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WHEN PARITY ENDS

By Senate President Arturo M. Tolentino

(Speech delivered at the Bulacan Bar Association
dinner for the Central Luzon Fil-American
Lawyers League on May 28, 1966)

There has been some agitation lately to terminate the parity agreement even before 1974 or, at least, not to permit its extension after its expiration on July 3, 1974.

The big question that is often asked in the light of this agitation is: What will be the effect of the termination of the parity agreement upon rights and privileges acquired and enjoyed by Americans under such agreement?

WAR DAMAGE

A clearer picture of the problem may, perhaps, be attained by a review of the laws and agreements referring to parity.

On April 30, 1946, the U.S. Congress enacted two sister pieces of legislation: (1) Public Law 370, known as the 'Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946' or the War Damage Law, and (2) Public Law 371, cited as the 'Philippine Trade Act of 1946.'

The first Act, providing for payment of war damages in the Philippines, was obviously meant to appear as a fulfillment of the promises made to the Filipino people by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt during the last war.

He told the Filipinos to bear the wounds and the ravages of war, because America would give us fair and just compensation for all damages we might suffer. We were told that every nipa hut, every tree, every carabao, and every bit of property destroyed would be replaced or paid for.

But when the War Damage Law was enacted by the U.S. Congress, it contained the following provision:

'No payments under...this Act in excess of \$500 shall be made until an executive agreement shall have been entered into between the

President of the United States and the President of the Philippines, and such agreement shall become effective according to its terms, providing for trade relations between the United States and Philippines x x x.'

PARITY CLAUSE

The Executive Agreement upon which the payment of war damages in excess of \$500 was made to depend by Public Law 370, is that provided for in its sister law, Public Law 371 or the 'Philippine Trade Act of 1946'.

This Act provides that in the executive agreement to be entered into by the Presidents of the United States and the Philippines, it shall be provided that —

'The disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprise owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by United States citizens.' (Sec. 341, Public Law 371).

This is the parity clause. And the same Public Law 371 provides further —

'The President of the United States is not authorized...to enter into such executive agreement unless in the agreement the Government of the Philippines agrees x x x That the Government of the Philippines will promptly take such steps as are necessary to secure the amendment of the Constitution of the Philippines so as to permit the taking effect as laws of the Philippines of such part of the provisions of Section 341 as is in conflict with such Constitution before such amendment.'

AMENDMENT

It is quite clear from these provisions of laws enacted by the U.S. Congress, that amendment of our Constitution

in order to give American citizens and corporations parity rights was imposed not only as a condition precedent to payment of war damages in excess of \$500, but also as a condition precedent to the signing of the executive agreement which would govern the trade relations between the Philippines and the United States from 1946 to 1974.

Because we were prostrate from the war, and because we needed help to rise from the ashes of that armed conflagration, we submitted to the humiliation of amending our Constitution not out of our own spontaneous desire, but as a condition imposed for a chance to rehabilitate our people and our country from the effects of a war that was not our making.

So our Congress passed Commonwealth Act No. 733 on July 3, 1946 accepting the executive agreement which contained the parity clause, and later, we approved the parity amendment of the Constitution, which would be in force until July 3, 1974.

EXTENSION

The adoption of parity was very costly to the Filipinos. In order to insure its approval by the Congress, some members who were elected to the Senate and to the House of Representatives were not allowed to take their seats. Among them was Luis Taruc, who later became the 'Supremo' or the head of the Huk movement.

To my mind, the necessity of insuring approval of the parity amendment in the Congress, requiring the elimination of Taruc and company from the House of Representatives, contributed greatly to the Huk insurgency.

Having been driven from the legislative body of this country, they went underground and the Huk rebellion began. The heavy cost we paid for parity cannot be underestimated.

Later on, however, parity, which was originally limited to natural resources and public utilities, was still extended to all forms of business activity in the Philippines. This was the 'pound of flesh' exacted by the United States for certain trade benefits.

This was effected by the so-called Laurel-Langley agreement, which was a revision of the executive agreement of 1946, authorized by Republic Act No. 1355, approved on June 18, 1955.

TERMINATION

On July 3, 1974, or about eight years from now, the parity agreement will end by its own terms.

However, there is a provision in the revised agreement, or Laurel-Langley agreement, that either the Philippines or the United States may terminate the agreement upon not less than five years' notice to the other.

The agitation against the further continuation of parity is impelled by the conviction among many Filipinos that it works against the national interest.

Among Americans, there are also many who do not wish parity to continue. In the Philippine-American Assembly held in Davao City last February, for instance, the American delegates said that parity has caused more irritation to both countries than it has contributed substantial benefits.

It can be assumed, therefore, that parity will end on July 3, 1974, or even sooner if our Government gives the five years' notice for unilateral termination.

TRADE ACTIVITY

The termination of the parity agreement will not affect American business or activities which are not reserved either by the Constitution or the laws of the Philippines for Filipinos. They will undoubtedly continue.

With respect to business activities which have been Filipinized by law, such as the retail trade, the right of Americans to engage therein will have to end with the parity agreement or the Laurel-Langley agreement.

