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A MODERNIZATION-STANDARDIZATION PLAN FOR THE AUSTRONESIAN-DERIVED NATIONAL LANGUAGES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

By GONSALO DEL ROSARIO

I. The Rise of National Languages in Insular SEA

ONE OF THE VERY FIRST ACTS OF THE EMERGING NATIONS in the island world of Southeast Asia, upon entering the road of political independence, was the formation or designation of their own national languages based on their existing Austronesian[1] dialects. It was an instinctive step, a fitting result of the early struggles for freedom which did not surprise even the former colonial purveyors of widely-used, highly-developed European languages.

Indonesia seems to have taken a slight lead in this cultural awakening.[2] As early as 1933, a civic organization called the Indonesian Language Congress declared the variety of the Malay tongue spoken in Sumatra and Java as the basis of their national language which was to be called Bahasa Indonesia. At the end of World War II, the leaders of the fight for freedom made the use of Bahasa Indonesia official in the newly established republic. The new national tongue was gradually enriched with accretions from the some 250 or so recognizable dialects in the archipelago, and with borrowings from Western languages, mainly Dutch and English. Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, commenting on the rapid spread of a national language in Indonesia, remarked that a mild form of compulsion, taken with good humor by the Indonesians, contributed greatly to the quick development and propagation of Bahasa Indonesia.

The Philippines appears to be the second locale in this spontaneous growth of national languages in insular Southeast Asia, although the seeds of the movement itself were sown there in the first decades of this century by dedicated pioneers like Lope K. Santos, Honorio Lopez and Eusebio T. Daluz.[3] The Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth, adopted in 1935, provided that "The National Assembly shall

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[1] The family of agglutinative languages, also known as Malayo-Polynesian, spoken in a wide area from Madagascar in the West, through Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Micronesia and Hawaii to as far as Easter Island in the east. See Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition (1959), p. 185.

[2] Bro, Margueritte Harmon: *Indonesia, Land of Challenge,* Harper & Bros., New York, 1954; pp. 109-112.

[3] Frei, Ernest J.: *The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language,* Bu. of Printing, Manila, 1959; pp. 62-65.

take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages."

Subsequent presidential directives and ministerial orders implemented this "constitutional mandate" until the Tagalog language of central Luzon was declared the basis of the Filipino National Language in 1937, and this national language became an official language in 1946, the year in which the Republic of the Philippines was born.

The latest on the scene was the Federation of Malaya, later to become the Federation of Malaysia.[4] Upon achieving political independence in 1957, the Federation adopted Malay as the sole official language, but this was to be gradually implemented during a ten-year period that culminated in 1967. At the start of that decade, the Federation established the *Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka* (Institute of Language and Culture) which officially led in lexicographic work, translation and book publishing.

We who are close to the events perceive a difference of several years in the formal birth of the three national languages, but when the story of the Southeast Asian islands will be told in later centuries, the future historian will see the events, in perspective, as merged into one spontaneous and instantaneous cultural phenomenon driven forward by what Quaritch Wales calls "local genius."[5]

II. Functions of National Languages

The stock answer to the question of why it is necessary to have a national language is one that appeals to the emotion and sentiment: "One nation, one flag, one language." National identity demands a national tongue.[6] Yet this is the least important of the functions of national language. There are nations, such as Switzerland,[7] with more than one national language — although such nations are generally small ones. A national identity is desirable but not essential to the formation of a nation. The corporate will and structure is more important.

A far more meaningful justification for having a national language is the attainment of national unity. This is a practical and productive function. We have seen how India, sundered by many languages, has actually split into two parts, and we have witnessed how Japan, welded firmly by Nippongo, has remained a strongly united people through the disaster of utter defeat in a global war.

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[4] Nasir, Tuan Syed: *Strengthening Linguistic Ties Will Hasten Malay Unity,* The Asia Magazine, Manila, October 9, 1966.

[5] Quaritch Wales, H.G.: *The Making of Greater India — A Study in Southeast Asian Culture Change,* B. Quaritch Ltd., London, 1951; p. 17.

[6] Panganiban, Jose Villa: *Language and Nationalism,* reprinted from the quarterly magazine COMMENT No. 11, Second Quarter, 1960.

[7] Encyclopedia Americana: Article on *Switzerland,* The Americana Corporation, New York, 1956, Vol. 26, p. 150.

But even for unity, the national language is not a *sine qua non.* Unity of a sort may be achieved by using an approximately common language, such as English in the Philippines, even if this is not the national tongue.

The really important reason has so far escaped popular recognition and discussion. A national language, when spoken and used on a truly national scale, should enable the school system to teach knowledge in general, and science in particular, very quickly to elementary school children. This sounds simple but most of the countries of the world, including some of the biggest and most powerful, are not doing it, or are not able to do it.[8]

To fulfill this important function, a national language must have two qualities: modernity, to cope with the progress of science and technology, and lexical consistency, to be understandable to children just entering the school system.

Let us take two examples from areas outside of Southeast Asia. Nippongo is both modern and lexically consistent to a high degree so that Japanese children get a thorough grounding in science before leaving the elementary schools. On the other hand, the English language is thoroughly modern but is not lexically consistent. American and British children do not learn science concepts as fast and as efficiently as their Japanese counterparts. English-speaking children are burdened with so many difficult Greco-Latin terms that they are not able to grasp science subjects while still in grade school.

A national language is desirable for the acquisition or retention of national identity and the formation or maintenance of national unity, but beyond these, a modern and consistent national language is essential to enable children to come up quickly to the present level of science, technology and the humanities.

III. Language Modernization

The most commonly accepted definition of the adjective *modern* is "Characteristic of the present or recent time,"[9] hence, new-fashioned. When used with a capital initial, it designates the most recent period of a language or literature, in contrast with its earlier periods. Thus we may speak of *Modern Tagalog,* in contrast with *Old Tagalog* which we can glean from any examples given in Noceda and Sanlucar's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (1860). We may also speak of *Modern Malay,* in contrast with *Old Malay* as reflected in the oldest Malay Dictionary

[8] Del Rosario, Gonsalo: *An Easier Method of Teaching Science,* UNESCO Philippines, June-July 1966, Vol. V, Nos. 6 & 7; pp. 189-200.

[9] Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd Edition (1959), p. 1577.

compiled in the 15th century A.D., during the reign of the Malacca Sultanate.[10] However, both *Bahasa Indonesia* in the Republic of Indonesia, and *Pilipino* in the Republic of the Philippines, are to be regarded as modern languages, with no ancient antecedents, since they are admittedly still being developed out of indigenous base languages. Both represent accelerated linguistic development which accompanies a correspondingly accelerated socio-economic development.

Modernization is, for our purposes, to be understood as the fitting of a language to recent or present times and conditions, which are characterized by the dominance of science and technology in all areas of human activity.

Modernization is a highly relative term, both in relation to degree of change, and in its relation to the changes of the social environment in which the language is used.

With respect to degree of change, we have to consider the three central subsystems of language: the grammatical system which deals with the sequencing of morphemes, the phonological system which deals with the sequencing of phonemes, and the morphophonemic code which ties together the two subsystems.[11] Is any existing language *truly modern* with respect to these central subsystems of language? How far is even the English language modern in this sense, and how can it be made *more modern*; i.e., more suitable to modern socio-economic conditions? In the increasing prevalence of ungrammatical idiomatic expressions, of unassimilated foreign idioms and of acronyms in the English language, we see the signs, not of modernization, but of creeping vernacularization.

Structural linguistics, which abets and justifies this run-away sophistication, is now under attack by transformational linguistics, which holds that language is an innate, instinctively acquired facility. A "new English grammar" based on the transformational approach has been written and is now spreading through the American public school system.[12]

The English language is thus in the throes of a certain type of modernization which is valid only for its own morphophonemic system. The central subsystems of other languages must be thoroughly examined before attempts are made to apply to them modernization of this type. It may turn out that the agglutinative Austronesian-derived languages of Southeast Asia, particularly Tagalog, with their rational syntax and rich morphological stock, are already highly *modern* in this respect, and need only further polishing rather than radical change.

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[10] Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka: *The Development of Malay Lexicography,* mimeographed pamphlet issued by the Dewan in Kuala Lumpur in 1966.

[11] Hockett, Charles F.: *A Course in Modern Linguistics,* Macmillan Co., New York, 1958; pp. 137-144.

[12] Time Magazine: *The Scholarly Dispute Over the Meaning of Linguistics,* February 16, 1968, p. 38.

As for language modernization with respect to the sociological, non-speech environment, we have to consider the two peripheral subsystems of language: the semantic system which assigns meaning to the stock of morphemes, and the phonetic system, which converts the phoneme sequences into understandable sound signals. It is in these peripheral subsystems that changes are most likely to occur in the languages of developing nations such as Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

And it is in these peripheral areas of language where mere Westernization is apt to be mistaken for modernization. The process of language modernization is here beclouded by the fact that the Western nations pioneered in science and technology so that they now enjoy *de facto* priority in the promulgation of nomenclature and terminology in these fields.

This problem was thoroughly examined at the International Conference sponsored by the Malaysian Society of Orientalists and held in Kuala Lumpur in September 1967.[13] Some 40 papers from the Southeast Asian and Pacific areas were contributed around the central theme "The Modernization of Languages in Asia."[14]

The thoughts of the Southeast Asian linguists who attended the Conference are perhaps best summarized by Dr. Karl Heidt,[15] director of the Goethe Institute in Kuala Lumpur, who pointed out in his paper that "the modernization process will certainly not be 'more modern' if a genuine phonemic system is being moulded towards an alien system from which some words are borrowed." Heidt ended his paper, which was one of those submitted to the Conference, with the following admonition: "Westernization, however, by which is meant the partial or even total abandonment of traditional values in favor of alien values which have grown out of entirely different background facts, may eventually lead to a loss of identity and personality."

In the present paper, therefore, we shall take language modernization to mean the fitting of the Southeast Asian national languages — Malay, Bahasa Indonesia and Pilipino — to recent and present social and economic conditions which are characterized by the dominance of science and technology. Such modernization must primarily come from the inside with respect to both the central and peripheral systems of language.

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[13] Alisjahbana, S.T.: *The Modernization of the Languages of Asia in Historical and Socio-Cultural Perspective,* mimeographed paper contributed to the International Conference on "The Modernization of the Languages in Asia," held in Kuala Lumpur, Sept. 29-Oct. 1, 1967.

[14] Aspillera, Paraluman S.: *Modernization of Languages in Asia,* report on the Kuala Lumpur Conference, Sept. 29-Oct. 1, 1967, by the Philippine delegate. Published by the UNESCO Philippines, March 1968.

[15] Heidt, Karl M.: *Modernization or Westernization?*, mimeographed paper contributed to the International Conference on "The Modernization of the Languages in Asia," held in Kuala Lumpur, Sept. 29-Oct. 1, 1967.

Modernization must preserve the internal consistency of these three languages, if they are to serve that highest function of a national language which is, as we said, to bring the children of a nation as quickly as possible to the world level of science, technology and the humanities.

IV. Consistency in Language

We mentioned "internal consistency of the language" in the preceding paragraph. What is it?

The adjective *consistent* means "having agreement with itself, or with something else; accordant; congruous," according to Webster's New International Dictionary (2nd ed.). Another dictionary adds "compatible, not contradictory or opposed." *Consistency,* therefore, is "agreement or harmony of all parts of a complex system among themselves, or of the same system at different times."

Consistency in language[16] is a broad principle applicable to all the languages of the world. Languages, as well as other communications systems, spontaneously become as consistent as circumstances permit. Or, as the experts say, they tend toward maximum consistency. Inconsistent languages eventually die out or become absorbed by more consistent ones. Inconsistent communications systems are worse than useless; they may even become dangerous. Much confusion would result if even only one of the symbols of the Morse Code were, somehow, to become inconsistent with the rest of the system.

The world puts a premium on consistency and eventually rejects inconsistency. People admire consistent workers, sometimes regardless of actual accomplishments. Courts of law tend to believe consistent witnesses and discount inconsistent testimonies. Formal games like basketball and baseball depend entirely on consistent rules. The game of life itself is played best with consistent actions.

If consistency is desirable in ordinary human activities, it is indispensable in science. Scientists often devise consistent nomenclature and terminology when writing on subjects of such importance that errors in interpretation could be dangerous. Even in linguistics — or specially in linguistics — consistency is a prime concern. Hockett, writing a preface to one of his books on structural linguistics had to make this explanation: "Terminological innovations have been avoided as much as possible. Complete avoidance has been unattainable because it is essential to discuss all aspects of the field in a consistent terminology, and no complete and consistent terminology has existed."[17]

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[16] Del Rosario, Gonsalo: *Consistency, Not Purity, Is the Important Factor in Language Development,* The Philippine Educational Forum, June 1967; pp. 1-11.

[17] Hockett, Op. Cit., p. vii.

A living, developing language has the inherent power of assimilating those elements that can be made consistent, and of rejecting those elements that cannot be made to conform with its fundamental organization and structure, and these happen even without the conscious knowledge of the speakers of the language.

Among the Southeast Asian languages, Tagalog is the most intrinsically consistent. Changes and innovations inevitable in any language become, in Tagalog, imperceptibly consistent with the morpheme stock, phonology and syntax of the language.

The internal consistency of Tagalog was preserved even during the four centuries of contact between the Filipinos and the Spaniards. Thousands of Spanish words entered into Tagalog but in time these became assimilated in pronunciation and spelling. This was the fate of Spanish words like *caballo* (horse) and *cebollas* (onion), which eventually became *kabayo* and *sibuyas*, respectively, in Tagalog. No single individual initiated the assimilation of these words. Certainly no scholar or academy came forward and said, "From now on, we will say *kabayo* instead of *caballo*, and *sibuyas* instead of *cebollas*." No such deliberate proposal was made. It was the collective mind of the Tagalogs, or their collective phonetic habits, which provided the motive power for the change.

While this assimilative process was gradually taking place, a simultaneous rejection process was occurring, driven forward by the same force of collective phonetic habits. While *caballo* was slowly becoming *kabayo*, the related Spanish words *caballero* (horseman) and *caballeria* (cavalry) were being rejected, and instead of these, the consistent Tagalog derivatives *mangangabayo* (horseman) and *kabayuhan* (cavalry) were becoming the accepted terms. The word *kabalyero* indeed also entered the Tagalog language, but not in the meaning of *horseman*. It came in as a single morpheme denoting *gentleman* or knight, often with the somewhat derogatory meaning of "gallant and gentlemanly spendthrift," which is definitely different from the original connotation of *caballero*.

Who exercised such linguistic choice between assimilable root words, on the one hand, and unacceptable derivatives, on the other? The answer is, again, the collective linguistic habits of the people.

Assimilation and rejection as they have been observed in the Tagalog language have not stopped and are still operating with the same slow but inexorable results as in the past. The twin processes are going on unconcerned with our petty controversies, like the serene and constant ticking of a clock in the midst of a howling storm.

While the above examples have been taken from Tagalog, no doubt numerous valid cases can also be cited from Malay and Bahasa Indonesia. These two languages also possess internal consistency.

The English language, relatively, does not have as much internal consistency but there are signs that it might regularize itself in the future. Dr. Mario Pei (1961) predicted some stabilization and standardization of pronunciation, and a "moderate amount of grammatical transformation."[18] The big problem of English, however, is its huge burden of Greco-Latin derivatives which are not consistent with the common, everyday words spoken by children in the home, school and community. This is what delays the learning of content subjects by grade school children in the United States and other English-speaking countries.

The Japanese language, like Tagalog, has great internal consistency and this makes it very well-suited for scientific development.[19]

Assimilation is an important principle that has implications reaching beyond the field of language development. What is thoroughly assimilated becomes indigenous and contributes permanently to native culture. Whatever is not assimilated remains alien and in the long run will be rejected. These are anthropological forces that human caprice cannot nullify.

Why are Southeast Asian countries having continuing difficulties with the Chinese in their midst? Is it not because these Chinese are resisting assimilation, or are not taking positive steps to integrate with their host countries? If they would only allow themselves to be assimilated into Southeast Asian communities, without mental reservation and dual loyalties, would they not become Malaysians, or Indonesians or Filipinos, as the case may be, in the important sense of the term, and thus end the region's bothersome "Chinese Problem" once and for all?

V. Two Classes of Contentives: Names and Terms

The modernization-standardization plan that we propose for the three national languages of Southeast Asia which are Austronesian in origin can best be understood by first reviewing how the *Lupon sa Agham* (Science Committee)[20] in the Philippines went about preparing an integrated vocabulary of basic scientific and technical words and expressions adequate for modern living but consistent with the morphological stock of Tagalog.

The *Lupon*, created by the *Linangan ng Wikang Pilipino* (Academy of the Pilipino Language) which was in turn established in 1964 by the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, drew its membership of 60 volunteer scientists, professors and engineers from the

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[18] Pei, Mario: *English in* 2061: *A Forecast*, American Journal, March 1962, Vol. I, No. 4; pp. 66-71.

[19] Del Rosario, Gonsalo: *Pilipino: A Potent Tool for Knowledge*, UNESCO Philippines, Jan.-June 1967, Vol. VI, Nos. 1-6; pp. 6-16.

[20] Pecson, Geronima T.: *Umaasa ang Bayan sa Lupon sa Agham* (The Country is Pinning Its Hopes on the Science Committee), DIWA, Manila, Oct.-Dec., 1965, No. 1; pp. 7-8.

universities, Government offices and professional and scientific societies. Five sub-committees in the five fields of the mathematical sciences, physics, chemistry, biology and the social sciences, met once a week at lunch to study and vote on word lists prepared by the members. To expedite the work, a research sub-committee made preliminary studies and recommendations on proposed Pilipino translations, before these were submitted to the weekly meetings.

Most of the words and expressions to be translated were generally contentives. For its specialized purpose, the Lupon divided them into two general classes: *names* and *terms*.

Names are those arbitrary words and expressions used to denote materials, equipment, instruments, measurements, stars, planets, countries, animals, plants and other concrete things than can be felt and seen. In any language, names are usually arbitrary. For example, the meaning denoted by *man* in English is *hombre* in Spanish and *lalaki* in Pilipino. What is the reason for such differences? Why is *water* in English *tubig* in Pilipino, *sui* in Chinese, *mizu* in Japanese and *agua* in Spanish? Why is it *aso* in Pilipino, *dog* in English, *hund* in German and *inu* in Japanese? Nobody knows why. The most learned linguist may attempt to explain this arbitrariness in terms of idioms and lexemes, but in the end must admit that there is no special reason for a dog being called *dog*, aside from usage. The collection of names in a given field is the *nomenclature* of that field.

Terms, on the other hand, are understood by the Lupon to mean words and expressions consisting of more than one morpheme each, whose meanings are deducible from their structures, and are constant from one occurrence to another. To be consistent, terms should show clearly their structures in terms of root words and affixes, and their formation in terms of affixation, combination, or reduplication. The collection of terms in a given field is the *terminology* of that field.

The writer realizes that his use of the words *name, nomenclature, term* and *terminology* is itself arbitrary and an improvisation that may conflict with actual usage of these words in an American or British context. This is unavoidable in this paper which is written in English. In its actual work, conducted entirely in the Pilipino language, the Lupon used the Pilipino words *ngalan, kangalanan, tawag* and *katawagan* which are more appropriate and less loaded with extraneous semantic contents. The Lupon is in fact setting the technical usage for these words.

The Lupon took the trouble of dividing the field into these two general classes, names and terms, because the manner of translation differed considerably in each. The division is not a clear-cut one. Some words have been difficult to classify, and seemed with equal reason to

belong to both groups. In general however, it has always been possible to arrive at either a decision or a compromise.

VI. Names May Be Arbitrary

In translating the first group of words and expressions — the scientific and technical names — the Lupon used the following sources, in the indicated order of priority: (1) current Tagalog words, (2) old Tagalog words, (3) words from the other principal dialects in the Philippines, (4) Spanish and and English words and (5) words from the other world languages. Little or no derivation or building up of words from roots and affixes was done. Whenever it was necessary to borrow a foreign word that consisted of more than one morpheme, this was taken in, assimilated and then regarded as a single morpheme.

The use of the foregoing list of linguistic sources often yielded native equivalents of the arbitrary English names to be translated. In astronomy, for example, the zodiacal constellation *Capricornus* was named in Pilipino as *Kambing*, which is the Tagalog word for *goat*. *Earth* as a synonym for *soil* is *lupa* in Tagalog, so the Lupon took the Visayan equivalent of *lupa*, which is *duta*, to denote *Earth* as a planet. In chemistry, *tin* as one of the elements was translated into *tinggaputi*, the old Tagalog word for this metal. However, the symbol *Sn* (from the Latin word *Stanum*) was retained in order to preserve the validity of chemical symbols and formulas.

There were many cases, however, where no simple solutions were possible and in such cases the Lupon did not hesitate to use direct loans, mostly from Spanish and English, but great care was taken that the incoming words were thoroughly assimilated in orthography and, consequently, in pronunciation. The following are some of the direct loans for names in science and technology as approved bv the Lupon.

1. Names of things and objects

English	*Pilipino*
antenna	antena
airplane	eruplano
vessel	barko
alkali	alka
acid	asid

2. Names of chemical elements

hydrogen (H)	haydrohen (H)
oxygen (O)	oksihen (O)
nitrogen (N)	nitrohen (N)
silicon (Si)	silikon (Si)
vanadium (V)	banadyum (V)

3. Names of Planets and stars

Mars	Marte
Jupiter	Hupiter
Mercury	Merkuryo
Cassiopeia	Kasyopeya
Orion, the Hunter	Oryon, ang Mangangas

4. Units of measurement

meter	metro
centigrade	sentigrado
watt	wat
radian	radyan
ampere	ampir

A few observations can be made on the above sample list of direct loanwords in Pilipino. It is easier for Pilipino to borrow from Spanish than from English because of the greater similarity between the Tagalog and the Spanish phonemes, and because Spanish orthography is phonetic to a high degree, although not as much as Tagalog. Direct loans from English (as *haydrohen* from *hydrogen*) suffer more spelling changes than those from Spanish.

All the Pilipino words in the right-hand column are to be regarded as single morphemes, regardless of their morphology in the donor languages. *Eruplano,* for example, is a single morpheme because the parts *eru* and *plano* are not individual morphemes, and have no separate meanings in Tagalog.

VII. Terms Should Be Rational

In translating the second group of words and expressions — the scientific and technical terms — the Lupon rigorously applied its theory that terms should be derived from root words (single morphemes) already existing and current in the Tagalog language, by using the rules of affixation, combination and reduplication recognized by the *balarila* or grammar of Pilipino. Terms express complex scientific concepts and relationships, and such abstractions are best conveyed by words having a consistent and rational morphology.

When terms are correctly derived and formed, they are self-explanatory, even to children in the grade schools who may be meeting them for the first time. This is why it is easy to teach basic science to Japanese elementary school children and very difficult to teach it to their English-speaking counterparts. Most of the abstruse scientific terms in English (such as thermodynamics and photosynthesis) that are frightening to youngsters, are so plain in Nippongo that they almost teach themselves.[21]

[21] Del Rosario, Op. Cit. (An Easier Method...)

To the Lupon, whose point of view is that of language engineering rather than of pure linguistics, root words are single morphemes regardless of whether they are native forms or borrowed ones. In the latter case, they are usually in the assimilated form.

Reverting to our former example, the word *kabayo,* borrowed from Spanish *caballo* (horse) is now a Pilipino root word from which have been derived the terms *mangabayo* (to go on horseback), *mangangabayo* (horseman), *kabayuhan* (cavalry) and *kaba-kabayuhan* (toy horse).

Applying this principle deliberately and consistently to all the science and engineering terms that were submitted to it for translation, the Lupon has prepared a terminology for the basic science concepts which it thinks will be adequate for science-teaching in the elementary schools, at least. Their consistent morphology is evident from the following examples:

English	*Pilipino*	*Etymology*
numeral	pamilang	pang- (instrument prefix) + bilang (number)
integer	buumbilang	buo (whole) + bilang (number)
fraction	bahagimbilang	bahagi (part) + bilang (number)
numerator	panakda	pang- (instrument prefix) + takda (schedule)
denominator	pamahagi	pang- (instrument prefix) + bahagi (part)
gravitation	kadagsinan	ka- (abstraction prefix) + dagsin (gravity), Ilk. + -an (abstraction suffix)
conductor (elec.)	saluyan	saloy (flow) + -an (location suffix)
nonconductor	disaluyan	di- (negation prefix) + saloy (flow) + -an (location suffix)
planetoid	malabuntala	mala- (semi) + buntala (planet)
alkalinity	kaalkahan	ka- (abstraction prefix) + alka (alkaline) + -han (abstraction suffix)
acidity	kaasdan	ka- (abstraction prefix) + asid (acid) + -an (abstraction suffix)
regeneration	balikhaan	balik (return) + likha (create) + -an (process suffix)

nucleolus	ibutod	i- (location prefix) + butod (nucleous)
linguistics	dalubwikaan	dalub- (expert) + wika (language) + -an (process suffix)
nationalize	sabansain	sa- (action prefix) + bansa (nation) + -in (action suffix)

A single example may be explained in detail to show why this method of deriving terms is the most logical in Pilipino. Take the English term *alkali* which the Lupon borrowed in the shortened form *alka.* All the other derivatives of this word can be easily formed from the root *alka* and the affixes of Pilipino. In particular, *alkalinity* would be *kaalkahan,* formed with the help of the prefix-suffix combination *ka- ... -an* which denotes the abstraction of the meaning carried by the root word. All normal Tagalog-speaking children above five years of age have unconsciously mastered this grammatical feature of their home language, and perfectly understand such abstractions as

kalinisan (state of being clean) from *linis* (cleanliness)
kagandahan (beauty, state of being beautiful) from *ganda* (beauty)
katahimikan (peace, state of being peaceful) from *tahimik* (peaceful)

Tagalog-speaking children know this type of word-formation so well that they themselves make their own instantaneous and temporary derivations or *nonce forms,*[22] when the occasion demands, even from root words that they have just heard. A small boy, age ten, when told by this writer that radioactive fallout was "deadly," immediately asked, "*Ano po ang dahilan ng kadedlihan niyon?*" (What is the reason for its "deadliness"?). The writer had not heard the word *kadedlihan* before.

Malay and Bahasa Indonesia have these same prefix-suffix combinations for expressing abstractions in the form *ke- ... -an,* as in:

kehinaan (meaness) from *hina* (mean, ignoble)
kebangsaan (nationality, nationhood) from *bangsa* (nation)
kekurangan (deficiency) from *kurang* (deficient)

On the other hand, if the English derivation *alkalinity* were to be borrowed in its original form, or in the assimilated form *alkaliniti,* we would either have to treat it as a single unwieldy morpheme or have in our hands a stray morpheme, *ity* or *iti,* which has no meaning in Pilipino. If we keep doing this, the affixal system of Pilipino would soon be chaotic and confusing, especially for children.

It should also be noted that consistent Pilipino terms derived in the manner just explained have just about the same length or morpho-

[22] Hockett, Op. Cit., p. 170.

logical complexity as their English equivalents, which must often be expressed in phrases, contrary to the belief of some that Pilipino words in science and technology are always longer than the corresponding English words.

VIII. Modernization of the National Languages Derived from Austronesian

By judicious application of the systematic methods outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, the Lupon sa Agham hopes to further modernize Pilipino in keeping with its role as the national language of the Philippines. The Lupon has to date (March 1968) succeeded in assembling a vocabulary of about 6,500 basic and consistent names and terms in the sciences, engineering and technology which, it is believed, is adequate for science-teaching in the grade schools.

It is hoped that this basic vocabulary will grow into a regular technical dictionary of some 200,000 entries in the next five years. Progress in the future should be more rapid than it has been in the past because the initial 6,500 entries would form the basis of further lexical development.

The lexicography section of the *Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka in* Malaysia and the Ministry of Education in Indonesia are similarly engaged in the modernization of Malay and Bahasa Indonesia, respectively, and are likewise utilizing as much as possible the native roots, affixes and morphology of their dialects together with assimilated loanwords from Dutch, English, Portuguese and Arabic.

It would appear that the Malaysian and the Indonesian modernization programs are even more advanced than the Philippine effort, as measured by the thicker and more impressive technical dictionaries that they have already published. This is mainly because the former two are state-supported while the Philippine effort has to depend on civic organizations and private persons.

However, the Lupon's program of language modernization is more systematic and rational, since it distinguishes between the arbitrary *names* and the predictable *terms,* and limits its direct borrowing from foreign languages to the former.

To point up the differences in the two types of language modernization programs, let us consider the following terms in English and Malay: [23]

microscopic ..... *seni*
microscopic plant ... *tumbohan seni*
microorganism ..... *hidupan seni*

[23] Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka: *Istilah Ilmu Alam, Hisab* & *Sains* (Word Lists in Geography, Mathematics and Science), Kuala Lumpur, 1966 (?)

microbe ..... *mikerob*
micrometer ..... *jangkahalus*
microscope ..... *teropong hama*

Of the six Malay translations, the first three are done in a consistent manner, around the Malay root *seni,* which originally meant thin, very non-predictable in relation to *seni.* There are no doubt good reasons, fine, or weak. However, the last three words are non-consistent and based on usage, for their choice, but the possibilities of further systematization of related terms has been lost. This loss will be reflected later on in less quicker comprehension by grade school children.

Let us see now how the same problem was handled by the Lupon sa Agham.

microscopic ..... *mikmik* (Tag., very small)
microscopic plant ... *mikhalaman* (*mikmik* + *halaman,* plant)
microorganism ..... *miktataghay* (*mikmik* + *tatag,* organ + *buhay,* life)
microbe ..... *mikhay* (*mikmik* + *buhay*)
micrometer ..... *miksukat* (*mikmik* + *sukat,* measure)
microscope ..... *miksipat* (*mikmik* + *sipat,* peer)

The six Pilipino terms on the right hand column, all being loan translations of the six English terms on the left, are predictable on the basis of their morphology and the root word *mikmik.*

It would not be difficult to make slight adjustments in the Malaysian and Indonesian language modernization programs to allow for taking into consideration the differences between names and terms, and for applying the methods being used by the Lupon sa Agham. This means that Malay and Bahasa Indonesia should confine direct borrowing from the European languages to root words, and derive all terms from current Malay roots (including the assimilated foreign roots) using Malay morphology.

The Malay language has a morphology and affixal system similar to that of Tagalog, although the number of usable affixes in the latter is vastly more than that in the former. The *Surian ng Wikang Pambansa* (Institute of National Language) in Manila has counted more than 900 separate and identifiable affixes in Tagalog and the Lupon sa Agham has added to this a large number of new affixes and combining forms such as *bali-* (re, return), *dagi-* (electro), *mik-* (micro), *dak-* (macro), *-lap* (referring to electromagnetic radiation), etc.

The usable affixes in Malay probably do not exceed 100; Guillermo Tolentino could identify only 45.[24]

Modernized in this way, the Malay, Bahasa Indonesia and Pilipino national languages, would become effective and productive media of

[24] Tolentino, Guillermo E.: *Ang Mga Panlapi ng Malayo at ng Tagalog,* (The Affixes of Malay and Tagalog), MABUHAY, Manila, Dec. 3, 1960.

instruction in the elementary school systems of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. Mere Westernization and consequent irregularization of these languages would be avoided. Grade school children in these three nations would be able to learn content subjects in general, and the sciences in particular, much more quickly than they are doing now.

