many students were thankful for the new experiences, though a good number said these were hassles.

However, student feedback has been overwhelmingly positive on SEA 30 fulfilling a key objective of the UP-RGEP. Asked whether the course helped foster “a commitment to nationalism balanced by a sense of internationalism,” the vast majority of students surveyed during one semester responded in the affirmative. Qualitative feedback from students say that nationalism is engendered by making them more aware of their own Filipino culture, and internationalism is fostered when Filipino culture is juxtaposed with other Southeast Asian cultures (Macapagal, 2013a).

A change in UP’s current general education (G.E.) program’s format has put SEA 30 at a disadvantage. The approved structure, which took effect in August 2018, effected a drastic reduction in the number of G.E. units (from a minimum of 42 to just 21) to be taken by future UPD students. Although SEA 30 was one of the first G.E. courses to be reconfigured to respond to this new program’s requirements, we saw a decrease in enrollment, as SEA 30 is not a required course for most students. On the other hand, there is a particular UPD unit — the College of Social Work and Community Development — which requires all its social work majors to take SEA 30, in order to equip them with more knowledge about their own region. As UPD implements its new G.E. program to respond to the newly-instituted K-12 Basic Education Program, there is surely much to fear, but much more to hope for.

Food Culture & Gastronomy Lectures: An Exercise in Integration

As SEA 30 lecturers discuss a wide variety of topics, one of the biggest challenges at the end of the semester is to find a way to integrate and synthesize all the information given in class. Scheduling the gastronomy lectures toward the semester's end helps students connect various concepts discussed. Although gastronomy usually has elitist connotations for many, students' relative unfamiliarity with the term allows the teacher to lay down a general definition in line with Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin's seminal work *Physiologie du Gout (The Physiology of Taste)* (1825/2002):

Gastronomy is a scientific definition of all that relates to man as a feeding animal. Its object is to watch over the preservation of man by means of the best possible food. It does so by directing, according to certain principles, all those who procure, search for, or prepare things which may be converted into food. To tell the truth this is what moves cultivators, vine-dressers, fishermen, huntsmen, and the immense family of cooks, whatever title or qualification they bear, to the preparation of food. Gastronomy is a chapter of natural history, for the fact that it makes a classification of alimentary substances. Of physics, for it examines their properties and qualities. Of chemistry, from the various analysis and decomposition to which it subjects them. Of cookery, from the fact that it prepares food and makes it agreeable. Of commerce, from the fact that it purchases at as low a rate as possible what it consumes, and displays to the greatest advantage what it offers for sale. Lastly, it is a chapter of political economy,

from the resources it furnishes the taxing power, and the means of exchange it substitutes between nations. Gastronomy rules all life, for the tears of the infant cry for the bosom of the nurse; the dying man receives with some degree of pleasure the last cooling drink, which, alas! he is unable to digest. It has to do with all classes of society, for if it presides over the banquets of assembled kings, it calculates the number of minutes of ebullition which an egg requires. The material of gastronomy is all that may be eaten; its object is direct, the preservation of individuals. Its means of execution are cultivation, which produces; commerce, which exchanges; industry, which prepares; and experience, which teaches us to put them to the best use.

Instead of this elitist description of gastronomy, students are made to understand that gastronomy is a multidisciplinary field which draws upon various knowledge sources to understand food and human nourishment. More contemporary issues, such as sustainability, are also introduced. In the last few sessions of SEA 30, topics previously discussed are re-examined within the ambit of food and gastronomy.

After a brief introduction about the lecturer and the field of gastronomy, the first session delves into native plants and animals, and traditional Southeast Asian cooking methods. As a result of pre- and peri-colonial trade, strong connections with East Asia are highlighted (e.g. the use of soy products). The main focus of the lectures is the fifth taste popularly known worldwide as *umami*, but which has older Southeast Asian equivalents like *linamnam* (Filipino) and *gurih* (Bahasa). As a method to unlock the *umami* compounds in various food products, there is a short lecture on fermentation in various cultures around the world, and which discusses fermented condiments found throughout Southeast

Asia. Of primary importance are the fish/shrimp pastes like *terasi* (Indonesia), *khapi* (Thailand), *belachan* (Malaysia), and *bagoong* (Philippines). As a by-product of fish/shrimp paste production, liquid extracts like *nam pla* (Thailand), *nuoc mam* (Vietnam) are subsequently discussed. Thereafter, students have a tasting session featuring various fermented condiments.

The second session continues on with the topic of fermentation, but this time focusing on vinegars and alcohols. These two product categories, produced using different genera of microbes, are the most popular with students. Vinegar, although also found in other

The general interest of young students about food ensures their attention, and they are more willing to devote resources for the fulfillment of the module requirements. Also, the push toward ASEAN integration necessitates undergraduate courses such as SEA 30, with its emphasis on the historico-cultural links that bind us together.

Southeast Asian cuisines, is central to Philippine cuisine, as sourness is an important characteristic of Filipino food culture (Consul, 2016). The discussion on alcohol is prefaced with the information that it is considered *haram* or sinful in many parts of Southeast Asia. But non-Muslims are allowed to produce their own traditional brews in Islamic states.

As rice and palm are native plants of Southeast Asia, much of the session explores the culture and production of traditional alcohols such as *brem* (rice alcohol from Bali, Indonesia), *sato* (rice alcohol from Thailand), *tapuy* (rice alcohol from Northern Philippines), and *tuba* (palm alcohol from the Philippines). As a product of colonization, sugarcane-derived alcohols such as rum and *basi* (both found in the Philippines) are also discussed. Expectedly, many students participate in the tasting session of various alcoholic beverages and vinegars.

The third session deals with the main staple of Southeast Asia – rice. It is first discussed from a botanical perspective, then a cross-cultural approach is adopted. In order to dissociate the students from the mundaneness of rice, Southeast Asian rice culture is compared/contrasted with European rice culture. For example, Asian cuisines value fragrant, newly-harvested rice while European dishes call for aged, dry rice (Macapagal, 2013b). The module then progresses to issues surrounding rice, which is considered a “pivotal political commodity” (Intal & Garcia, 2005) due to its importance in the daily lives of our peoples. The final tasting session features various rice cakes, rice wines, and other fermented rice products.