The right to engage in the retail trade is dependent upon licenses or permits. No such licenses or permits or renewals thereof can legally be issued to Americans when the Laurel-Langley agreement is no longer in force.

CONSTITUTIONAL

A more difficult problem arises with regard to rights and privileges acquired by Americans pursuant to the parity amendment in the Constitution:

Some years ago, I made an off-hand statement on this problem as follows:

'1. In the exploitation of natural resources, a distinction should be made between those who have acquired a vested right and those who have been granted merely a privilege:

'(a) Those who have acquired a vested interest, such as ownership of land from the the Public domain acquired under the provisions of the public land law, shall continue to enjoy their acquired right.

'(b) But those who are merely holding a privilege or concession, such as timber concessions, without a period fixed by law or contract, must give up such privilege upon the termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

'(c) Those holding a privilege or right for a period by law or contract, such as a lease of public land, shall enjoy the privilege or right until the end of the period, even after the expiration of the Laurel-Langley agreement.

'2. In the operation of public utilities under certificates of public convenience with a fixed period, the operator should be allowed to continue with his business until the expiration of the period. After that, no new certificate should be granted after the Laurel-Langely agreement has ceased to be in force.'

Recently, however, I have made a more serious legal study of the problem, and it is the result of this study that I would like to present to you today.

FILIPINISM

As a background, we must consider the nationalistic or Filipinistic nature of our Constitution. Note its preamble:

'The Filipino people, imploring the aid of Divine Providence, in order to establish a government that shall embody their ideals, *conserve and develop the patrimony of the nation*, and secure to themselves and *their posterity* the blessings of independence under a regime of justice, liberty, and democracy, do ordain and promulgate this Constitution.'

Article XIII, Section 1, after providing that all natural resources belong to the state, continues:

'x x x and their disposition, exploitation, development or utilization *shall be limited to citizens of the Philippines*, or to corporation or associations at least 60% of the capital of which is owned by such citizens, x x x'

Under Section 5 of the same Article, even private agricultural lands *cannot be transferred or assigned to aliens or foreigners*, except by hereditary succession.

And under Article XIV, Section 8, 'no franchise, certificate or any other form of authorization for the operation of a public utility shall be granted except to *citizens of the Philippines* or to corporations or entities organized under the laws of the Philippines, 60% of the capital of which is owned by citizens of the Philippines x x x'

EXCEPTION

The grant of equal rights to Americans in the matter of natural resources and public utilities, therefore, constitutes an exception to and a departure from the highly nationalistic character of the Constitution.

As an exception, it must be strictly construed, and should not be considered as going beyond what it expressly provides.

The parity amendment, as an Ordinance appended to the Constitution, provides:

'Notwithstanding the provisions of Section one, Article Thirteen, and Section eight, Article Fourteen of the foregoing Constitution, (quoted above) during the effectivity of the Executive

Agreement entered into by the President of the Philippines with the President of the United States on the fourth of July, nineteen hundred and forty-six, pursuant to the provisions of Commonwealth Act Numbered Seven hundred and thirty-three, but in no case to extend beyond the third of July, nineteen hundred and seventy-four, the disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprise owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by citizens of the United States in the same manner as to, and under the same conditions imposed upon, citizens of the Philippines or corporations or associations owned or controlled by citizens of the Philippines.

TEMPORARY

From the express and clear terms of this amendment, it is obvious that the parity rights granted or recognized by it are exceptional (Note the word *Notwithstanding* the nationalistic provisions of the Constitution) and are of a temporary character.

They are temporary, because by the terms of parity amendment, they subsist only 'during the effectivity of the Executive Agreement' entered into between the Philippines and American Presidents, now known as the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

The temporary character of these parity rights is further emphasized by the fact that the parity amendment was introduced into the body of the Constitution but was merely appended as an Ordinance thereto.

By reason of the exceptional and temporary character of parity rights, the inevitable conclusion is that upon the removal of the Ordinance from the Constitution when the Laurel-Langley Agreement ends, parity rights must also end.

These rights are in conflict with the Constitution. They draw artificial life from the Ordinance. Once this Ordinance is removed, the rights dependent upon it must go with it to its legal death.

Every right or privilege acquired under such Ordinance must be legally subject to the term or period stated therein — ‘during the effectivity of the Executive Agreement x x x.’

Once the Executive Agreement ceases, either by expiration on July 3, 1974, or by abrogation after five years’ notice, all parity rights must also cease. It is not even necessary to amend the Constitution so as to repeal the Ordinance. Legally, the Ordinance will lose its force and effect upon the termination of the Executive Agreement.

‘VESTED RIGHTS’

What about so-called ‘vested rights’? If an American, for instance, has acquired a piece of land from the public domain legally while the parity amendment is in force, does he not acquire a ‘vested right’ — the right of ownership — that can not be impaired by the termination of the parity agreement?

I submit that there is no such ‘vested rights’ that can outlive the very source of its existence — the parity agreement.

The Ordinance or parity amendment to the Constitution makes no distinction between rights of ownership or leases or concessions and privileges. It makes clear that ‘the *exploitation, development, and utilization* of all natural resources shall be open to Americans only ‘during the effectivity of the Executive Agreement.’