In truth, consistent and intelligent modernization of their national languages would enable the Malaysians, the Indonesians and the Filipinos to overtake and eventually surpass, in science and technology, the Western nations, whose national languages are burdened with large numbers of terms derived from Latin and Greek combining forms, which are no longer consistent with the home and community languages spoken by their children. Japan, with her consistent Nippongo, is demonstrating that this can be done.[25]

IX. Standardization of the National Languages Derived from Austronesian

With respect to language development, there are at least two kinds of standardization. One is internal standardization, and its minimum requirements include standardization of alphabet, spelling and pronunciation. In this discussion, we are assuming that this has been done in the three national languages under consideration.

In Pilipino, this was done in the 1930's when the *Balarila* or Grammar was approved by the *Surian ng Wikang Pambansa.* The Tagalog *abakada* of 20 letters was officially adopted, and spelling was to be completely phonetic with the exception of the two abbreviated forms *ng* and *mga.* In recent months, however, a last-ditch effort to adopt the English alphabet and English non-phonetic spelling has been waged by some articulate admirers of English and Spanish. The campaign is expected to fizzle out eventually.

The other form of standardization is external and regional, and has to do with further standardizing certain features of a group of already related languages. Obviously, this would be difficult to do with languages that are not related. But with Malay, Bahasa Indonesia and Tagalog, which sprang from a common ancestral language (referred to as Original Austronesian or Original Malayo-Polynesian), standardization may be possible to a limited extent.

At the end of the Kuala Lumpur Conference on "Modernization of Languages in Asia," the delegates adopted the following resolution:

> "This Conference urges that the UNESCO should establish a committee on the lines of ISO/TC-37 for coordination and standardization of terminology pertaining to science, technology and modern subjects which are being evolved in the national languages of Asia."

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[25] Del Rosario, Op. Cit. (An Easier Method...)

If the whole of Asia is to be the venue of this coordination and standardization, we would have to deal with several language families which include the Dravidian, the Indic, the Sino-Thai, the Khmer, the Japanese, the Korean and the Austronesian. There would be so much difference in morphology and orthography that lexical standardization may neither be feasible nor desirable.

To be consistent with the Lupon's approach, let us consider the standardization of names and terms separately.

In Malay, Bahasa Indonesia and Pilipino, there is a possibility of approximately standardizing some terms, due to similarity of affixes and morphology, as may be seen in the following examples: [26]

Pilipino	*B. Indonesia*	*Malay*	*English*
kabansaan	kebangsaan	kebangsaan	nationhood
pasukan	pemasukan	pemasukan	entrance
dala-dalawa	berdua-dua	berdua-dua	in twos, by twos
mamahagi	membahagi	membahagi	to partition
manggiling	menggiling	menggiling	to grind

However, even such approximate standardization of terms is not possible between, say, Japanese and Pilipino, or between Chinese and Hindi.

The situation is different with respect to names. Since the Lupon's rule is that these may be borrowed in assimilated form whenever they are not present in the recipient language, the various Asian languages may find that they are borrowing the identical words. Among Malay, Bahasa Indonesia and Pilipino, we have the following common names, borrowed but assimilated from English: [27]

Pilipino	*B. Indonesia*	*Malay*	*English*
gramo	gram	gram	gram
gasolina	gasolin	gasolin	gasoline
tseke	tjek	chek	cheque
tsokolate	tjoklat	chocolat	chocolate
soda	soda	soda	soda

Regional standardization may therefore be possible on a very limited basis with respect to terms, and on a broader basis with respect to names.

On the basis of Asia as a whole, the only standardization possible would be with respect to certain names such as measurements, names of elements and chemical compounds, names of the stars and planets, systematic nomenclature of plants and animals, and similar concrete objects.

X. Towards a World Language

The ideal linguistic situation not only for Southeast Asia but for the whole world as well, is for each nation to develop and maintain a single,

[26] Aspillera, Paraluman S.: *A Common Vocabulary for Malay-Pilipino-Bahasa Indonesia (Part I)*. Published by the Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, July 1967.

[27] *Ibid.*

vigorous national language having its own internally consistent scientific and technical terminology. This would enable children everywhere to attain a high level of scientific learning early in their lives.

Sufficiently early in their elementary schooling, but not so early that learning the national language would be impaired or disturbed, the children would be taught a foreign language for world intercourse. For the moment, this other language is English but, depending on the world's political situation, it could as well be French, or German, or Russian, or Mandarin Chinese, or Japanese in the future. It could even be a language that at present has no pretensions for world usage, but might unexpectably attain that stature due to its consistency and efficiency.

In any case, the function of a world language is to serve as a link language in international diplomacy, world trade, international travel and similar global undertakings. This link language should not, and cannot, replace the indigenous, internally consistent national languages, which have their own functions as explained in the earlier part of this paper.

Many American educators, perhaps in their genuine eagerness to be of help, are trying to propagate the English language among the developing countries as if they would one day replace Pilipino, or Bahasa Indonesia, or Malay, as the case may be. Scholarships, study grants, book donations and other attractive forms of patronage are the tools in this world-wide drive to sell the English language as a substitute for the national languages.

This is a big mistake. Beyond its curious mixture of altruism and interventionism, the campaign looms as a form of linguistic imperialism which always precedes the other forms. Arnold J. Toynbee, in a recent article,[28] asked: "Is modern Asia going to succumb to an American fourth wave of foreign aggression? Or is the United States in Southeast Asia today, like Italy in Ethiopia between the two world wars, commitmitting the kind of error that has been cynically pronounced to be something worse than a crime?"

Toynbee didn't know and his answer was no better that what most of us can give: "Time will show."

In the meantime, we can help America avoid committing the terrible blunder by assidously modernizing the national languages of Southeast Asia, and working for a limited form of regional standardization in scientific and technical nomenclature, in the manner presented in this paper.

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[28] Toynbee, Alfred J.: *The Imperialists — V: The End of a Turbulent Era,* The Asia Magazine, February 25, 1968.

INTERPLAY OF STRUCTURAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MALAY LANGUAGES

CHE' ASMAH BTE HAJI OMAR

WHEN PEOPLE IN GENERAL SPEAK OF THE DEVELOPMENT of a language, what they usually mean is the enrichment of its vocabulary, whereas structural factors which are as important are not taken into consideration.

What is meant by structural factors are those which stem from the organization of linguistic forms into a definite system, different for every language and to a considerable degree independent of extralinguistic experience and behaviour. These structural factors consist of phonological, morphological and syntactical features. The phonological features concern the sounds, their functions and arrangements; the morphological features comprise of the affixes, whether they be prefixes, infixes or suffixes and their function in word-composition, while the syntactical features are those dealing with the relationship between words in the formation of phrases and sentences.

The development of a language is to a certain extent influenced by extra-linguistic factors such as social and cultural factors. As society undergoes changes, so moves language with it.

With the introduction of new culture items and the emergence of new ideologies, either from within the society itself or from contact with other cultures, new forms of expression are required to meet the needs of the society, and this requirement is fullfilled either by coining new terms or by borrowing from other languages.

As regards the Malay language both the alternatives mentioned above are made use of. The first alternative, that is the coining of new words, has given rise among others to such words as *jejambat* (viaduct), *rerambut* (capillary) and *sesendi* (rheumatism), which I think are praiseworthy, because these words bring about the revival of a morphological characteristic of the Malay language which was almost sinking into disuse, and that is the reduplication of the first syllable of a word. Before the coining of these new terms this characteristic was only found in a handful of words such as *lelaki* (male), *kekura* (tortoise) etc. which are more often than not replaced by *laki-laki, kura-kura,* etc.

Another method of word-coining which I think deserves notice is the blending of two words together in which the last phoneme of the

first is similar to the first phoneme of the second, so that those two similar phonemes are fused into one. *Examples* of this are *wujudahulu* (antediluvial), from *wujud* (exist) and *dahulu* (before); *gambarajah* (diagram), from *gambar* (picture) and *rajah* (figure); *keretapi* (train) from *kereta* (car) and *api* (fire), and so on.

The popular practice of borrowing words from other languages is proved by the great number of loanwords drifting into the Malay language ever since the early centuries of the Christian era, with the Hinduization of South-East Asia. Words borrowed from Sanskrit mostly come from the domains of religion and kinship, such as *shorga* (heaven) *neraka* (hell), *dosa* (sin), *pahala* (reward), *raja* (king), *permaisuri* (queen), *singahsana* (throne), *istana* (palace) and so on.

The Hindus from the Brahmin and Kshatria castes played their roles in the development of the Malay language via religion and government, while others like the traders gave their contribution in the form of vocabulary items belonging to the domain of commerce and goods of commerce. Since a majority of these traders were from South India and and most of them were of the Tamil speaking community, words borrowed from them were Tamil words, e.g. *modal* (capital), *perchuma* (free of charge), *katil* (bed), *talam* (tray), *manikam* (gem) etc.

The Islamization of South-East Asia introduced a new set of vocabulary items concerning religion, literature, science and knowledge, names of common objects found in the everyday life, names of days and months. Arabic loanwords are numerous in Malay. The few examples here are, *nabi* (prophet), *kitab* (religious book), *ilmu* (knowledge, science) *tadbir* (administer), *wakil* (representative), *hakim* (judge), *kertas* (paper), *surat* (letter) and so on.

Although the Chinese have for a long time settled in southeast Asia, the influence of Chinese on the Malay language is inconsiderable when compared to the influence exercised by other languages previously mentioned. The Chinese were no missionaries and their main interest lay in their trade, and the means to become successful in it. They realized that they had to be easily understood by others in order to achieve their purpose. Hence they learned to use the language of the local people, and thus there emerged a particular medium of communication which we now know as the bazaar Malay and which for a long time has been the medium of communication among the non-English educated portion of the society. Contact with the Chinese culture introduced new items into the vocabulary of the Malay language, such as *taukeh* (towkey), *tajin* (starch) *teh* (tea), *teko* (teapot), *chawan* (cup), *taugeh* (beansprout),*mi* (noodles) and so on.

Successive waves from the West brought about words from Portuguese such as *gereja* (church), *lelong* (to sell wholesale), *garpu* (fork), *almari*

(cupboard), *meja* (table), *sepatu* (shoes), *kemeja* (shirt) etc., from Dutch such as *senapang* (gun), *lachi* (drawer), *pelekat* (gum), *bunchis* (french bean) etc., and from English, such as motokar, basikal, polis, pos, letrik and many, many others. In connection with this we must not forget words borrowed from languages of the same family as the Malay language, especially Javanese. Among Javanese words found in Malay are: *basmi* (abolish), *sarapan* (breakfast), *waja* (when),*chatat* (to note down) etc.

Borrowing of words does not only enrich the vocabulary but also introduces new linguistic features. As such new affixes are borrowed from other languages. The most productive ones are the prefixes *pro-* and *anti-* from English and the suffix *-wan* from Sanskrit. Before the coming of the influence of other languages, the Malay language had never recognized gender in its grammatical set-up. A male or a female is indicated by juxtaposing the word *jantan* or *betina* after the words indicating plants, animals, and things, and the words *laki-laki* and *perempuan* are used to indicate the sex of human beings, male and female respectively. The concept of gender arose only from contact with other cultures. The new examples like *pemuda — pemudi, mahasiswa — mahasiswi, putra — puteri, dewa — dewi,* and *saudara — saudari* are all *loanwords,* and the opposition *a — i* denoting the masculine — feminine genders are never applied to other words be they borrowed or autochthonous.

Although at times we are confronted with the suffix — *wati* as *seniwati* (female artist) (where — *wati* is the feminine of the fossilized suffix *-man,* as in *seniman*) and in *angkasawati* (female astronaut), (where *wati* is the feminine of *-wan*) the suffix *-wati* does not seem to be productive at all.

Although words like *dermawan,* (one who gives generously) *jutawan* (millionaire) and *hartawan* (wealthy man) can theoretically be paired off with *dermawati, jutawati* and *hartawati,* the Malay language does not seem to favour the forms above which will include gender as a grammatical category. Hence instead of *dermawati* etc. we come across such forms as *dermawan wanita, jutawen wanita* and *hartawan wanita.*

Recently, a new suffix has made its entry into the Malay language, and that is the suffix *-is* which is undoubtedly from English, *-ist* as found in *artist, linguist* and so on. In Malay, this *-is* affix is so far found in *sasterawanis* which is the feminine of *sasterawan* (literary artist) and in *cherpenis,* meaning the writer of *cherpen* (short story). In these two examples alone the suffix *-is* performs two functions, one is to indicate the feminine gender and the other to indicate the doer of the action. This is most confusing and the unpopularity of *-is* is crystal clear to all.

Just as Arabic had greatly influenced the syntax of classical Malay, so does English with modern Malay. Nowadays the word *dimana* (where) is used as a relative pronoun just as the English *where.*

A complex sentence in English with the participial clause preceding the main clause is often reflected in Malay syntax.

Note the following sentence:

Beruchap dalam upachara membuka dengan rasmi Pesta Buku2 Bahasa Kebangsaan di-Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka, Tun Razak menyeru kaum cherdek pandai dari berbagai keturunan kaum supaya memberi "sumbangan2 kongerit." (Berita Minggu, Sunday 21st. August 1966, p. 1., col. 6).

The underlined is the participial clause which never existed in Malay before.

The use of punctuation marks came with the adoption of the Roman alphabet from the West. Previous to this, written Malay made use of certain words to guide the reader in punctuating as he read. These words, to mention a few, are *maka, shahadan, hatta, arakian* and *alkesah,* and they have been traditionally known as punctuation words. The constant use of punctuation marks played a great part in depopularizing these punctuation words, so much so that the only such word still in current usage is *maka,* whose function now is more of conveying an emphatic tone than that of punctuating. The disappearance of the punctuation words has made written Malay less "heavy" than it used to be.

In the field of phonology, many foreign sounds have drifted into the Malay language, such as "z," "sh," "f," "kh," "th," "q," and "v." These foreign sounds have not so far acquired a phonemic status in the Malay language, with the exception of "sh" which justifies its status in the opposition shown between *sharat* and *sarat.* Furthermore, the word *masharakat, temasha, shak, mushkil* and so on are never pronounced as *masarakat, temasa, sak* and *muskil.*

All the other sounds only seem to be free variations of phonemes which are already in the Malay phonemic inventory, e.g.

fikir	—	pikir,	think
zaman	—	jaman,	epoch, era
qalam	—	kalam,	pen, pencil
khabar	—	kabar,	news
thalatha	—	selasa,	Tuesday
'alim	—	alim,	religious (of person)
novel	—	nobel,	novel

The acceptance of foreign phonemes in the Malay language no doubt helps to confuse the phonemic system of the language, but on the other hand, these foreign phonemes can be an asset to the borrower language, if by acquiring a phonemic status in the language they can fulfill the needs of the language.

Value judgment if not controlled, will bring about a negative effect in the development of the language. Every language community has the misfortune of having such elements known as the purists. These purists purposely close their eyes to the fact that a language has to meet the needs of its speakers and has to catch up with time. Forgetting that a very high percentage of their daily vocabulary consists of loanwords, they wish to preserve the purity of the language. Unlike their ancestors who were more broad-minded than they in accepting new vocabulary items to meet new concepts, these purists become skeptical to anything new being introduced.

At one time there was a phobia — the Indonesia-phobia. This began long before the Confrontation. At that time, a word or a phrase borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia was not acceptable because it was Indonesian and not Malay. This was most ridiculous as Malay and Bahasa Indonesia are varieties of one language. Differences between them are only dialectal. Furthermore, it is a fact that most of the Indonesians speak good Malay plus the proper use of the prefixes and the suffixes, whereas spoken Malay as found in Malay and Eastern Malaysia tends to drop the affixes, so much so that a linguist writing Malay grammar basing himself only on the spoken language, will in the end realize that anyone learning Malay from his grammar book, will face great difficulties when confronted with written Malay. The Indonesia-phobia persisted not without opposition from those who realize the foolishness of it all. The phobia was geared up at the outbreak of the Confrontation when any trait that was Indonesian or happened to follow the Indonesian pattern, was quickly replaced with non-Indonesian ones. Thus *talibisi* which was the term for television before the Confrontation was dropped off like a hot brick in favor of *talivishen* which is foreign to the Malay phonological system.

Despite the phobia, Confrontation has added two new and popular words in the Malay vocabulary, and they are *konferantasi* and *ganyang* (to crush; lit. to eat raw).

Socio-linguistic purism is not only confined to the rejection of foreign items but also of those of the Malay dialects themselves. But recently writers are found to use expressions from their own dialects and this is another means by which we can enrich the Malay language. Previously, the term for yesterday used by Radio Malaysia, Television Malaysia and the newspapers was "semalam," following the southern dialect. In the dialects of north and east Malaya, and even those of Eastern Malaysia and Indonesia, the word for yesterday is "kemarin," whereas "semalam" in these dialects means "last night." "Kemarin" in the dialect of South Malaya means "sometime ago." This situation was really confusing and today we find that the mass-media mentioned above have decided to

erase this confusion by using the term "kemarin" to mean "yesterday." Small as it is when compared to other language issues, this step has its significance in paving the way towards the codification of the Malay language.

The development of a language must not be taken to mean only the addition of new elements to the language but also the subtracting of those which might hinder its progress.

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LANGUAGE IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT*

TAMME AND ELIZABETH WITTERMANS

The Master said: "What is the good of being ready with the tongue? They, who meet men with smartnesses of speech, for the most part procure themselves hatred." (The Analects of Confucius, trans. J. Legge)

1. VARIOUS APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE

INTEREST IN LANGUAGE IS NOT A RECENT DEVELOPMENT, as shown by the oldest grammar we know, the one written by Panini c.a. 300 B.C., in which he analyses the speech sounds of Sanskrit and its grammatical structure. In the course of time the phenomenon of language has puzzled and attracted people's minds in so many different ways that it will be possible to mention only a few here.

Interest in the numerous languages of the world has led to the scientific study of linguistic phenomena, particularly in their morphological aspects. This has given rise to two main types of classification — a structural type, based on the relative degree of synthesis of the words and the way in which various parts of a word are attached to it, and a genetic type of classification.

The genetic classification is based on comparative studies with regard to phonetic and structural changes. Through a careful study of phonetic changes and changes in vocabulary, a theoretical reconstruction may be made of the original language from which the present existing languages have stemmed, or (since the interest in the origin of languages has faded) of the distribution of languages and dialects. These studies may also prove a valuable aid in studying the patterns of population changes.

Such studies necessitate thorough investigation not only of the phonetic or sound elements but also of the phonemes or functionally significant units which make up a language pattern. Apart from this scientific use, the study of speech sounds has its practical application in the field of language teaching.

The psychologists have studied language from a different angle. Their contribution lies in the psychology of communication. Generally this field ranges from the mechanical aspects (phonetics, perception of speech) to the socio-psychological patterns of communication and barriers to communication, learning habits, and distortion of testimony or of rumor.

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For many the study of language means the only key to the world of literature. They struggle valiantly to master speech sounds, grammatical rules, idiom and vocabulary, but their ultimate aim is to enjoy the literary efforts of others or to express themselves in that way.

The various aspects of language are all interrelated. Therefore the special approaches should not be seen as separate fields of study, but rather as a specific emphasis. The sociological emphasis is on language as part of a social system. The quotation from Confucius at the head of this article aptly illustrates the point that language may be regarded not only as a tool but as social action calling forth counter-action.

In the subsequent paragraphs we shall discuss this approach more in detail.

2. COMMUNICATION

The communicative aspect of language has impressed various authors and indeed for many people the social aspects of language are predominantly contained in those of communication between individuals or groups. Such a statement however, has to be qualified, for obviously communication is possible without the use of language while language may be used for other reasons than direct communication. There is in fact at present at tendency to over-estimate the communicative aspect at the cost of a more inclusive approach to language.

At the same time the concept of communication has been narrowed down to its practical component of transfer and exchange of information and ideas. Thus language, and more particularly speech, is often popularly thought of as a kind of magic, hard to achieve but worth striving for in a perfectionistic manner, for the more refined the tool the better the communication. This however is only part of the picture. Preceding the concept of communication is the approach to language as an abstraction from the social situation, in other words as a system of significant symbols, referring to a social context.

The manipulation of these symbols makes out the main body of social activities. Language then is in the first place social action. It is as a form of behavior, viz. symbolic behavior that (it) arouses the interest of social scientists. This approach is a natural concomitant of the development of the social sciences, in the same way that in earlier times the main interest in language was centered around the origin of languages or the question of whether language was divine or rational in character. The modern social scientist, studying language as social action, may distinguish more than one type of communication:

(1) the direct external type of communication in which a message is communicated from one individual to one or more others;

(2) a more indirect or diffuse external type in which communication takes place regardless of the message communicated;
(3) the internal type viz. the communication taking place between an individual and himself.

External Communication

In Mead's terms, gestures (including language or vocal gesture) "become significant symbols when they implicitly arouse in an individual making them the same responses which they explicitly arouse or are supposed to arouse in other individuals." (Mead, p. 47)[1] In this threefold relationship between (1) social situation, which serves as a referent, (2) symbols used by the speaker, and (3) response of the hearer, there are various levels of abstraction.

Thus a man pointing to a steaming dish of food may remark to someone else that it is hot. The hearer observing the same visual signs and hearing the remark will agree. The interpretation is based on the recurrence of a similar social situation or a whole series of similar situations in the past. Since both speaker and hearer have experienced similar social situations in the past, the sight of the steaming dish will be interpreted by them in the same way. They both have internalized in their experience the social situation and the symbol used as an abstraction of that situation. Because of their shared experiences the symbol "hot" may be used also if the visual signs are absent. A speaker may tell about hot dishes in a situation where no such dishes are present. Yet his symbol will not fail to arouse the desired response in his listeners. At a more advanced level of abstraction, he will speak of a "hot" contest or a "heated" argument and his listeners will understand the meaning of his words since the symbol arouses in them the picture of all previous referents.

Reversely, if speaker and listener do not share the same internalized experiences, in other words, if they do not have the same frame of reference, the symbols used will fail to arouse the same response. Thus many fathers found that their pre-school age children could not interpret the symbol "office" since there was no adequate referent for it in the social situation the children could envisage. It is of course possible to refer the symbol to the office-building, but not to the whole complex of interpersonal relations the symbol stands for.

Such difficulties in interpretation of symbols caused by a lack of common internalized experiences are even more marked in the field of foreign languages. Words which seem the equivalents of words in a foreign language often turn out to refer to entirely different referents. This is

[1] All references in the text are to items in the Master Bibliography.

e.g. illustrated by the word "family." When American or British speakers use this word, the symbol stands for a rather similar social unit in the U.S. and in Britain. In related Indo-Germanic languages the words for "family" seem both in appearance and in sound so similar that they are usually regarded as interchangeable with the English word. However, the social unit to which these words refer may be a different one.

To cite just one example: if an American would say that he was travelling with his "family," the Dutch translation would not be *familie* but *gezin* the latter word indicating the nuclear or simple family, whereas the word *familie* is used to indicate wider kin relations and would therefore have to be translated by "relatives." If between neighboring countries with a common socio-cultural background numerous differences of this kind are to be found, we can easily understand how extensive the gap must be between languages with widely diverging socio-cultural frames of reference.

Differences in socio-cultural background are not eliminated by the fact that both parties employ the same language as a medium of communication. For example, communication between Dutch social welfare officers and Ambonese refugees in the Netherlands takes place either in Malay, a language of which most social welfare workers in this field have a good working knowledge, or in Dutch, which a good many Ambonese understand and often speak quite well. Between the parties no communication difficulties would be expected. Yet communication has failed several times because both parties employed the foreign tongue with reference to their own differing socio-cultural background. The simple fact, for instance, that the Dutch welfare workers think and speak in terms of the needs of the individual, thus isolating the individual from one of the many traditional groups of which he is an integral part, has often led to considerable confusion.

Modern methods of mass-communication entail their own specific problems. The use of mass-media permits an enormous increase in the total volume of external communication. The enlargement of scale however also sets its own limitations. Mass communication is directed to an anonymous mass and responses are correspondingly vague and often difficult to measure.

When discussing language as a means of communication, it is generally assumed that the emphasis falls on the transfer of a message. Models have been evolved explaining what factors are considered important in the process of communication while the message itself has been analysed as being of an informative or expressive character.

There is however a second, more indirect type of external communication, the type that has been termed "phatic communion," i.e. the function of speech in mere sociabilities. It is a fundamental tendency of humans

to congregate, to be together. Speech binds them together, accentuates their sense of belonging. As Malinowski remarks: "another man's silence is not a reassuring factor, but on the contrary, something alarming and dangerous." (p. 314) Here, the mere fact that some conversation is going on, is the essential feature, not the information that is imparted. The communication is there but it is an indirect communication in the sense that it is not dependent on the meaning of the words. The sound of the words and the context in which they are spoken are sufficient to bring about the communication.

In this connection it has been remarked that the bonds between speaker and hearer created by linguistic communication are not necessarily symmetrical. The speaker giving the information or uttering his ideas, derives a far greater satisfaction from this act than the hearer. However, there is always an opportunity to reverse the roles so that the flow of words goes in the other direction, which will also change the pattern of satisfaction. (Malinowski). In this context it is also worth noting the importance of the play element in language. As Huizing has pointed out, the play element is a function of culture, a given magnitude, "existing before culture itself existed, accompanying it and pervading it from the earliest beginning right up to the phase of civilization we are now living in." (p. 4)

In language this play element is very prominent. Not only is language pre-eminently suitable to convey humour and lightheartedness, but in many languages a playful element can be detected in some morphological aspects. Thus in Indonesian languages reiteration of words with or without vowel and/or consonant changes, often seem to reflect this play element. Thus the Malay/Indonesian word for scratch or line is: *tjoret*, but also *tjoreng*, *tjorek*, *tjorat-tjaret*. Often words of rather similar meaning are combined, apparently because the spoken words in combination have a pleasing sound, e.g.: *lemah lembut, gelap gulita, sopan santum bengkang bengkung, sajur majur*. Here evidently both rhythm and sound of the spoken words bring about the play element and the satisfaction derived from pronouncing or hearing the words comes very close to that derived from music. It shows that the borderlines between such cultural elements as music, dance and speech are often very artificial. Here again we find communication through vocal gestures but independent of the meaning content.

Internal Communication

Thus far we have discussed some aspects of communication between persons or groups of persons. There is also the communication between an individual and himself, or between man and the supernatural in prayer or exhortation. Such communication between an individual and himself is based on the existence of a system of linguistic symbols. "Only in

terms of gestures which are significant symbols can thinking — which is simply an internalized or implicit conversation of the individual with himself by means of gestures — take place." (Mead, p. 48).

This seems applicable also to the processes involved in memory. To remember something we need the guidance of signs. By means of language the individual can reach back into the past and generally he cannot reach further back than the period at which signs became available to him. Habits, feelings, sensations, experiences generally become associated with language symbols. By reorganizing these symbols past experiences can be called back and future experiences imagined. In other words it is the named things, which play an important role in memory and imagination. Remembering and especially recalling is an act of reconstruction — of reorganizing symbols. By means of language an ordering is possible of the chaos of impressions. Objects or things become familiar even if we know little else about them but their names.

By naming or at least by attempts to describe them, we seem to get a hold on things. Things, which cannot be named, cannot be compared to other known things, cannot be described in any intelligible way, and, in fact, are things "out of this world." They do not develop beyond the stage of vague sensations, emotions, fears or forebodings. We are aware of "something," but we do not know what, and generally we fear the unknown, nameless things. As soon as the thing has been named our uncertainty disappears. We now "know" it. The process is one of labeling, which is fundamental to all social life. "... And whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof..."

All societies have their own way of labeling things, or ordering the raw material of experience according to a certain system. People become so accustomed to using these labels and to apply their way of ordering, that they become unconscious of the fact that the labels are not the things themselves, but only indicators, and that their way of ordering experience is for the most part arbitrary and inevitably distorts reality. Childhood experiences viewed in this light and especially the pre-language experiences, deal for the most part with "raw" experience materials, not yet labeled and not or insufficiently systematized. This has been related to the phenomenon of childhood-amnesia, the fact that most individuals remember practically nothing of the period before their fifth year (Schachtel).

Philosophers and ethnolinguists have likewise recognized the compelling force of linquistic categories in the processes of ordering experience. Dewey states: "The chief intellectual classifications that constitute the working capital of thought, have been built up for us by our mother tongue." (Dewey, p. 235). Whorf goes even further and asserts that "the forms of a person's thoughts are controlled by inexorable laws of

patterns of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the unperceived intricate systematization of his own language." (Whorf, p. 252). Language not only embodies meaning, it also prescribes to a great extent the nature of the meaning we attach to our experiences.

3. LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The juxtaposition of these two terms is deceptive. It seems to imply that language and social structure are two separate entities or that language can be disentangled from its social context to be compared to what remains — the patterns of interpersonal relationship. Actually language is an integral part of social structure, and any attempt to study either of the two in isolation entails a certain amount of distortion.

As a social phenomenon language consists of acts, temporal and transitory. Its function is to coordinate social behavior according to the demands of the situation. Language as an integral part of social process gives meaning to and at the same time derives its meaning from social behavior. The relationship between language, systems of thought, and other patterns of behavior can be traced back to the metaphysics underlying each culture. As Whorf has shown in his exposition of the Hopi world view, each society has its own model of the universe and all observable phenomena of the universe can be accounted for and accurately described in the language of its people. Thus, whereas the metaphysics underlying western thinking and language imposes upon the universe the two separate concepts of space and time, the Hopi universe is described as comprising two different cosmic forms — the manifested and objective on the one hand and the manifesting (or unmanifest) and subjective on the other. The former comprises everything accessible to the senses without distinguishing between present and past, but excluding everything which in our thinking would be future. The latter concept deals with everything that is subjective, mental, and sacred. Hence it also includes notions of expectancy, desire, purposive thought into future action, a state or emerging into manifestation (which has been described as the "expective form" in Whorf's terminology of Hopi grammar). (Whorf 59/60)

There is then obviously an intimate and complex interrelationship between language and social structure, which is of particular interest to the sociologist. As an illustration of how these phenomena may be observed in reality, let us assume that in a certain social situation, a number of individuals are engaged in discussion. The sociologist, observing this situation is not in the first place concerned with the speech sounds or the vocabulary of the speakers, unless these linguistic phenomena are sociologically relevant. What he wants to know is, for example, what is the topic of the discussion? What are the social roles of the different speakers

and what is the nature of their interrelationship? What groups or categories do they represent? Is their group membership or status reflected in their speech or in a specific terminology used in addressing them? Why does this particular person speak more often than others? Who listens attentively when he speaks? Who does not?

The observer may note that some societies have what has been termed a "talking culture," while in other social systems the "strong, silent man" is valued. (LaPiere and Farnsworth) He may also find that specific types of linguistics behavior are consistently accompanied by specific other forms of symbolic behavior (gestures, facial expression, dress, ritual). The sociologist, it will be noted, interprets linguistic acts in terms of a network of interpersonal relationships, i.e. in terms of social structure.

Here two significant aspects may be distinguished. Studies of sociocultural systems have shown that all socially significant categories and processes have their linguistic counterpart. Thus we find that the well-known criteria of age, sex, occupation, etc. have found expression in terms for different age groups and of seniority (e.g. terms for older brother, younger brother) and special terms for male and female roles and, in some societies, separate types of address for male and female speakers. There are also terms for specific occupations and affiliations and terms expressive of kinship and affinity.