The final session features a less exciting, but nevertheless crucial, topic: food (in)security. This part highlights Southeast Asia’s seasonal patterns of plenty and penury due to the monsoon. It also takes a look at the political and economic issues which exacerbate the region’s food security issues. Particular emphasis is given on the rice supply crises which have been plaguing the Philippines, while its neighbors like Thailand, Vietnam, and Cambodia have great surpluses. In contrast to the first three modules, no food is served during this lecture in order to drive home the point of hunger and food insecurity. However, students are given several courses of action in order to address these issues in their own small ways.

As a final requirement, there is the SEA-Food Party. Students form groups, do research on, and cook any non-Filipino Southeast Asian dish. They must furthermore go through the tasks of shopping for the ingredients in a traditional market, and preparing the ingredients themselves. They are also required to serve it to others, and get feedback. If there is enough time, their creations are presented in class as a sort of semester-ender party. The professor also cooks a dish for the students to try. Finally, they must submit a documentation of the process, together with brief reflections on the whole experience.

Positive Student Feedback and Future Opportunities

Student evaluations of the module are generally positive. They seem to be most impressed with the food tasting and the opportunities to learn more about other Southeast Asian cuisines:

The instructor, in almost every session, brought samples of food and drinks for the students to taste. This made me happy because we get to taste the same thing, for example, soy sauce, made in different parts of Southeast Asia. For example, Indonesia has a thick and sweet soy sauce while the soy sauce here in the country is very liquid and salty. Aside from that, he also demonstrates a broad knowledge of the food in the region as depicted in his discussions of the sociocultural context of such food and drinks. (Student 1, 1st semester, Academic Year 2015-2016)

It helped me understand more about SEA culture through something that is sometimes overlooked when you think of studying culture – food. (Student 2, 1st semester, Academic Year 2016-2017)

As an integrative final topic in an undergraduate-level, food culture and gastronomy, seems to hold much promise. The general interest of young students about food ensures their attention, and they are more willing to devote resources for the fulfillment of the module requirements. Also, the push toward ASEAN integration necessitates undergraduate courses such as SEA 30, with its emphasis on the historico-cultural links that bind us together. Through this course, which provides a panorama of historico-socio-cultural topics and issues of the region, typically Western-oriented Filipino students may be made more aware of their Southeast Asian-ness.

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Teaching the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Southeast Asia (SEA)¹

Amparo Adelina C. Umali, III²

This paper discusses my approach and method in using Southeast Asian intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in teaching a class called Southeast Asia (SEA) 30 (Asian Emporiums: Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia), commonly known as SEA 30 and offered by the UP Center for International Studies (UPCIS). Employing the UNESCO definition of ICH as framework and putting forward the premise that it is a bond linking the countries in the region, I examine the use of one SEA folklore and three oral performance traditions for SEA 30 classroom purposes.

But first, a self-introduction: having graduated from UP Diliman's Theatre Arts program and experienced its Eurocentric content and orientation, I felt the need to expand the cultural space in the academe by deepening awareness of Asian aesthetics. This way, a better understanding and appreciation of non-Western and non-mainstream literature and performance traditions may be fostered, and, in the process, kindle a desire to study and perform them.

¹ Expanded version of a paper presented at the 2018 International Conference of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies/Busan University of Foreign Studies, Busan, South Korea, 10-12 May 2018. Umali is grateful to Ma. Lourdes Macapagal-Groves and Rae Macapagal for providing her a writing residency that made this article possible.

² Editor's note: Umali is a professor at the UP Center for International Studies (UPCIS) and is the coordinator for its East and Southeast Asian Studies division. She founded two Japanese traditional theater groups, the UPCIS Noh Ensemble and the UPCIS Bunraku Ensemble and continues to serve as their artistic director. In 2019, UP bestowed on her the U.P. Artist title.

Hopefully, this would lead to transmission to the next generation. One way to do this is by teaching ICH using Asian oral literature and performance traditions.

All courses at the UPCIS are team-taught and at least four to as many as ten teachers divide among themselves the classroom hours (1.5hrs/2x a week for 33 class sessions) allocated for the semester. Each of them tackles a topic that is of their expertise, or a product of individual research. My ICH of Southeast Asia module has the following student learning outcome objectives:

- 1) Gain a basic understanding of intangible and tangible cultural heritage;
- 2) Be cognizant of the need to study oral traditions, i.e. oral literature and performance traditions, as intangible practices and artistic expressions of the different Southeast Asian countries;
- 3) Read the celestial maiden narratives and analyze the commonalities of a shared oral tradition of Southeast Asia. Also look at the distinctiveness of each tradition.
- 4) Be aware of the importance of masters, culture-bearers and students of masters in the teaching of oral traditions; and
- 5) Appreciate the importance of oral traditions in contemporary Southeast Asia.

I limit the scope of my sessions to examining one folklore and its many variants in the different SEA cultures, and at least three performance traditions which highlight orality as a traditional method for knowledge production.

I deliver my module on ICH of Southeast Asia in eight sessions. Here is a brief discussion of class activities in each one:

Session 1. The session begins with a discussion of UNESCO’s definition of ICH and the nature of oral traditions. I ask students to reflect on what they have learned in high school or in earlier modules and answer the question “What makes us Southeast Asians?” Each student is made to respond without consulting notes, and without repeating their classmates’ responses. They may build on a classmate’s answer but not repeat it. For example: if one student says, “We experience the monsoon.” The next student may say – “The northeast monsoon known as ‘*amihan*’ and the southwest monsoon known as ‘*habagat*’ affect Philippine weather patterns.”

After this ice-breaker, I introduce the module’s premise that SEA has one of the richest (if not the richest) traditions in the world handed down orally, from generation to generation to preserve indigenous cultures, beliefs and practices. This is a very important detail, I add, now that we are faced with the threats of globalization. Often this is a consequence of education, and more recently, social media.³

Oral traditions function as verbally-transmitted records or commentaries on a particular “contemporary” society and its cultures, beliefs, and practices at a given time. As Vansina (1985) asserts:

³ In the few months that I hosted some indigenous youths in the university, I was surprised to learn that they do not practice traditional dances, songs, games and rituals related to health and well-being in their communities of origin. Instead they have turned to dancing zumba for physical exercise. I was even more surprised to learn that their way of dealing with stress has been medicalized through counseling.