After parity has ceased, the provisions of the Constitution limiting the disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of natural resources to Filipinos, will regain supremacy without exception. Against such supremacy, no vested rights can stand which cannot find protection in the Constitution itself.

NO PROTECTION

There are certain provisions protecting vested property rights of Americans, but they do not cover rights under parity.

Under Article XVII, Section 1, of the Constitution —

‘Upon the proclamation of the President of the United States recognizing the independence of the Philippines —

‘(1) The property rights of the United States and the Philippines shall be promptly adjusted and settled, and *all existing* property rights of citizens or corporations of the U.S. shall be acknowledged, respected, safeguarded to the same extent as property rights of citizens of the Philippines.’

Under Article XIII, Section 1, which limits the disposition, exploitation, development and utilization of natural resources to Filipinos, the Constitution adds:

‘x x x x subject to *any existing* right, grant, lease, or concession at the time of inauguration of the government established under this Constitution.’ Treaty of General Relations between the Philippines and the United States, signed on July 4, 1946, Article VI, provides that —

‘x x x *all existing* property rights of citizens and corporations of the United States of America in the Republic of the Philippines x x x shall be acknowledged, respected and safeguarded to the same extent as property rights of citizens and corporations of the Republic of the Philippines. x x x.’

DUE PROCESS

All of these protective provisions are expressly limited to *rights existing* at the time when the Constitution came into force or when the Philippines became independent. They do not and can not cover rights *subsequently acquired* by Americans under the parity agreement.

The constitutional provision that no person shall be

deprived of property without due process of law cannot apply. Property must be recognized by the Constitution to merit the protection of the *due process* clause. But where the property right asserted conflicts with the Constitution itself, it cannot stand and cannot invoke the protection of the very Constitution that it violates.

If the due process clause could protect an American's right to property that would be violative of the Constitution itself, then the Constitution and Treaty of General Relations would not have found it necessary to include the provisions I have quoted protecting existing rights. Both the present Constitution and the Jones Law that preceded it contain that *due process* clause.

NEW TREATY

Rights acquired under the parity agreement, therefore, may continue only if a new treaty is entered into between the Philippines and the United States upon the termination of such agreement, saving these rights from legal extinction

The Americans who attended the Philippine-American Assembly in Davao City last February must have had such a 'saving clause' in mind when they urged that upon the termination of the parity agreement, a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation be entered into between the Philippines and the United States.

Whether such a 'saving clause' in a new treaty would be desirable or wise, presents a different question which I shall not discuss today.

THE PARITY AMENDMENTS

J. C. Orendain

1.0 *Vested rights of Americans.* The Parity Amendment appended to the Philippine Constitution becomes a live issue as 1974, when the Parity Agreement ends, is drawing near. The present feeling is that neither the Filipinos nor the Americans are interested in prolonging this part of the Philippine Constitution.

It is stated that it was wrong to have Parity appended to the Philippine Constitution in the beginning. Most people think so, even President Manuel Roxas said so, but it was necessary to save the country and the people from the ravages of the Second World War.

Senate President Arturo Tolentino said: "Because we were prostrate from the war, and because we needed help to rise from the ashes of that armed conflagration, we submitted to the humiliation of amending our Constitution not of our own spontaneous desire, but as a condition imposed for a chance to rehabilitate our people and our country from the effects of a war that was not of our own making."

The war was not our own war, but the Filipino people are a grateful people and seeing that their American mentors and later on, friends, treated them better than other nations that colonized Asia, they went to war on the basis of friendship, of coming to the rescue of friends in need. There are also many who went to war, believing the conditions given by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt over his radio talks, that were broadcast in the Philippines, in spite of the prohibition imposed by the Japanese, that America would compensate the Philippines to the last carabao that the people would lose in the war. This could be part of a selfish reason. All in all the joining of the Filipinos could be part of war hysteria, could be part of enthusiasm, or could be part of human service to help the other fellow fight for his right.

When the Parity Amendment was signed by both the President of the United States of America and the President of the Philippines, it was approved by the Philippine Congress, and was voted in a plebiscite by the Filipino people. The plebiscite was overwhelming in favor of the Parity Amendment. This could be due partly to the eloquence of President Roxas, but due mostly to the feeling of friendship toward the Americans by the Filipinos.

Those who saw the Americans march into Manila during the war of liberation, can testify that the Filipino guerrillas — the people as a whole — fought the fight of the GIs for them. The Filipinos could not stomach any dictatorship. Japan came to the Philippines drunk with her successes on the fields of battle and the Japanese soldiers acting like savages, were insolent.

When General Douglas MacArthur asked President Roxas if Japanese observers could come to observe the FAO Conference, in March 1948, in Baguio, President Roxas answered General MacArthur that he would not recommend it because the Japanese killed in cold blood two Igorots in the market place in Baguio, one beheaded with a samurai sword and another killed with a machine gun. The truth was that the Igorots hung a Japanese soldier they caught, on a tree at Naguilian Road and the body of that Japanese disappeared little by little because of wild animals and birds. No one would dare take the body down for fear that the ones who hanged it would go after them.