This notion of the power of the word is a general one, and not without reason. The very first contact a child makes with his social world is through vocal action. His cry for food or for comfort immediately brings response. Later on, his first words again entail prompt action from the adult world. "Words are to a child active forces, they give him an essential hold on reality.... The word acts on the thing and the thing releases the word in the human mind." (Malinowski, p. 321)

The conviction that words are powerful forces in the essence of verbal magic. It may take the form of the application of magical words to bring about health, growth, or fertility. It may also consist of avoidance of such value-laden, dangerous words. Thus among many fishing and hunting communities, special "occupational" or "secret" languages have developed. The obvious reason for this specialization is the desire to avoid taboo-words, which may frighten away the animals, or else to propitiate the deities of water, wind, rain and other unpredictable elements. The same magical function may be attributed to the jargon of criminal groups.

Although major emphasis has been placed on the conserving and perpetuating element of language, the same characteristics of language make it an excellent instrument to bring about or emphasize social change. The speech habits of the Religious Society of Friends, based on Biblical simplicity in speech, was part of a whole complex of social gestures ex-

pressive of the social reforms of George Fox, the founder of the Society. Many battles were fought before the offensive "Thee" and "Thou" of the Friends were tolerated in their own social environment of non-Friends. The "beatnik"-slang, like their dress and other habits, similarly has a double function. Internally it serves to affirm and preserve group membership, externally it accentuates a breaking away from the social standards, a rebellion against the socially approved habits.

The fascination of the new often takes a linguistic form, such as a smattering of foreign languages, newly coined words, or new expressions. The many forms and means of linguistic advertising illustrate the role of language as a means of pushing new ideas and forming new habits and needs.

Language is often manipulated as a means of exciting and stimulating non-symbolic action in processes of rapid social change. We hear and see slogans as a moral accompaniment of revolutionary movements such as *"Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite"* in France, "Merdeka" (freedom) in Indonesia, "Mena Muria" (ready for action) in Ambon, and "Africa for the Africans." These slogans may be employed as an appeal to unite people speaking the same language ("Ein Volk, ein Fuhrer, eine Sprache!") or it may take the form of an attempt to unite people speaking different tribal or regional languages such as Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of Indonesia in a country where over two hundred languages are spoken.

Here we might elaborate a little on the concept of a national language. For the linguist, all languages and dialects are of equal value and interest and the efforts to codify and build up one language as a national language with a standard spelling, grammar and an artificially enlarged vocabulary of its own, does not mean much to him. For the sociologist however, the motivations underlying the struggle to build up a national language and a national literature are highly significant. Such aims may accompany social movements and the language becomes a symbol of nationalistic or tribal aims. Thus in India the proclamation of Hindi as the national language brought vehement protests from the Tamil-speaking people in South India. Hindi and Tamil belong to two different linguistic stocks. In Pakistan a similar struggle ensued although the two languages, Urdu and Bengali, are related.

New concepts or ideas, after being launched by individuals or interest groups, may become the focal point of new specific vocabularies facilitating the introduction of changes. This process may run as follows. The observation of certain social phenomena stimulates attempts to describe, interpret and evaluate what has been observed in the light of a specific focus of interest. This linguistic process allows a characterization of those phenomena in unfavorable terms. Often the complex of phenomena is

captured under a label, a new name suggesting the undesirability of their existence, or, as often happens, desired changes are as it were crystallized in the new concept and it is upheld in striking contrast to the existing situation. After the idea has been launched it appears that many others have been concerned with related problems. These problems are then discussed and interpreted in a novel way. Many odd things fall into place. Thought and discussion are experienced as promoting insight. People derive great satisfaction from being among the first to introduce the new concept. Gradually it becomes the fashion to discuss related problems in these terms. It is at this stage that the idea seems to have acquired a power and a momentum of its own and thus a purely linguistic phenomenon has been transformed into a social force. The moment for its translation into direct non-symbolic action has arrived. The history of such ideas, depicting a general social process which runs its course from the concrete social situation via linguistic behavior back to direct non-symbolic action is illustrated by the career of emotionally charged terms as: democracy, communism, colonialism, un-Americanism, segregation and desegregation, and so forth.

Linguistic changes may accompany, precede, or follow social changes. Seen from the viewpoint of the individual, change may result from the selection of a specific language or sub-language and the avoidance of others. In this process of selection and avoidance, it is worth studying the motivation behind these decisions. In discussing the Javanese sub-languages in which the hierarchical order is reflected, we noted, that these linguistic forms tended to reaffirm and perpetuate the status categories. Consequently it is not surprising to learn that many Javanese, in order to escape "humiliating" use of "high" speech, will prefer to use Malay, a language in which such status distinctions are not expressed.

A person formulates his purposes and imputes motives to his acts especially in situations where his intentions are questioned by others or when his conduct is not in accordance with the expectations of others or when he thinks this is so. Questions are raised especially in situations where acts are unexpected or purposes considered unusual or when alternative behavior exists. This shows the essentially social character of motivation. Therefore the words used, the way one formulates an explanation, depends on the vocabulary of motives which is acceptable in certain situations and by the social circles concerned. In most societies motivation in terms of moral goodness is the most serviceable. Morally serviceable words like: industriousness, ability, generosity, cheerfulness, kindness, filial piety etc. are frequently used by the individual because they earn him the goodwill of his group. (Burke) Depending, however, on the social group and the situation, the emphasis may be more

on generosity and hospitality than on industriousness and thrift or more on law and order than on generosity and refinement.

We have first dealt briefly with various approaches in order to specify our own. Then the communicative aspect of language has been discussed, not only because this aspect is the most obvious but also to make a distinction between this and the following section dealing with the function of language in social statics and social dynamics. Our brief exposition is of course far from exhaustive. Language inevitably involves all aspects of social life, and the delineation of a sociology of language as a separate field of study, as proposed by Hertzler, seems justified. In this paper however we have been concerned mainly with an elaboration of the concept of language as social action, a less obvious but highly significant concept. Its further development as a field of study in a sociological frame of reference will open interesting perspectives.

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PHILIPPINE RADIO – HISTORY AND PROBLEMS

JOHN A. LENT

DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING REVOLUTIONARY DETERMINANTS of Philippine society will usually cover a wide range of subjects. Often included in such discussion is the transistor radio,[1] an innovation which has done its revolutionizing predominantly on the local level.

Barrio (small village) folk, traditionally isolated from the outside world, now absorb fresh ideas and keep abreast of national and international developments through transistors. The transistor revolution in the Philippines began in 1959 when CARE donated a few thousand transistors to the barrios. When he asked CARE to donate the radios, President Carlos P. Garcia explained that the radios would combat subversive elements in the rural areas. Why the great emphasis placed on the transistor? What was wrong with the battery or electric radios?

First of all, many barrios in the Philippines do not have electricity: and those having electricity still think of it as a luxury to be used sparingly. In addition, battery radios are prohibitively costly (because of the short life of the expensive batteries) and cumbersome.

Thus, the transistor in some cases has replaced the usual method of getting information — by word of mouth. This method was time-consuming in that it often took two months for information to sift to the barrios from the urban centers. Traditionally, as one source mentioned: "Newspapers, magazines and other written material count for much less in the barrio scheme of communication than the afternoon session at the barrio lieutenant's house; and the morning gatherings at the well or river bank in the case of the woman."[2]

Although the transistor is still a supplement to the word-of-mouth source of news, villagers are quickly accepting its soap operas, *balagtasan* (debates in verse), advice-to-the-lovelorn programs and music fare.

Besides entertaining, another function of the transistor is its usefulness as a status symbol. Barrio people are interested in knowing about city life and the transistor provides such information. The radio seems to strengthen their concept of the big city as a festive, unfriendly place by presenting news of crime, accidents and family problems.

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[1] Interviews with Francisco Trinidad, general manager of Philippine Broadcasting Service, Manila; Jose Tierro, program director of CBN, Manila; and Aurelio Javellana, manager of Mindanao Broadcasting, Davao City; 1964-65.

[2] Roperos, Godofredo, "The transistor revolution," Manila *Times Magazine*, February 11, 1962, p. 10.

Emphasizing the transistor's use in the provinces, the 1961 Coller Report said:

> In general, it appeared that the radio itself was somewhat personified. Respondents made such remarks as 'the radio was singing' or the 'radio was talking' when describing their visits to town . . . . These attitudes and comments suggest that the radio was accordingly responded to and anticipated as being analogous to a pleasant person who is going to join their social group . . . .
>
> In some social situations, it appeared that the sole function of the radio was to furnish a human-like noise as a background for an engrossing activity . . . . At a wedding, for example, while the reception activities were in full blossom, the radio was placed on a table near the center of the room. However, the program was a somewhat indistinct sermon given in English by an evangelistic preacher. The volume of the radio was high although the separate words were not clear. No one moved to change the program nor to shut off the radio. Its noise was apparently a welcome addition to the wedding reception.
>
> When there was a party for a baptism, a wedding or some special anniversary, the barrio lieutenant (usually the barrio official entrusted with the barrio's radio) and the radio were invited. [3]

How did barrio radio exist in pre-transistor days? In his 1957 studies, De Young reported that radio coverage in most barrios was insignificant. Out of 2,668 households sampled, 131 (or 4.8%) owned radios and only 65.6% of the sets were in working condition, according to De Young.[4] The others were inoperable three to six months a year for lack of batteries. People aware of radio listened to it in the *sari-sari* (grocery) stores and cafes of the *poblacion* (a population unit one step higher than the barrio). Another survey (MacMillan-Rivera) indicated that in 1951 only 3% of provincial households had functioning radios.

To understand Philippine radio — its problems, effects and accomplishments, one must backtrack, all the way to the 1920's. Comparably, Philippine radio is old. In fact, less than two years after KDKA's venture in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Philippine radio had its beginnings. In June, 1922, three 50-watt stations, owned and operated by an electrical supply company, were given temporary permits for stations in Manila and adjoining Pasay. Apparently, an American, Henry Hermann, organized these radio stations. The stations, used mainly for demonstration purposes, were on the air for about two years, with mostly music fare for those few who owned sets, before they were replaced by a 100-watt station, KZKZ. Hermann owned KZKZ too, and operated it from his home. On Oct. 4, 1924, KZKZ was acquired by the Radio Corporation of the Philippines which two months later increased its power to 500 watts. Another station (KZRQ, owned by Far Eastern Radio Inc.) with 500 watt power went on the air in October 1924.

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[3] Coller, Richard, *Social Aspects of Donated Radios on Barrio Life*, University of the Philippines: Community Development Research Council, 1961.

[4] De Young, John, *A Study of Communications Problems on Barrio Level*, University of the Philippines, 1957.

A merger of Far Eastern with RCP on Sept. 5, 1925, resulted in the demise of KZKZ, leaving KZRQ as the sole station. Nearly two years later (Sept .3, 1927), KZRM (one kilowatt) was licensed under RCP but the Philippines still could not support two stations, so it was KZRQ's turn to die and it did so on Oct. 28 of that year. KZRM's power was increased to two kilowatts on Nov. 27, 1928. Yench explained this transaction differently:

> In 1927, J. Amado Araneta secured the frequency of 620 kilocycles from the Radio Control Division of the Bureau of Posts and started KZRM. Araneta's company was later called Far Eastern Broadcasting Company . . . and was later joined by a sister station, KZRF.[5]

Another source[6] claimed that in 1939 KZRM and KZEG were acquired by Araneta who then owned the DMHM chain of newspapers. Araneta supposedly changed KZEG's call letters to KZRF and kept KZRM's identification. This was the beginning of the trend of later years — newspaper-radio combines. Today, among such cross-channel ownerships are: CBN-ABS-MBS, associated with the *Manila Chronicle;* Associated Broadcasting Company stations, owned by *Manila Times and Manila Daily Mirror;* Inter-Island Broadcasting (Radio Mindanao), *Philippines Herald;* and the station owned by the *Manila Bulletin.*

On Nov. 9, 1925, another station (KZIB) came on the air, a 20-watt station owned by Isaac Beck Inc. The power of KZIB was increased to one kilowatt in 1931 and a one kilowatt shortwave transmitter was added Nov. 19, 1938.

RCP took radio to the provinces in 1929 with the establishment of a one kilowatt station in Cebu City, KZRC. The experiment, which relayed KZRM programs by shortwave to Cebu and there to be rebroadcast by longwave, proved unsuccessful after a few months.

RCP bowed out in 1931, selling its exclusive rights of Philippine distribution of all RCA products and station KZRM to Erlanger and Galinger, Inc. After adding KZEG (one kilowatt) as a sister to KZRM on July 11, 1932, Erlanger and Galinger ran these stations until July 1 1938, when their ownership was transferred to Far Eastern Radio Broadcasting Corporation of Manila.

Another pre-war station was KZRH (ten kilowatt) established by H. E. Heacock Company on July 14, 1939. Samuel Gaches, another American, was the businessman responsible for backing KZRH.

A feature of the four pre-war stations was that they were owned by department stores which used them to advertise merchandise. The motivation behind pre-advertising stations (advertising of companies other

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[5] Yench, John, "The role of radio and TV in the Philippines," American Chamber of Commerce of Philippines *Journal,* December, 1960, pp. 590-600.

[6] Trinidad, Francisco, "30 years of radio in the Philippines," *Fookien Times Yearbook,* 1956, pp. 143-144, 154.

than the station owners began in 1932) was the stimulation of radio receiver sales.

Radio control laws were promulgated about the same time that radio accepted outside advertisements. According to Francisco Trinidad, one of the pioneers of Philippine radio, in the late 1920's and early 1930's there was an office for radio "but there was no control because the office didn't carry out its functions."[7] In 1931, the Radio Control Law (Act 3486) was passed enabling the secretary of Commerce and Industry to watch over radio. The law created a regulatory body, the Radio Control Board, and its working arm, the Radio Control Division. These two bodies have since been transferred to the Department of Public Works and Communications.

Radio in the thirties gained almost as much glamour as the movies. Radio personalities became popular as Manila newspapers lavished attention not only on movie stars, but radio personalities as well. The movie industry was relatively new and because there were only a few movies produced compared to the number of radio programs, radio obtained more newspaper publicity. "Sunrise Club," and "Listerine Amateur Hour" were the more popular radio shows.

> Programming ran along the same line of a preponderance of purely entertainment programs and a few newscasts. Interviews were unheard of until just two or three years before the outbreak of World War II. More so was a government program unheard of over any radio station. Only the late President Quezon and a few other government officials were ever heard on a broadcast. The war changed all that. It came naturally that with the imminence of the last war, radio was put to more and more use. After all, it was the medium through which we would alert the most people to the immediacy of the fast developing circumstances.[8]

As the Japanese invaded the Philippines, all radio studios were raided, except KZRH, which the Japanese renamed PIAM and used as their voicepiece. "I don't know what PIAM stood for. To the Filipinos it stood for some obscene Tagalog phrase," Trinidad related.[9]

Another source discussed wartime Philippine radio:

> Reception on shortwave was strictly forbidden; and to make the ban more effective, radio receiving sets were 'caponized.' But many receiving set owners managed at great risks to hide their sets and/or rewired them after they were 'caponized.' These radio set owners and those living in areas not reached by the Japs continued at much greater risks to listen in on the broadcasts of 'The Voice of Juan de la Cruz,' which unfortunately was shortlived; those of the 'Voice of Freedom' from Corregidor which operated

[7] Personal interview with Francisco Trinidad, GSIS Building, Manila, June 4, 1965.

[8] Trinidad, "30 years. . . ," *op. cit.*

[9] Interview, Trinidad, *op. cit.*

until its fall in May, 1942; and those of the 'Voice of America' throughout the occupation period.[10]

The underground newspapers depended heavily upon the hidden radio sets for their information of the war. One guerrilla, for example, listened to radio twenty-four hours a day, alternating with his wife so as to get all the news possible for the mimeographed guerrilla sheets.[11]

A San Francisco station was the main "legitimate" source of news for Filipinos. Because of the Japanese censorship, Filipinos had to depend on San Francisco for news happening right in Manila. Stenographic notes of this station's news digests and commentaries were surreptitiously distributed throughout the islands. Carbon copies of the notes were sold at fantastic prices despite the fact they were death warrants for anyone caught with them.

The Philippine liberation of 1945 heralded the real birth of broadcasting in the archipelago. Whereas before the war, approximately twenty years elapsed before one could count five stations; within five years after the war, one could count thirty stations.

Because of the large number of applications for broadcast permits, Congress enacted Commonwealth Act 729 on July 2, 1946, which gave the President of the Philippines a four-year right to grant temporary permits for the establishment of stations. Previous to this, no station could be set up without first getting the franchise from Congress — sometimes a very tedious procedure which tended to retard radio growth. Another all-encompassing radio act was passed in 1947 stipulating that stations change their first call letter from 'K' to 'D' so as not to be confused with United States call letters. Today, call letters 'DZ' stand for Luzon stations, 'DY' for Visayan and 'DX' for Mindanao.

The main problem with radio in the immediate post-war period was the lack of receivers. More receivers seemed to be concentrated in the provinces than in Manila. This resulted during the war when Manila people, needing food money, sold their sets cheaply to the provincianos.[12] Rehco (Radio Electronic Headquarters Co.) in 1949 partially alleviated the lack of receivers problem when it started to make receiving sets. By 1953, Rehco was producing about 300 sets a month. Rehco's was not the first attempt at producing receivers locally; in 1936, an American automobile importer set up a plant to make local radios from imported parts. The idea failed because he used the trade name "Mabuhay"

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[10] Mimeographed report by Castañeda found in Francisco Trinidad's files. (Permission granted.)

[11] Lear, Elmer, *Japanese Occupation of the Philippines*, Data Paper 42, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1961.

[12] Chanco, Mario, "Commercial Broadcasting in Manila," American Chamber of Commerce *Journal*, November 1946, pp. 6-7, 20.

(Welcome) and brand-conscious Filipinos didn't trust a locally-assembled radio.[13]

The first broadcasting system on the air after liberation was KZFM, a 50-watt station operated first by the Office of War Information, later by the United States Information Service and still later by the Republic of the Philippines.[14] KZFM, which went on the air three months after liberation, was named for Frederic Marquardt, an American newsman on the pre-war *Philippines Free Press* who returned with MacArthur's troops. When the station was turned over to the Philippine government twenty years ago, President Roxas initiated a revolving fund of $100,000 (U.S.) for its operation. Today, DZFM is the government station — an entity that is partially subsidized and partially paid for by commercial advertising.

In 1946, two additional stations appeared — pre-war KZRH and DZPI, a post-war extension of the Far Eastern Broadcasting's KZRF. Both were commercially operated, and both, three days after they opened, sponsored on-the-spot coverage of the Philippine inaugural ceremonies. Competing very keenly, they both opened sister stations — DZRH initiated DZMB and DZPI established DZOK.

Post-war provincial radio had its debut when the Cebu Broadcasting Company opened DYRC on Sept. 21, 1947. DYRC was followed shortly after by DYBU.

Big business interests were responsible for some of the first post-war commercial stations. For example, the Elizalde companies supported Manila Broadcasting Company's DZRH, and Soriano businesses, along with Ramon Roces, magazine chain owner, inaugurated DZPI. In 1949, Manila Broadcasting Company and the Philippine Broadcasting System merged, making DZRH-DZPI-DZMB the strongest combine in the Philippines at the time. Twelve years later, MBC-PBC owned 13 stations broadcasting in Chinese, English, Spanish and the Bicol, Cebuano, Ilocano, Ilongo and Waray dialects.

Also in that year, the genesis of the largest broadcasting chain in the Philippines was taking place. The then newly-formed Bolinao Electronics Corporation opened station DZBC in 1949, starting what eventually became the Alto Broadcasting System — Chronicle Broadcasting Network — Monserrat Broadcasting System organization, owned by the many Lopez business enterprises. An American, James Lindenberg, founded Bolinao but sold out in the early fifties to Judge Antonio Quirino, brother

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[13] Anonymous, "Locally made radios," *Chronicle Magazine*, November 22, 1953, pp. 4, 7.

[14] Another source claims WVLC was the first post-war station, established in March 1945. Transmitting from a radio shop in Manila, WVLC was directly under MacArthur's command. It was short-lived, having been replaced by WVTM, a station sent to the islands from the United States. (Trinidad, Luis, "The role of radio in Philippine entertainment," *Chronicle Magazine*, November 21, 1964, pp. 26-27).

of the Philippine president at that time, who later sold to Lopez. Bolinao originally obtained the radio franchises for poiltical purposes; they hoped to elect a man to office and then quietly let the station die. But because of the popularity of their disc jockeys, Bolinao stations stayed on the air. Eugenio Lopez entered the picture in 1956 when he organized CBN and three stations in Manila. He then proceeded to buy out Quirino and his Bolinao interests. Today, the CBN-ABS-MBS owns at least thirty stations throughout the islands.

Programming was flavored with a colonial mentality in the first post-war years, most shows being canned United States serials. DZRH initiated the first successfully sponsored local shows — Philippine Manufacturing Company's "Purico Show," and "Kuwentong Kapitbahay." The latter was the first soap opera in Tagalog. The Tagalog show, "Kapitan Kidlat," a Philippine-type Superman, also encouraged the use of live programming.

Famous for its on-the-spot news coverage was Republic Broadcasting's DZBB, started by Bob Stewart on March 1, 1950. DZBB's news show contribution included "Newscoop" made up of controversial individuals discussing "hot" subjects. On one occasion featuring a debate between two arch-rival politicians, over 10,000 people lined the streets outside the studio to witness the action. Each politician had twenty unarmed bodyguards in the studio for protection. Outside, police frisked everyone because they feared gang warfare. The politicians debated for 3½ hours, swearing at each other over the air.[15]

One evaluator said of radio programming in 1952:

> Radio stations stay on the air eighteen hours of every twenty-four and as far as some people are concerned, their only difference with nagging wives is that the latter don't cost a cent to hear. On the other hand, a much bigger number of loyal listeners prize their radio sets for the unexpensive entertainment and information they get from them.
>
> Even radio people themselves agree that of their eighteen hours on the air only a few are spent on broadcasting really worthy programs. So much time is spent polluting the air lanes with cheap, morbid, unintelligent programs. They rationalize on this failure by saying that is what the public wants, which is the bitter truth. A few years back when the announcement was made that radio was here to stay, everybody was happy... Now, with programs what they are, there are desperate moments when frustrated radio reformants aren't so sure they want it to stay.[16]

Among the many complaints of radio then: commercials were sneaked into program scripts, announcers tried to sound like Americans,

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[15] Ty, Leon, "Newscoop," *Philippines Free Press,* December 31, 1955, pp. 5, 53.

[16] Granada, Ernesto, "Radio's adolescent troubles," *Freedom, September* 20, 1952, pp. 7-8, 21.

shows were horror-filled and frightening.[17] As for newscasts, they sounded as though the newscasters were reading the latest newspaper verbatim, "which is in fact the case and the newscasters make no bones about it."[18] First hand gathering of the news being too expensive for most radio stations, they clipped stories out of newspapers and dramatized them for broadcast. Other times, to get the news, stations conducted interviews of newsworthy persons by a panel of newspapermen.

By the early fifties, commentators on current events became popular, chief of whom was (and still is) Rafael Yabut, who gained a following for his irreverent treatment of the foibles of government officials. No less than twenty programs featuring political opinion were aired daily by Manila's six leading stations in 1953. Although they all preached neutrality, most were "but thinly veiled propaganda for either political party."[19] In most cases, they were paid for by political factions.

According to a Philippine Radio Survey Association poll, the most popular live talent show of this period was "Kuwentong Kutsero," a satire on Filipino manners, politics, customs and government. It was aired first in 1938. Other popular shows were "Kami Naman," a situation comedy; "Vicks' Variety Show"; and the "Camay Theatre of the Air."[20]

Other significant changes in post-war radio were the language of broadcasts and the extension of broadcasting to the provinces. Whereas in the pre-war and early post-war eras, 90% of radio programming was in English, by the mid-fifties, the trend reversed itself to more use of Tagalog.

An indication of the proliferation of provincial radio was Cebu (population 251,000) which had 13 radio and three television stations by 1964. These stations were owned or developed by Manila networks (CBN-ABS-MBS, two stations; Republic, one; Radio Mindanao, one) as well as local outfits (Cebu Broadcasting, three: Visayas-Mindanao, one; Central Philippine Broadcasting, one; Abellana National School, one). Many of the stations lose money and depend on funds from their mother networks or from election advertisements every two years.

Why do provincial cities have so many radio stations as compared to the number of newspapers? Reuben Canoy, Cagayan de Oro City pioneer in radio, explained that radio is easier to organiez than newspapers. He added: "You can get ads for radio and also there is not

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[17] Riego, Socorro, "Our 'DZ' programs," *Weekly Women's Magazine,* February 19, 1954, p. 11.

[18] Granada, *op. cit.*

[19] Granada, Ernesto, "The political stump on your dial," *Freedom,* April 18, 1953, pp. 9, 30.

the need for as many staff members as newspapers. Of course, people who can't read can listen."[21]

Examples of provincial radio's rapid growth are evident in Cagayan de Oro City and Davao City. Cagayan (city of 80,000 in northern Mindanao) has five stations, two owned by Radio Mindanao (DXVM and DXCC), and one each by Mindanao Broadcasting Company (DXMO), Xavier University (DXXU) and Manila Broadcasting (DXRC). Canoy felt the number of stations would double in Cagayan de Oro City within five years. Their chief programming fare? Soap operas. The owners of one Cagayan de Oro station didn't think it unusual that they broadcast as many as fifteen soap operas daily..[22]

The first station in Davao City (DXAW) was opened in 1949 by A. J. Wills, a U.S. Army communications man who used surplus material to start his station. Stations in Davao City now are: ABS-CBN's DXAW, DXWW and DXLD; Mindanao Broadcasting's DXMC, DXMM, DXHC and DXUM; Mindanao Times' DXMT; Philippine Herald's DXDC; Liberty Broadcasting's DXGE and the government's DXRP.

Nationally, the last ten years has seen a burgeoning of stations until today there are approximately 150. As late as 1959, there were only from 47-52 stations in the islands, 17-20 of which were in Manila. Manila now has about 30 stations.

Herein lies one of the biggest problems of Philippine broadcasting — overcrowding. Advertising cannot support the large number of stations, many of which survive only by waiting for election revenue every two years.

Radio's growth, because of the transistor, has been predominantly in the provinces. Most Manila broadcasting organizations have established provincial stations, among them CBN-ABS-MBS, MBC-PBC, Republic, Associated, Inter-Island. In an effort to capitalize on the growing provincial markets, stations in the vicinity of Manila have been uprooted and transplanted. But they are usually transplanted or developed in larger provincial metropolitan areas, thus glutting these markets and still not reaching the remote farming areas.[23]

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[20] Granada, "Radio's adolescent. . . ," *op. cit.*

[21] Personal interview with Reuben Canoy, Cagayan de Oro City, December 12, 1964.

[22] Personal interview with Raul Ortega, Manila Broadcasting Company, Cagayan de Oro City, December 12, 1964.

[23] The station personnel claim they cannot put stations in remote areas which do not have electricity. Trinidad thinks it is because the stations never learned to work in emergencies and added that this is ironical in a nation where typhoon emergencies develop frequently. (Trinidad interview, *op. cit.*) Tierro points out that in some areas electricity is on only from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. He adds that Manila stations cover the whole of the country at various times of the day. (Tierro interview, *op. cit.*)

Problems of provincial, as well as Manila, radio may be gleaned if we observe the headaches of one city (Davao City). These are: 1. Overcrowding. Davao City has nine stations serving approximately 800,000 people and 83,000 radio homes in the Davao Province; 2. Soap operas. Advertising money is usually fed to entertainment programs, especially the soap operas and inane joke shows; 3. Poor taste advertising. Because advertising is relatively scarce on the provincial level, stations must accept nearly all ads, whether in good taste or not; 4. Language. Two of the Davao announcers, for example, can't use English correctly, mixing it occasionally with vernacular tongues; 5. Programming. Shows popular in the United States and Europe twenty years ago are in vogue in Davao now; 6. Ownership. Many stations are either affiliated with or owned by Manila groups, some of which do not understand provincial radio problems.[24]

Despite the large number of radio schools, there is a lack of training among radio personnel, creating still further problems. For example, most Philippine newscasters, to improve their images, concentrate on voicing and completely neglect news gathering and writing. "Young broadcasters are trained on the job. Some colleges here offer radio courses but the instruction is not attuned to the actual broadcasting conditions of the nation. In most cases, non-radio people are teaching the courses. At CBN, we feel the best training is on the job with us," one broadcaster said.[25]

Canoy adds other problems to the list:

> 1. Irresponsible newsmen and/or rabble-rousing commentators. The type of people Philippine radio gets are those who have voices or style but don't have the brains for newscasting
>
> 2. Distribution of radios to barrios. When battery radios were being used, the cost of battery replacement was prohibitive, as much as $7.50 a month. Now, transistors cost about 38 cents a month. Distribution of the governmental and CARE free radios is handled by barrio captains who are a little more responsible. When the free distribution began a few years ago, the captain distributed the radios to people who would do him a favor in turn.
>
> 3. Money. Advertisers have limited budgets. Because of the rapid sprouting of many stations, competition has become keen. You get a temporary permit for an area but someone can invade that area with another station. There is no franchise as such. The radio set-up is full of corruption. You have to bribe people for a license for any given area and yet the license is not effective.[26]

Of course, there are encouraging aspects of Philippine radio. A few examples will suffice. Radio has helped unify the people, having

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[24] Personal interview with Aurelio Javellana, manager of Mindanao Broadcasting System, Davao City, December 14, 1964.

[25] Interview, Tierro, *op. cit.*

[26] Interview, Canoy, *op. cit.*

taught them the national language, Tagalog. In August, 1959, a movement was initiated by the Philippine Broadcasting Service and the Bureau of Public Schools, to broadcast educational programs for teachers and pupils. This public service has been important in a nation where two-thirds of the more than 3½ million school children attend poorly equipped barrio schools.

Canoy in Cagayan and Javellana in Davao reported using their stations more and more for community service — finding lost children, teaching agricultural methods and the like.

> If someone loses a carabao (water buffalo), we try to locate it for him. If a farmer gets to town and can't get home, we broadcast a message so informing his family. We even broadcast names of people who must report to court the following day. It's all part of the big problem in the Philippines — poor communications. There is no good mail or telephone system here so radio is used.[27]

Provincial radio's growth has run counter to the impressions of many radio personnel who for years felt the best way to reach the masses was by broadcasting from Manila. "These people had always thought the aura of the big city of Manila had a special place in the provinciano's heart — that he wanted his radio entertainment and information to emanate from Manila and not from the provincial city," was the way Nitoy Escano, Manila sales director of CBN-ABS-MBS put it.[28] Escano added that provincianos couldn't believe they were about to have their own station; in Zamboanga City (40,000 population) people at first thought they had to pay to tune in to the local station.

How widespread is radio receiver ownership in the Philippines? What is the average listenership? How are programming and advertising handled now? In 1951 there were 79,000 sets (4 per 1,000 people); 1954, 217,000 (10 per 1,000); 1957 305,000 (22 per 1,000) and 1959, 600,000.[29] Of the 4,692,000 Philippine homes in the early 1960's, 31% were covered by radio, 20% by the press and 2% by television.[30] A 1962 Robot Survey found that 26% of Philippine homes had radio sets, that there were 1.5 million sets in the islands. Where are these sets concentrated? Who owns them? The fact that in Rizal Province (surrounds Manila) 50% of the homes have radio whereas in Albay Province (southern Luzon) only 4% have radio indicates that set ownership is massed near urban centers. An Index Survey in 1963 showed a high radio ownership rate in socio-economic classes "C" and "D" which are middle to lower middle classes. Of

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[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Personal interview with Nitoy Escano, sales director of CBN-ABS-MBS, Manila, June 3, 1965.