[O]ral tradition applies both to a process and to its products. The products are oral messages based on previous oral messages at least a generation old. The process is the transmission of such messages by word of mouth over time until the disappearance of the message. Hence, any given oral tradition is but a rendering at one moment, an element in a process of oral development that began with the original communication. (p. 3)

Before proceeding to the heart of the module, I ask students to give examples of what for them is an intangible and tangible cultural heritage. When faced with awkward moments of silence and displays of hesitation, I would rephrase the instruction to a question: what makes one thing tangible or intangible? The usual answer: “tangible” is something palpable while “intangible” is something abstract. I would then ask them for examples of each. They often give the Banaue Rice Terraces, the Miag-ao church, and Vigan colonial houses as examples of tangible cultural heritage. Some give epics, dances and songs as examples of the intangible.

I then introduce UNESCO’s (n.d.) definition of intangible cultural heritage (2003):

This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (p. 3)

To highlight the difference between the tangible and the intangible, I also use UNESCO’s 1972 definition of tangible cultural heritage, which divides it into the cultural and natural (2019):

Cultural Heritage

- ***Monuments***: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
- ***Groups of buildings***: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
- ***Sites***: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites, which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

Natural Heritage

- ***Natural features*** which consist of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;
- ***Geological and physiographical formations*** and precisely-delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;
- ***Natural sites*** or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. (p. 19)

I then define oral literature as centuries-old voice texts or verbal art, transmitted through generations by local storytellers/performers who maintain the oral lore in their societies. I add that oral literature — which I limit to folktales for classroom purposes — can evolve through generations before discussing the following sub-topics:

Folktale. Utilizing oral literature as an integrating theme, I focus on the celestial maiden (CM) tale, an oral literary tradition present in different Asian countries, and which depicts the Asian female prior to the advent of written chronicles. I point out that the CM folktale has different versions, some of which are quite similar to other variants. Generations after generations seem to continuously find meaning and value from this narrative — which is both traditional and contemporary — having been kept alive as a living oral and performance tradition. But there is a dearth of young scholars interested in the study of CM narratives. Although the story is still very popular among our Southeast Asian neighbors, it is hardly known to my students at UP.

Celestial Maiden (CM) Narrative. I introduce the CM narrative by asking students if they know of any folktale with a half-woman, half-bird character that comes down to earth from the heavens. Once in a while, a student or two would cite Philippine mythical figures like the *aswang* or the *manananggal* (which could be a corruption/distortion of these beautiful maiden characters). To show that the module is not about these feared creatures, I trace the celestial maidens to figures from two great religions (the *apsara* from Hinduism and the *houris* from Islam) and to two literatures, *Mahabharata* and the *Natya Sastra* from India, and *Niu lang Zhi niu* [The Cowherd and the Weaving Maiden] from China.

Celestial Maiden in Religion. Asked about the Rig Veda, a number of students usually say that it is Hinduism's oldest sacred text. I

introduce *Urvasi*, the only *apsara* — or a female deity who resides in the sky (Gopal, 1990) — named in the Rig Veda who has a hymn about her lengthy conversations with her mortal lover, *Pururavas*. I emphasize that the intimate relationship between a celestial being and a human is an important element in the CM folktale.

Asked about the Qur'an, more students know about it being Islam's sacred text than about the Rig Veda being its counterpart in Hinduism. In the Qur'an there are several chapters and verses that mention the *houris* or the “maidens of paradise” (Larson, n.d.). One of these is *The Mount* which tells of *houris* as maidens to be married to men in paradise.

The verse reads: “And we will marry [Muslim men] with big-eyed *houris*” (Usmani Qur'an 52:20).

Celestial Maiden in Muslim Philippines.

In the late 13th and early 14th centuries, Arab traders and adventurers brought Islam

By combining lectures, experiential learning, and exposure to masters and culture bearers, I hope to show students how Southeast Asians regard their intangible cultural heritage and what measures are being done to ensure that they remain performed, safeguarded, revitalized and passed on to the next generation.

to Sulu and Mindanao (Majul, 1966). The Maguindanaos credit two *awliyas*⁴ — Sharif Awliya and Sharif Maraja — in the Islamization of Mindanao (Gowing, 1979, citing Gonda, 1975). Gowing (1979) mentions a historical myth that tells of the deity-mortal union earlier highlighted as an important element in CM narratives: in pursuit of paradise, Sharif Awliya comes to Mindanao. On a hill named Tantawan (near Cotabato), he finds a *houris* sent to him from heaven. He marries her and they have a daughter whom they name *Paramisuli*.

⁴ *Awliyas* are Muslims who exhibit piety and faith (Hassana & Idrisa, 2016).

Celestial Maiden in Indian Literature. As an example of CMs in Indian literature, I cite the *apsara* Menaka in the *Mahabharata*, known as the longest Indian epic. In the tale, she seduces Vishvamitra, one of seven revered *rishis*, or sages, known for enduring austere ways and the practice of penance, and bears him a child (Gopal, 1990). I also introduce the *Natya Sastra*, the principal work of Sanskrit dramatic theory which mentions many *apsara*.

Celestial Maiden in Chinese Literature. In *Niu lang Zhi nü*, a cowherd steals a weaving maiden's clothes, marries her, and has two children with her. But the queen of heaven separates them and allows them to meet only once a year. This intimate relationship between a celestial maiden and a human being is of great significance among local rulers, who use it to point to their genealogical descent from superhuman beings as the source of their power and authority.

After being introduced to *apsara* and *houris*, the class is shown the narrative pattern of CM tales:

A maiden from the heavens comes down to earth to take a bath.

She loses her wings or flying clothes

She marries a mortal and bears him a child.

She finds her wings or her flying clothes which her husband had hidden.

She returns to the heavens.

Linear development of the Celestial Maiden plot

Except for one or two who claim to have learned of a story with the above-mentioned narrative pattern, either from a grandmother, a Philippine Studies class, or a fairytale book, most students hear about the plot configuration for the first time in the SEA 30 class.