The love established by the war between the Americans and the Filipinos has virtually disappeared. Younger people who were not in contact with Americans, have taken the places of older people and different views are now apparent. Old American friends have not noticed that the children born in 1945 have now reached their majority and they never knew the camaraderie between the Americans and the Filipinos during the war. To them Bataan and Corregidor are war stories just as the epic stories of Leonidas at Thermopylae or George Washington at Valley Forge.

Older people — both Americans and Filipinos — have

to renew this friendship in a stronger way because the world today is in a ferment and a few Peace Corps Volunteers cannot stave off the infiltration of communism in schools, offices and labor unions.

General Douglas MacArthur was a hero who became a legend in the Philippines. His sentimental journey here a few years ago showed the feeling of the Filipino people toward that great American friend. There are today many MacArthurs — first names of Filipino boys — just as many Americans gave their boys the names of war heroes. But MacArthur as symbol of Filipino-American friendship is dead. And friendship can die soon enough unless continually stirred and refuelled, like the camp fires that have to be fed right along.

Now a new generation is taking the leadership, and a new kind of friendship has to be established.

Still the new era, the age of modern views, cannot tear away the laws that both Americans and Filipinos agreed to be appended to the Constitution in 1946. With the past intimate camaraderie as background, it would not be difficult to re-establish the old close relationship. It must, however be established upon equality. The old idea of color differences of skin must altogether be forgotten. What is fair and handsome to the white might not strike the brown to be true. After all nothing can overcome the old Jeffersonian philosophy that all men are created equal.

The big bone of contention in the Parity Agreement at present is vested rights of the Americans who have acquired property during the time of Parity. Do the Americans have vested rights?

Senate President Arturo Tolentino and some other legal luminaries do not think so. On the other hand, some of the top constitutional lawyers believe that the Americans have established vested rights on the property that they acquired from July 4, 1946 when Parity was appended to the Philippine Constitution, to July 3, 1974 when Parity rights end.

Rights of Americans to engage in retail trade will be curtailed. This will come unless a treaty similar to the

Laurel-Langley agreement with specific provisions may be covenanted between the Philippine Republic and the United States of America.

This paper, aside from giving a background to American-Philippine friendship, will deal mostly on the vested rights of Americans. We are leaving aside trade agreement. What we propose to discuss here is whether the Americans would have vested rights to the fruits of their labor.

Those who do not believe that Americans have vested rights on the properties acquired during Parity give these as reasons:

1. Filipinism — the Philippine Constitution is to defend the rights and conserve and develop the patrimony of the nation.
2. Exception — the grant of equal rights to Americans in the matter of natural resources and public utilities constitutes an exception and a departure from the highly nationalistic character of the Constitution.
3. Temporary — Mr. Tolentino calls attention to the word, "Notwithstanding," and the terms of parity amendment that subsist only "during the effectivity of the Executive Agreement" entered into by both presidents of America and the Philippines.
4. There is no Vested Rights — After parity has ceased, the provisions of the Constitution limiting the disposition, exploitation, development and utilization of all natural resources, shall be supreme and no vested rights can stand which cannot find protection in the Constitution itself.
5. No protection — There are certain provisions protecting vested property rights of the Americans, but they do not cover rights under parity.
6. Due process — Protective rights provisions are expressly limited to rights existing at the time when the Constitution came into force.

To get the correct perspective regarding this discussion let us examine carefully the Parity Provisions of the Constitution.

ORDINANCE APPENDED TO THE CONSTITUTION

Notwithstanding the provisions of section one, Article Thirteen, and section eight, Article Fourteen, of the foregoing Constitution, during the effectivity of the Executive Agreement entered into by the President of the Philippines with the President of the United States on the fourth of July, nineteen hundred and forty-six, pursuant to the provisions of Commonwealth Act Numbered Seven Hundred and thirty-three, but in no case to extend beyond the third of July, nineteen hundred and seventy-four, the disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprises owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by citizens of the United States in the same manner as to, and under the same conditions imposed upon, citizens of the Philippines or corporations or associations owned or controlled by citizens of the Philippines

Answering the five arguments stated above we shall take them one by one, in order to clarify the issues

1. *Filipinism* — This is to be expected. Since a constitution is the fundamental law of the land, it is expected that the Philippine Constitution was meant to protect Filipino interests and defend Philippine patrimony and Filipino rights. But we appended a Parity Agreement to our Constitution by the will of our President, our Congress and our people voting in a plebiscite. Everyone who was qualified had a vote, whether he was in favor or against Parity. The pro-Parity voters won. Because we are a democracy, we are a people who believe in the rule of the majority, even our Filipinism is affected as we had decided to temporarily suspend the economic provisions embodied in Section One of Article XIII, and Section Eight in Article XIV of our Constitution. Temporary, yes, but

that we gladly, as it appears, shelved our Filipinism for a while, to favor our friends, the Americans, is apparent. Whether the Americans appreciated it or not, we showed the world that we are a generous and friendly people.