[29] UNESCO, *World Communications*, Paris: UNESCO, 1951, 1956, 1964.

[30] Advertising and Marketing Association, *Facts and Figures on the Philippine Market*, Manila: AMA, 1963.

course the "A" and "B" classes (over $250 per month) also own radio sets but they are used by the housemaids; the family in such cases prefers to view television.[31]

Although programming has been uplifted with the use of more live shows and less noise, there are still numerous cases of poor newscasts read from newspapers and of immoral and unethical shows. It might be said that programming has improved slightly since this criticism was written:

> A few years ago, there was too much noise on radio. If it wasn't rock and roll, it was fabricated hysteria courtesy of the gag writers who think of a world of wailing and screeching, and announcers who justify the playing of a two-minute record with a 'clever' five minute introduction.[32]

A hindrance to good broadcasting over the years has been the *bakya* mentality which permeates the lower income classes — a mentality that "favors stories about illegitimate children, forsaken wives, abused women, moribund fathers, poor girls and rich boys, poor boys and rich girls, stories where the leading lady alternates between singing and weeping. . . ."[33] The *bakya* crowd has been used by radio, television, and movie personnel as an excuse for the showing of poor programs.

Trinidad explained the *bakya* rationalization:

> We are trying to lift the tastes of the bakya crowd now. Before World War II, we had taste in radio. Stations had their full orchestras; there were visiting artists. There is no semblance between present radio tastes and those of pre World War II. The rapid growth of radio and the need for more people to work it (thus an influx of unqualified personnel) have lowered the tastes. Probably 80% of present day announcers would never have made it in pre-war days. The rationalization given by media people that the bakya crowd only wants the type of trash they now get is a foolish notion. This same bakya crowd they talk about now, was the one we lifted the tastes of in pre-war years. I get very resentful when I hear a media man say the bakya tastes cannot be raised. This rationalization makes of all Filipinos, nimcompoops.[34]

Philippine media personnel feel the *bakya* crowd wants and needs the soap opera formula for entertainment. That they give the people what they want was emphasized in a 1964 survey which showed that in a twelve-hour broadcast day, four hours are devoted to soap opera, three to music, three to conversation, one to news and one to commercials. Ninety per cent of the music broadcast was dance music, with very little listening, classical or semi-classical fare.

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[31] Polson and Pal, *Status of Rural Life in Dumaguete City Trade Area*, Data Paper 21, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1956, p. 18.

[32] Castañeda, Bessie, "Outlook for radio and TV," *Saturday Mirror Magazine*, October 22, 1960, pp. 18-19.

[33] Avellana, Lamberto, "The cinema in the Philippines," *Unitas*, September 1963, pp. 382-386.

[34] Interview, Trinidad, *op. cit.*

One source capsuled Philippine radio programming this way:

> Soap operas rule the wave lengths . . . the next type of popular radio fare is emceed music
>
> The radio station that jumps with the latest tunes, that talks the language of the people, that tells stories about the people — this gets a high preference on the dial.
>
> The soap operas reaffirm the values of the people. The imported music expresses the deeper longings of the people. The long suffering mother, the jilted sweetheart, the uncaring lover form the main characters of a soap opera. . . .[35]

An attempt at giving the people what they need rather than what they want was CBN's 24-hour-a-day news program in 1956. The station, first of its kind in the islands, had complete editorial and reportorial staffs day and night, plus all wire facilities. "But the people didn't accept this concept of radio," according to Escano. "People are not too news-conscious in the Philippines. Provincial listeners are quite news-conscious but because of a lack of monitoring systems, we can't get the information to the provinces. And provincial stations can't afford to have wire services; if they could, wire services are received poorly in the provinces anyway,[36] he added.

Other sources, especially Trinidad, have explained it differently. Because radio and newspapers often are owned by the same combines, the two media will not knock each other by competing for the news. "If the newspaper claims it is tops and first with the news, radio won't challenge. They are not working for the good of mass communication; they are working for commercialism,"[37] Trinidad said.

Another complaint of radio is the large number of commercials, many of which are offensive. During election years, there are usually persistent controversies about the amount of money politicians spend on radio advertising.

The most expensive broadcast time rate is on DZXL (CBN) — $150 (US per hour in "A" time (6-9) or 10 p.m.). The main source of revenue for radio advertising is the soap opera, sponsored by such corporations as Colgate, Procter-Gamble, Lever Brothers, the cigarette, milk and gas companies. Spot advertisements, not full-show sponsorships, account for the majority of the revenue. Spots, of course, are bought on various lengths (5 to 60 seconds) and aired at times not occupied by sponsored programs. Some typical costs are: a 60-second spot on prime time is 5-10 (U.S. dollars) in Manila and 50 cents to $4.50 (U.S.) on provincial stations.

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[35] Peña, C. P., "Radio's expansive role," *Saturday Mirror Magazine*, April 4, 1964, p. 14.

[36] Interview, Escano, *op. cit.*

[37] Interview, Trinidad, *op. cit.*

One critic of radio advertising[38] has said that Philippine radio is under the control of advertisers and ad agencies. Stations cannot pre-censor any program paid for by a sponsor but they can cut anything immoral, irreligious or seditious. Broadcasting people hesitate to cut shows because of the threat of breach of contract charges from the advertiser. Therefore, almost anyone or anything can get on the air. In extreme cases when a station does cut an immoral show, nothing can be broadcast in that time as fill-in; the time belongs to the original sponsor. A few years ago, a sponsor kept lampooning the Chinese (a minority group in the Philippines) but the station couldn't act until the sponsor's contract expired.[39]

The Radio Control Board has tried to combat libelous, obscene shows by requiring stations to keep tapes of their programs for review purposes. The rule has been ineffective because no stations can afford to purchase that many tapes for storage of information only.

During election years, politically-sponsored programs oftentimes outweigh other commercially paid shows. Even a higher proportion of time is given to political messages in the provinces, mainly because the time does not cost as much.

The Commission on Elections, fearing radio advertising's effect on political campaigns, attempted to remedy the situation by asking that all candidates be given equal air time. The ruling has not worked; first, it applied only in regard to free time, paid advertising time did not have to be equal. Second, as Suarez explained:[40] "As for the commission ruling that there can only be certain amounts of political advertising for any one candidate, this is impossible to carry out as friends of candidates will advertise on the air for the candidate." An example of the law's ineffectiveness was a 1961 incident where a candidate for president bought out an entire station's programming. Trinidad pointed out other unfair political advertising practices:

> In the 1957 elections, Lopez stations practiced unfairly. For example, they would sell time to the opposition (Liberal Party) but they'd sandwich it in between two programs which were for Lopez sponsored Nacionalista Party candidates. They'd also give free time to their own candidate and then claim that the time was bought when the opposition also sought free time.[41]

Apparently, the 1957 elections produced a number of unethical broadcast practices. Republic Broadcasting's DZXX was ordered investigated for "libelous political remarks broadcast like regular programs every one

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[38] Tumulak, Nicasio, "The sad state of radio commercials," *This Week*, February 10, 1962, pp. 22-23.

[39] Yench, *op. cit.*

[40] Personal interview with Antonio Suarez, provincial sales manager, CBN-ABS-MBS, Manila, June 1, 1965.

[41] Interview, Trinidad, *op. cit.*

half hour with no mention they were ads."[42] Among these statements were charges that certain presidential candidates were pro-Communist, anti-Catholic and anti-democracy.

Because of the unprecedented amount political parties spent advertising on radio that year (at least $500,000 U.S.), the Commission on Elections thought of prosecuting certain candidates for overspending and holding station owners in contempt of the Commission for accepting all the advertisements. The action it finally took, however, was to demand all broadcast media to submit names of candidates and parties that bought time and the amount they bought. Specifically, the Commission required that a candidate could not spend more on his campaign than the sought position would pay him in a year.

The radio industry itself has talked a lot about regulating advertising programming excesses, but very little has been accomplished. Codes of ethics have been proposed but to little avail. The undersecretary of Public Works in 1957 deplored radio's standards, for example, in his statement that radio commentators could attack any government official without restraint and then hide behind the "so-called freedom of speech."[43]

In efforts to crack down on radio excesses, the government occasionally has been accused of gagging tactics. In 1947, a controversial announcer's program was discontinued after the Department of National Defense threatened to cancel the station's permit if the announcer continued to broadcast.[44] Four years later, President Quirino was blamed for trying to gag radio when he ordered the Radio Control Board to watch stations that might be using seditious material to undermine the people's faith in government.[45]

Other complaints have been voiced during subsequent administrations — during the Garcia reign, it was said that anti-Garcia commentators were cut off the air and that radio time was bought up by "paid propagandists of the administration."[46] In 1959, congressmen uncovered what they termed administration censorship of the government-owned radio station.

An incident that stirred tremendous controversy was the Radio Control Division's raiding and confiscating of transmitting equipment of the nineteen radio stations owned by Lopez. The RCD claimed the stations

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[42] Anonymous, "Moreno sets probe on radio station," Manila *Chronicle*, November 1, 1957, pp. 1, 17.

[43] Anonymous, "Code of ethics for radio urged," Manila *Chronicle*, June 30, 1957, p. 22.

[44] Lacson, Antonio, "Lacson to Soriano," *Newspaperman*, October 1947, pp. 20-21.

[45] Anonymous, "Quirino explains radio gag order," Manila *Chronicle*, December 8, 1951, pp. 1, 10.

[46] Anonymous, "Pelaez insists NP government gagging radio critics," September 30, 1959, p. 18.

were operating without licenses and violating government rules. The Supreme Court said RCD could not confiscate a radio's transmitter without a hearing.

The Radio Control Board has frequently been scrutinized for its inability to regulate broadcasting. "Rampant refusal of stations to obey rules couldn't go on without help from some RCB people who perform special services for a fee for some stations," a newspaper[47] reported in 1963. A broadcast executive said: "Seventy-five per cent of Philippine radio stations do not observe the RCB's rules. But when the RCB needs something, they make the rules stick against you, a kind of blackmail. In 1961 and 1963, near election times, we'd get an RCB inspector nearly every week. This was to more or less harass us to support a certain political party."[48]

The radio regulation chief, Roberto San Andres, has criticized the radio regulatory bodies as out of date. He pointed out that rules are not structured to fit modern trends, frequency assignments are not strictly observed, violators of radio laws have never been brought to court and thoroughly prosecuted and legitimate applications for radio frequencies have taken years to process.[49] Since then, the Radio Control Division has made a few attempts to modernize standards; a research division was created to keep the RCD abreast of modern methods; a plan for frequency assignments was initiated and frequency applications are being processed in a more streamlined manner.

What does the future hold for radio? When one realizes that there are farmers who plow fields with transistors strapped over their shoulders, that in Mindanao tuba (a coconut flower drink) gatherers climb from tree to tree humming songs that come from transistors in their pockets, that children from the most rural regions know the advertising jingles; it is obvious that radio is a popular and far-reaching medium. In a nation made up of 7,000 islands, a medium is needed that can reach anywhere. So far, radio is the only one capable of this.

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[47] Anonymous, "RCO men face charges," Manila *Evening News*, January 22, 1963, p. 10.

[48] Interview, Canoy, *op. cit.*

[49] San Andres, Roberto, "Radio and television in the Philippines," *Fookien Times Yearbook*, 1962, pp. 225-226.

THE TASKS OF MODERN LINGUISTICS IN MODERN SOCIETIES

KARL M. HEIDT

AS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN WORLD, THE DESIRE FOR BETTER LIVING, the dangers of overpopulation, the search for more food to feed more people, and even the trip to the universe and to the stars challenge science and human ingenuity, more than any other time in the history of mankind, the system of communication — products of ingenious inventions of Man — has reached a stage of technical refinement and perfection, the question may arise as to how far the science of language, or LINGUISTICS, is contributing and can contribute towards making people and nations "feel happy," in a similar way as e.g. the technology of motorcars, the invention of space rockets, or the development of better and better television sets etc. can nowadays be considered as symbols of a nation's progress and pride.

The importance of language in human society is evident. Without it, no communication seems conceivable. However, as strange as it seems, the value and the function of languages as integrating forces of modern societies seem not to have been sufficiently recognized by the science of language. Moreover, the mechanics of language, i.e. structure, morphology, phonology are as such even alien to many even educated people.... The average person in school will, all right, learn a lot of items about English or French, both world languages and very useful as Lingua Franca almost all over the world. But what about his own language, for the expression of deeper thinking, the search for understanding ideas in his own speech?

If I want to explain the tasks of Modern Linguistics in modern society and societies, I would like to acquaint you with the complexity of the problem of elaborating first on some of the important factors and facts which make up the background of the problem.

If we look at the political world map of today, we notice, as a result of yesterday's history, many names of new nations which, to the ignorant, are often not even known by their proper names; not to talk about the people, their cultures and languages, which form the nucleus of these nations.

The process of the formation of new nations is certainly not completed yet, and the question will naturally arise: "... will it ever be completed....?"

Let us now glance at the same world map. Instead of having political frontiers, we only see the cultural entities, such as the distribution of religions, the location of hunting and food-gathering societies, on other places, clusters of highly developed cultures and civilizations, alive or extinct. In this case, we shall notice that these boundaries, only in rare cases coincide with national frontiers of today.

Likewise, a world map revealing the distribution of the 3000 to 5000 existing languages of mankind will immediately prove an entirely different picture as compared with the placement of the nations of today.

And if again we make up a map of the world showing the distribution of mankind, with extremely dense areas in certain regions of the earth and on the other hand extremely scarce populations in other regions, we shall at once be confronted with a lot of other questions. What economic systems, educational facilities, communication systems etc. exist, and how do they function within the system of societies of different heritage? In other words, we want to know more about the social aspects of mankind in those various regions.

Thus we have at least four entirely different sub- and superimposed background facts:

a) the distribution of Man
b) the cultural groups and cultural concentrations
c) the languages and their distribution
d) the nations of today, as shaped by history.

Let me reflect a little longer on these various items:

a) The distribution of man, i.e. the fact that some areas are more densely populated than others, be it in urbanised or semi-urbanised societies is not necessarily the result of geographical and climatic interplaying factors. To explain this, we notice that many population clusters dwell in geographically and climatically unfavourable conditions, whilst on the other hand, fertile lands may be severely underpopulated. But, whatever reason there may be, we are particularly interested in the fact that we deal with people as a whole; people who have social problems and tackle these problems in different ways; people who communicate with each other, who speak and have to speak languages in order to be understood by fellow human beings.

But there is a difference when the language spoken between two persons is the genuine language of both, or whether they use an auxiliary language, because both persons have been educated in different languages, have different language backgrounds.

b) Our cultural map should actually be relief-shaped, similar to those maps which show geographical valleys, elevations and plains. It may not only show the present-day situation of cultures, but should strongly emphasize the historical aspects of cultural development. In

this case, the areas with cultural concentrations which had their origin deep in history and which continued up to the present day, would show the highest elevations. Other areas which were known to have had cultural concentrations in the past, but which became extinct (like the Inca or Maya or Mesopotamian cultures) would be of lower elevation, and may be superimposed by different structures which are placed on top, provided that there is a sort of continuity of populational existence on the same place.

c) The language map would show the distribution of present-day languages and language families by different colour spots. The picture would be quite interesting. In large areas, ilke America, or Australia, we would find one basic colour under which quite a number of different colour islands would be found representing the languages of the genuine populations and tribes. In a country like India, many different boundaries would reveal that there, a large number of different languages is spoken. And the thinly populated areas of Africa would need a spectrum of about 800 different colours and shades to account for the existing language situation.

d) Finally, we would lay on top of it all, a transparent map outlining the nations of today. At first glance we would have to discover that many nations of today are often — certainly not always — products of historical constructions of a past era which in many cases did not even last much longer than 100 years. This is especially the case with the nations outside Europe, America and Australia proper, like the nations of Asia and Africa, which make about 2/3rd of the world's population.

The present-day national borders are often and largely constructions of former foreign dominators. In the colonial epoch, these areas were not occupied from the point of view of populational or cultural considerations but by economic interest. The bargain took place either on the spot or at the conference table of European ministries and parliaments. Many borders of today have been made during the last or early present century.

However, the populations of the former colonial areas have developed, in a short period, such a strong consciousness of nationhood, that in most cases the borders had not changed remarkably, if at all, after independence has been achieved peacefully or forcefully. In how far are these problems relevant?

Of course, by comparing especially the last two maps, we shall notice that, as a result of historic developments, many formerly monolingual peoples have become bilingual, to say the least. The now independent nations have become integral parts of a worldwide family of nations. At the same time they are confronted with the problem that they must strengthen their political nationhood by their cultural and historical

identity. This again is easier in those cases where the present-day boundaries are largely based on ethnic facts with common cultural backgrounds of the population. There are many cases where this is not the case!

Many forces are at work to help establish or strengthen national identity on the basis of a common cultural heritage. But there are also forces which are opposing this. I just wish to mention a few opposing factors: e.g. the growth of population in a given area, which may be too rapid. In such cases, the family life, the usual and strongest source of cultural tradition, may become endangered. The head of the family is not able anymore to give adequate attention to all his successors, and gradual disintegration will take place. Another counter-force is what we generally call "progress," by which we mean industrialization, and as a result, uniformization. Extreme and excessive cultural borrowing is another factor. This often results in "cultural fatigue," and hence deculturization, disintegration of the traditional heritage, and loss of identity. In ideal cases, this may lead to a new styling of "identity," where old and new forms of civilization are amalgamated in harmony.

I often heard the complaint that, with the danger of a population explosion, the world is bound to become the "horror state of 1984," according to G. Orwell. However, viewing at the vast cultural-potential resources which lie in mankind and in the peoples of today, I do not believe in this pessimistic theory. One of the strongest agents to gain and to preserve the cultural identity of the peoples of the world, by which is meant the cultural heritage which needs to be productive also in the future, is language. Actually, not language by itself, but the languages of the peoples within the given societies of today.

The science of languages, commonly called Linguistics, is really the instrument which serves this purpose. However, linguistics as an autonomous science, has not really become aware of its potential — or has it?

What are the reasons for this suspicion? Will we find the answer to it if we investigate what linguistics really has achieved up to now.

The scientific study of language has only started in the last century if we disregard some outstanding analysis of particular languages in the remote past, like Paninis Grammar of the Sanskrit language, still accepted as an excellent, and most skillful example of language observation. With the sudden and rapidly increasing interest in the study of language, specific schools of language scholars were created, like e.g. The Cercle Linguistique de Prague, the school which gathered around Ferdinand de Saussure, who is known as one of the founders of modern linguistics (1857-1913), and the Cercle Linguistique de Copenhagen, just to name two.

With the discovery of the mechanics of sound systems in language, with the development of the sub-science of phonology, and subsequently

of morphology, structure, etc., more and more knowledge was added and is still being added to this science. However, already more than 30 years ago, a famous American linguist, Leonard Bloomfield, made an important statement: "... it (i.e. Linguistic Science) is only in its beginnings, the knowledge it has gained has not yet become part of our traditional education....." Now, thirty years later, it seems as though the situation has not remarkably changed. The time of language laboratories has suddenly come, more and more schools are equipped with fancy technical gadgets, in order to learn foreign languages "the easier way"; more and more methods are being developed to make the study of language easier. But on the other hand, the other sciences which require just as much brain work still have to be learned the traditional way. There are many brilliant linguists today who really gain more and more knowledge in their field. But this knowledge has not yet become part of our traditional education! We may rightly ask: WHY?

We have a lot of detailed knowledge on language and languages available. Strange enough, most linguists are extremely busy describing and investigating "strange" languages, but their own language remains again to be worked on by others. Apart from the rather clear-cut definitions of structural linguistics, descriptive linguistics, comparative linguistics, we hear of specialized branches of the same science, such as ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, psycholinguistics, metalinguistics, etc.

But above all, where does Linguistics actually belong? Is it an autonomous science or not? In certain fields there seems to be agreement, whilst others are still being disagreed on. But one thing seems to be generally accepted, language is inseparably connected with human culture. And the science which deals with, and studies, investigates, compares, and describes culture in all its aspects, is anthropology. It has to be concluded that linguistics, being a part of the science of the cultures of mankind, is — whether autonomous or not — a part of cultural anthropology. In what degree linguistics, for deeper studies, can afford to be separated from its mother science has to be judged separately from case to case. The study of language as well as the study of languages, spoken by different peoples, under different cultural aspects, as products of different developments of history, make it imperative for the linguist to avoid generalizations towards the theory of language, unless sufficient evidence is readily available. Let us not forget the fact that there is a great difference between language and languages, as there is a difference between culture and cultures. They are two different concepts. We are dealing with languages and cultures. Unfortunately, linguists do not often practically realize that at least some basic knowledge of anthropological theory is essential in order to avoid false conclusions. Likewise,

anthropologists do need to have a fairly good knowledge of the theory of language to achieve a more thorough understanding of cultural developments, acculturation processes, diffusion movements etc. The reality shows that the combination and collaboration of both mutually fertilising and supplementing sciences is far from being ideal. It is clear that each science tends to ramify when more and more knowledge is being added, but the basic ideal will prevail.

When, during the last century, anthropology emerged as a new academic science, the German Adolf Bastian, one of the initiators of this science, coined the idea called "Voelkergedanke" which meant that (a) cultures are not shaped by individuals within a given society but by inherent values which are common in that particular society, and that (b) the cultures as they are displayed today are largely the results of historical developments. It must be added that Adolf Bastian had travelled through practically all continents of the world and has based his ideas on his own observations by close contact with many different peoples and tribes.

On these premises, the science of cultural anthropology (or rather ethnology) is by itself, in its original methodology of research, a historical science. Only later on, when more knowledge was added about the mechanics of cultural development, the science split off into various separate methodological working units resulting into branch sciences like physical anthropology, social anthropology, cultural anthropology, functional anthropology, etc.

However, what Adolf Bastian had quoted almost 90 years back still applies today, maybe even more, as the pace of modern history has qualities like a bulldozer which sweeps everything flat, regardless of what is being destroyed under the working surface. Bastian said: "Was hier in wuthender Hast ausgetilgt wird, das sind der Menschheit geistige Guter, die uns gehoren, uns und unseren Nachkommen, die wir diesen wenigstens zu bewahren die Pflicht haben, wenn wir sie etwa nich selbst ausnutzen wollen oder konnen. . . ." ("That which here is being annihilated in outrageous haste, those are mankind's spiritual goods, which belong to us, as well as to our posteriors, for whom at least we have the duty to preserve them, if we cannot or do not want to utilise them ourselves . . .")

It thus becomes quite evident that the overall-science of anthropology, which includes linguistics, has the tasks:

a) to investigate and study Man and his works. To gain more knowledge of the processes of cultural development, which reaches deep into the psyche of Man.

b) to make this knowledge available to Man as a part, as a member of a given society, and not let the knowledge slumber in museums and libraries.

c) as a further development of (b) to formulate, for educational purposes, the cultural-historical substance of the world's peoples within present-day societies and nations.

Great initiatives have been taken by many nation leaders to this effect: take for example the great Museum of bygone high cultures in Mexico, where general textbooks, for schools and colleges, raise the peoples' interest in their ancestors' achievements. This is a formidable example of how extinct cultures of the past (of the Maya and Aztecs) are being preserved, kept alive, and utilized as an "instrument" of nationhood. The awareness of belonging to the offspring of great creators of culture with a highly developed science and philosophy, has become a stronger integrating and identifying force of Mexican society than the fact that "the country is nice and attractive . . ." Other examples within the lines of these ideas presented are to be found in India, Indonesia, and Peru, just to quote a few.

It can however become disastrous, where in the course of revolutions, a complete break with the historical past, is being aimed at. Recent developments in China with her Red Guards give ample testimony.

It is not only the awareness of a great past which may or may not reach into present days, which may serve as a unifying agent or force or instrument of nationhood. More than ever before in history, the factor "language" has gained utmost importance in nation — and society-building, as well as in establishing and preserving socio-cultural identity and integrity. Today, it is not sufficient to have independent borderlines in geography, or to have a seat in the United Nations, or to have an independent currency system, and hence independent trade with the rest of the world.

Apart from these values, every nation and every society needs, to preserve its stability, a set of values which are an inalienable heritage of the given society. In such a case it really does not matter whether the society consists of the one or more ethnic groups. Every sensible government today will see that, in multi-ethnic societies, the common heritage becomes more important to the individual of the society than the ethnic-historical differences.

The creation of language awareness is an extremely difficult task. And to convert a former colonial language into a unifying national language is likewise not an easy undertaking. Under colonial language is meant the usually "easy" local language of the host's country, often simplified to an extreme degree of distortion, and its faculties reduced to deal with simple everyday necessities only. Examples of such pidginized languae francae are the simple Hindustani in India, the Bazaar Malay in Indonesia and Malaya, the simple Swahili in East Africa and

Hausa in West Africa, the various forms of Pidgin English, the "simple" Tagalog in the Philippines. It must be observed that in each of the cases quoted the basic situation is different. In the case of Malay, e.g., the type spoken is Indonesia is much more developed by virtue of inside development long before the colonial rule ended. A relatively good language training by the Dutch, inner dynamics of the people and various other factors have favourably influenced the further development of the Bahasa Indonesia. In Malaya, the situation was different due to the fact that by a different attitude of the colonial masters, the genuine Malay language could not develop adequately. In East Africa, where Swahili has been a widespread lingua franca before the advent of the colonial powers, this language has remained much purer where the direct interest and influence of the colonial settlers was minimal. In those areas, like Kenya, where the British had clustered at certain spots of interest (such as Nairobi), the quality of the original language has extremely suffered and deteriorated. Now, of course, after independence had come, the language situation has become extremely difficult.

Very few countries are as lucky as France for having had a language-building body, like the "Academie Francaise" for more than 300 years now. Under such circumstances, where an Academy enjoys nationwide recognition and authority, a steady and gradual progress can be guaranteed. It is quite natural that the great masters of a given language, such as writers, poets, and also teachers and philologists, are attracted by such bodies once they become known in wide circles of society.

But what happens in a case where such bodies, like a Language Academy does exist, but where the number of nationwide recognized writers and language experts just do not exist yet? In such instances, there arises the danger that nonqualified or semi-qualified personalities take over. I here refer to those countries which have gained independence from colonial rule more or less recently, and which, before the advent of independence, have not had the chance yet to make the language problem a vital issue of forthcoming nationhood...

This is the point where linguistics, as an international science, can and has to appear on the scene. I often heard the complaint that this or that non-European language just has not got the basis to become a national language. Nasty critics contend that some new nations should better continue to use the language of the former, heterogenic rulers. This sort of talk gives testimony of quite a bit of ignorance, as it only shows that not enough thinking has been devoted to the question. Of course it is much easier for international partners in politics, economics, and culture, to continue relations in the hitherto used European based-lingua franca. It all of a sudden appears almost insurmountably difficult to use a lingua franca in all realms of life: not only in business

but also in technology, science, art, philosophy, university etc. Naturally, a lot of terms are lacking in the beginning, but the basic concepts of thinking, structural faculties do exist in all languages. And the growing process of vocabulary is just a matter of time and ... education! The major reason, however, why a given language could not become as widely known among a given society lies in the fact that no proper way had been developed yet to teach the language by clear-cut and easily understandable formulations.

There are plenty of good linguists all over the world. There are also plenty of institutions where the science of language is being taught and studied, where languages are investigated, studied, formulated within given scientific patterns. Languages are really being studied from many angles to the effect that, — as I mentioned before — many separate branches within the study and theory of linguistics have been and are being exploited to add more and more knowledge to the general phenomenon of language.

When linguistics — apart from conventional philology — has become a separate science which investigate languages microscopically with a "man-from Mars-attitude" (this started actually only in the beginning of this present century), we acknowledged — through the above mentioned circles and schools — the new approach towards the formation of a new "Theory of Language". As already mentioned before, the theories of phonology, phonemics, morphology, and structure, from various new viewpoints, became widely known among linguists. The study of hitherto unwritten languages and many unknown languages added an enormous amount of material to the already existing knowledge of language and languages.

In the United States of America, an all-over attack towards the study of language was enhanced by great personalities in that field like L. Bloomfield, F. Boas, E. Sapir and many others. The inter-relationship between language and culture was formulated in many ways, but the deeper the studies penetrated into the true nature of language, the more diversified these studies became. Today, we may hear highly specializing terms being used within the study of language, such as psycho-linguistics, socio-linguistics, anthropological linguistics, ethnolinguistics, meta-linguistics, etc. Each linguist, within one of the categories, follows certain patterns and aspects of the science which of course is also necessary for the overall benefit of academic knowledge.

My question, however, is: Can the conscience of science afford it, nowadays, to withhold any field of knowledge from being made useful for man and mankind? Atomic theory with its basic implications is formulated in such a way that it can be made understandable to young people already in upper primary schools (although this may be slightly,

but only slightly, exaggerated.) But what about the basic study and understanding of language, I mean, not of one certain language, but of the phenomenon of language? The study of language has not yet passed the stage of mechanical learning of words and antiquated rules of grammar, mostly within absolutely inadequate thinking patterns. However, among linguists and in linguistics, languages are usually formulated and described in terms of the actual findings. But very little has been done to simplify the formulations for general education purposes.

It has been only in recent years that linguistic theory under the guidance of qualified linguists has become an instrument of worldwide literacy campaigns under the sponsorship of the UNESCO and some other institutions. Many of hitherto unwritten languages have, with the help of linguistic theory, been converted into written languages. This, I believe, is a good start into the direction where linguistics should be made useful to mankind. However, in the case where languages already had a writing system, the contribution of linguistics for general educational purposes has been much less intensive.

In the present-day situation of linguistics, unfortunately no remarkable move has been attempted to contribute to the formation, the further development of already existing national language in order to make these languages fully qualified for their use in modern society, and to make them become a fully qualified symbol of nationhood. Very few studies have been made towards the understanding of the social functions of language, as well as of languages, in a given modern society. "The fact that some societies hang unto a language as a symbol of identity at any cost, while others blithely exchange one language for another, is an indication that the functional involvement of languages are not everywhere the same" (Hymes, *Horizons of Anthropology*). Apart from the social functions of language, linguistics must, in association with the cultural sciences, investigate the history, the folklore, the tales, stories, hitherto unwritten, like the Brothers Grimm have done, followed later-on by other scholars, in order to gain a picture of the intrinsic values of the people of the society concerned. The results of these investigations and studies should, by all means, in easy and understandable terms, be made known to all schoolgoing people.

Where classical languages, i.e. old forms of a given language exist, modern linguistics should help formulate them in such a way that schoolchildren of the upper levels can even study them.

Such historical symbols of a nation's identity will add much more to the factor of national pride than the knowledge of e.g. export rates, living standard, political history, or similar items of the country concerned. Good examples of this can be observed in India, where the study of Sanscrit is compulsory; or Indonesia, where Ancient Javanese, the lan-

guage of a proud cultural history, is taught in school, or in many European countries where Latin and sometimes Greek is taught in schools to convey a knowledge of historical-cultural focuses which have emanated impulses over widespread areas all over.