Session 2 (“The Celestial Maidens from Narrative to Performance and Other Cultural Expressions”) opens with a short lecture on

performance traditions that borrow from the CM story. I give three examples of these traditions and show video clips of performances: the *Torayan* or Eagle Dance from Paracelis, Mountain Province,⁵ and of the Igorots of Bontoc, which was supposedly danced in the *Taraw Siblaw*,⁶ the Bharatanatyam's *Manohra*, a re-creation of the Thai *Manohra*,⁷ and the Japanese Noh *Hagoromo* or the robe of feathers.⁸

I then distribute to the class a collection of CM folktales with similar plot lines from nine SEA countries⁹ to demonstrate the spread of

⁵ Ventura Bitot, dancer/musician/director, personal communication, 2021.

⁶ The Taraw (star) Siblaw is the celestial maiden story of 10 maidens who descended from the heavens and encountered a male hunter in Mt. Siniblawan, according to three informants — Caridad B. Fiar-od, PhD, cultural officer of the Mountain Province provincial government; Leonila Malla-ao, of the Mt. Province Provincial Human Resource Management Office, dancer and cultural master of Bontoc Tradition; and Ventura Bitot, who represented the Philippines in the Celestial Maidens of Southeast Asia and Japan: Workshops, Colloquia and Performances on Living Traditions organized by the UPCIS on March 12-14, 2009 (Umali, 2009).

⁷ The Thai *Manohra*, the *kinaree* or half-bird, half-human celestial maiden who eluded death, is based on an Indian myth that is almost unheard of in India, but kept alive in many Southeast Asian tales, according to the Indian-Singaporean choreographer Santha Bhaskar, artistic director of Nrityalaya Aesthetics Society of Singapore. The Thai tale inspired her to recreate it as an Indian dance interpretation for the Singapore Arts Festival in 1996. Bhaskar represented Singapore in the Celestial Maidens of Southeast Asia and Japan: Workshops, Colloquia and Performances on Living Traditions organized by the UPCIS on March 12-14, 2009 (Umali, 2009).

⁸ The Noh play *Hagoromo*, or robe of feathers, is taken from the folktale of the same title about a fisherman who found a celestial maiden's beautiful robe (Sakade, 2005). This inspired the 14th century actor-playwright Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443) to rewrite it for a Noh performance. His work is considered to this day as one of the most beautiful Noh plays still being performed.

⁹ Students from Indonesia, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, and Myanmar provided me with five of these tales found in Umali's collection *The Celestial Maiden Narratives of Southeast Asia, China, India, Japan and Korea* (2018). The Brunei Darussalam and the first tale from the Philippines were taken from Umali's *Celestial Maidens of Southeast Asia and Japan* (2009). The tale from Malaysia and the second tale from the Philippines were taken from Wrigglesworth's *The Maiden of Many Nations* (1991). The Cambodia tale came from an online source of program notes of Princess Norodom Buppha Devi's 2003 remounting of *Preah Sothun Neang Monorea* (Shapiro-Phim,

the narratives in Southeast Asia. Students are then divided into groups which are each assigned a CM narrative to read and discuss.

They discuss the commonalities with their group's assigned celestial maiden narrative to the basic plot patterns and its distinctiveness. They are also to find a connection, whenever possible, to either the Indian or Chinese story and identify how their group narrative is similar or different from the eight other SEA tales.

To introduce the concept of borrowing from oral traditions in discoursing about contemporary issues and concerns, the groups are instructed to identify a burning issue faced by the country assigned to them and which they can incorporate in an 8-10 minute creative work on their assigned CM narrative. This presentation may be in the following formats: play production, video/film output, radio drama, animation, puppet performance, original song composition, *sabayang pagbikas* (choral recitation),fliptop performance, rap performance, *balagtasan*, and others (subject to professor's approval).

Sessions 3-4. These are devoted to presentations of group work on the CM narratives. The rest of the class gives constructive criticism after each presentation and assesses their quality.

Sessions 5-7. These sessions on SEA dances devote one entire 1.5-hr class on learning the *Bharatanatyam*,¹⁰ the *Tari Java*,¹¹ the

n.d.). Additional texts from India, China, Japan, and Korea are also provided in the collection.

¹⁰ *Bharatanatyam* is one of India's classical dances that tells stories of their gods, traditions and way of life by way of songs, music and dance (Baguilat, personal communication, 2021).

¹¹ The *Tari Java* is the elegant and slow Javanese court dance with meditative character.

Igal,¹² or the *Komedyá* of San Dionisio, Parañaque,¹³ as there are practitioners of these forms in the country. The oral method of teaching the practice of performance traditions is another relevant and appropriate way to learn about SEA. During these sessions, I welcome visits, whenever they are possible, from other traditional performers, such as those of Thailand's *Khon*¹⁴ (in 2016) and Malaysia's *Zapin*¹⁵ (in 2018), so our students can experience an expanded menu of performance traditions.

I prefer that masters or culture-bearers, if not students of masters of the above performance traditions, to teach our students the basics of the dances because they have a deep understanding and respect for the dance traditions. Two of our team-teachers are culture bearers¹⁶ while two university colleagues were mentored under a master-disciple system, where they had the opportunity to have a one-on-one disciplined training.¹⁷

12 The *Igal* is the traditional dance of the Sama Badjao characterized by elegant arm movements that evoke nature elements such as waves or eagle wings.

13 The *Komedyá* is a folk drama adapted from the Spanish *comedia* on the conflict between Christians and Muslims.

14 Thailand's *Khon* is a classical court drama performed by men in masks.

15 Malaysia's *Zapin* is a Malay traditional dance performed in pairs.

16 Janna Hajji is an award-winning *Igal* dancer and teacher from Zamboanga City who now teaches the dance in Olongapo City. She learned the dance at an early age. Grace Jaramillo, a medical practitioner, comes from a family of *Komedyantes* who act, choreograph and direct *Komedyas* for the different *Komedyá* groups in Parañaque.

17 Angela Lawenko Baguilat, an assistant professor at the UP College of Music Dance Program, was a recipient of the Indian Council for Culture and Research Scholarship Grant (2005-2006) and studied *Bharatanatyam* under the *gurukul* system (Baguilat, personal communication, 2021). Jeremy Dela Cruz, an assistant professor at the Department of Humanities, College of Arts and Sciences, UP Los Baños, received a Darmasiswa Scholarship RI Program Grant (2011-2012) and studied Javanese traditional dance and choreography at Institut Seni Indonesia (Indonesian Art Institute), or ISI (Dela Cruz, personal communication, 2021).