2 & 3. *Exception and Temporary* — These two arguments can be bundled together as it is agreed by virtue of the Parity Amendment that Parity is an exception and that it is temporary. Besides we have discussed these points above. Parity can only be enjoyed during the time provided for it to be in vigor — that is from July 4, 1946 to July 3, 1974. But no attorney of good standing can accept the interpretations of the law that what has been acquired and/or purchased legally by a person at the time when the law so permitted, will have to be resold, liquidated or taken back from him, even with compensation, unless it is his own will to do so.

There is talk that our Congress could be mean about it and pass laws that would harass the Americans. There may be some mean persons in our Congress, just as there are mean persons in any parliament of any nation, but we cannot generalize. At any rate, Christian democratic nations can be trusted to act with fairness.

It is true that the acquisition of land and other natural resources could be done only at a certain time expressed in the law, but the law is clear that "*the disposition, exploitation, development and utilization,*" of all agricultural and natural resources, "*shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprises owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by citizens of the United States, in the same manner as to, and under the same conditions imposed upon, citizens of the Philippines or corporation or associations owned or controlled by citizens of the Philippines*"

It is clear that the time the government of the Philippines, would permit the owner of the property acquired to hold the said property as his own, is not limited. It left the right of those who acquired property under the Parity Amendment at par, or in the same category as the rights held by Filipino citizens. It will be noted that with

the Parity Agreement, our Constitution elevated the rights of the Americans to the level of those of a Filipino citizen during the life of Parity. What has been purchased by Americans under absolute deed can not be changed, unless the Americans would relinquish the rights they have acquired.

Much has been said about the word, "Notwithstanding," in the Parity Amendment. *Notwithstanding* means, in spite of the provisions previously placed in the Constitution (Art. XIII and Art. XIV), the rights given by the Parity Amendment to citizens of the United States during the effectivity of the Executive Agreement, will stand and will be respected. *Notwithstanding* does not become an exception, it is an assertion. It may become an exception after the effectivity of the Executive Agreement expires, because by then, it would have no life.

While Parity Amendment is an exception and temporarily appended to the Constitution, the language of the Amendment will naturally be observed. And since the language gives the permanence of acquisition in the same manner as given to any Filipino citizen it will have to be respected by our Constitution that contains it.

4. *There is no "Vested Rights"* — This is highly debatable. The language is clear that the vested rights will be ruled in accordance with what vested right the Constitution gives the Filipino citizen.

When a Filipino citizen buys a lot or a piece of land, the contract usually, is *Absolute Deed of Sale*. Vested rights is established right. Citizens of other countries cannot buy land in the Philippines, only Filipinos and Americans. The American is given the right of a Filipino citizen by virtue of the Parity Agreement.

Americans have opened business, have purchased lands, have exploited mineral resources of the Philippines. We believe with Senate President Tolentino that all of these will be stopped after the effectivity of the executive agreement as stated in the Parity Amendment, but what will happen to their rights to the property acquired and marked as profit or gain?

We submit that the operation of public utilities will

have to stop. But the ownership of the properties that the Americans bought, we also submit, that the Americans have established vested rights on them just as much as any Filipino citizens have established vested rights granted them by law.

The law is clear that an American citizen holds his property "*in the same manner as to, and under the same conditions imposed upon citizens of the Philippines....*"

With these provisions which elevate the rights of the Americans to the rights of the Filipinos and make them equal: "*in the same manner and the same condition imposed upon citizens of the Philippines.....*" it can be said with certainty that the Americans under the Parity Amendment have the constitutional freedom that the Filipinos have.

Mrs. Justice Story has well shown that "constitutional freedom means something more than liberty permitted; it consists in the civil and political rights which are absolutely guaranteed, assured, and guarded; in one's liberties as a man and a citizen (his right to vote, his right to hold office) his right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, his equality with all others who are his fellow citizens; all these guarded and protected and not held at the mercy and discretion of any one man or any popular majority. (People v. Hurlbut, 24 Mich, 44, 106. 108; Words and Phrases 8-A, p. 457.)

The words quoted above do not make an American a full-fledged Filipino citizen, but certainly he has all the civil rights (minus the political rights) granted to Filipinos. His civil rights are full, in the same manner and the same condition imposed upon the citizens of the Philippines. He would then be unmolested in his right to buy, sell and enjoy property, and generally, to seek happiness in his own way.

Filipino political leaders have the rights to agitate just as much as the American leaders. There are Americans in the U.S. Congress who have been careless with their language. This is their own privilege. But there are also Filipinos in the Philippine Congress who could be as

insolent. This attitude just brands insolence as a disease and an insolent man as not normal.

As a Filipino, I would like to feel the same way as Mr. Tolentino, but as a lawyer, I contend that the Americans have established their vested rights on the property that they have established title on. Our Supreme Court has consistently held that "where the meaning of a constitutional provision is clear, a contemporaneous or practical executive interpretation will not be allowed to distort or in any way change its natural meaning." (Tañada and Macapagal vs. Cuenco, L-10520, Feb. 28, 1957.)

We are in sympathy with those who hold that vested rights will end when the Parity Amendment becomes obsolete on July 3, 1974. At the same time we have to be fair and dispense justice just as we ourselves seek justice. We have to honor our agreement whatever it is, just as Rizal told Don Pedro Roxas in Singapore: "If the Spaniards will break their word, it is for them to decide, but the word of a Filipino is a vow."