It is needless to say that all these tasks in our modern world cannot be left to one party to deal with. Linguistics as a science is waiting to be called for constructive assignments in our modern society. Educational institutions must become aware of the existing need and potential. The initiative must come from all sides, from the teachers as well as from the education ministries: not only to learn foreign languages, but to study their own languages. To develop them into a condition of equal value to other languages, and at the same time preserve local languages and dialects, cultures and lore, especially in multi-ethnic societies. Such efforts, carried out with wisdom, will contribute towards creating, establishing, preserving and promoting the idea of identity of any modern society.

Speech is the mirror of a person's personality. Likewise, language is the mirror of a society's personality, and therefore it deserves and needs all possible attention. And last, but not least, important world bodies, such as UNESCO, must become aware of these necessities in their plannings and expenditures. There is little use in "making" a lot of new words on the desks of Language Academies under the guidance of Government sponsorship, if the real spirit of the language-speaking society concerned is not fully recognized and has not been exhaustively studied. This kind of study is actually the job of a qualified linguist and sociologist.

The most valuable property of Man, his language, needs proper treatment. We have a common saying: every person is recognized and and judged by the way he dresses. It makes absolutely no difference whether his various pieces of clothes come from many different countries as long as the whole outfit matches. Likewise, with the language of a given society or nation, it really doesn't matter how much borrowing from other languages have taken place as long as the spirit as well as the identity of the society concerned is not distorted.

One more word about the question as to whether modern Linguistics should be engaged in forming an international language. In the past 80 years, about 20 or more attempts have been made to produce, on the desk, a language for world wide use. The deficiences in their idealistic offerings are blatant. The results of such attempts are a few clubs whose members are proud to be able to converse with club-members in other countries. The amount of work and time to be devoted to learn an artificial language with no cultural background is always remarkable, but where the interest goes deeper in understanding the other's history and

culture, frustration seems inevitable. This is certainly not the task of modern linguistic science.

Adequate descriptive information about languages is a prerequisite for historical understanding. And history may, in every society, be considered the strongest basis upon which a nation's language reposes. Individual nations, like individual persons, have their specific power, characteristic temperament and particular history by which they as units distinguish themselves from other individual nations.

Those nations which possess an awareness of history and their own language, their writers, thinkers scientists, are really the happy ones. But there are many nations, young ones, who still are struggling to achieve what others have got already. Those nations need the help of modern linguistics to become fully aware of themselves. But modern linguistics should really become aware of the role it has to play in the modern world. There are great assignments ahead which are worthwhile to be handled with insight, wisdom and all energy available.

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THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL MALAY LITERATURE

ISMAIL HUSSEIN

I WOULD LIKE FIRST OF ALL TO THANK THE PRESIDENT of the Royal Asiatic Society Malaysian Branch and the Society itself for the invitation to give the Annual Lecture this evening. I propose to spend this one hour or so to talk about some general problems regarding the study of Malay literature, in particular the older or traditional literature. It is a subject which is very close to heart for the Society for it was in the pages of this Society's journal that early attempts were made to study this interesting but very much neglected literature. And it was in the pages of this Society's journal that the most important work on Malay literature was published, that is, Richard Winstedt's *A History of Malay Literature* (1940), an extremely important work that created such a demand that, in 1960, it was found necessary to reprint it. When the Malay Studies Department was established in the University of Malaya in 1953, Richard Winstedt's work became the basis and the starting point for the study of Malay literature. As one reads and rereads the book one could not but admire the extensiveness and the depth of Richard Winstedt's understanding of Malay culture. Although later in this talk I shall give some criticisms of Richard Winstedt's work, they are criticisms directed more towards the weaknesses of his time rather than his personality. Anybody writing at the time that Richard Winstedt was writing, with all the shortcomings of his period, would probably have fallen into the same error, if one may call it an error at all.

The present interest of the Malay people towards their own traditional literature has been very mixed. On the one side there is the group of ardent nationalists who are eagerly grabbing anything that come in their way and trying to reconstruct it into a glorious cultural past at the expense of precision and historical accuracy. A member of this group will tell us of the rich literary heritage of the Malay people, but the probability is that he himself has not read four texts of this heritage and can hardly name twenty titles of that rich literature. On the other side, there is the group of young forward-looking people who are interested only in the present and the future, who are anxiously trying to forget the past, because the past has brought them nothing but embarrassment. Their literary

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past for example which was built upon the feudalistic contrast of the unquestioned power of the court and the subservient position of the masses can no longer give them any meaning in their struggle for human dignity. They seem to agree wholeheartedly with the German Malayologist Hans Overbeck who at the beginning of this century cried "Malay literature is dead!" — although "dead" to them here in the sense of its irrelevance to modern life. Also included in this group is an extreme case related to me by a Dutch friend. After Indonesia's independence this friend went to Sumatra with the intention of collecting old Malay manuscripts. He entered a remote village, met a young man, and he told him of his search for Malay manuscripts. The young man sensitively replied "Kami sudah tidak ada itu tuan, kami sudah pandai!" — "We no longer have those manuscripts Sir, we have become clever!" Clever in the sense that we no longer live in those fairy worlds of magic and beautiful fantasies, of captivating princesses and all-powerful princes!

But the study of a literature does not depend upon the sentimental need of its people. The Malay language after the war has become the national language of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, and our attention is naturally focussed on the historical development of this language. For the linguists the older literature is perhaps the only medium by which they can get a view of the structure of the language in the past. Also the study of the national language in schools and colleges, both practical as well as scientific, created the necessity for a better knowledge of Malay literature, and this interest is supplemented by the deepening historical and cultural awareness among the general public at large. But the attention towards this old literature is not confined to this area alone. The growing importance of our region has stimulated Malay Studies in other countries, especially in Australia, the United States, England and Russia. A growing number of university students take Malay as an academic subject; as a consequence, there is a growing interest in Malay literature. Also part of this literature has a strong historical, religious and sociological interest, so that students of history and the social and cultural development of South-east Asia will pay increasing attention to it.

Although the Europeans came to our region from early in the 16th century, there was practically no interest shown towards the study of the indigenous culture and literature for the first three centuries. The Portuguese and the Spanish who occupied the Straits of Malacca and some parts of Nusantara, that is the Malay Archipelago, for more than a century, at a period when Malay culture was supposed to have had, and was having, its bloom, left us no trace of the richness of the literature of the time. In recent years much search has been carried out in the libraries and the museums of the Iberian peninsula to find out if there

were any manuscripts from the Portugo-Spanish period, but so far only one manuscript had been found. Equally true too was the interest of the Dutch and the English colonialists during the 17th and the 18th centuries, although here we have some remarkable exceptions in the fact that from early 17th century some manuscripts were brought back to Holland and England, the most important of which are the half dozen manuscripts that are now being kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Any mention about the presence of Malay literature during this period was purely incidental. The earliest note we got was from Francois Valentijn, the Dutch missionary-historian, in the fifth volume of his gigantic book *Nieuwe en Oude Oost India* published in 1726. While describing Malacca Valentijn mentioned some Malay literary works that were in his possession, three of them, that is, Taju's-salatin or Mahkota Segala Raja2 (the Crown of Kings), Misa Gomitar, probably the text known to us now as Misa Kumitar, a Panji tale, and the third, Kitab Hantoewa or Hang Tuah, which according to Valentijn was also known to Malay scholars of the time by the name of Sulalatus-Salatin. This is an obvious confusion on the part of Valentijn because Sulalatus-Salatin is just another title for Sejarah Melayu. Perhaps his Hikayat Hang Tuah was just a copy of Sejarah Melayu, which is not improbable because Sejarah Melayu contains chapters on that Malay hero.[1] The next and perhaps the most important note about the presence of this literature came ten years later, in 1736, when the Swiss scholar G.H. Werndly published his *Maleische Spraakkunst* or Malay Grammar. As an appendix to his grammar he gave a list of 69 texts which he noted as being written by the Malays. This list is of importance to the Malay literary historian because, as I shall describe later, the majority of the Malay manuscripts that are available to us have been collected or copied during the 19th century and all these texts never indicated the dates and the places where they were first written. Thus this incidental mention made by Werndly gives us the important information that at least these 69 texts had been written by 1736.

The general lack of interest towards the indigenous cultures that was evident before the end of the 18th century was not only due to the deep preoccupation of the colonialists in commercial enterprises, or to the somewhat contemptuous attitude of the Europeans towards the inferiority of native culture as a whole, but was also an extension of the mood that was prevalent in Europe during those times. In Europe itself there was general neglect for the provincial and the dialect cultures. It was generally accepted that Greek and Latin were the purest and the noblest of the European languages, in fact, of all the languages in the world. The

[1] A. Teeuw, "Tentang penghargaan dan pentafsiran Hikayat Hang Tuah," *Dewan Bahasa,* Vol. VIII, no. 8, 1964, pp. 339-54.

modern European languages, be it French or Spanish or Dutch, were thought of as mere corruptions of Latin and, as very few people were interested to study corrupted cultures, they naturally went back to the purest vehicles of human civilisation, that is, the classical languages. It was only with the romantic mood that swept through Europe at the end of the 18th century that the interest shifted to the neglected cultures that developed outside the classical languages. In Europe this attitude was symbolised by the Grimm brothers who brought to the amazed attention of the Europeans and the world at large the rich and beautiful culture that was present in the neglected German dialects. The extension of this romantic mood in Asia, a mood that eagerly searched for the new, the unknown and the so-called exotic, was symbolised in the person of Warren Hastings in India. During Hastings' tenure of office in the third quarter of the 18th century, there were many Englishmen in India who not only did their service in the political and administrative sphere, but also in scientific fields. These Englishmen besides discharging their duties as civil servants kept their eyes and their minds wide open to the remarkable wealth that nature, society and culture offered there. Hastings himself, in addition to having great talent for administration, paid great interest to the study of all sorts of sciences. He was competent in Persian, Bengali and other native languages, he was a student of natural history, of geography and art, and he was a patron of the study of native law. He was always trying to understand the native culture. It was largely through his instigation that the Asiatic Society, later the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was formed by Sir William Jones the Chief Justice of India in 1784, in which the study of Sanskrit and Indian culture became the focal point of interest. A great part of this study was in the hands of lawyers, civil servants, doctors and officers, who devoted their free hours to knowledge. Jones himself was a lawyer, Colebrooke who laid the foundation of Sanskrit Philology did several administrative functions, Wilkins who was dubbed as the "Sanskrit-mad Gentleman" was a writer in the East India Company's Civil Service. Wilkins as an older friend, and later the father-in-law, of William Marsden who extended the activities into Malay language and history.[2] It was this group of scholars which shocked Europe with the discovery that Sanskrit (the inherited language of the colonised people then) was related to the European languages and that it was, in the words of Sir William Jones, "more perfect than the Greek and more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either." A discovery that awakened the Europeans from their long illusion that theirs was the most perfect

[2] J. Gonda, "William Marsden als beoefenaar der taalwetenschap," BKI 98, 1939, pp. 517-28.

language of all. With this began a furious age of Indo-Germanic comparative and historical linguistics.

While all this was happening that great scholar-administrator in Nusantara history Stamford Raffles was growing up. By the beginning of the 19th century, he was to be the shining example in scholarship and administration, not only to his generation but also to the generation that followed, not only to his English compatriots but also to his Dutch rivals. Raffles marked the beginning of an active century in the study of the culture and sciences of our area, as seen in the founding of several academic societies to which we are forever indebted for the knowledge that we now have. It was in this century that the Bataviaasche Genootschap, that is, the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences of which Raffles himself was a one-time president, was founded. In the middle of the century we saw the foundation of the Royal Institute of Language, Geography and Ethnology of the East Indies and then during the 3rd quarter this Royal Asiatic Society of ours in the Malay Peninsula. For Malay literature, it was above all an age of intensive collection of Malay manuscripts. Some two thousands Malay manuscripts of all sorts flowed to Europe, the main collections in British and Dutch libraries now originated from the collection of this period, inherited from the possessions of private collectors such as Raffles, Farquhar, Maxwell, Klinkert, van Ophujsen, Snouck Hurgronje and Roorda van Esynga. I shall show here just one example of the rate of growth of Malay manuscripts in Leiden University Library during this time. In about 1850 there were only 7 Malay manuscripts being kept there, in 1864 there were 107, in 1899 when the first catalogue was published by Juynboll there was a total of 401 manuscripts. At the beginning of the 20th century with the death of several 19-century collectors whose collections were donated to the university, this number grew almost three times. In 1921, when a supplementary catalogue was published by van Ronkel, the total collection was 1168. The number has been increasing steadily after that date.

This interest towards native literature created the need for a handbook on the subject. In 1845 Dr. J.J. de Hollander, a professor at the Royal Military Academy in Holland wrote a book in Dutch which he called Handbook for the Study of the Malay Language and Literature. It was a thick book of 706 pages, divided into 3 parts — the first part of 276 pages was devoted to the grammar of the Malay language, the second part of 114 pages devoted to the discussion and description of Malay Literature, and the third part was an anthology of extracts of all sorts of Malay Literary works covering 315 pages. What de Hollander did in the literature section was to give 5 short discussive chapters giving a short survey of the history of the Malay people, a short survey of the history of the Malay language, on the distinction between high and

low Malay — a subject apparently important in the 19th century because of the indecisiveness of the church which of the two forms to use for their preaching — on the Malay dialects, and on the division of Malay literature into periods. De Hollander was a specialist in handbooks, and three years later he published an equally thick book on the study of Javanese language and literature. But in both his handbooks, he had nothing important to say; most of the contents were mere collections of extracts of what other people had said on the subjects, and what people had said on Malay literature at that time was very little indeed. The way de Hollander divided Malay literature into periods is what one would expect — Malay literary history was put into two compartments: the pre-European period and the European period. What comprise the first period no mention was made. The rest of the literature section was devoted to the enumeration of the various titles of Malay literary works known to him. Under each title a short note was given, mostly one or two sentences, translating what the title means, some titles receive notations of one or two paragraphs to give summaries of the contents. The titles were grouped into topics: the poetical works (115 of them), the prose writings of which 41 Islamic religion and legal works, 44 muslim legends, 98 titles of myths and other fiction, 47 historical works and travels, 12 philosophical and ethical works, 24 titles on law, and 16 varia — making altogether a total of 398 titles of Malay literary works known in Europe in the middle of the last century. De Hollander's handbook became a very important guide for Malay literature, by the end of the century 6 editions were made, and the book became the sole authority for 92 years until C. Hooykaas published his *Over Maleische Literatuur* in 1937. But between the 92 years between the first edition of de Hollander and the new book by Hooykaas a lot of things happened to Malay literature. In the first place there was the work of consolidating the manuscript collections in European and in Jakarta libraries. Many devoted scholars spent their time on the tedious job of classifying and cataloguing them, and throughout this period a stream of lists and catalogues of Malay manuscripts were printed, these catalogues and lists give details of each text, its condition and content and possible relationship with some other texts — information which give us an increasingly clearer picture of the wealth of this literature. While this was happening the Department of Malay Language & Literature at Leiden University set up in 1877 was stabilizing itself. Between 1895 until 1938 twelve students did their doctoral dissertations on Malay literature, or using materials from Malay texts. This was a very small number of students, a rate of one student in 3½ years, but their contribution has brought us a step forward in our understanding of this literature. During these years a considerable number of articles on the literature were published in the journal of the Royal

Asiatic Society, in Bijdragen of the Royal Institute, in the Tijdschrift of the Batavian Society, in the journal Djawa and many others. Many texts of Malay works were published too for use in schools and for the study of the language. Nearly all of these are imperfect texts but from them we can get a rough picture of the works.

Dr. C. Hooykaas who next wrote a book on Malay literature is a professional scholar. Hooykaas studied Indonesian languages in Leiden University, graduated in 1929 with a dissertation on *Tantri,* the Middle-Javanese version of the Indian Panchatantra. For some years he was a teacher in high schools in Java before becoming a professor in Jakarta, it was during his high-school years that he wrote this book and several other less important introductory guides to Malay literature, mostly based on his class-room notes, and intended for the use of the school students. The title of the book reflects his unassuming personality, he calls his 300-page work *About Malay Literature.* The 22 chapters in this book follows no consistent order of chronology or topic, the whole book is in fact a collection of interesting essays with titles such as "Shair, the rhyme that is used for everything," "Hikayat, the book with Indian fantasy," "Amir Hamzah, the muslim knight without fear or blame" and such-like catchy captions. Each independent chapter is charmingly written and highly readable, but this work is somewhat lacking in depth compared to Winstedt's work. When Winstedt's work appeared 3 years later, Hooykaas in the introduction to his 2nd and last edition expressed the doubt whether his book still had reason to exist side by side with the work of such "a well-seasoned expert." Hooykaas's venture into Malay literature had been brief but intense. Later he admitted to me of his early fascination with Nusantara folklore, thus Malay literature, after he had been working on the Javanese Panchatantra, but because of its unsurmountable difficulty he had to abandon it. He reverted to the Javanese language and his succeeding years have been spent very fruitfully in the interpreting of that very old and very difficult Javanese text, the Kakawin Ramayana.

So we come to the most important work of all by Winstedt published in the journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1940. But I am not going to say anything about it now, here I wish only to state that Winstedt was the only man who had the courage to call his work a history.

Let us for the moment go back to a more basic problem, what is it that I call Malay traditional literature? The traditional literature in my sense is all those literary phenomena, be it written or oral, that existed or might have existed about the middle of the 19th century. My simple dividing line is the printing press which had changed completely the role of the Malay literator, and has revolutionized the concept of Malay

literature. I can just mention to you that great controversial literary pioneer of the last century Abdullah Munshi who was the first person to write for a printing press, who in his writings offered the first serious criticism against the Malay feudal structure on which Malay literary culture had existed for centuries. One of the most interesting characteristics of the new literature of the Malay people in the peninsula is the quick defeudalization of that culture. Within decades that literature changed from the preoccupation of the kings and the feudal lords to become the effective tool of the struggling masses, so that in 1950 literary life was not even participated in by the Malay middle class. So this traditional literature is essentially a feudal literature and it reflects the sharp contrast of the feudal social structure between the *raja* and the *rakyat*. On the one hand there is the written literature of the court, sophisticated and cosmopolitan, reflecting the international cultures that the Malay courts along the Straits of Malacca were constantly exposed to. On the other hand there is the literature of the rakyat, the folk literature, mostly an oral tradition. Feudalism in Nusantara gives us the impression that there is a great deal of autonomy at the village level due to the stability of its economy. There were times when this autonomy became so strong that the peasants could overthrow a king, but it was only due to the lack of a new social concept on the part of the peasants, that the vacant throne was reoccupied by another king. Because of this autonomy, it was possible for the folk culture and literature to have an independent growth and life of its own. The wealth of this folk literary tradition has never been estimated. Before World War II and after independence some colonial scholars including Winstedt and Sturrock, and then the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, attempted to document these stories of the penglipur laras, but so far only less than ten have been printed and about ten are being kept in the form of tapes in the library of the Dewan Bahasa. Last year I sent out five of my students to make a preliminary survey of the penglipur lara stories in 5 villages, and what I got was the summaries of some 30 long stories, and hours and hours of tape-recordings.

So in actual fact what we are facing now when we talk about the Malay traditional literature is that group of written literature which was largely cultivated in the Malay courts or in the homes of the Malay feudal elites. The whole of this literature is embodied in the handwritten manuscripts that we have inherited from the 19th century and before. I have distributed to you the printed lists and catalogues of Malay manuscripts that are being kept in the various libraries in Europe and in the Jakarta Museum. The biggest single collection in all these is the collection in Leiden University where 1168 items were recorded in 1921, and which I now estimate to be something like 1,500 items. The next biggest collection is that of the Jakarta Museum which in its printed catalogue of 1909

recorded 919 items but the present stock may exceed that of Leiden University. Most of these catalogues and lists were compiled several decades ago and since then many additions have been made. In my visits to the various libraries in Europe and the United States I tried to make an assessment of the wealth of this treasure. There are unknown collections in the smaller provincial museums in Holland such as those in Deventer and Groningen. There is a probable unrecorded collection in Vienna, in the National Library of Austria. The Malay manuscripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris are mixed up with other unclassified Arabic manuscripts. There is the interesting discovery of about two dozen Malay manuscripts being kept in the John Rayland Library in Manchester. A dozen manuscripts in the Library of Congress are of no importance because they are recent copies of manuscripts that we already have. And the remarkable thing about the printed information that we have is that there is no news whatsoever of the manuscripts in the home area of the Malay language itself — in the Malay Peninsula and in Sumatra. Some 50 manuscripts are kept in the National Library in Singapore, in the University of Malaya Library and in the Dewan Bahasa and there is no indication of the number that might still be available. As one travels in the countryside one continuously hears of the sacred *pusakas* in several homes jealously stored and guarded not to be seen or lent to other people. And above all these, there are rumours of some Malay manuscripts in India, and one never knows what may come up one day from some libraries in Taiwan and Japan. Working on the data that I have collected I made an estimate of the quantity of this literature, and it comes out something like this: there are a total of about 5,000 Malay manuscripts that are available for our consultation now, these 5,000 manuscripts are made up of 800 titles, so each title has roughly about 6 manuscripts or versions. These 800 titles can be put roughly into these provisional categories: 150 prose fiction works of all sorts, 46 Muslim legends, 47 historical, 41 law, 116 poetic works, 300 theological writings and the remaining 100 under miscellaneous.

The term literature that I have used all along is in no way synonymous with the concept Literature with capital L in Europe. Literature in the Malay or Nusantara concept includes everything that uses words or language in a creative way, creative in a very broad sense. There is no boundary between mythical fiction and a historical description for example, and there is sometimes no boundary between an enumeration of the adat law with a love poem. Some of the most serious theosophical expositions have been put into beautiful poetry, in the shair form, because poetry is much more easily retained by memory and much more pleasant to hear. Many European scholars who are embedded in the prejudices of the aesthetic values of their society, failed or refused to recognise this charac-

teristic of the local literature, as a result they created many unfounded assumptions. These scholars failed to notice for example that the Malay literary work was never written, until late last century, for a commercial motive, so its creation was not conditioned by the changing needs and tastes of the audience — a factor which played an important part in the English literary development since the 16th century. In a society where literacy has been extremely restricted the man with the knowledge of the letters plays a much wider role than the literate man in European history. In the Nusantara cultural history we often find the writer as synonymous with the scholar, the priest, the magician and the divine. The traditional Malay word for literature was "persuratan" — whatever was placed on paper. It was only after the War that the word "kesusasteraan" — the refined artistic writings — came into use.

This traditional literature that we have, written in a Persian form of the Arabic alphabet, comprises of works that extends back to the 15th century, although no actual dates can be ascertained. Not an inconsiderable part certainly came first into being during the Hindu-Malay period, which can be traced back to the 7th century A.D., the oldest Malay inscriptions found so far being dated about 686 A.D. I wish I could discuss here the interesting but still complex questions as regards the original homes of the Malay language and the Malay people, but as it would take too much time, I will leave it at this point. I would prefer to make some remarks on the study which had been made so far on Malay literature.

In the first place, most of these studies we have seen were made by European scholars, both amateurs of the civil servant group such as Richard Winstedt, and professional scholars such as Dr. C. Hooykaas and all those who graduated in Indology at the University of Leiden. As we can see from the list of philological studies done, the pre-war period was dominated by Dutch students of Leiden University. Oriental Studies in Leiden University, which began in earnest during the 2nd half of the last century had been dominated by two gigantic figures. One of them was Hendrik Kern, a Sanskritist and a student of Indian civilization of tremendous magnitude, who extended his interest successfully into the civilization, especially of language and literature, of the East Indies. The other was an Islamologist in the person of Snouck Hurgronje, a small man in size, but so dominant a personality in Leiden academic life that his successors could live but under his shadow. Snouck Hurgronje was not only a scholar of religion, but a sociologist and a linguist of the first order. One need only look at his analysis of the Achehnese language and the orthography prepared by him, to realize that even in this field of a subsidiary interest to him he achieved a perfection much above his time, analysing a language phonemically and structurally even before phonemics and structural analysis found a firm basis. These were the two men who

set up the tradition of studies of Indonesian languages and cultures, a tradition based on two civilizations, Islamic and Indian, very much in parallel to the study of a Dutch culture for example based on two great civilizations of Greek and Latin. The model was the case in actual fact and this created some misunderstanding in later decades even to the present time. The relationship of Dutch or French to Greek and Latin can in no way be compared to the relationship between Malay or Javanese to Arabic and Sanskrit, the former all three are genetically related while of the latter none is genetically related to the other. The twin relationship between Greek and Latin cannot be found in the relationship between Arabic and Sanskrit. So in later years successive students of Indonesian civilization attempted to look at problems of cultural decadence and innovation, as one would look at the cultural development of Europe in the context of Latin and Greek, creating thus a body of presumptions which are far from needed. Malay grammar, for example, had been continuously written in the terminology and the classification of the Latin model. The Old Javanese language for many years had been looked upon as an extension of the Sanskrit language simply because of the large number of Sanskrit lexical items present in the language, whereas in actual fact these two languages belong to completely different language families. How this misunderstanding arose in the study of the local literature I shall discuss further later.

So a prospective student of Indonesian language and literature in Holland spends some six years in the secondary studying among other things, Greek and Latin. The first 3 years of his university life are spent exclusively on Arabic and Sanskrit and their civilizations. It is only during the next 3 years that he is brought in touch with Indonesian culture, studying the Malay language, a Sumatran language, in most cases the Batak language, and the Old and New Javanese, at the same time Indonesian comparative linguistics seen in the light of Indo-Germanic philosophy. The sum total of this rigorous classical training has a strong historical and comparative tone, and it is no wonder then that the researches carried out by these students have been strongly of a comparative and historical nature. The European orientalists in Europe during the last century have been preoccupied mainly with Sanskrit, because of its relationship with the Germanic family, and Arabic because of the challenge it offered to Christian civilization. Everything else is subsidiary to these two preoccupations and is seen only in the light of these two civilizations. So the studies of Malay and Indonesian culture in general have always been somewhat like the studies of Greater-India culture and Greater-Arabia culture. Successive students of Malay literature and culture spent their time tracing the sources of foreign elements in Malay culture. Ronkel and Van Leeuwen who worked on the Amir Hamzah and the

Malay Alexander stories were students of Persian and they were interested in Persian influences on Malay literature. Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka traced the myths of the Rama and the Agastya legends in the local literatures as part of their Indian cultural studies. Pijper was a student of Islamic theology and he was interested to compare that famous Kitab Seribu Masa'il with its Arabic source. The resultant effect of all these activities is that we know much about the cultures of India, of Iran and of Arabia and almost nothing about Malay culture. Anyone who is involved in the study of the structure of society, be it linguistic or social or cultural, will see that here we are faced not with the problem of cultural transplantation but with the problem of foreign elements being brought into an existing local structure and system. A fruitful study would be to look from within the system and to see the syncretization of non-local elements. Another side-effect of this type of academic orientation was to arouse interest in historical studies. If we look at the philological studies done as dissertations and theses, and if we subtract from this list the Indian-influenced and Persian-influenced works, and also the theological Hikayat Seribu Masa'il, we would find that nearly all the rest of the literature which received attention was of the historical type. These historical texts have been worked upon purely from historical interest, nowhere was a literary treatment made inspite of the fact that the Malay historical text is as much part of literature as of history. Even the interest towards local sufistic writings was largely historical. The purely historical interest has diverted the attention of a great number of first rate scholars from Malay to the Javanese language, because the Javanese language, offered extensive literature from the Pre-European period on which the European scholars totally lack materials.

Secondly the study of Malay literature has been somewhat like the saying, 'putting the cart before the horse.' Before an attempt has been made to study and understand each individual text in culture, one already makes a general historical survey of the literature, as Winstedt tried to do. I am not contending here the need for a general handbook to give a picture of the scope of the subject, but I would object to any pretension of calling it a *history.* A history needs chronology, and it is obvious there is no chronology as yet in the development of the Malay texts. When one goes through some of these texts one sometimes wonders whether there will ever be a chronology at all. For each Malay text is not the work of one individual of a particular time, but the common creation of a community. And the community of each succeeding generation felt it his right, and sometimes even his duty, to modify, alter or improve the text according to the taste and need of his time. Thus most of the texts we have now originated from copies made during the 19th century and they are the 19th century versions of the much older texts.

To turn back to Winstedt, here we must admit that Winstedt's concept of Malay history is somewhat different from ours. One could just look at his book *The Malays: A Cultural History* and wonder whether it can be called a history at all, for it is a mere topical discussion of the various aspects of Malay cultural life. Winstedt apparently had a very clear-cut idea of the cultural development of the Malay people as expressed in the title of one of his other books *The Malay Magician* and its sub-title "Shaman, Saiva and Sufi." In Winstedt's mind the Malay people pass through three distinct phases in their history: the primitive stage symbolised by the Shaman, the Hinduistic stage symbolised by Saiva and the Islamic stage symbolised by the Sufi. And to Winstedt if one could clarify the various interlocking elements within the three stages one would be justified to call the work a history. This is of course partly true, but the danger in this is that this strict compartmentalisation would compel one to look at the whole development as problems of clear borrowing and adaptation, and in many cases to emphasize this borrowing and adaptation at the expense of admitting the obvious creative ingenuity of the native people.

So in his history of Malay literature Winstedt places the whole development of the literature into his distinct compartments: the first is the folk-literature, most of which represents the primitive, pre-hinduistic literary development, but even here emphasizing the non-native elements, reminding the readers all the time of the occurrence of the various motifs of the Malay folk-literature in other cultures, not only in India, but also in other parts of the world. And then comes immediately the Hindu period, a discussion of the epics in direct relationship with the epics in India. This is a totally unacceptable approach to me because the development of Ramayana and Mahabharata must be seen in the context of Nusantara first, before one shifts to India. The Malay Ramayana and Mahabharata must be seen in its relation to the development in Java where Hindu-Buddhistic civilisation found its highest expression, where the first traces of the epics found in written form from the 9th century, and where the wayang culture developed and probably was its original home. The role that Java played in the propagation of Hindu culture to the surrounding area cannot be neglected. I would just draw your attention to the large number of Javanese who were ever present in the Malay courts along the Straits of Malacca. Winstedt's attempt to escape from this Nusantara-centric treatment compels him to put a separate chapter on what he calls "A Javanese Element" to treat the large number of Panji stories present in Malay. And the most shocking thing he did to the sentiment of the modern Malay nationalist is to treat in this chapter that most Malay of Malay writings the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* as a Javanese-inspired piece modelled upon the Panji tales and supplemented by Indian

elements, and in the whole discussion of the work, he treated it accordingly. After this Winstedt gave a clear transition chapter "From Hinduism to Islam" followed by four chapters on the various groups of the Islam-inspired literature. The more Malay part of this literary history is given at the end of the book under the titles "Malay Histories," "Codes of Law" and "Malay Poetry." These are very short and rather dull discussions compared to the non-indigenous parts, very often nothing more than short descriptions of the texts and summaries of their contents. In the chapter on the Malay histories he treated that very old text *Hikayat Raja2 Pasai* at the same time as the very recent text *Tuhfat-al-Nafis,* thus in the end giving the general impression that the whole book treated the history of Malay literature not in any chronological sense but in arrangement of topics, and even the arrangement of topics does not follow a logical order of history.