Students are asked to pay close attention in order to learn the dances experientially, through observation, imitation and repetition. There is little or no discussion made on the philosophy, history, or spiritual basis of these performance traditions. Instead, the commonalities and distinctiveness of the dances are identified.

Session 8. For the synthesis activity, students write down keywords or phrases that they remember from the module, including those from other outside-of-class-learning activities or events recommended by UPCIS such as other performances, public lectures, roundtable discussions, and film showings. The students then use their recalled words and phrases in crafting a short group research or reflection paper that answers the following questions:

- A. What is the role of the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in contemporary Southeast Asia? Should we give importance to the study of oral traditions? Why or why not?
- B. What do the similarities and differences in the narratives and the performance traditions tell us about the cultures of Southeast Asia? Do you think these oral traditions spread through cultural diffusion from one source or through a parallel but independent development from a common origin?
- C. How do the narratives and performance traditions discussed in class demonstrate the artistic legacy of the country assigned to your group (i.e. in the case of the narratives) and of Southeast Asia as a whole (i.e. in the case of both narratives and performance traditions)?

By combining lectures, experiential learning, and exposure to masters and culture bearers, I hope to show students how Southeast Asians regard their intangible cultural heritage and what measures are being done to ensure that they remain performed, safeguarded, revitalized and passed on to the next generation. At the same time, I also hope to stimulate reflections on how we Filipinos view our own oral traditions and what efforts (or lack of) are being made to preserve and pass them on to the next generation. It is heartening to note that there is a small but growing number of Filipino practitioners of Asian performance traditions, trained by masters of these performance traditions, who are now mentoring the next generation of Filipino learner-practitioners.

I end by quoting the eloquent words of UPCIS founding director Dean Consuelo J. Paz in her foreword to *Celestial Maidens of Southeast Asia and Japan: A Dialogue of Cultures* (Umali, 2009):

[I]t may be that the compilation of the lectures and dialogues on the celestial maiden is meant to encourage scholarship on oral and performance traditions, yet reading these lectures and the output of the dialogue that took place provides a wondrous experience, coupled with the realization that cultural similarities exist not only in contingent countries in a region, but in what seems, vastly unrelated cultures of the world... this collection demonstrates the cultural threads that link us – experiences, emotions, imagining, aspirations etc. – as humans...that could hopefully inspire others to pursue studies of commonalities across cultures; studies that attest to a rich, though often unrecorded, past that could cultivate or nourish contemporary appreciation of who we are. In the Philippines, with the thick veneer of colonial influence, this kind of endeavor should contribute to a firmly-grounded nationalism in

the youth. In this era of political and economic conflict and upheaval, the UPCIS is on the right path towards appreciating other peoples from seemingly very different cultures, an appreciation that hopefully leads to mutual respect and understanding and eventually, though elusive, world peace. (p. viii)

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Teaching the Europe-Meets-Southeast-Asia Encounter to Filipinos¹

Wystan de la Peña²

Introduction

In the last two decades or so, despite the attention that Filipino university students have given to Asian pop culture stars — K-pop personalities, Japanese animé characters, Taiwanese singing celebrities, among others — anecdotal observations shared with colleagues point to the former's poor command of knowledge on Southeast Asia. One can imagine the dearth of knowledge of students about Europe, a continent half a world away. While this inadequate knowledge is easily explained by geographical distance, in a world now connected by cyberspace, there is little justification to profess unfamiliarity with Europe.

Students' lack of familiarity with their immediate geography is lamentable, as it can breed apathy in the face of alarming events and developments happening in their home region. As knowledge about one's surroundings is crucial to self-identification with one's geographical location, classes on Southeast Asia in the Philippines have to respond to the challenge of familiarizing students with the region and making them see themselves as individuals who are Filipino, and, at the same time, Southeast Asian.

¹ Expanded version of a paper presented at the 2018 International Conference on Southeast Asian Studies organized by the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies / Busan University for Foreign Studies, Busan, South Korea. 10-12 May 2018.

² Editor's note: de la Peña is a professor of Spanish at the Department of European Languages of UP's College of Arts and Letters and is a faculty affiliate at the UPCIS.

The challenge becomes doubly difficult if the subject matter is about another continent located at least six time zones away. How does one teach Europe in a class on Southeast Asia? What is the best strategy to employ among youngsters whose cultural radar is dominated by Hollywood and Western pop culture stars?

I limit my discussion here to the teaching of the Europe-Southeast Asian encounter and an inventory of best practices in my experience in teaching a class on Southeast Asia, or a class about Europe for Southeast Asians, in particular, Filipinos.

In the spirit of interdisciplinarity, I appropriate the concept of domestication, as articulated in Western translation theory, in my classes where I discuss the Europe-Southeast Asia encounter.

Domestication in Western translation theory posits the rendering of a text into the target language without “disturbing” readers with the knowledge that they are reading a translation. The translation should read like an original, resulting from a translator’s adherence to the target language’s syntactical prescriptions (read: naturalness of expression), thereby “domesticating” the original for readers of the translation. The litmus test is the production among readers of a translation of the same reaction elicited by the original text among its originally-intended readers (Wang, 2013; Venuti, 1995).

Applied to the Southeast Asia classroom, the teaching of Europe, or of the Europe-Southeast Asia meeting, is by itself, a work of translation: the teacher serves as “translator” for his/her students, “translating” concepts about Europe into vocabulary that the class can grasp.

In short, in the Southeast Asia classroom in the Philippines where Europe is largely an abstract concept for many, the continent should

be presented in concrete terms that students can easily grasp. Important preliminary information should be packaged accordingly, to wit: the region's physical and human geography (the physical and demographic setting), its languages (the linguistic context), and history (development). With this introduction, beginning lectures prepare students for new information, without finding it too foreign as to be intimidating or overwhelming.

Pedagogical Point of Entry

The word “encounter” is an important point of entry pedagogically: any discussion of Southeast Asia and Europe will always begin with the narrative of European arrival. The story does not begin in Asia, however, but in Europe.