5. *No Protection* — Parity is temporary. No one can question this. But that there is protection is clear. While Parity Amendment is in vigor, it carries the same strength as any portion of the Constitution and the Philippine Constitution is duty bound to protect those who obtained rights under it when it was effective as provided in the Amendment. The right established therein is and shall be rights protected by the Constitution. As the language is clear that the American are on equal rights with the Filipinos while the Amendment is in effect, then the Americans have established vested rights.

To say that the Americans have established no vested rights while the Parity Amendments is in effect, will be tantamount to saying that the Filipinos who bought property has not established vested rights. This would make the Filipino look ridiculous. If he cannot establish vested rights in his own country, where else could he establish this constitutional rights as provided in the Bill of Rights, Section 1, (1) "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor shall any person be denied the equal protection of the laws."

6. *Due Process of Law.* — This brings us to the *Due Process* provisions. Opponents of the Parity Amendment wish us to understand that protective rights provisions are expressly limited to rights existing at the time when the Constitution came into force.

Due process of law to the layman sounds like a word in the crossword puzzle. It is, however, defined as a general law which hears before it condemns; which proceeds upon inquiry, and render judgment only after trial.

In this discussion, due process of law, is a law based on fundamental and inherent principle of justice. "It forbids any deprivation of life, liberty or property, and secures equal protection to all, under like circumstances, in the enjoyment of their right; and in the administration of criminal justice requires that no different or higher punishment shall be imposed on one than is imposed on all for like offenses; but it was not designed to interfere with the power of the state to protect the lives, liberty and property of its citizens, and to promote health, peace, morals, education and good order. (136 U.S. 436.)"

The Philippines in the case of Parity Amendment, has given the Americans the same right to have and to hold with equal rights as the Filipino citizens. While the duration of the Amendment is limited, the duration of the rights over life, liberty or property, will be protected by the Philippine Constitution just as it would protect the rights of the Filipinos. As long as property rights acquired in the same manner as a Filipino citizen has acquired his rights under the law, the Constitution will protect these rights under the due process provision.

We gave in our Constitution the same rights to the Americans. Although temporary, while it was effective, it had the strength and vigor of the Filipino right, and the law of the land will recognize all legal acquisitions under that right, and cannot deny the Americans their vested rights to the properties they have acquired.

FUNCTIONAL LOAD OF ENGLISH TENSE-ASPECT MODIFICATIONS

Macario B. Ruiz

The concept of social utility as a principle in general curriculum theory has two basic assumptions which are complementary. The first assumption states that language activities which the child as a learner in a given social group needs most to prepare him for effective living should have precedence over those which are not so useful. This assumption necessarily implies that the general objectives of the language program should be determined. To illustrate the point, a hierarchy of importance must be given for such desirable goals as (a) ability to speak in conversation, (b) ability to write correctly, (c) ability to read, (d) ability to write friendly letters, (e) ability to write letters of complaints, (f) ability to write letters of application, and other social situations in which letter-writing is one normal necessary activity. The second assumption states that the materials of instruction must be properly sequenced and adapted to suit the needs of students according to their ages and grade placement. The more socially useful specifics of language should be given preference over those which are less useful. Regarding the criterion of social utility, Lyman says:

... The need for particularized objectives—“specifics” — of language instruction can best be met by activity analyses and investigations of errors such as the studies reported.... First, the *socially useful language specifics and the rhetorical minimums indispensable for the daily communications of the average man and woman must be discovered*; second, the types of expressions used naturally and normally by children of advancing ages must be ascertained. (9:39)
(Italics supplied)

He goes on to say:

...The criterion of "social utility" for the various activities comprising the English curriculum is assuming prominence. The best curriculum researches attempt to ascertain the language needs of practical life. (9:69)

The same principle of social utility applies to the teaching of foreign languages. Huse has this to say:

...The beginning language text or method should present units of expression... in the *appropriate order of their importance as measured by a frequency count.* (6:24) (Italics supplied)

Similarly, Thompson says:

...Likewise, the material must be presented in an ordered sequence based on two major points: *the importance of the items within the system of English and its difficulty for Thai speakers* (13:18) (Italics supplied)

George explains the rationale for an extensive verb-frequency count in the following words:

...the verb-frequency count stems from the idea that, speaking generally, *use indicates usefulness.* We are finding out the actual use English people make of the verb-forms in the language (5:45) (Italics supplied)

This is the rationale underlying this particular part of the present investigation. While it is true that, as a form class, the verb is very important in English, it has its own modifications which must be analyzed for their usefulness as shown in a frequency count of these modifications.

Statement of the problem. This phase of the investigation deals with the following problems:

1. What are the most useful English tense-aspect modifications? That is, which ones have the highest functional load?

2. What are the most common sentence patterns in which these modifications occur?

3. What are the more common transformations by which the source strings get embedded into the resultant transforms as clauses?

Limitation of the problem. It was not the purpose of this phase of the investigation to establish a distinction between the type of English used in technical or non-technical materials by means of a comparison of the kinds of tense-aspect modifications used. Neither were the tense-aspect modifications which are used exclusively in conversation or in writing identified. If comparisons were made, the purpose was to show the trend in the use of the tense-aspect modifications which were analyzed for functional load.