As one reads Winstedt's book one becomes painfully aware of the tremendous amount of philological spadework that has yet to be done before one can talk in a general way about the totality of the Malay literature, what more to discuss it in its historical sequence. Out of the possible 800 texts in Malay literature which I had earlier mentioned there are only 25 texts, that is about 0.03% of the total, which had been edited in a scientific way and which are reliable to be used for all purposes. Besides this there are now about 100 other texts which have been printed, both in Jawi and Rumi, but nearly all these texts are imperfect editions from imperfect manuscripts, and thus they are not at all authoritative. By the philological work which I am proposing here, I mean largely textual reconstruction, interpretation and analysis. Each of the Malay text, by using all its available versions, must be reconstructed to its nearest original form and proper interpretation has to be given in the context of the culture of the time in which it was written. Fortunately here we can follow safely the methodology that has been so well developed in the study of the classical literature of Europe, that is of Greek and Latin, although here the problems faced are somewhat different — Malay philology for example lack most of the supplementary data from archaeology and historical remnants and records of all sorts which the classical philology in Europe is so rich of. And this Malay philology has an added difficulty by the fact that the texts were all written in the Arabic script, and this Arabic script generally does not show proper vowelling so that the lexical items are open to various interpretations. Most of the philological works we have so far, have been produced by European students in European libraries, that is worked by people who live outside the Malay culture and whose knowledge of Malay culture was entirely gleaned from books and publications. Any philological work of my language done in this way is open to serious disadvantages.

The ideal workers for this task are therefore the Malaysian scholars who live right inside the homeland of Malay culture. Aside from this the documentation of Malay folk literature is of no less importance, if not extremely urgent, because of its progressive disappearance. As I said earlier there are only about 10 Malay folk stories which have been printed so far, mostly collected by Winstedt and Sturrock, but these two scholars have been extremely normative in their concept of the Malay language and literature. Their approach rendered their works practically useless for academic purposes. In nearly all their introductions of these folk-tales we read lines such as "I had this folk-tale put into literary Malay or this folk-tale has been touched and enlarged by another hand" or "we had put the shapeless colloquial passages into grammatical prose" — showing an abhorrence for dialect and folk-art. Therefore nearly all their printed texts are modern and sophisticated transformations of the folk-literature which make them useless for comparative purposes.

Thirdly in all these studies done so far there is a very clearcut picture what Malay is. For a long time people have accepted as a matter of course the myth that literary and standard Malay belongs to the Johor-Riau dialect and that Malay literature is essentially the literature of the Peninsula Malays, quoting as examples that *Sejarah Melayu* and *Tuhfat-al-Nafis*. This assumption that literary Malay originated from the Johor-Riau dialect is still very much a myth. Closer comparison does not indicate that these two forms are synonymous. And to confine Malay literature in such a restricted geographic boundary is both unreal and un-scientific. The danger in this sort of confinement is to make one look at the whole development of Malay literature as a complete entity within itself, oblivious of the actual role that the Malay language has played during the centuries, and oblivious to the close interlinguistic and inter-cultural relationship between this Malay and the other speech communities within these islands of the south. This division actually has been done with a clear political motive, for the colonial scholars have always been conscious of the political divisions they were in, and have continuously defended their colonial political interests. Although the Dutch officially tried to encourage the use of Malay, they were secretly envious of the great role that the Malay language might assume and so were reluctant to give their full unrestrained support. The British scholars were afraid to look over across the Straits of Malacca for fear of broadening the base of Malay nationalism. And besides all these there was constant rivalry between Dutch and British scholars, each was reluctant to accept the other. One could look through the work of Winstedt and discover his neglect of the tremendous amount of work on Malay literature which had been produced by Dutch scholars by 1940.

The fact is that Malay, because of its base along the critical Straits of Malacca, has become somewhat like a no man's language, it is the language of everybody and nobody. Forgetting our norms of what standard Malay or literary Malay should be, for centuries this language has been used equally well and efficiently as a medium of communication in this region of some 250 mutually unintelligible languages, whether in the Moluccas, or in New Guinea or in Acheh. The culture that has been embodied in this language too has become somewhat like a no-man's culture, one can just look through the catalogues of Malay manuscripts available, side by side with the Malay Annals, or the Johor Annals; there is the *Hikayat Ternate* of the *Moluccas, Hikayat Mengkasar* of Celebes, *Hikayat Raja2 Banjar dan Kota Waringin* of Southern Borneo, *Hikayat Jawa, Hikayat Riau, Undang2 Menangkabau, Hikayat Acheh* of Sumatra and *Hikayat Raja2 Siam* of Thailand. The type of style and language used in these texts and other texts are variable, sometimes one can recognize readily that this is written by a Minangkabau man, that is written by a Malay man but copied by a Jakarta man, and some other texts done in Acheh. The Malay language because of the intermediary role it had to play has become a very assimilative and flexible language, and the culture that it has accumulated has lost the distinctive character that one might call Malay, as one might readily recognize the Javanese culture for example. It was because of this vague characteristic of the Malay language and the Malay literature, that the linguistic and the literary study of Malay has been very much neglected. For example, even though Malay has assumed such an important position, no scholar has ever yet attempted a structural study of the language, whereas Javanese has received extremely good structural descriptions in recent years. So is it in the case of literature, as I have pointed out earlier. A student who is interested in the literature of this area would automatically focus his attention on Javanese literature first, if he has a choice, because besides other reasons, there is a distinct Javanese character as different from the character of the surrounding dialects.

In my contact with the various languages in Nusantara and in my casual survey of the various traditional literatures in these languages, I realize how impossible it is to treat Malay literature outside the cultural context in which it had become an integral part. Malay literature must first of all be looked upon in the context of the cultural development of Nusantara, it must be studied in the light of the traditional literatures in the various Sumatran languages and the languages of Java and even of Borneo and Celebes. It is only after we have proper perspectives of the development of Malay literature within its world that we can undertake the comparative study of this literature with other foreign literatures from which it has gained inspiration. Looked at from this point of view

one realizes how distorted the picture can be when Winstedt from the first page of his book took an element in Malay literature and then compared it directly with the corresponding or similar element in India or in Persia or Arabia. For that element in Malay literature might not have come direct from India at all, but might have undergone successive stages of borrowing in the other languages of Nusantara before it was assimilated into Malay.

What is this Nusantara literature? Nusantara, the Intermediate Islands, intermediate between China and India, is a term I have personally chosen because of its non-geographic, non-political and non-ethnic connotation to indicate this very big area variously called the Malay Archipelago, the Indonesian Archipelago and, in linguistics, the Western Malayo-Polynesia. Nusantara is basically a linguistic grouping which forms an important part of that huge family of languages called the Austronesian, formerly termed as the Malayo-Polynesian. Nusantara languages have been popularly believed to be the earlier root of the Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian speech-forms. Anyone who comes into touch with the cultures of these thousand islands of Nusantara would be endlessly fascinated by Nusantara's continuous variations — the variety of its music, dances, and sculptorings makes it something like an earthly paradise for the ethnologists. But underneath this eternal variety there is a line of unity all along, due to the similar ethnic characteristics and geographic conditionings, to the similar foreign cultural influences that it had undergone, and to the great mobility of most of the inhabitants. Thus there has always been constant inter-insular and inter-dialect contacts. In traditional literatures this tone of unity is more emphasized. Each literary form and motif recurs again and again in the differing islands but always with fascinating modifications.

Our present knowledge of this Nusantara literature is satisfactory although by no means sufficient. The data that we have gained about these various traditional literatures have been largely incidental, mostly subsidiary data collected at the beginning of this century by missionaries, grammarians, sociologists, ethnologists and travellers. Only Javanese literature received the undivided attention of literary scholars and so it is the literature that we know best although this knowledge is still insufficient for the writing of a literary history. We have sufficiently good information on the Achehnese literature published in Snouck Hurgronje's sociological study *The Achehnese*. We know much about the literatures of the Sundanese people, of the Balinese, the Bataks, the Minangkabaus and have some haphazard data on the Maccassarese and the people in the Lesser Sundas and Moluccus. I am not able to say anything here about the traditional literatures of the Filipinos not because of any lack of publications but due to the unavailability of those materials in our

libraries. Some of the literatures of the more primitive people in the area have been very well described, I take as an example here the description of the Torajas in Middle Celebes by N. Adriani.

It would be impossible for me here to describe with detail the characteristics of these various literatures, although that would be best in order to understand this relevance to the study of Malay literature. I shall just take here the examples of two extreme cases, the first is what one might call the most primitive form, and the other the most developed and the most sophisticated stage.

In 1914 N. Adriani and A.C. Kruyt published their ethnographic study of the Bare's-speaking Torajas in the Middle Celebes, an extremely important study, because for the first time we have a complete picture of the life of a very primitive community in the Nusantara area, primitive in the sense that it shows very restricted influences of the numerous cultural waves that the coastal areas are so much exposed to. In the third volume of this study Adriani gives us a very faithful and valuable description of the literature of this community, literature in a very special sense and this description caused Adriani great difficulty because literary practice there was a taboo, associated with magic and religion, which would in no way be revealed to outsiders. The literature of the Bare's-speaking people indicates that sympathetic magic and analogic-action play very important roles. This can be seen in the labour songs, the war songs, and in the song which people recited on religious occasions. The intention of such songs, which are usually sung with refrain, seems to be that by describing an action in the song one stimulates and promotes the action itself, that when one mentions success in the song, success itself in a magical way will be forced to appear. In the feast of the dead, for example, one describes the journey of the dead through the other world, because when the description has been completed, through that description the dead is assisted to get to his destination. In this society the recitation of such poetry has a definite intention and purpose, and so it speaks for itself that it is not proper, and can even be dangerous, to recite such poetry outside the occasion of which it forms a part. A remnant of the command that literature may not be recited at specific times is seen in the fact that its recitation and practice can only be carried out at a very specific period. In nine out of the twelve months of the Toraja's calendar year no literature in any form may be practised. The present literature of the Toraja people has developed out of this primitive stage. The Torajas have now a wealth of stories, some of them for recitation and some of them for singing. Every Toraja knows the stories and he can recite them in a very capable way. Story telling occurred also as a community practice, thus a sort of community singing.

At this primitive stage a great deal of the stories are fairy tales and myths and we can imagine that when the society reaches a higher level of development these fairy tales and myths will grow to become epics and historical writings. And when there appears the professional story-tellers, such as the Penglipur Laras in Malay, then the society will have reached a still much higher stage of development. The stories of the Penglipur Laras have become more complicated, they are no longer easy to be retained by memory. In the end they were transferred into writing.

At the opposite pole of this Toradja culture is the literature of the Javanese people, the biggest single speech community in Nusantara, and the people with the longest history and the most brilliant civilization in the area. Whereas most written records in other areas in Nusantara began after the coming of Islam, the record of written literature in Javanese goes back several centuries before that, the earliest stone inscription found was dated 732 A.D. and the earliest work in Old Javanese, the *Kekawin Ramayana,* was written in Central Java in about 925 A.D. The early civilization of Java was inspired from India, that is Hinduism. But one of the most remarkable characteristics of the cultural history of Old Java has been the Javanisation of the Hindu-Javanese culture. Through this Javanisation, that is the adaptation of the Indian culture to the primitive culture, the theoretical system of Hinduism lost its basis.[3] Many Sanskrit texts in which this theoretical system was embodied, that is the *upanishads* and the *sutras,* are not found in Java. Through the literature of the religious-philosophical type that is present in Java and Bali we can follow this adaptation-process in a remarkably clear sequence. As has been shown by Prof. Hendrik Kern a long time ago, by the omission of this theoretical basis of Hinduism, the great contrast that is present between Hinduism and Buddhism is no more present, because the Buddhism that was known in Java, inspite of the Barabudur and Chandi Mendut, has been in its popular form. Hinduism and Buddhism came to terms with each other in Java in the form of Javanism. When Islam came to Java the same syncretism repeated itself during the early years.

So it was against such a cultural background that the Javanese literature was cultivated. At the height of the Javanism period from the reign of Erlangga early in the 11th century to the peak of the Majapahit empire in the 14th century, a wealth of literature grew, some of this was in the form of adaptations and redactions from Sanskrit literature, but most of it took only the Indian motifs on which were built a completely Javanese superstructure. This indicated a distinct local genius that has fascinated many a scholar in our century. Tantu Panggelaran and the poetical work of Prapancha called Nagarakrtagama written in 1365 dedicated to the Majapahit King Hayam Wuruk symbolized the height of

this Old Javanese literature. Through the succeeding centuries this literature grew, absorbing the Islamic traditions into its system, but as it approached modern times, the Javanese writers lost their creative force, their works became stereotyped and no longer susceptible to change. During the modern period it is the literature in Malay that crowns them all.

Between the primitive literature of the Torajas and the sophisticated literature of the Javanese people which I have described here in such a general way, perhaps we can hardly see a meeting point as to call these one type of literary culture. But this is only due to lack of time for details. In the intermediate literatures of the Archipelago, between these two extremes, we meet numerous points of similarity.

There is similarity in the existence of both oral and written forms in all of these literatures, and the sometimes blurring boundary between these two forms. Many of these literatures have a religious meaning, so that to study and understand them one needs the knowledge of the religion of the community and the social circumstances in which they were created. Individuality in these literatures has never come to the fore, literary works are created by and belong to the community as a whole. And many of the literary forms present in Malay, the pantuns, the shairs, the hikayats, the adats and the historical writings, are also present in the other literatures, at the same time many of these literatures have independent and distinctive forms of their own, such as the Kidungs in Javanese and the Pantun Sunda in Sundanese. Motifs in the folk-tales and the court literature keep recurring in the other languages, sometimes disguised under another name, sometimes transformed into different situations.

Here I will just quote a short example to show how the understanding of these regional literatures and cultures is important in the study of Malay literature. Since 1868 European scholars have been fascinated by that remarkable Malay folk poetry called *pantuns*, a quatrain where the first two lines seem to have no fixed function other than to give rhyme to the next two lines which contain the actual sense. The question that arose from the early days was whether there was any semantic relationship between these two parts of the pantun—it was such a fascinating question that it became the main preoccupation of the first Professor of Malay at Leiden, J. Pijnappel, and it became the subject of an inaugural lecture in 1904 by another Leiden professor Van Ophuysen, and yet another inaugural address by that great Indonesian academician Professor Hoesein Djajadiningrat in 1933. In the discussion which was participated in by many other Malayologists including Winstedt and Wilkinson, some interesting light was thrown on its possible solution, not by any feature in Malay cultural life, but by practices that are found in Sumatra and

Java, in the secret leave language among the Batak people and the magical practices among the Javanese and the other ethnic groups. I could quote to you numerous other examples how literary and non-literary features in Malay are inter-related to the other regional literatures. I have mentioned several times how impossible it is to study the Malay Ramayana outside the various versions that are found in Nusantara. And in the study of Javanese historiography made by Prof. C.C. Berg during his youth, he reconstructed that brilliant hypothesis regarding the literary magic practised in the Old Javanese Kratons, the presence of the poet-magician with whose creative force the power and the glory of the Javanese king can be enhanced. As one can readily see, this concept is a recurrence of the literary practice of the Toraja people which I have described in some detail. Besides the problem of the final validity of such a thesis, these findings in other regional literatures are very much relevant to the study of Malay literature, and it would be a great loss if one tries to neglect them purposely as Winstedt had done in his chapter on Malay histories. As Prof. Josselin de Jong suggested in his recent study on the character of the Malay Annals,[4] the incident in *Sejarah Melayu* where the Malacca warriors read the Persian inspired classics the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* on the night before the start of their war—this particular incident might in fact represent a literary *rite,* a remnant of the Javanese practice.

My fourth and last remark is perhaps the most important criticism one can make on the past study of this literature. Malay literature has been studied by everybody except by a literary scientist, and it has been studied for all sorts of purposes except for a literary purpose. This statement is equally true too with the study of many other Nusantara literatures. We have seen the activities of the students of the Greater India and Greater Arabia civilizations whose motives in the study of Malay literary phenomena was to trace the sources to the original homes. W.H. Rassers who studied the panji stories was essentially a cultural anthropologist, and the most important result of his study was his famous theories on the primitive tribe or clan organization based on totemistic system of thinking—and this has nothing to do with literature. G.A. Hazeu who worked on the *wayang* culture lived in an age (half a century ago) when the theory about ancestor-worship of the earlier Nusantara people was in vogue, and Hazeu proved that wayang was a form of that ancient ancestor-worship rite. Richard Winstedt was essentially a historian and his main preoccupation with Malay literature had a strong historical motive, largely to supplement data from Malay sources to his history of Malaya. This is seen in his editing of the Malay texts *Sejarah Melayu, Misa Melayu, Tuhfat-al-Nafis* and *Hikayat Johor.* And looked in the context of his other books, his history of Malay literature is in

fact a sort of appendix to his other book: *The Malays, A Cultural History*—his interest was more focussed on the general cultural development of the Malay people, and not in their literary *genre* and thinking. One could just look at his treatment of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, perhaps the best representative of the novel form in Malay traditional literature. Winstedt's norms were completely historical. He considered the novel as an "uncritical farrago of legends" and many of the characters and events as "irrelevant and inconsequent" and then he accused the writer for his "disregard for history and chronology". This is something, as Prof. A. Teeuw has rightly asserted, like trying to evaluate Shakespeare's *Hamlet* on its historical authenticity.[5] Whereas if we look at *Hikayat Hang Tuah* as a piece of literary creation, forgetting our desire for historical truth, we would see its unity and obvious logical structure. It is a structural study that is most needed in Malay literature. Each text must be seen as a unit in its own right, not to be prejudiced by our outside norms, and it is only in this way that this study can contribute to the general theory of literature and to our general knowledge and understanding of world literatures. In this lies the great importance of the pioneering works being done by Prof. A. Teeuw in the field of Malay literature. In the papers he presented to the Congress of the Dutch Orientalists Society in 1959[6] and 1960[7] he tried to examine systematically the nature of Malay fiction-writing, taking as his point of departure the *Hikayat Hang Tuah.* Equally important is his comparative study of the *Hikayat Raja2 Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu*[8], which in all provide very sound research models for future students of Malay literature.

The whole study of Malay literature during the last one century then has been non-literary, it was comparative, historical and ethnological. And perhaps it would be worthwhile here to draw your attention to the latest development in this study made during our decade—by the addition of two more approaches, one based on nationalistic motives and the other on ideological considerations. After the War, with the growth of nationalism, many young Malays moved by the passion of patriotism and anti-colonialism took up the study of their past literature in the light of their new world. The favourite theme naturally falls upon the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*—this time as a symbol of Malay glory and greatness. One of these young scholars is Kassim Ahmad, a student of our university. In his study on the characterization of *Hikayat Hang Tuah* in 1959 Kassim rightly rejected Winstedt's assertion that the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* must be looked upon as history. Kassim insisted that the characters in the book "have assumed a new artistic life of their own, quite independent of their original historical one." Then after examining the various characters Kassim projected not Hang Tuah as the hero of this epic, but his opponent Hang Jebat, on the ground that Hang Jebat represents the revolutionary, the

character that lived on his own personal conviction and fought against whatever was wrong and unjust, even though it be his king or his close friend. It is a highly acceptable analysis of the 16th century work in the light of our 20th century nationalistic need, but the scientific study of a literary creation should not be in the terms of the changing social needs, but in the terms of the society and the time in which it was written. And there is no way to prove that Hang Jebat was the hero in 16th century Malay society.

The ideological touch to this study was made in 1961 by a young Russian scholar from Moscow University by the name of J. Parnickel. He again chose the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* as his point of departure. This time not because of any nationalistic motive but simply because the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* was the product of a feudal society and so it is the most convenient target for a Marxist. Parnickel gave a familiar Marxist analysis. He considered that the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* was originally a people's epic, Hang Tuah represented the hero of the Middle Class who was struggling against the oppressive king. But this original folk epic fell into the hands of the feudal class, it was revised by the writer of the court and adapted to feudal needs. Hang Tuah who originally was a hero for democracy fighting against the feudal system now was changed to become a hero who was ever loyal to his master and who defended the old system against the attack of the revolutionary. This is again a good example of how a non-literary theory is applied to a literary text. I shall not make any comment on it. Ideology is the sacred task of its believers.

I hope that by this talk I have been able to convince this society of the need to continue its contribution in the field of Malay literature, to encourage its documentation and research, and above all to continue to give space, as it has always done, to Malay philological works, most of which could not possibly find sufficient commercial importance to merit publication by ordinary publishers. After the War there has been a growing number of departments of Malay and Indonesian Studies being established in foreign universities, particularly in Australia, the United States and in Russia. But these departments more often than not have been formed merely to cater to the needs of state departments and foreign offices; thus they are interested primarily in contemporary problems. The Indonesian scholars have been emphasising again and again that the history of Bahasa Indonesia began only in 1928, or even in 1945, and thus de-emphasising the interest and the study of its earlier development. Even though the Indonesian scholars are interested in these problems, the number of students who have been following courses in Indonesian linguistics and literatures have been frightfully small, about a dozen per year. They would not have enough *capacity* to concentrate

upon this subject in an effective way, what more with the attraction of other traditional literatures that their country has so bountifully inherited. It is therefore the responsibility of the Malay Studies Department in Kuala Lumpur, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka and with the assistance of such a society as this, that this great task which has been so well begun should be continued.

THE PROBLEM OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN BAHASA INDONESIA AND THE PRESENTATION OF THE WORDS: *NIA*, AND *IA*. *

UKUN SURJAMAN

A. *The problems of personal pronouns in Indonesia*

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAS ATTRACTED OUR attention and which needs a general solution is the problem of the use of personal pronouns. If we look closely at the Indonesian personal pronouns as a heritage of Malay, we will see that the existing personal pronouns cannot meet the demands of the present Indonesian society. In other words, the Indonesian personal pronouns still need to be perfected to fulfill their function as a tool of communication. It is not surprising therefore that since the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, a problem has arisen in the use of the personal pronouns:

I. *The first personal pronoun singular*

Before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, besides the word *saya* (English: I), there existed the words *hamba* and *aku*, as the first personal pronoun singular. The word *hamba*, which is comparatively more refined and polite than *saya*, was used when the people of lower social standing were addressing those of higher social status, especially in correspondence. On the other hand, the word *aku* was used when the people of higher social standing were addressing those of lower social standing, e.g. a manager talking to his messenger. In the present democratic world the word *hamba* which is feudalistic, is not used anymore. The word *saya*, the original meaning (from *sahaya*, slave) almost forgotten by the people, acquires a stronger position and predominates over the word *aku*, which is used in a limited circle where it has only a literary value. The usage of the neutral word *saya*, (neutral in the sense that it does not discriminate between refined and unrefined connotations) can be compared with *I* in English or *ik* in Dutch. The probelm in the use of the first personal pronoun singular is that the word *kami* (English: we) also often appears as the first personal pronoun singular with the intention of making *saya* more refined. In my opinion, this supplement of the first personal pronoun singular is not practical, because in this way *kami* obtains a double function: 1. as the first personal pronoun singular

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2. as the first personal pronoun plural (excluding the person spoken to) often causing ambiguity.

The word *saya* is neutral enough to be used by and for anybody. Sometimes the word *kami* is used reflexively by prominent citizens, which is useless in my opinion. In this relation Dr. Slametmuljana[1] explains, that this symptom arises due to the influence of the Campa language. In the Campa language the word *kami* (which has some connection with the Indonesian *kami*) still means *aku* which is only to be used for kings.

II. *The Second personal pronoun singular*

The second personal pronoun singular, a heritage from Malay, are *kamu* and *engkau.* These two words cannot be used in polite circles; their usage is limited to intimate conversation. Originally *kamu,* was for the plural, but in refined language it was often used for the singular. As a substitute for *engkau* Dr. Slametmuljana[2] also put forward, that *kamu* really means "all of you," but it sometimes used as *engkau.* In the present usage of Indonesian, it is clear that *kamu* has the same value as *engkau.* These two words are interchangeable. For the plural *engkau sekalian* (*sekalian* = all) and *kamu sekalian* are used. In order to fill a need, some nouns expressing family ties are used for the second personal pronoun singular, such as *bapak* and *saudara* (actually *bapak* means father and *saudara* means brother or sister.) The word *bapak* used as a second personal pronoun singular is directed to a man in a higher position without taking into consideration whether the respected one is older or younger than the speaker. (For a woman the word *ibu* is used.) Besides that, it can be directed to an old man, although he may have a comparatively lower social standing than the speaker. The word *saudara* used as a second personal pronoun singular can be directed to a man or sometimes to a woman, (for a woman the form *saudari* is used) who is of comparatively the same rank or position, or about the same age as the speaker. However even with the supplement of these new personal pronouns, we still cannot meet the demands of usage. Often people become confused, (particularly foreign visitors), whether to address a certain person as *saudara* or *bapak.* This happens when the position or age of the person is not known. In such situations, people who know Dutch, use the word *U* i.e. the second personal pronoun singular (polite). In English, if *you* is used, it is neutral enough in the sense that it can be applied to anybody without considering their rank, position, or age. In this matter, we must acknowledge that the use of the second personal pronoun singular in

[1] Slametmuljana, "Tanah asal kata gantidiri Indonesia," *Laporan Kongres Ilmu Pengetahuan Nasional Pertama.* Takarta: Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, 1950, p. 36.

[2] Slametmuljana, *Kaidah Bahasa Indonesia* II (Takarta: Penerbit Tambatan, 1957), p. 54.

Indonesian is not yet perfect. So a new term was formed, i.e. *anda*, which was presented by Sabirin.[3] This word was taken from "Kamus Moderen Indonesia" (Modern Indonesian Dictionary) and means "the respected" or "honored" or "your highness" with the annotation that the original meaning must be forgotten, like the word *saya* whose original meaning is slave. Although the word *anda* has been present in our society for years, its use is still limited to the written language, as in newspapers, magazines, announcements, or publications in business circles or offices. It is not yet commonly used orally. Whether the word *anda* will be used orally will depend on the society itself, provided, that the users realize the function of that word. I disagree with that certain group who still assumes that the introduction of the word *anda* will only cause difficulties in the use of Indonesian. In Malay that word does not exist either. They forget that language is never still but keeps on changing and developing, be it slowly or quickly depending on the users. If the element has no definite function in communication it may displace another element which has already existed and practical enough for the language society.

In the magazine "Bahasa dan Budaya," J. U. Nasution[4] has expressed his opinion: "The possibility of the word *anda* for correspondence and in formal associations especially for persons of the same age, exists. But if the word is to be used for older and respected people, especially in intimate circles, perhaps there will not be any possibility for using that word. However, I can reach the conclusion, which is based on assumption, that the final judgement lays with the high court, which is the society itself."

In the same magazine Umar Junus[5] among others wrote: "Do we need a personal pronoun, which has the same field usage as the personal pronoun *you* in English? I think this is not necessary, because this does not conform to the sociological background of the Indonesian society, who uses the language. Even Dutch, German and French do not follow this English language system. Dutch for instance has *jy* and *U*, German *du* and *Sie* and French *tu* and *vous*. Our society distinguishes the difference in age. Must this distinction according to age something to be criticized? I do not think so. Other words which already exist are enough and can be used in a wide circle."

Those are the opinions regarding the problems of the use of the word *anda*. Of course it cannot be denied that our society distinguishes be-

[3] Sabirin, "Anda kata baru dalam bahasa Indonesia," *Bahasa dan Budaya*, Vol. 5, No. 5. Takarta: Takultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, 1957, pp. 43-46.

[4] J.U. Nasution, "Anda," *Bahasa dan Budaya*, Vol. 6, No. 5. Takarta: Takultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, 1958, p. 31.

[5] Umar Junus, "Anda dan persoalan kataganti orang kedua dalam bahasa Indonesia," *Bahasa dan Budya*, Vol. 6, No. 5. Takarta: Takultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, 1958, pp. 32-34.

tween differences in age and that our society is still tied to firm family ties, which simply means that it has its own particular social structure. But that doesn't mean that we don't need a second personal pronoun singular, which has a neutral usage; it doesn't mean either that with the introduction of the word *anda,* those words which are already in use, must be eliminated.

Because of the gap, which is felt by language users in certain situations and circles, the word *anda* was presented. Perhaps many among us are not aware that sometimes we are forced to leave out the second personal pronoun singular if it causes ambiguity. In meetings, conferences or negotiations, where members don't usually know each other's age, the second personal pronoun singular is quite confusing. Does not that fact form a *gap* which we must fill at once? I have stated above that the introduction of *anda* has no intention of eliminating the words which are commonly used for the second personal pronoun singular. In certain circles and situations where family relation is distinct as for instance in school, the use of the words *saudara, bapak, ibu* cannot be avoided. Words which show family ties still retain their functions. The word *anda* completes the second personal pronoun singular forms which already exist and which are felt to have shortcomings in their usage.
There are two ways to meet these shortcomings:

1. Accept the word *anda* as the second personal pronoun singular with a neutral connotation. It already exists in written form.
2. If the word *anda* is considered unfit, then a new term must be sought or created. To find another term agreeable to the ear and feeling of its users is not easy, especially for a personal pronoun.

Next, arises the question: "Do we need to have a second personal pronoun singular which identifies gender as in the case in Arabic?" In Arabic, *anta* is used for the masculine gender and *anti* for the feminine gender; while *antum* is the plural form for masculine gender and *antunna* for the femine gender. We don't see any actual necessity, for this because we are facing the person spoken to. In Indonesian, to give a plural meaning to the second personal pronoun the word *sekalian* (English: all) is used, e.g. *engkau sekalian* and *kamu sekalian* (for *saudara, ibu* and *bapak* the forms *saudara-saudara, ibu-ibu* and *bapak-bapak* are used). In student circles the form *kalian* is often heard to pluralize *engkau* or *kamu.* The problem is to find the plural form for the second personal pronoun which can be used in refined society. In some dialects we can also find the singular and plural forms of the second personal pronoun. In Sundanese (West-Java) we find the words *maneh* (English: you) and

maraneh (English: you all.) In *Menado-Malay*[6] (North-Sulawesi) the words *ngana* (you) and *ngoni* (you all) are used. So, if the word *anda* is accepted as the second personal pronoun singular, then for the plural form the word *aranda* could be presented, instead of the form *anda sekalian.* If it does not suit the ear, another form can be sought, or we could just take the form: *anda sekalian.* How would you address foreigners? If you are not yet intimately acquainted with them, then the use of words like: *saudara, ibu* and *bapak* will sound very strange. Words like *tuan* (Mr.), *nona* (Miss) and *njonja* (Mrs.) are used as the second pronoun singular. What interests us in this matter is that the words *nona* and *njonja* which are used respectively for an unmarried and a married woman, are practically not used among Indonesians themselves because they are too stiff and strange.

How would it be, if we could create similar new words like that, which could be used among the Indonesians themselves? It is often necessary to use such words, like: *Miss* and *Mrs.* in English or "Juffrouw" and "Merrouw" in Dutch.

III. *The third personal pronoun singular*

In the Indonesian language only *ia* or *dia* is found for the third personal pronoun singular, whether for the masculine or the feminine gender. There is no special term to differentiate between the sexes, as we see in English *he* and *she* and in Dutch *hy* and *zy.* The question is, whether the word *ia* or *dia* has fulfilled its function in the present use of Indonesian. In daily use or in certain situations, the word *ia* or *dia* needs some distinction as to gender.

To clarify this problem I'll give some simple examples:

1. A bertanya kepada B: "Saudara mempunjai berapa orang anak?"
   (A asked B: "How many children do you have?")
   B menjawab: "Hanya seorang. *Dia* or *la* bekerja di Rumah-Sakit Umum."
   (B answered: "Only one. He (She) works at the Public Hospital)

For A who seemed to be interested, it is not clear whether *dia* is a boy or a girl.