This story-telling highlights the importance of the study of history in understanding the relationship between the two regions. Students have to see that modern Southeast Asia is much a product of its centuries-long interactions with the West, as much as the cultural evolutions happening within the region.

(There is one caveat to consider in the use of the predominantly-Eurocentric historical narratives on Southeast Asia — the Orientalist perspective. In the Philippine situation, this is a challenge, as history texts in Philippine classrooms are usually written in English. As far back as two generations ago, standard texts included Latourette's *A Short History of the Far East*, published in 1953. The reference to the “Far East” already indicates a Europe-centered perspective).

A little historical backgrounder: the move in the University of the Philippines (UP) to “neutralize” this Western perspective saw the creation in the 1980s of a Philippine studies doctoral program

which envisioned homegrown theory-building, rejecting Western theoretical moorings in analyzing the country's realities. A desired offshoot in Philippine history pedagogy is the effort of a group of UP faculty, led by a Sorbonne-trained anthropologist-historian who had written a doctoral dissertation on the Austronesians, to produce a textbook, *Kabihasnang Asyano*, for a general education course on Asia, then called *Asian Civilization*, or simply, *Asian Civ*.

The book was a concrete response to the call to create an Asian history with an Asian perspective, written and taught in an Asian language, in this case, Filipino — a discourse that would later crystallize in the 1990s as the *Pantayong Pananaw* (“The West-perspective”) school in Philippine historiography.³

This course has since disappeared from class offerings and its unofficial replacement became Southeast Asia 30 (SEA 30 — Asian Emporiums: Networks of Culture and Trade in Southeast Asia) offered every semester by the UP Center for International Studies. One apparent failure of the *Asian Civ* course is the insistence of its advocates to teach it in Filipino, a language to which most students were not adequately equipped to handle as a language of instruction, much less as the language of their reading materials.

Students should be made to understand that the Southeast Asia-Europe encounter in the 16th century resulted from the European expansionist push to corner a then newly-discovered source of resources: spices and eventually, land. Subsequently, the desire to control market access of spices led to Western colonization.

³ A useful read on the history of this discourse is Salazar (2015); a critique of this methodological perspective is seen in Guillermo (2009).

Thus, the Spaniards came to the Philippines, the British in Malaya, and the Dutch in Indonesia. The French in Indochina would follow two centuries later. With them came their languages.

With their tongues imposed as languages of colonial governance, then maintained as languages of power and prestige in the social structure, the centuries witnessed lexicons from these languages creeping into the local vocabulary. Some underwent phonetic and orthographic transformations, some experienced indigenization as part of the assimilation process, and not a few even went through resemanticization, some slightly changing definitions while others acquired totally different meanings.

Exploration of this linguistic influence opens up many possibilities for activities for students. For Filipinos, Spanish linguistic insertion into the local vocabulary allows a much easier access to major branches of the Indo-European language family: through the Spanish portal passed Arabic and Latin lexicons (and through which Latin, Greek ones came in); from Sanskrit⁴ and the Austronesian language family came words which explain why Philippine languages have cognates in Hindi and some lexicons look and sound similar to Bahasa, whether the Indonesian or Malaysian variants.⁵

More importantly, English — easily overlooked as a European language as well (most students may attribute “ownership” of the language to Americans, as English used in the Philippines draws

⁴ T.H. Pardo de Tavera (1857-1925), the first Filipino to graduate from the University of Sorbonne, wrote on the Sanskrit origins of some words found in the Philippine languages. Russian linguist Ekaterina Baklanova (2017) names other studies on Sanskrit loan words in Filipino since Pardo de Tavera's: Hendrik Kern's "Sanskritische Woorden in Het Tagala" (1881), Frank Blake's "Sanskrit Loan-words in Tagalog" (1918), and Juan Francisco's "Sanskrit Loanwords in the Philippine Languages" (1973).

⁵ Salazar (2012) has compiled a glossary of Filipino terms with equivalents in the languages in the South Pacific, showing convincingly that Philippine languages and those in Oceania are related.

heavily from the U.S. variant) — gives Filipinos not only an important international gateway language, but also linguistic access into the Germanic family of languages, making it possible for Filipinos to recognize certain words in German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, they being cognates of their English counterparts.

Interestingly, as English is where the Germanic (thanks to the Jutes, Saxons, Angles, and Vikings who came to England in the early medieval period), and the Italic (courtesy of the Norman invasion,⁶ which introduced a lot of French words into the language of Shakespeare) language families meet, the vocabulary of a Filipino university student equips him or her with the necessary tools to embark on a career in languages. This rich vocabulary also facilitates the study of European cultural-linguistic injection into Southeast Asian life.

Linguistically, contemporary Southeast ASEAN life, in contrast to “Southeast Asian life,”⁷ depends heavily on English for regional understanding and cooperation. In what may be considered a curious case, the ASEAN is the only regional bloc whose lingua franca — English — is not a homegrown, but a transplanted, language (Lim, 2017; Kirkpatrick, 2010).

⁶ An easy reading on the Norman invasion for Southeast Asian classrooms is Neveux (2008).

⁷ The contrast may be seen in the difference in the daily lives of the people in Southeast Asia and those of their cosmopolitan politico-economic elite who represent them in ASEAN-level talks. The former require the use of English only when dealing with foreigners; the latter use English as a work language, and in the case for Filipinos, identify with it as native speakers.

Studying Spanish

Concretely, in the case of Filipino students, the study of Spanish loan words in Philippine languages, and familiarity with their semantic or morphological changes, provide a window through which Europe can be approached. By looking at the domains in which Spanish words are grouped together — henceforth, we shall call them “cultural vocabulary” (Bengtson, 2011)⁸ — one can deduce the presence of Spanish cultural elements that have since been incorporated into the local culture (Joaquin, 2004).

Scott (1994) used this lexicography-based methodology to reconstruct Philippine society at the Spanish contact. He looked at Spanish-period dictionaries made by the friars and recreated Tagalog and Visayan pre-Hispanic societies, the two dominant ethnic groups, by studying lexicons and grouping them into domains.⁹

In the early 1970s, Wolff (1973-74, as cited in Bautista, 1986) did the same and showed how these Filipino social life domains revealed Spanish cultural legacies. Joaquin (2004) asserts that Philippine society’s unprecedented growth in the decades following the 16th century Spanish arrival was due to the adoption of Castilian farming technology, a phenomenon echoed in the presence of farm implement vocabulary in Filipino (for example: Sp. *arado*, Fil. ‘araro,’ Eng. ‘plough’).