Definition of terms. Important and critical terms which have been used in this investigation are defined herein.

(1) *Tense-aspect modifications.* Tense refers to the time described by the verb in reference to a given prime point or moment of speaking (2:5) whether it is a part action or whether it is a non-past one. It is to be noted as stated above that an English verb is inflected for two tenses only. The fact that a continuous action in the present time may be expressed in English grammar by *pres-be + V + -ing* 'is eating' does not mean that this is another tense of the verb. Presentness is carried by the auxiliary *is* and continuity by *-ing*. In a similar manner, the combination *pres-have + V + -en* 'has eaten' and *past-have + V + -en* 'had eaten' are not additional tenses of the English verb. They belong to a category called *aspect*.

Aspect in a general sense refers to a description of the nature of the action carried by the expanded form, apart from tense.

(2) *Primary modifications.* The different inflected forms of the verb without auxiliaries as in *eats* and *ate*, the aspectual inflected forms involving the use of the two English auxiliaries *have* and *be* as in *is eating*, *have eaten*, or *was eaten*, as well as other combinations like *is being*

eaten, has been eaten, or was being eaten, are called primary modifications. There are sixteen such primary modifications in Twaddell's analysis, which has been adopted for purposes of this investigation. (14:2).

(3) *Secondary modifications*. When an expanded form of a verb occurs with *can (could), may (might), will (would), shall (should) or must*, the term *secondary modification* is applied. These are called the modals in English. The term *modal modification* is synonymous with the term *secondary modification*. It is to be noted that modals do not inflect for -s as in **cans¹ or *shalls* unlike the auxiliaries *have* and *be* but they do inflect for pastness as in *can* —» *could*, *shall* —» *should*, *will* —» *would*, and *may* —» *might*. *Must* is a defective modal in the sense that it is not inflected for pastness. Some examples of secondary modifications are *can + V* 'can go' and *could + have + V + -en* 'could have eaten'.

(4) *Special modifications*. There are a number of aspectual modifications which carry special meanings. For example, the modification *pres-have + to + V* 'has to eat' has a special meaning different from the meaning carried by *pres-have + V + -en* 'has eaten'. Another example is the modification *pres-be + going + to + V* 'is/am 'are going to eat' which carries the proposed or future action. These are classified under special modifications.

(5) *Functional Load*. *Functional load* refers to the usefulness of a given modification as determined from a frequency count of its occurrences in a given corpus. If, for example, Modification *a* has been used 1,000 times in a given corpus and Modification *b*, 100 times, the former has a higher functional load than the latter.

(6) *Native language (NL)* refers to the first language of the learner.

Survey of the literature of the subject. Several tense frequency counts in modern languages have been made. One

¹ Asterisks (*) before any word or phrase means that the construction is not permitted in English or Hiligáynon.

of the first was made by Arnold (1:234-35). Using about 22,000 running words from five Spanish plays and five Spanish novels, he found that the present indicative ranked first in both sources; the infinitive, second; the preterite indicative, third; the imperfective indicative, fourth, and the present subjunctive, fifth. The author did not suggest any conclusions regarding theory except to present the facts as he found them.

Sudran made a syntax count of the French verb using four contemporary novels and found that the past descriptive ranked first; the present tense, second; the perfect tenses, sixth; and the future perfect ranked last in twenty-three categories of verb syntactical phenomena. (12:164).

Arnold extended his 1929 study (6) into three languages, French, Italian, and Spanish. In these three languages he found the present indicative ranking first. The author pointed out a great difference between the drama and the novel in each of these languages. The past tenses made up 45.2%, 44.6%, and 51.1% of the total number of tense occurrences in French, Spanish and Italian novels respectively; while they made up 17.2%, 16.2%, and 18.2% of the total in the drama. He then concluded:

... The present, future, imperative, and perhaps the conditional... are primarily conversational tenses. (4:153)

Lake studied the syntactical frequency of tense phenomena in three school French texts for students of French as a foreign language and found that 24.3% were in the past descriptive, 14.0% in the compound tenses and the indicative, and 2.1% in infinitive forms. (4:161).

Brennard and Coleman undertook a project in French syntax and found in all available sources that 25.57% were in the past tense, descriptive; 14.88% were in reflexive forms; 7.13% were in the compound tenses; 1.42% were in the future tense; and 5.25% were in the present tense. They found a rather high correspondence with the studies of Lake and Sudran with special reference to the past des-

criptive, reflexive, and infinitives without prepositions. They concluded:

...Where the chief aim of the course is the development of the ability to speak or write the language with some facility and in accordance with current usage, the material here presented is pertinent to the extent that such speaking and writing knowledge will be in conformity with usage in standard French. (3:291)

Keniston made a syntax count of contemporary Spanish for the purpose of providing an authoritative statement of the relative importance of the most common Spanish constructions as a guide for textbook makers and teachers of Spanish. He found the same frequency of the present indicative tenses that Arnold had found and stated:

...It is probable that a range of sixty units will be sufficient to establish the relative range and frequency of all constructions which are of sufficient importance to warrant a place in the basic materials presented in a course in Spanish. (4: 352)

Bonifacio in a study of the most common tense in English material found the present and past tenses to be the most frequent in expository and non-expository material. (2)

Olshtain found that 35% of 462 occurrences in non-technical materials were in the present tense, 52% were in the past tense, and the rest in other modifications. In technical materials 49% out of 437 occurrences were in the present tense and 28% were in the past tense. While only 2% were in the present passive in non-technical materials, 11.5% in the same modifications were found in technical materials. (10).