If A knows Dutch, then he'll ask further: "Is't een *hy* or een *zy*? (Is it a *he* or a *she*?")

2. Seorang pesuruh berkata kepada Kepala Bagian: "Pak, diluar ada tamu la (*Dia*) sudah lama menuggu untuk menemui bapak." (A messenger said to the Head of the Department: "Sir, there is a visitor outside.

[6] H.M. Taulu, "Bahasa Melayu-Menado," *Medan Bahasa,* Vol. 7, No. 5. Takarta. 1957, p. 36.

He (She) has been waiting for a long time to see you").

If the head of the Department knows for instance that it is a woman, possibly he would not have the heart to let his visitor wait such a long time.

The two examples above prove, that the Indonesian language needs specialized terms to differentiate the masculine from the feminine gender as Indo-European languages do. It must not be assumed that we devote ourselves to foreign languages or take it for granted that they should be forced into the Indonesian language. We ought to adopt this principle: if there is a foreign element which can be practical for Indonesian, we ought to fill in any existing gap and not stick solely to the Malay heritage. On the other hand, foreign languages must act the same towards the Indonesian language. In this way all the world languages can act reciprocally: to fill each other's gaps for perfection and practicality with the aim of making their language easy to study and practical to use in society. As for the third personal pronoun singular:

1. For the third personal pronoun singular feminine the word *nia* could be used. Why do I suggest this particular word for the third personal pronoun singular? In Sundanese and Indonesian, some words beginning with the nasal sound *n* show feminine gender: *nona* (Miss) *nenek* (grandmother), *nini* (grandmother: used in Sundanese), *neng* (nickname of Sundanese girl). Examples of its use are given below:
   a. Saya ingin mengundang *nia* untuk makan-malam
      (I'll like to invite her for dinner)
   b. Ini bukan buku saya, melainkan buku *nia*
      (This is not my book, but her book)
2. For the third personal pronoun singular masculine the word *dia* is used. This word has been taken from the existing vocabulary, only the usage is now restricted specifically to the masculine form of the third personal pronoun singular. Examples of its use are given as follows:
   a. Teman saya bernama Rukasah
      Dia bersedia membantu kita siang-malam
      (My friend is called Rukasah. He is prepared to help us night and day)

Based on the use of the word *dia,* we know, that Rukasah is a man. Sometimes a person's name can confuse someone, whether it indicates a man or a woman. By possessing a third pronoun singular which distinguishes the gender the confusion disappears.

   b. Paman saya hanya mempunyai seorang anak. Sekarang *dia* telah menjadi mahasiswa.

(My uncle has only one child. Now he is already a student.)

A question now arises: "How shall we express ourselves, if the gender is difficult to determine or if it is still ambiguous? Do we need a specialized personal pronoun for that too? For the sake of language economy, we can fill the gap with a word, which is already present in Indonesian.

3. For the third personal pronoun neuter where gender is ambiguous or difficult to determine we use: *ia*
   Examples are as follows:
   a. Pemilihan Umum tidak dapat dilakukan tahun ini la memerlukan 2 tahun lagi. (The General election cannot be held this year. It will take 2 years more).
   b. Anjing saya sebenarnya tjukup besar untuk menjaga rumah, tetapi *ia* jarang menggonggong.
      (My dog is really big enough to guard the house, but it seldom barks.)

Up to now if the noun is already said or known, it is usually repeated or used together with the word *itu,* e.g.:
Tahun yang lalu saya memelihara seekor kambing, tetapi tidak lama kemudian *kambing itu* dimakan harimau
(I reared a goat last year, but not long afterwards that goat was eaten by a tiger.)
If it has been said before or has shown its gender clearly, then it can further be expressed by *nya,* e.g.:

a. Nia ingin sekali memperdalam pengetahuan*nya* diluar-negeri
   (She wants very much to deepen her study abroad).
b. Cita[2] dia itu sudah lama terkandung dalam hati*nya*
   (His ideals have been on his mind for a long time)
c. Rumah itu masih baru; jendela*nya* belum dicat.
   (That house is new; its windows have not been painted yet)

I want to stress here once more, the necessity to possess specialized terms for the third personal pronoun singular in the Indonesian language to differentiate the masculine from the feminine not because we want to copy a foreign language but only because of a practical necessity. In spite of gap which can be found in the use of the second and the third personal pronoun as *above,* the Indonesian language possesses a first personal pronoun plural which is clearer than that found, for example, in English and Dutch, i.e.:

1. *Kami,* which shows the first personal pronoun plural, which does not include the person spoken to, which can be called *exclusive plural* or *limited plural.*

2. *Kita,* which shows the first personal pronoun plural including the person spoken to, which can be called *inclusive plural* or *extensive plural.*

In English only *we* is known, in Dutch only *wij,* which can be interpreted as *kami* or *kita,* whenever the situation is already clear. If a teacher says, in Indonesian, to a class:

"Bulan depan kami akan pergi ke Bali" (Next month we are going to Bali), it is clear, that the person spoken to is not included, while if we say in English: "Next month we are going to Bali", it is not clear, whether the person spoken to is included or not. Determining whether the person spoken to is included or not therefore depends on previous or further conversation, or if the situation is already clear. I think, with regards to this, those languages which do not yet possess these two kinds of first personal pronoun plural, can imitate without concern as to whether the language is of the same language family or of another language family.

B. *Summary/suggestion*

In conclusion I shall give a summary with suggestions as follows.

1. The word *saya* as a first personal pronoun singular is enough to fulfill its use without having the meaning "unrefined" and "refined." Then the word *kami* (which really has the function of first personal pronoun extensive plural) as a first personal pronoun singular to make *saya* more refined, is not necessary, moreover it just creates *chaos* and ambiguity, because it is not clear, whether by *kami* is meant the first personal pronoun singular or the first personal pronoun plural.
2. Like the first personal pronoun singular, the second personal pronoun singular also needs a term connotating a neutral usage. The use of *engkau* and *kamu* is very limited, because they are rather "unrefined." This is also true of the supplementary words originated from nouns which show family ties, as *saudara, ibu* and *bapak,* because they are directed towards a certain group only. Therefore the word *anda* (Sabirin's encouragement) which already exists in written language, become the neutral form of the second personal pronoun singular, so that in the use of the oral form there will no longer be any cause for doubt. It would be even better if a plural form exists of course. This decision depends on the awareness of the language users themselves who must feel the lack they are experiencing in using the present second personal pronoun singular. It is worth noticing, that the inclusion of the word *anda* is not meant to eliminate other words which are used as the second personal pronoun singular because in certain cir-

cles, the use of words like: *saudara, bapak* and *ibu* as second personal pronoun singular cannot be avoided in the social structure of the Indonesian society. In other words, in certain circles and situations the words which express family ties still retain their function.

3. Based on the facts of everyday use, the third personal singular in Indonesian needs specific terms to differentiate gender:
   Nia as the third personal pronoun singular feminine.
   Dia as the third personal pronoun singular masculine.
   Ia as the third personal pronoun neuter or for nouns, the gender of which is difficult to determine.
   The inclusion of special forms which distinguish gender means that the Indonesian becomes more practical in its development as a modern language.
4. In comparison with the Indo-European languages, the position of the first personal pronoun plural in Indonesian is more advantageous, because it differentiates between the limited and extensive plural.
5. When aiming for the development of a language which is relatively practical, all languages in the world can distinguish themselves from each other.
6. In certain matters a grammar of a certain language can be changed or broken down on purpose, to bring about practicality.
7. The more practical or simple the structure or system of a language, the easier it can be studied and spread in the level of science and culture.
8. Developing the Indonesian language as a dynamic national language is no less important than other efforts in building the Indonesian nation.

GADDANG AFFIRMATIVES AND NEGATIVES

LESTER O. TROYER

INTRODUCTION

Introduction
1. Affirmation
2. Negation

ALTHOUGH THIS PAPER IS PRIMARILY A DESCRIPTION OF Gaddang[1] affirmatives and negatives, it also illustrates the fact that certain underlying psychological phenomena of a culture may be reflected by the language of that culture. In this case the frequency of affirmation and the nature of its occurrences within the language points to the extrovertive nature of Gaddang personalities.

Sapir commented on the possibility of such substrata psychological phenomena coming to the surface in the structural expressions of a language when he wrote: "Language may be looked upon as a symbolic system which reports or refers to or otherwise substitutes for the direct experience; it does not as a matter of actual behavior stand apart from or parallel to direct experience, but completely inter-penetrates with... (and) vocabulary is a sensitive index of the culture of the people."[2]

Gaddangs express themselves freely and with strong feelings, punctuating their expressions liberally with affirmatives; these occurring in a wide variety of contexts. The negatives do not occur with this wide distribution.

1. *Affirmatives.* Affirmative forms are manifested both by verbal and non-verbal expressions. In this paper these are called speech and non-speech forms. The speech forms have the highest degree of occurrence. The non-speech forms carry only a nominal function load.

1.1 *Speech forms.* Speech forms divide into two types — lateral and bilateral.

1.1.1 *Laterals.* Lateral affirmatives are morphemes that occur only as minimal response forms:

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[1] The Gaddangs are a semi-nomadic people living in scattered areas of the Cagayan Valley and eastern Bontoc of north-central Luzon in the Philippines. There are about 2,500 speakers of the linguistic group, who still retain their own distinct culture. Data used for this paper were gathered during the years 1957-62 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[2] Sapir, Edward. "Selected Writings of," pp. 7-32, as quoted in *Anthropological Linguistics*, Anthropology Department, University of Indiana, Vol. 1, pp. 31.

on is an affirmative signalling agreement with a statement made by another speaker or an affirmative response to a query: *ma wara? on.* "Why, are there some?" "Yes."

one is an affirmative signalling only agreement with a statement made by a speaker: *ay napato. one.* "It is hot!" "Yes." It is similar to the English slang expression "You bet!"

iqi[3] is an affirmative with similar distribution as on, but is used almost exclusively by women and children: *Natay into abbin da? iqi.* "Did their child die?" "Yes."

husto is an affirmative borrowed from Spanish through Ilocano with wide distribution including assent, agreement, approval: *Dama na? Husto.* "Is that enough/ Can it be?" "It is/yes."

1.1.2 *Bilaterals.* Bilateral affirmatives are morphemes that may occur as minimal responses, but they may also occur as affixed or compounded forms. *It is the high function load of these forms that gives the Gaddang language its strongly assertive character:*

antu is an affirmative which may occur as a minimal response form with similar distribution as on: *antwenay yaw? antu.* "Is this it?" "Yes." It may also occur prefixed to a base construction: *awan nakuy? antuyan.* (antu + iyan) "There is none maybe?" "Yes, there is!" It may also occur with the verb + actor construction: *mano kami antu.* "We will go, yes."

korog is an affirmative that may occur as a minimal response form when prefixed with *ga—*: *narakat iyo lalaki gakorog.* "That man is no good, it's true." It may also occur compounded with another affirmative form: *onkorog!* (on + korog) "Yes, indeed!" (emphatic affirmation.)

olud is an affirmative response form with similar distribution as on: *wara pirak ngu? olud.* "Do you have money?" "Yes." It may also occur compounded with another affirmative form: *hustolud* (husto + olud) "Yes/enough." It may also occur suffixed to verb and descriptive forms and to class II pronouns.[4] *ginumwanglud* (ginumwang + olud) "Arrived, yes." *napatolud* (napato + olud) "It's hot, yes." *kongkolud* (kongko + olud) "That's what I said, yes." This form may also occur compounded with negative forms, adding emphasis to the negation: *awanlud* (awan + olud) "There is one, yes!" *amenalud* (amena +olud) "It is not/It cannot be, yes!" good."

mekamulud (mekamu + olud) "I don't know, yes."

[3] The letter q is used here to symbolize the glottal catch.
[4] The author's "Gaddang Personal Pronouns," unpublished ms.

1.2 *Non-speech forms.* Non-speech forms are nonverbal gestures that are frequently used to signal affirmation. These have a wide distribution and may or may not occur simultaneously with the speech forms in minimal response expressions. These gestures are an abrupt upward motion of the head, or the raising of one or both eyebrows.

2. *Negatives.* Negative forms contrast between those which are part of the regular phonemic and morphemic systems of the language and those which, although orally produced, are not part of these systems.

2.1 *Systemic Speech Forms.* Of the negative forms listed, *awan* and *ame—* have the highest frequency occurrence in the language.

ame— is a negative response form which occurs most frequently in combination with a class I or class II personal pronoun-verb construction: *amek anggam.* "I don't like." *ameka mattangit.* "Don't you cry!" In this position it negates the action of the verb.

It may also occur in combination with the third person singular pronoun *na* as a minimal response form. In this distribution it functions grammatically as a verb signalling objection or dislike for certain conditions or actions: amena "It is not good."

awan is a negative response form occurring most often as a negating attributive occurring in noun phrase constructions: *awan a ilak sitaw.* "There are no mosquitos here."

As a negating attributive, this form may also occur with verb constructions signalling absence of quantity: *awan akkwang ko.* "I have nothing to do/I am doing nothing."

bakkan is a negative response form occurring most frequently as a minimal expression indicating a mistake, a mis-statement, or some kind of erroneous action. The stem may also take CVCCV reduplication to emphasize the negating principle: *bakka-bakkan.* "No, indeed!"

2.2 *Non-systemic Speech Forms.* These negatives occur only as minimal responses.

tst is a negative response form signalling strong dislike to a request or of emphatic negation to a question. It is most widely used by children. Ara kangkamannu. tst. "Hurry up!" "No, I don't want to!"

mMq is a negative response form signalling disagreement. Lexically, it is closer to the English "no" than any of the other Gaddang negatives. This form consists of a voiced bilabial nasal followed by a voiceless bilabial nasal and a final glottal catch: *unmangkayo so talun?* mMq. "Are you-all going to the forest?" "No."

THE BONFIRE (TAKIBI)

KUNIKIDA DOPPO
(*Translated by* THOMAS E. SWANN)

INTRODUCTION

Kunikida Doppo (real name: Tetsuo) was born on July 15, 1871 in the city of Choshi in the Chiba Prefecture, but grew up in Yamaguchi Prefecture. In 1887, he came to Tokyo and entered Tokyo Semmon Gakko (which later became Waseda University) but withdrew in 1891 after being involved in a student riot. He returned to Yamaguchi Prefecture where he started a private school, but in 1893 he came back to Tokyo and became a newspaper reporter. During the Sino-Japanese War, he was a war correspondent and afterward took a job as reporter for the magazine *Kokumin no Tomo* (The People's Friend) for some time. He died of illness on June 23, 1908 at the age of thirty-eight.

During his lifetime, Doppo was variously influenced by Christianity, Russian and English prose literature, Emerson's transcendentalism, and Wordsworth's poetry — all of which fed the romantic tendencies of his early years as a writer. Doppo started out as a lyrical poet with a deep feeling for nature and then went on to romantic prose works. This period of his literary career lasted until about 1900 and was marked by intense lyrical, poetical qualities together with high, youthful emotion.

Takibi (The Bonfire) was first published in the magazine *Kokumin no Tomo* on November 21, 1896 when the author was twenty-six. It well illustrates the author's affinity with nature. In the original, it is a beautiful piece of lyrical writing in *bungotai* (the literary language) and if not a prose-poem, comes very close to being one.

PUTTING THE NORTH WIND TO HIS BACK, A BOY SAT DOWN on the side of a white sand dune covered with withered grass and stretched out his legs. He gazed after the faint glow of the evening sun sinking beyond the Izu[1] mountains. Inexpressable sorrow and loneliness must have filled the heart of this boy from Zushi[2] waiting for the late return of his father's fishing boat from the open sea. The thick growth of withered reeds along the banks of the Gosaigo[3] River rattled in the sea

[1] A volcanic peninsula between Sagami Bay on the east and Suruga Bay on the west.

[2] A small town and seaside resort southeast of Kamakura on the west side of the Miura Peninsula.

[3] Located on the Miura Peninsula.

breeze. Ice, which had formed unseen at the roots of the reeds during hightide at midnight, remained though it had been broken up with the ebbtide that morning. Not melted during the day, it trailed a white line along the water's edge in the evening gloom. Were a weary traveller to pause here, he would not be able to look around thoughtlessly and continue on his journey unaffected. In the past this place was the Rokudaigozen Forest and seven hundred years later it still evoked a sense of pathos with the cold wintry wind shrilling through the treetops.

Imagine a merry song ringing out from that boat moving up the gently flowing marshy river afloat with fallen leaves -- a premonition for a frosty night. But no song is heard. The man only rows by forlornly, without speaking, laughing, or singing, and it is impossible to make out whether he is a farmer or a fisherman.

The figure of a farmer with a hoe on his shoulder is reflected dimly on the river along with the shadow of the bridge where he stands. Without a sound, the boat ruffles through this reflection and is instantly swallowed up in the reeds beyond.

Two young men from the village astride an unsaddled horse splash quietly through the shallows at the mouth of the river and the last lingering light of day splays across the horse's flanks. A picturesque scene.

Now, no human shadow falls on the beach as far as you can see. A crow perched on the bow of a boat drawn up on the beach caws and flies off toward Kamakura,[4] flapping its wings lazily.

One year there were seven or eight boys from nine to thirteen here — carefree creatures of the open air. Though the year was almost over, they gathered toward the end of December at the foot of the dunes and discussed various things. Some stood, some sat, and some buried their elbows in the sand and rested their chins on their palms. The sun had started to set.

Having perhaps reached a conclusion, the meeting broke up and the boys began to run about the beach, each on his own. Shortly they had quickly scattered their own ways from one end of the inlet to the other. The tide was very low and decayed boards, wooden bowls with chipped rims, pieces of bamboo, logs, ladles with no handles, and other evidence of the storm two days before were strewn over the beach. The boys gathered them, one by one, selected a suitable dry, sandy spot somewhat removed from the edge of the water and made a pile out of them. The entire pile was thoroughly waterlogged.

It was a cold evening for the project. The setting sun, sinking in the west, dyed the clouds enveloping the mountains above Ashigara over

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[4] Residential city and seaside resort situated at the west base of the Miura Peninsula on the shore of Sagami Bay.

toward Hakone[5] a golden color. The wind had fallen and a fishing boat returning to Kotsubo Inlet[6] lowered its sail, being close to land, and rowed onward.

A round-faced boy, dark complexioned but good-looking, remarked that he had found what appeared to be a mirror frame with its glass broken and lost, but that he didn't think it should be burnt. The oldest boy of the group, however, piling on some logs which were too much for him to handle, replied that it would burn easily. The round-faced boy said the logs probably wouldn't burn, at which the older boy angrily stood up and retorted that they certainly would burn. Another boy nearby gleefully shouted that their haul for the day was greater than ever before.

The boys planned to burn their haul. The red flames would be wild ecstasy. They boasted among themselves about running and leaping over the flames, then went about fetching dead grass from the dunes and brought it to the pile. The oldest boy stood in front of the pile with the rest standing in a circle around it wondering, "Now? Will it burn now?". They listened for the crackling sound of burning bamboo, indicating the fire had spread into the pile. But only the dry grass burned. It burned for a while and then flickered out. Smoke billowed up mischievously, but neither the wood nor the bamboo readily caught fire. The mirror frame was slightly burnt and steam hissed from the ends of the logs with a ghostly sound. Each boy put his face down near the sand in turn, puckered his lips, and blew. Unfortunately, the smoke got in their eyes and they all looked like they were crying.

Out to sea it quickly became dark, so that it was hard to make out the silhouette of the island of Enoshima.[7] The only sounds were the cries of plovers flying over the upper part of the beach. It was lonely. When you looked for them, the birds were only white specks against the evening darkness. A snipe started up from the reeds and flew away swiftly.

Suddenly one of the boys shouted, "Oh, look! Look! I just saw a fire on the Izu mountains. Why won't our fire burn?" All the boys stood up and stared fixedly out to sea. Sure enough, there were some points of light over on the other side of Sagami Bay.[8] The fires flickered and moved will-o-the-wisps. Probably the villagers of the Izu mountains were burning off undergrowth. On a winter evening like this after sunset,

Watching the fires on the Izu mountains, the boys sang songs merrily, facing the sea and clapping their hands and dancing around wildly. Their

[5] An area in Kanagawa Prefecture between Mt. Fuji and the Izu Peninsula noted for its scenic beauty and hot-spring resorts.

[6] A small inlet on the northwest coast of the Miura Peninsula.

[7] A very small island slighty west of Kamakura connected by bridge to the beach at Katase.

[8] West of the Miura Peninsula.

travellers would be thinking of the long road ahead. They would see fires like the Izu mountain fires in the distance and feel lonely.
innocent voices echoed over the lonely beach enveloped in twilight. The waves murmured. Forming white caps at the southern edge of the inlet, the waves dashed ashore in perfect cadence. The tide was rising.

A voice called out to them from beyond the sand dunes, "How long are you going to play on the beach this chilly evening?" None of the boys heard, for they were thinking of the fires at Izu.

The voice called again two or three times, "Aren't you coming home? Aren't you coming home?" and one of the youngest boys heard it. Giving in to his mother's summons, he announced he was giving up and going home. As soon as he had gone over the dunes, the rest of the boys shouted, "Let's go! Let's go!" and ran scrambling up the dunes.

Only the oldest boy looked back as they ran off, thinking with regret of the fire's refusal to ignite. Standing on top of a dune and just on the point of running down the other side, he gave one last look back. A dart of flames caught his eye. When he shouted to the others that their fire was somehow finally burning, they were startled and skeptical. Returning to the top of the dune immediately, they stood in line and peered downward.

A sudden gust of wind had started the fire in the pile, which hadn't ignited before. A spiral of thick smoke rose above the pile and tongues of crimson flame appeared and disappeared. They could hear the sound of crackling bamboo joints and sparks danced up from the fire. It was definitely burning, but the boys couldn't return now and only clapped their hands for joy. With a happy shout they ran together toward the road for home along the base of the dunes.

The sea and the beach were now engulfed in darkness. A lonely winter night began. The forsaken fire burned forlornly on the deserted Zushi beach.

Suddenly a black shadow could be seen tracing its way along the water's edge and approaching the fire. An aged traveller came into view. He had just crossed the Gosaigo River and started along the beach, deciding to take the Kotsubo road along the beach. His feet pounded on the sand as he hurried along taking short strides, with his eyes fixed on the fire.

"What a nice fire," he exclaimed weakly in a hoarse voice. Throwing down his walking stick, he hurriedly took off the small pack on his back. He quickly held his hands over the flames. His hands shook and his knees knocked together. "It's really a cold night" he remarked as his teeth chattered. His face, lined with deep wrinkles, shone red in the light of the fire. The reflection in his deeply sunken eyes was dull and cloudy.

His hair and beard were grey and dust-covered. The tip of his nose was red but his cheeks were the color of clay. Who knows where he came from or where he was going. He was probably a homeless drifter.

It was truly a cold night. Muttering to himself, he shook his entire body hard. Warming his hands over the fire, he rubbed the pleasant warmth from his hands into his face. His robe was very old and worn padding showed through here and there. Steam rose from the bottom of the robe, which was close to the fire. It had gotten wet in the morning rain and had not yet dried.

"What a wonderful fire," he said and picked up the walking stick he had thrown aside. Using it to steady himself, he raised one foot and held it over the fire. His leggings and socks were a faded dark blue. His little toe, which looked drained of blood, poked through his sock. A chorus of loud popping sounds came from the bamboo and the fire flamed up with vigor. Even though the flames seemed about to singe his foot, the old man did not pull back.

"A really pleasant fire. I wonder who made it. I'm certainly grateful." He broke off and pulled his foot back. "Since I left the happy hearth of my own home ten years ago, I haven't met with such a pleasant fire until this one." His expression, as he peered into the fire, was as if he were gazing into the distance. The fire of his home hearth as it had been in the distant past seemed to be etched in this fire. His children and grandchildren vividly came to mind. "The fire of the past was a happy one and this fire is a sorrowful one. But, no. The past is the past. Today is today. This fire is pleasant," he muttered in a trembling voice. He roughly threw his walking stick down and turned his back to the fire. Standing with the sea in front of him he bent backwards and pounded on the small of his back with both fists. The sky he looked up into had become black and clear. The Milky Way, its stars crystals of cold frost, touched the horizon in the distance at the end of the Izu Peninsula.

His entire body was thoroughly warmed and the hem and sleeves of his damp robe had dried. "Ahh, who kindled this fire? For whose sake did they kindle it?" The old man's heart was filled with gratitude and his eyes filled with tears. There was neither wind nor waves. His eyes closed, the old man clearly heard the sound of the inflowing tide flooding the sands. Perhaps the wandering traveller forgot his unhappiness at this moment. The old man's mind returned once again to his past youth.

Alas, the fire was just about to die out at last. Both the bamboo and the wooden planks had been consumed. Only the fat logs still

burned well. The old man had thought he wouldn't care if the fire went out, but, on the verge of leaving the fire he seemed reluctant to depart. Making a circle of his arms and leaning forward, he held his arms over the fire as if embracing it. His eyes blinked and he pounded on the small of his back as if he were about to leave. But, as he was about to take the first few steps away, he turned back to the fire, scraped the bits of unburned wood together, and added them to the fire. He watched the fire flame up spiritedly and smiled with pleasure.

After the old man had left the fire emitted a crimson glow. It burned on weakly in the darkness of the lonely night. It was late at night and the tide was high. Soon, both the fire kindled by the boys and the footprints made by the old wanderer were erased by the eternal waves.

VERBAL CLAUSES OF SARANGANI BILAAN

BETTY MCLACHLIN and BARBARA BLACKBURN

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE CLAUSE systems of Philippine languages is *focus*, i.e. the formal property by which attention is called to one nonpredicate nuclear element of a clause.[1] Attempts to describe the clauses and verb morphology of Philippine languages without consideration of focus result in the obscuring of the system.[2] Recently, discoveries in the *classification of verb stems* of Philippine languages have led to further refinements in the description of clauses and verb morphology, viz. the specification of what affixes occur with what verb stems and the explanation of accompanying function differences of clause level elements.[3]

The purpose of this paper is to describe the types of verbal clauses in Sarangani Bilaan,[4] using the following criteria to contrast the types: (1) the focus of the clause,[5] (2) the stem classes in the predicate,[6] (3) the obligatory and optional elements of the clause nuclei. We follow the tagmemic model.[7]

A clause is any string of tagmemes which consists of only one predicate tagmeme among the constituent tagmemes of the string, and which fills a slot on the sentence level.[8] The two main kinds of verbal clauses

[1] For further discussion of focus, see Footnote 9 of Jannette Forster, "Dual Structure of Dibabawon Verbal Clauses," *Oceanic Linguistics* 3.44 (1964).

[2] For a recent example of Tagalog verbs described without focus, see Teodoro A. Llamzon, "Main Transient Formations in Tagalog," *The Philippine Journal of Science* 95.143.57 (1966).

[3] See Lawrence A. Reid, *An Ivatan Syntax* (Special Publication No. 2 of Oceanic Linguistics, 1966), 11-17; Robert G. Ward and Jannette Forster, "Verb Stem Classes in Maranao Transitive Clauses," *Anthropological Linguistics* 9:6.30-42 (1967); Jannette Forster and Myra L. Barnard, "A Classification of Dibabawon Active Verbs," *Lingua* (in press).

[4] The Sarangani dialect of Bilaan has approximately ten thousand speakers, located in the southern part of Cotabato Province on the island of Mindanao. The data for this paper were collected from 1959 to 1965 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The phonemes of Sarangani Bilaan are: *a, a* (low back), *b, d, e* (high central), *e* (mid front), *f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, ng, o, q* (glottal stop), *s, t, u, w, y*. For a description of the phonemes of the Koronadal dialect of Bilaan, see James and Gladys Dean, "The Phonemes of Bilaan," *The Philippine Journal of Science* 84.311-22 (1956).

[5] This is described by Kenneth L. Pike in "A Syntactic Paradigm," *Language* 39.216-30 (1963)

[6] A similar classification for the Koronadal dialect of Bilaan is found in Norm Abrams, "Word Base Classes in Bilaan," *Lingua* 10.391-402 (1961).

[7] Robert E. Longacre, *Grammar Discovery Procedures* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1964) and Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in Relations to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*, second rev. ed. (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1967).

[8] Longacre, *op. cit.*, 35.

are active and causative. These then are divided into four basic types according to the grammatical focus of the predicate, viz. subject focus, object focus, direction focus, and accessory focus.[9] Only the tagmeme in focus may be manifested by the ⟨TOPIC⟩ pronoun set. Topic (i.e. the tagmeme being focused) may further be identified as the tagmeme which may be placed in prepredicate position for emphasis.

We make the distinction between participant role (the lower case notations) and grammatical role of the nonpredicate tagmemes because each verbal clause is structurally oriented toward (i.e. focuses) either the subject, the object, the direction, or the accessory; and these four grammatical functions do not have a one-to-one correspondence to the participant roles.[10] This distinction may be noted especially in the active accessory focus, where the grammatical role of accessory has the participant role of goal when class 2 and class 4 verb stems occur in the predicate; whereas the accessory has the participant role of instrument when class 1 and class 7 verb stems occur. This distinction between grammatical and participant roles is also significant with regard to causative versus active clauses.

We present the nuclei of active clauses and then the nuclei of causative clauses. The formulas represent the usual order of tagmemes. Nuclear tagmemes are the predicate and those tagmemes which may be in focus. Peripheral tagmemes are never in focus, viz. time and location. Time and location occur either initial, medial, or final in any verbal clause. In the following examples, time and location tagmemes are enclosed in parentheses.

(*dtuq di bali*)—L *n-bel-am qigem.*
there house roll out-you mat
'You roll out the mat there at the house.'
(*malbutang*)—Ti *s-m-aloq bigkoq.*
last night m-hunt Bigko
'Last night Bigko went hunting.'
n-ebe-n (*gine*)—Ti *kafi* (*dtuq di gumligo*)—L.
n-take-she recently coffee there field
'Just a little while ago she took coffee to the field.'
m-neq qale (*deqen*)—L (*walu butang*)—Ti.
m-stay they there eight night
'They stayed there eight nights.'

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[9] As in Ward and Forster, *op. cit.*, for Maranao, we make focus difference more basic than verb stem class in the description of clauses; each focus set is further subdivided on the basis of stem class. Reid, *op. cit.*, for Ivatan and Forster and Barnard, *op. cit.*, for Dibabawon make the primary division by stem class, with further subdivisions by focus.

[10] Forster, *op. cit.*, 28.

There are further sections on emphatic clauses and morphophonemic changes. Symbol explanations, the pronoun sets, and the verb stem classes are given in three appendixes.

I. ACTIVE VERBAL CLAUSE NUCLEI

An active verbal clause nucleus contains one obligatory noncausative predicate tagmeme inflected for focus and an obligatory topic tagmeme plus other optional and obligatory tagmemes.

Subjective verbal clauses

Subjective verbal clauses are divided into three classes. All verb stem classes occur in one of the three classes of subject focus.