⁸ Bengtson (2011) defines “cultural vocabulary” as lexicons which express “concepts peculiar to particular cultures, or stages of culture” and are indicators of cultural contacts made by the recipient culture [or in this case, recipient language].

⁹ Important historiographies which challenged mainstream discourse also used this same lexicon-centered methodology with positive results. Reynaldo Ileto’s *Pasyon and Revolution* (1979) and Vicente Rafael’s *Contracting Colonialism* (1988) are two good examples.

Cui (2012) cites Thorp's (1972) now-nearly-five-decade-old estimate of 42% as the extent of the presence of Spanish loanwords in Tagalog. While she makes no distinctions between root words and derivatives, this Spanish-derived linguistic capital easily translates into thousands of words distributed in the local languages. Some words appear in modified form or with new meanings, their original Spanish appearances and significations only recognizable to someone knowledgeable in Spanish and the local language.

To cite a few examples: in the northern part of the country, one sees the Ilocano 'napiirde,' derived from the Spanish 'perder' 'to lose'; in the east, the Bikol 'inoorgulyo' from the Spanish 'orgullo', 'pride'; and in the central part of the country, the Visayan 'sencillo,' from the Spanish 'sencillo' (meaning 'simple'), but with the new meaning 'loose change.'

Student experiences in discovering these Spanish-derived words have been positive. Asked to take photos of such words appearing in signages around campus, the reactions ranged from surprise ("I didn't know that was Spanish!") to affirmation ("I know! I learned it in Spanish class!").

This lexicography exercise introduces students, non-language majors mostly and thus unfamiliar with linguistic phenomena, to language changes that Southeast Asia experienced with the European encounter: cognates are explained as the result of the fusion of certain words in the vocabulary.

"Juramentado" in Philippine languages is a Spanish-derived adjective for someone who goes amok. It originally referred to Muslim men who took an oath (hence the term, from the Spanish 'juramento' 'oath') to kill Americans during the Philippine-American War (1899-1902).

Critical Engagement

The Southeast-Asia-Europe encounter can also be a teaching opportunity to develop good reading skills in students and thus facilitate a critical engagement of non-Southeast Asian, especially Western, or specifically European, narratives about the region. Aside from fostering awareness on European Orientalism, the Southeast Asia classroom should also make students aware of a discursive strategy underlying most Western/European writings about the region: the gendering, even infantilizing, perspective of an Orientalist/White male gaze.

To Westerners, Asian highlighting of this gendering may be a simplification, but it is one texture of those texts that no Southeast Asia classroom should fail to consider. Therein lies a core description of the beginnings of the Southeast Asia-Europe encounter: Europe is depicted as coming to the region with an impetus now seen as masculine, and Southeast Asia is imaged as female, the recipient of this masculine action. This tendency is invariably accompanied by an infantilizing discourse: Southeast Asians, compared to Europeans, are “inferior,” “savages” and needing of Western civilization.

Thus the emergence of several related dichotomies: Europe as colonizer, Southeast Asia as the colonized; Europe as the explorer, Southeast Asia as the explored; Europe as the mystery solver, Southeast Asia as the mystery; and Europe as the bringer of modernity, Southeast Asia as the recipient — binaries which students should know, as they limit Southeast Asia to a passive historical role.

The Southeast Asia classroom in the Philippines thus benefits from a discussion of Jose Rizal’s *Anotaciones* (1890) to Antonio Morga’s

Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (1609), now known as Rizal's *Morga*. This 17th century account can serve as illustration to students of the Southeast Asian people's agency, misinterpreted or omitted in texts by Westerners often ignorant of the former's culture. Rizal's annotation is a good example of a deconstructionist, even critical post-colonial, engagement of Western-perceived and proclaimed passivity of Southeast Asians.¹⁰

From Rizal, the class can move on to other narratives — *Reisen in den Philippinen* (1883) by German ethnologist, naturalist, and explorer Fedor Jagor (1816-1900); and the Philippine part of the *Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo* (1524) account of Italian chronicler Antonio Pigafetta (1480-1534), who accompanied Magellan in that historic voyage that circumnavigated the world.¹¹

Important European travel narratives about other parts of Southeast Asia are not generally available in Philippine bookstores (only big university libraries may have them in their holdings) — though a lot of them may be found in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Thailand outlets

The Filipino teacher tackling Europe as a topic in a Southeast Asia classroom acts as a “translator” for students who, for the most part, have not experienced Europe as a travel destination, not familiar with other European languages other than English, and not knowledgeable on European culture and history.

¹⁰ The caveat earlier given about European texts on Southeast Asia should equally apply the other way around, or when Southeast Asians comment about European texts about them. A case in point is Ocampo's critique (1998) of the Spanish review of Rizal's *Morga*.

¹¹ An interesting secondary source on Pigafetta's chronicle and an easy read for students is Bergreen (2004). The 500th anniversary of the Magellan expedition is the highlight of 2021 historical celebrations in the Philippines. It provides an entry point in discussing Southeast Asia's involvement in the first round of globalization that happened during the European Renaissance.

— and it will require a patient search by the teacher of a Southeast Asia class to find appropriate materials.

Filipino students, thanks to Broadway and Hollywood, may be familiar with the story of a British governess, Anna Harriette Leonowens (1831-1915) and the Thai royal children. The fact that students know the narrative as “The King and I” — even songs from the musical — will help in reducing resistance to read Leonowens’ account (1870).