(1) $\text{SubvbCl}_{1,3} = + \text{Ps}_{1,3}\text{: Vs}_{1,3} + \text{Sac/T: } \langle\text{TOPIC}\rangle \pm \text{Ddi: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^1\rangle +/\pm \text{Og: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^1\rangle$

Formula reads: A subjective verbal clause, of stem classes 1 and 3, consists of a subjective verbal predicate filled by subject focused verbs from stem classes 1 and 3 plus obligatory topic subject-as-actor tagmeme manifested by $\langle$TOPIC$\rangle$ plus an optional direction tagmeme manifested by $\langle$NONTOPIC$^1\rangle$ plus an optional object-as-goal tagmeme manifested also by $\langle$NONTOPIC$^1\rangle$.

Examples:

Class 1:

m-alob (qale)—T *ku quyen fligo.*
m-wash they Uyen dish
'They wash the dishes for Uyen.'

Class 3:

m-asá (qale)—T *ku quyen liblu.*
m-read they Uyen book
'They read the book to Uyen.'

There is a subclass of this type, the predicate of which is filled by class 1' or class 3', in which the object tagmeme is not optional but obligatory.

Examples:

Class 1':

d-am-yo (qale)—T *deg tingáq.*
m-bathe they me child
'They bathe the child for me.'

Class 3':

t-m-atek (qale)—T *deg qigem.*
m-drop they me mat
'They drop the mat to me.'

(2) $\text{SubvbCl}_{2,4} = + \text{Ps}_{2,4}: \text{Vs}_{2,4} + \text{Sac/T: } \langle \text{TOPIC} \rangle$
$\pm$ Ddi: $\langle \text{NONTOPIC}^1 \rangle$ $+/\pm$ Ag: $\langle \text{NONTOPIC}^1 \rangle$

Examples:

Class 2A:

m-lé (qale)—T *deg qanuk.*
m-give they me chicken
'They give a chicken to me.'

Class 2B:

ftatek (qale)—T *deg sulat.*
drop they me letter
'They drop the letter to me.'

Class 4A:

t-am-doq (qale)—T *deg dad ngáq.*
m-teach they me plural child
'They teach the children for me.'

It is to be noted that with class 4A verb stems an accessory-as-goal tagmeme usually occurs; there are, however, occurrences when only the predicate and topic are obligatory.

There is a subclass of this type, the predicate of which is filled by class 2A' or 4B, in which the accessory tagmeme is not optional but obligatory.

Examples:
Class 2A':

s-am-lob (qale)—T *defi naláf.*
m-drop off they me fish
'They drop off the fish for me.'

Class 4B:

fileq (qale)—T *deg kayo qén.*
lay down they me wood that
'They lay that wood down for me.'

(3) $\text{SubvbCl}_{5,6,7} = + \text{Ps}_{5,6,7}: \text{Vs}_{5,6,7} + \text{Sac/T: } \langle \text{TOPIC} \rangle$
$\pm$ Ddi: $\langle \text{NONTOPIC}^1 \rangle$

Examples:
Class 5:

dyo (qale)—T *di yéqél.*
bathe they water
'They bathe at the water.'

Class 6A:
foqol (qale)—T *di yéqél qén.*
go downstream they water that
'They follow that river downstream.'

Class 6B:
m-léq (qale)—T *di báli.*
m-return they house
'They return home.'

Class 7:
m-agin (qale)—T *gami.*
m-accompany they us
'They accompany us.'

Objective verbal clauses

Objective verbal clauses are divided into two classes.

(1) $\text{ObjvbCl}_1 = + \text{Po}_1\text{: Vo}_1 \pm \text{Sac:}\langle\text{NONTOPIC}^2\rangle \pm \text{Ddi:} \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^1\rangle + \text{Og/T:} \langle\text{TOPIC}\rangle \pm \text{Ainst: comNp}$

Example:
n-alob-la ku quyen (kulang)—T *sabun qén.*
n-wash they Uyen pot soap that
'They wash the cooking pot for Uyen with that soap.'

(2) $\text{ObjvbCl}_3 = + \text{Po}_3\text{: Vo}_3 \pm \text{Sac: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^2\rangle \pm \text{Ddi:} \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^1\rangle + \text{Og/T: } \langle\text{TOPIC}\rangle$

Example:
b-n-asa-la ku quyen (liblu)—T.
n-read-they Uyen book
'They read the book to Uyen.'

Directional verbal clauses

Directional verbal clauses are divided into two classes.

(1) $\text{DirvCl}_2 = + \text{Pd}_2\text{: Vd}_2 \pm \text{Sac: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^2\rangle + \text{Ddi/T:} \langle\text{TOPIC}\rangle \pm \text{Ag: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^1\rangle$

Examples:

Class 2A:
b-an-lé-m (qale)—T *qanuk.*
n-give-you they chicken
'You give a chicken to them.'

Class 2B:

f-an-tuf-ám (*basoq*)—T *qaweng.*
n-send down-you Baso boat
'You send down the boat to Baso.'

(2) $\text{DirvbCl}_{6,7} = + \text{Pd}_{6,7}: \text{Vd}_{6,7} \pm \text{Sac: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^2\rangle + \text{Ddi/T: } \langle\text{TOPIC}\rangle$

Examples:

Class 6A:

f-n-oqol-la (*qi yéqél*)—T.
n-downstream-they river
'They send (it) downstream.'

Class 6B:

n-ulé-la (*gami*)—T.
n-laugh-they us
'They laugh at us.'

Class 7:

n-ilá-gu (*qale*)—T.
n-run-I them
'I ran away from them.'

Accessory verbal clauses

Accessory verbal clauses are divided into two classes on the basis of the situational roles of the accessory tagmeme. In class 1 the situational role of the accessory is instrument, and in class 2 it is goal.

(1) There are two types of class 1 accessory verbal clauses.

(a) $\text{AccvbCl}_1 = + \text{Pacc}_1: \text{Vacc}_1 \pm \text{Sac: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^2\rangle \pm \text{Og: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^1\rangle + \text{Ainst/T: comNp}$

Example:

qalob-gu fligo (*sábun qani*)—T.
wash-I dish soap this
'I'm using this soap to wash the dishes.'

(b) $\text{AccvbCl}_7 = + \text{Pacc}_7: \text{Vacc}_7 \pm \text{Sac: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^2\rangle + \text{Ddi: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^1\rangle + \text{Ainst/T: comNp}$

Example:

qagot-gu di kayo (*tnaloq-gu*)—T.
hold on-I tree finger-my
'I'll hold on to the tree with my fingers.'

(2) There is one type class 2 accessory verbal clause.

$\text{AccvbCl}_{2,4} = + \text{Pacc}_{2,4}: \text{Vacc}_{2,4} \pm \text{Sac: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^2\rangle \pm \text{Ddi: } \langle\text{NONTOPIC}^1\rangle + \text{Ag/T: } \langle\text{TOPIC}\rangle$

Examples:

Class 2A:

blé-gu dale (*qanuk*)—T.
give-I them chicken
'I'll give a chicken to them.'

Class 2B:

ftufá-gu dale (*qi qaweng*)—T.
send down-I them vinta
'I'll send down the boat to them.'

Class 4A:

dlu-la deg (*kodáq*)—T
chase-they me horse
'They chase after the horse for me.'

Class 4B:

fuléq-am ku beted (*slági*)—T
return-you Beted agong
'You return the agong for Beted.'

It has been noted that with three stems of class 4 the topic may be accessory-as-instrument. This subtype has the following formula:
$AccvbCl_4 = + Pacc_4: Vacc_4 \pm Sac: \langle NONTOPIC^2 \rangle \pm Ddi: \langle NONTOPIC^1 \rangle + Ainst/T: \langle TOPIC \rangle$

Example:

dlu-la kodáq (*skél qén*)—T.
chase-they horse switch that
'They use that switch to chase the horse.'

Type of Cl.	Tagmemes which occur					
Sub 1,3	+ Ps 1,3	+ Sac/T	± Ddi	± Og		
Sub 2,4	+ Ps 2,4	+ Sac/T	± Ddi		± Ag	
Sub 5,6,7	+ Ps 5,6,7	+ Sac/T	± Ddi			
Obj 1	+ Po 1	± Sac	± Ddi	+ Og/T		± Ainst/T
Obj 3	+ Po 3	± Sac	± Ddi	+ Og/T		
Dir 2	+ Pd 2	± Sac	+ Ddi/T		± Ag	
Dir 6,7	+ Pd 6,7	± Sac	+ Ddi/T			
Acc 1	+ Pacc 1	± Sac		± Og		+ Ainst/T
Acc 7	+ Pacc 7	± Sac	± Ddi			+ Ainst
Acc 2,4	+ Pacc 2,4	± Sac	± Ddi		+ Ag/T	+ Ainst/T

Chart 1 Summary of active verbal clauses

II. CAUSATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES

Causative verbal clauses contrast with active verbal clauses in that: (1) the predicate tagmeme is inflected by *f-* for causative, (2) the situational role of the subject is that of causer of the action, (3) the situational role of the object is that of actor.

All but a few of the predicates in causative clauses look the same, but we are interpreting these predicates to carry the different foci, even though no marker is seen. The reason for this is: (1) a different tagmeme of the clause may be in focus, (2) there is a continuity with active verbal clauses. The subject focus marker *m-* does not occur because of the morphophonemic loss of *m* following *f*. The object focus marker ⟨*n-*⟩ occurs only with: (1) Class 3 stems that do not have membership in both transitive and intransitive clauses and (2) Class 4A stems that begin with a single consonant. The direction focus marker ⟨*n-*⟩ does not occur in the predicate when the clause is causative direction focus.

When causative clauses are accessory focus, the situational role of the accessory tagmeme is goal. Causative clauses with accessory-as-instrument in the situational role have not been found.

Causative subject verbal clauses

CaSubvbCl = + cPs: Vc + Sca/T: ⟨TOPIC⟩ ± Oac: ⟨NONTOPIC[1]⟩ ± Ag: ⟨NON-TOPIC[1]⟩

Examples:

Class 1:

f-akoi (*ge*)—T *dale kasiláq.*
cause-dig you they camote
'You have them dig (your) camote.'

Class 2A:

fa-blé (*ge*)—T *dale qanuk.*
cause-give you they chicken
'You have them give (your) chicken.'

Class 2B:

fa-flaqán (*ge*)—T *dale qanuk.*
cause-feed you them chicken
'You have them feed (your) chicken.'

Class 3:

fa-skuyá (*ge*)—T *dale kodáq.*
causc-race you them horse
'You have them race (your) horse.'

Class 4A:

fa-tdoq (ge)—T *dale dad ngáq.*
cause-teach you them pl. child
'You have them teach (your) children.'

Class 4B:

fa-fileq (ge)—T *dale kayo.*
cause-lay you they wood
'You have them lay (your) wood down.'

Causative objective verbal clauses

CaObjvbCl = + cPo: Vc $\pm$ Sca: ⟨NON-TOPIC^2⟩ + Oac/T: ⟨TOPIC⟩ $\pm$ Ddi: ⟨NON-TOPIC^1⟩ $\pm$ Ag: ⟨NON-TOPIC^1⟩

Examples:

Class 1:

f-alob-am (qale)—T *ku quyen fligo.*
cause-wash-you they Uyen dish
'You have them wash the dishes for Uyen.'

Class 2A:

fa-blé-m (qale)—T *gami qanuk.*
cause-give-you they we chicken
'You have them give us a chicken.'

Class 2B:

fa-fkaqán-am (qale)—T *qi tingaq naláf qén.*
cause-feed-you they child fish that
'You have them feed the child that fish.'

Class 3:

f-an-basá-m (qale)—T *liblu.*
cause-n-read-you they book
'You have them read the book.'

Class 4A:

fa-tdo-am qale—T *ku bigkoq dad ngaq.*
cause-teach-you they Bigko pl. child
'You have them teach the children for Bigko.'

Class 4B:

fa-fileq-am (qale)—T *deg kayo.*
cause-lay-you they me wood
'You have them lay the wood down for me.'

Causative directional verbal clauses

CaDirvbCl = + cPd: Vc $\pm$ Sca: ⟨NON-TOPIC^2⟩ $\pm$ Oac: ⟨NON-TOPIC^1⟩ + Ddi/T: ⟨TOPIC⟩ $\pm$ Ag: ⟨NON-TOPIC^1⟩

Examples:

Class 2A:

fa-blé-m máq (qale)—T *qanuk.*
cause-give-you father they chicken
'You have father give them a chicken.'

Class 2B:

fa-fkaqán-am ku yéq (qale)—T *knaqán.*
cause-feed-you mother they food
'You have mother feed them the food.'

All natural stems of Class 2, i.e. Class 2A, can occur with causative in direction focus. It should be noted, however, that only those derived stems that originate from natural transitive stems, i.e. Class 1 and Class 3, have been found in causative direction focus. Derived stems of Class 2 originating from intransitive verb stems do not occur in causative direction focus.

Causative accessory verbal clauses

CaAccvbCl = + cPacc: Vc ± Sca: ⟨NON-TOPIC^2⟩ ± Oac: ⟨NON-TOPIC^1⟩ ± Ddi: ⟨NON-TOPIC^1⟩ + Ag/T: ⟨TOPIC⟩

Examples:

Class 1:

f-akol-am dale deg (kasiláq)—T.
cause-dig-you they me camote
'You have them dig camote for me.'

Class 2A:

fa-blé-m dale deg (kasiláq)—T.
cause-give-you they me camote
'You have them give me camote.'

Class 2B:

fa-fdak-la ku beted dale (báli)—T.
cause-raise-they Beted they house
'They had Beted raise the house for them.'

Class 3:

fa-skuyá-m dale (kodáq)—T.
cause-race-you they horse
'You have them race the horse.'

Class 4A:

fa-tdoq-am dale ku quyen (nini)—T.
cause-teach-you they Uyen Nini
'You have them teach Nini for Uyen.'

Class 4B:
fa-fuléq-am dale deg (slági)—T.
cause-return-you they me agong
'You have them return the agong to me.'

Type of clause	Tagmemes which occur				
Sub Focus	+ cPs	+ Sca/T	± Oac		± Ag
Obj Focus	+ cPo	± Sca	+ Oac/T	± Ddi	± Ag
Dir Focus	+ cPd	± Sca	± Oac	+ Ddi/T	± Ag
Acc Focus	+ cPacc	± Sca	± Oac	± Ddi	+ Ag/T

Chart 2. Summary of causative verbal clauses

III. EMPHATIC CLAUSES

The topic of a clause may be emphasized by being permuted to prepredicate position.

Examples:

eSubvbCl = (*qale*)—eT *m-alob.*
They wash
'They are washing.'

eObjvbCl = (*kulang*)—eT *n-alob-la.*
pot wash-they
'It is the pot they are washing.'

eDirvbCl = (*qale*)—eT *b-an-lé-m.*
they give-you
'They are the ones that you give to.'

eAccvbCl = (*sábun*)—eT *qalob-am.*
soap wash-you
'Use soap to wash with.'

The topic of subjective clauses may be redundantly emphasized when manifested by ⟨TOPIC⟩ pronoun except second and third person singular. Topic cannot be so emphasized when it is already in prepredicate emphasis position. Redundant emphasis topic follows the clause topic and is manifested by ⟨NONTOPIC[1]⟩ pronouns.

Examples:
m-uléq (gu)—T *(deg)*—eT *nan.*
m-return I me now
'I'm going home now.'

k-maqán (qito)—T (*gito*)—eT.
m-eat we (incl) we (incl)
'Let's all eat.'

dyo (qale)—T (*dale*)—eT.
bathe they they
'They are bathing.'

When ⟨TOPIC⟩ and ⟨NONTOPIC[1]⟩ pronouns have the same form, ⟨NONTOPIC[2]⟩ is substituted for ⟨TOPIC⟩.

**k-m-aqán gami gami nan.*
m-eat we (excl) we (excl) now
'We're going to eat now.'

k-m-aqán-mi gami nan.
m-eat-we we now
'We're going to eat now.'

IV. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The morphophonemic changes in Sarangani Bilaan consist of the addition and loss of phonemes.

Loss of phonemes

Stem initial glottal stop (*q*) is dropped upon prefixation:

m + *qimoq*	=	*mimoq*	'to do, make'
f + *qagin*	=	*fagin*	'to cause to accompany'
k + *qila*	=	*kila*	'running'

When *m* is prefixed to a root beginning with either *f* or *b*, the *f* or *b* is dropped and the *m* is retained, except when the root pattern is CVC:

m + *fwes*	=	*mwes*	'to uncover'
m + *fule*	=	*mule*	'to plant'
m + *blé*	=	*mlé*	'to give'
m + *bunge*	=	*munge*	'to bear fruit'

When the root pattern in CVC, C_1 being *b* or *f*, both *m* and *b* or *f* are retained:

m + *bat*	=	*mbat*	'to throw'
m + *buk*	=	*mbuk*	'to smoke'
m + *fok*	=	*mfok*	'to wash clothes'

In fast speech, word final *-h* is dropped preceding the enclitic pronouns:

munáh + -n	= *munán*	'his forerunner'
baweh + -m	= *bawem*	'your face'
baweh + -la	= *bawela*	'their face'

Addition of phonemes

Only clusters of two consonants may occur. Upon prefixation, an *a* is added preceding a consonant cluster. Therefore, glottal initial bases (which lose their glottal) can take two prefixes before adding *a*; single consonant initial bases can take one prefix before adding *a*; consonant cluster initial bases add *a* before a prefix occurs.

s + m + s + qebe	= *samsebe*	'continually bringing'
g + m + bat	= *gambat*	'able to throw'
g + m + g + blé	= *gamgablé*	'able to give'

The second and third person singular pronoun enclitics occur as *-m/-n* respectively. When they occur with a word ending in a consonant other than *h*, *a* is added before the enclitic. When they occur with a word ending in a vowel, the *-m/-n* only occur.

bunge + n	= *bungen*	'its fruit'
sigal + m	= *sigalam*	'your arm'

Normally, affixes *m* and *n* occur as prefixes, i.e. with single consonant initial bases, glottal stop initial bases, and when they co-occur with other prefixes. When only affixes *m* and *n* occur with bases beginning with consonant clusters, however, they occur as infixes following the first consonant of the base, unless that consonant is *f* or *b*. An *a* is then added preceding the affix.

m + dsuq	= *damsuq*	'to sacrifice'
n + blé	= *banlé*	'to give'

Geminate consonant clusters cannot occur in Sarangani Bilaan. Therefore, when a prefix is added to a base beginning with the same consonant as the prefix, *a* is added to separate the two like consonants.

f + fusuk	= *fafusuk*	'cause to enter'
s + satu	= *sasatu*	'together'

The consonant *-m-* is added to the prefix *gu-* preceding stems beginning with a glottal stop, a nasal, or *l*.

gu + m + qinum	= *guminum*	'drinking place'
gu + m + layeq	= *gumlayeq*	'clothes line'
gu + m + neq	= *gumneq*	'dwelling place'

Appendix A

Explanation of abbreviations

Cl	Clause
T	Topic
V	Verb
vb	Verbal
P	Predicate
Ca, c	Causative
Sub, s	Subject focus
Obj, o	Object focus
Di, d	Direction focus
Acc, acc	Acessory focus
S	Subject tagmeme
O	Object tagmeme
D	Direction tagmeme
A	Accessory tagmeme
ca	Causer
ac	Actor
g	Goal
di	Direction
inst	Instrument
⟨TOPIC⟩	⟨TOPIC⟩ pronouns, common noun phrase, proper noun phrase
⟨NONTOPIC^1⟩	⟨NONTOPIC^1⟩ nonactor pronouns, common noun phrase, proper noun phrase
⟨NONTOPIC^2⟩	⟨NONTOPIC^2⟩ actor pronouns, common noun phrase, proper noun phrase
m- m-,-m-,-am-	Subject focus marker
n- n-,-n-,-an-	Object/Direction focus marker
comNp	common noun phrase
/	Slot name symbols on either side indicate simultaneous occurrence of tagmemes
+	Obligatory tagmeme
±	Optional tagmeme
+/±	Obligatory tagmeme under certain conditions
e	Emphasis
L	Location tagmeme
Ti	Time tagmeme

Appendix B

Pronoun sets

⟨TOPIC⟩	⟨NONTOPIC^2⟩	⟨NONTOPIC^1⟩	
qagu or *gu*	*-gu* or *-ta*	*deg* or *dagu*	'I, me'
ge	*-m* or *-am*	*ge*	'you (singular)'
kenen	*-n* or *-an*	*kenen*	'he, him, she, her'
qite	*-ta*	*gite*	'we, us (dual)'
gami	*-mi*	*gami*	'we, us (exclusive)'
qito	*-to* or *-ito*	*gito*	'we, us (inclusive)'
gamu	*-yu*	*gamu*	'you (plural)'
qale	*-la*	*dale*	'they, them'

⟨TOPIC⟩ indicates topic.
⟨NONTOPIC^2⟩ indicates nontopic actor or possessor.
⟨NONTOPIC^1⟩ indicates nontopic direction or object.

Appendix C

Verb stem classes

Verb stems are divided into two main classes: transitive and intransitive. This division is made on the basis of how these stems function when inflected with causative *f-*. Transitive stems inflected with *f-* become causative stems, occurring in causative clauses. Intransitive stems, inflected with *f-* become derived transitive stems, occurring in active clauses. However, as derived stems, they may have an intrinsic causative meaning within the verb. See Chart 3.

Natural transitive	Causative
qalob 'to wash'	+ *f-* = *falob* 'to cause to wash'
Natural intransitive	Derived transitive
muléq 'to return (home)'	+ *f-* = *fuléq* 'to return something'

Chart 3

A few verb stems have dual membership as both transitive and intransitive verbs. See Chart 4.

Natural transitive	Natural intransitive
dyo-la tingáq (sabun)—T.	*dyo (qale)*—T.
'They use soap to bathe the child.'	'They are bathing.'

Chart 4

A few natural transitive stems of classes 1 and 3 are classed as derived transitive stems when they occur with *f-*, since the derived forms function grammatically in class 2. See Chart 5.

Natural transitive	Derived transitive
kaqán 'to eat'	+ *f-* = *fkaqán* 'to feed'

Chart 5

No intransitive stems can occur in causative clauses.

Chart 6 shows how both natural and derived transitive stems can be made causative.

Natural trans *qalob* 'to wash'	+ *f-* =	*falob* 'to cause to wash'
Derived trans *fuléq* 'to return'	+ *f-* =	*fafuléq* 'to cause to return'
Derived trans *fkaqán* 'to feed'	+ *f-* =	*fafkaqán* 'to cause to feed'

Chart 6

Approximately 150 verb stems were used in the determination of these stem classes. Of this number, more than one-third occurred in class 1. Chart 7 displays the seven verb stem classes.

Class 1	Sac		Og	Ainst
Class 2	Sac	Ddi		Ag
Class 3	Sac		Og	
Class 4	Sac			Ag or Ainst
Class 5	Sac			
Class 6	Sac	Ddi		
Class 7	Sac	Ddi		Ainst

Chart 7. Verb stem classes. The vertical dimension gives the seven verb stem classes. The horizontal dimension gives the tagmemes which can occur as topic with each stem class in active clauses. Classes 1-4 are transitive; 5-7 are intransitive.

Class 1 *verb stems*

Stems in class 1 occur in active clauses in the following focuses: subject, object, and accessory. In subject focus the predicate is marked by the subject focus marker ⟨*m-*⟩, and the subject-as-actor is topic. In object focus the predicate is marked by the object focus marker ⟨*n-*⟩ and the object-as-goal is topic. In accessory focus the predicate is uninflected for focus, and the accessory-as-instrument is topic. Class 1' consists of a few verb stems that have membership in both transitive and intransitive (Class 5) classes. These stems require an obligatory object-as-goal in subject focus when occurring in Class 1'.

In causative clauses this stem class is found in subject, object, and accessory focuses. In each case the predicate is uninflected for focus and the subject-as-causer, the object-as-actor, and the accessory-as-goal, respectively, are topics.

Examples of class 1 verb stems are listed below:

1.	*qalob*	'to wash'	6.	*qebe*	'to bring'
2.	*qakol*	'to dig'	7.	*dak*	'to pound'
3.	*tbulud*	'to cut hair'	8.	*fok*	'to wash clothes'
4.	*klang*	'to cut'	9.	*dyo*	'to bathe someone'
5.	*tbél*	'to sew'	10.	*stifun*	'to assemble something'

Stems 9 and 10 are from class 1'.

Class 2 verb stems

Stems in class 2 are divided into subclasses A (natural) and B (derived), and they occur in subject, direction and accessory focus. In subject focus the predicate is marked by the subject focus marker ⟨*m-*⟩ and the subject-as-actor is topic. In direction focus the predicate is marked by the direction focus marker ⟨*n-*⟩ and the direction-as-direction is topic. In accessory focus the predicate is uninflected for focus and the accessory-as-goal is topic. Class 2A' consists of a few verb stems that have membership in both transitive and intransitive (Class 5) classes. These stems require an obligatory accessory-as-goal in subject focus when occurring in class 2A'.

Class 2B stems are derived mainly from class 6 and class 7 stems affixed by *f-*. Two stems have been observed from class 5. Also a few stems from class 1 and class 3 act as derived stems affixed by *f-*.

In causative clauses this stem class is found in the following focuses: subject, object, direction, and accessory. Class 2 is the only stem class that occurs in all four foci of causative clauses. In each focus the predicate is uninflected for focus, and the subject-as-causer, the object-as-actor, the direction-as-direction, and the accessory-as-goal, respectively, are topics.

Examples of class 2 verb stems are listed below:

A (Natural)

1.	*blé*	'to give'	6.	*fni*	'to beg'
2.	*bat*	'to throw'	7.	*tulen*	'to relate'
3.	*dsuq*	'to sacrifice'	8.	*bal*	'to ask permission'
4.	*tyáq*	'to divide'	9.	*dek*	'to command/send'
5.	*salil*	'to peek at'	10.	*slob*	'to drop off'

Stems 9 and 10 are from class 2A'.

B (Derived)

1.	*ftufá*	'to go down/send down'	6.	*febe*	'to send'
2.	*ftatek*	'to drop'	7.	*fkaqán*	'to feed'
3.	*fagot*	'to hold'	8.	*fdem*	'to loan'
4.	*ftabeng*	'to get help'	9.	*fdak*	'to raise a house'
5.	*fatdak*	'to spill/sprinkle'	10.	*fbayád*	'to sell'

Class 3 verb stems

Stems in class 3 occur in active clauses in the following focuses: subject and object. In subject focus the predicate is marked by the

subject focus marker ⟨*m-*⟩ and the subject-as-actor is topic. In object focus the predicate is marked by the object focus marker ⟨*n-*⟩ and the object-as-goal is topic. Class 3' consists of a few verb stems that have membership in both transitive and intransitive (Class 5) classes. These require an obligatory object-as-goal in subject focus when occurring in class 3'.

In causative clauses this stem class is found in subject, object and accessory focus. In subject focus the predicate is uninflected for focus and the subject-as-causer is topic. In object focus the predicate is also uninflected for focus, except that some class 3 stems (viz. those which do not have membership in both transitive and intransitive classes) occur with the object focus marker ⟨*n-*⟩, and the object-as-actor is topic. In accessory focus the predicate is uninflected for focus and the accessory-as-goal is topic.

Examples of class 3 verb stems are listed below:

1.	*dem*	'to borrow'	6.	*fláwi*	'to sun'
2.	*lad*	'to steal/snatch'	7.	*skuyá*	'to race'
3.	*basá*	'to read'	8.	*tatek*	'to drop'
4.	*kaqán*	'to eat'	9.	*ska*	'to separate'
5.	*tlas*	'to change'	10.	*stufiq*	'to alternate'

Stems 7 through 10 are from class 3'.

Class 4 verb stems

Stems in class 4 are divided into subclasses A (natural) and B (derived), and they occur in subject and accessory focus. In subject focus the predicate is marked by the subject focus marker ⟨*m-*⟩ and the subject-as-actor is topic. In accessory focus the predicate is uninflected for focus and the accessory-as-goal is topic. A few stems in the accessory focus occur with either the accessory-as-goal or the accessory-as-instrument as topic. Class 4B stems are derived from class 6 and class 7 stems. These derived stems require an obligatory accessory-as-goal tagmeme in subject focus.

In causative clauses this stem class is found in subject, object, and accessory focus. In subject focus the predicate is uninflected for focus and the subject-as-causer is topic. In object focus the predicate is uninflected for focus (except class 4A stems beginning with a single consonant, in which case they are inflected with ⟨*n-*⟩) and the object-as-actor is topic. In accessory focus the predicate is uninflected for focus and the accessory-as-goal is topic.

Examples of class 4 verb stems are listed below:

A (Natural)

1.	*kitin*	'to carry in hand'	5.	*tdoq*	'to teach/point'
2.	*linge*	'to hear'	6.	*dlu*	'to chase'
3.	*knáˀ*	'to dream'	7.	*tlo*	'to call'
4.	*laloq*	'to follow'			

B (Derived)

1.	*falwáq*	'to cast out'	6.	*fafoqoĭ*	'to send downstream'
2.	*fila*	'to run something'	7.	*fafidang*	'to purposely close the eyes'
3.	*fileq*	'to lay something'	8.	*fuleq*	'to return something'
4.	*fneng*	'to brighten'	9.	*fneq*	'to detain'
5.	*fafusuk*	'to put inside'	10.	*fulé*	'to make laugh'

Class 5 verb stems

All stems of this class also occur in a transitive class. As intransitive verbs, class 5 stems occur only in active subject focus with the subject-as-actor as topic. The predicate is not marked for focus, that is, by subjective focus marker ⟨*m-*⟩. Only two of the verb stems from this class may be derived: *dek* 'to command/send' and *tatek* 'to drop'.

Examples of Class 5 verb stems are listed below:

1.	*dyo*	'to bathe'	5.	*stufiq*	'to alternate'
2.	*skuyáˀ*	'to race'	6.	*dek*	'to command/send'
3.	*tatek*	'to drop'	7.	*slob*	'to drop off'
4.	*ska*	'to separate'	8.	*stifun*	'to assemble'

Class 6 verb stems

Stems in class 6 occur in active subject and active direction focus. They are divided into two subclasses (A and B) on the basis of the occurrence of subject focus inflection. In subject focus, subclass A stems are uninflected; while subclass B stems are inflected. Subject-as-actor is topic in both cases. In direction focus the predicate is marked by the direction focus marker ⟨*n-*⟩ and the direction-as-direction is topic.

Examples of class 6 verb stems are listed below:

A.			B.		
1.	*tufáˀ*	'to go down'	1.	*tdák*	'to leak'
2.	*fusuk*	'to enter'	2.	*neng*	'to shine'
3.	*foqol*	'to go downstream'	3.	*quléq*	'to go home'
4.	*fidang*	'to close eyes'	4.	*lwáq*	'to come out'
			5.	*qulé*	'to laugh'

Class 7 verb stems

Class 7 stems occur in active subject, active direction, and active accessory focus. In subject focus the predicate is marked by the subject focus marker ⟨*m-*⟩ and the subject-as-actor is topic. In direction focus the predicate is marked by the direction focus marker ⟨*n-*⟩ and the direction-as-direction is topic. In accessory focus the predicate is uninflected for focus and the accessory-as-instrument is topic.

Examples of class 7 verb stems are listed below:

1.	*qileq*	'to lie down'	6.	*kwák*	'to cry'
2.	*neq*	'to stay'	7.	*tabeng*	'to help'
3.	*qutáq*	'to vomit'	8.	*qagot*	'to hold'
4.	*tu*	'to perspire'	9.	*qayeng*	'to fly'
5.	*qila*	'to run'	10.	*qagin*	'to accompany'

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