Though less engaging for millennials, but nevertheless equally informative for classroom purposes, are stories of European exploration and scientific expeditions. Some of these include:

- * Hans Morgenthauer’s *Impressions of the Siamese-Malayan Jungle: A Tin Prospector’s Adventures in Southern Thailand* (1923, 1994);
- * Marthe Bassenne’s *In Laos and Siam* (1912, 1995);
- * Michael Smithes’ *A Resounding Failure: Martin and the French in Siam, 1672-1693* (1998);
- * Louise de Carné’s *Travels on the Mekong: Cambodia, Laos and Yunnan* (1872, 1995);
- * E. Lefèvre’s *Travels in Laos: The Fate of the Sip Song Pana and Muong Sing (1894-1896)* (1898, 1995);
- * Carool Kersten’s *Dr. Muller’s Asian Journey: Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and Yunnan* (1899-1900, 2004);

- * Francis Garnier's *Travels in Cambodia and Part of Laos: The Mekong Exploration Commission Report (1866-1868) — Volume 1* (1885, 1996).
- * Gabrielle Vassal's *Three Years in Vietnam, (1907-1910): Medicine, Chams and Tribesmen in Nhatrang and Surroundings* (1999); and
- * Inge Sargent's *Twilight over Burma: My Life as a Shan Princess* (2007).

One interesting insight that students hopefully note in these is European writers' tendency to claim their country's edge over other European nations, seen in their rhetoric about their "showcase cities" — places in their colonies — and these places' alleged superiority over other locations ruled by fellow Europeans.

A good case in point is seen in Vassal (1999), where one cannot help note the imperialist rivalry:¹²

Saigon is the *Paris of the Orient* [emphasis added]. Manila, which the Americans call "the *Pearl of the Orient*," [emphasis added]¹³ may be more sanitary and show greater commercial activity, but it is neither so pretty nor so attractive as Saigon. (p. 21)

12 The rivalry may run deeper than apparent, as France and the United States were both latecomers in the colonization race in Southeast Asia. France came to Indochina in the mid-19th century while the United States acquired the Philippines only in 1898. As early-20th century U.S. historical narratives on the Philippines show, American writers wrote how the United States was a "better colonizer" than Spain in the Philippines. See the 55-volume Blair and Robertson (1903) and a critique of it by Cano (2008).

13 This label may have been taken from a translation of *Ultimo Adiós* (1896), the valedictory poem of the Filipino national hero, Jose Rizal (1861-1896). In the first stanza, Rizal refers to the Philippines as "perla del mar de oriente" ("pearl of the orient seas"). The English label, from a translation of Charles Derbyshire (1911), has become the standard reference to the Philippines.

The feminine perspective of the European colonization of Southeast Asia is an interesting aspect to analyze. In Vassal's, Sargent's (2007), and even in Leonowens' (1870, 1988) texts, one can point out to students the dilemma of a woman writing about traditionally-perceived and colonization-related masculine activities — conquest, co-optation, and control — and show how Spivak's (1992) ideas about post-coloniality and gender easily apply to Southeast Asian women then and now.

Audiovisual Materials

For the current crop of millenials, where academic reading is relegated to the bottom of priorities, no instructional material surpasses the effectivity of the audiovisual medium, or film. While films are not pedagogically recommended to replace reading, the Southeast Asia classroom should employ creative techniques to encourage engagement with written texts — both online and print materials. Watching relevant films is a good supplemental activity to traditional classroom work. A short list: “Indochine” (1992) starring Catherine Deneuve; the Hollywood-made “The King and I” (1956) featuring Yul Brynner and Deborah Kerr; the Jessica Alba-starrer “The Sleeping Dictionary” (2003); and the Spanish movie “1898: Los Ultimos de Filipinas” (2016). The latter will be of great historical interest to Filipino students, as it puts on the big screen the heroic 1898-1899 story of the last soldiers of the Spanish empire to surrender in the Philippines.

Appropriate backgrounder on the part of the teacher is needed to guide students prior to screening. This provides another opportunity to critique Western (mis)representations of Southeast Asia as well as point out Hollywood's hegemony in the international movie industry.

Lastly, one important audiovisual technology is the television. Philippine television advertising is replete with fair-skinned (read: Caucasian- or foreigner-looking) models endorsing different products, most often in English. While these TV commercials affirm and emphasize traditional Filipino values (love for family, need for hard work, a good work-life balance, etc.), one cannot escape noticing how a Western mindset has crept into the way beauty and image products are marketed.

When asked to study Philippine TV advertising images and their treatment of Asian-ness, many students have expressed surprise at the ease in which Western thinking has inserted itself into Filipino beauty discourse: many products (lotion, toothpaste, facial creams), are said to have “whitening” ingredients, and most models, the women especially, personify not the traditional Filipino pulchritude (expressed in the different languages in the country as *morena*, brown, or *kayumangging-kaligatan*) but the Western aesthetic: blond hair, with Caucasian facial and skin features.

Making students study these media representations thus force them to confront the reality behind imagings of Southeast Asian-ness in Philippine television: that what is being sold to the Filipino public as Southeast Asian is the hybrid kind, not the traditional mold prior to the encounter with Europe. In the end, they are made to realize that Southeast Asian-ness is not a static concept, but a constantly changing one, a consequence of the cultural meeting with other worlds.

This point thus serves as yet another entry point for another matter: the discussion of the need to defend, preserve, promote, disseminate, and sustain traditional Southeast Asian culture. In a world being overwhelmed by capitalist modernity and where globalization pushes for cultural homogeneity which favors

the Western hegemony, traditional Southeast Asian culture thus becomes the last bastion to identify Southeast Asian-ness.

Synthesis

The Filipino teacher tackling Europe as a topic in a Southeast Asia classroom acts as a “translator” for students who, for the most part, have not experienced Europe as a travel destination, not familiar with other European languages other than English, and not knowledgeable on European culture and history. This pedagogical challenge is compounded by millennials’ observed preference for spoon feeding lectures, instead of doing readings to better understand lectures.

A recommended “entry point” is the exploration of European lexical loans into the languages of Southeast Asia. In the case of Filipino students, exploration of Spanish loanwords opens up the door to discuss the rich linguistic and cultural patrimony acquired from Europe.

But readings are indispensable to understanding how Europeans view Southeast Asians. It is through a personal encounter with European texts that Western Orientalism becomes clear to students. The Southeast Asia teacher is well-advised to blend print and online reading materials.

While reading provides the best experiential learning for Filipino students about Europe — a region which many of them may take a long time before experiencing it as a travel destination, if ever at all — students should also be made aware of the need to preserve their own Southeast Asian-ness even as they desire to embrace Western-style cultural modernity. By making students aware of technologies

being employed to project a different image of themselves, they can begin to assert their own authentic identity and use their own Southeast Asian identity and culture as foil.

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