A comprehensive and significant eight-year study was conducted by Stormzand in an effort to determine what present-day usage of the most important grammatical categories should be given priority in a program of English teaching. He analyzed a large mass of contemporary, classical, and non-classical writing, letters written by adults, compositions of students from Grade VI through

College. One of the most significant statements, which perhaps influenced course-of-study construction after the publication of the report, is as follows:

... We cannot judge on the basis of frequency of the different parts of speech which should receive the chief emphasis or what relative importance should be given to each in constructing a course in grammar. Complexity of form, variation in inflection, and the chances of error in each case must all be taken into consideration. (9:25).

George made a preliminary report of an extensive count on the frequency of verb forms in English. The count covered all verb forms, whether they appeared as finite or non-finite constructions. The author says that "by the time this article appears, three groups of trainees at the Central Institute of English will have been counting frequencies in various types of English, of verb-forms in all kinds of phrases, clauses, and sentence constructions. They will have noted some 80,000 successive occurrences, each of which will have been assigned to one of 180 sections of a schedule." (5:45-53).

The materials used were two novels, two plays, three books of a popular, factual nature, an issue of an English newspaper, and the conversational section of MacCarthy's *English Conversational Reader*. Every occurrence of a verb in the material was noted, except that in the case of the *Chamber's Encyclopedia*, of which four volumes were sampled, all occurrences on every fifth page were counted.

Preliminary findings in this study are:

Plain stem (V)	36.7%
to + stem	9.6%
Stem + -ed	41.5%
Stem + -ing	12.2%

Total — 100.0% (50,901 occurrences)

George makes this statement, which explains the rationale of the study:

... There are two kinds of priority in teaching: one determines the sequence of teaching points;

the other the amount of work the teachers and learners direct to each of the teaching points. (5:45).

Procedure.

1. *Rationale of procedure.* It was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that the concept of social utility is a basic criterion for the selection and arrangement of grammatical categories to be taught to second-language learners or to be included in a course of study in English. This concept was the main reason why the frequency of occurrence of the tense-aspect modifications in English had to be counted. However, in the preparation of teaching materials for the teaching of second language, the basic units which should be sequenced are sentence patterns, not the tense-aspect modifications as such. (8:92-94). It is for this reason that two other problems were included in this frequency count. The first of these problems is the tabulation of the common basic sentence patterns where these modifications were found. The second problem is the tabulation of the common transformations in English which involve the use of the tense-aspect modifications. Knowledge of the basic sentence patterns where the tense-aspect modifications found and of the two-string transformations has a two-fold value: (a) it helps in making the sequencing of the materials realistic, and (b) it enables the teacher to prepare the teaching materials such that they are oriented to the more common and more useful two-string transformations.

2. *Procedure proper.* The procedure in this phase of the investigation involved the following steps: (a) choice of approach to the problem; (b) selection of the sources from which to make the frequency count; (c) choice of description of English tense-aspect modifications; (d) trial tabulation; and (e) preparation of the final data sheets.

a. *Choice of approach to the problem.* There were two possible approaches to the problem of what to tabulate: (1) a *functions* approach, in which the uses of the different modifications were counted. For instance, in the

present tense, the so-called uses, such as 'habitual action', 'present fact', 'permanent condition', 'historical present', might be the things to tabulate. In the case of the so-called 'present perfect', such uses as 'action continuing from a given time in the past to the present', or 'indefinite past time', or 'action just completed' might be counted. This approach, it was thought, had the following disadvantages: (a) There is a great deal of confusion in saying that the present tense may be used to express the historical present for past events, or to describe past events in headlines as *President Kennedy Meets MacMillan*. (b) There is just as much confusion in figuring out whether the verbs in such sentences as *The wall paints easily* and *The meat cooks quickly* are passive or active, if by active is meant that the subject is the doer of the action. (c) There is no way of telling whether *He reads French* is habitual or present fact or even potential. (d) The functions approach would have involved too much subjectivity and personal equation in the choice of which functions or uses the writer of the sources of materials had in mind, and this would have reduced the validity of the study. (2) The other possible approach was the *forms approach*, in which the structural forms of the modifications are to be tabulated, irrespective of functions intended. This approach is free from personal equation, subjectivity, and by its nature, it avoids the 'confusions' mentioned above. The tense-aspect modifications as such carry their own functions or semantic content.

In this connection, George says:

...Two kinds of attribution are involved, formal and notional. The validity of the formal attribution must be high, as only recognition is involved. The notional attribution must be of more doubtful validity, as personal judgments are involved and the language itself does not always recognize the compartments into which we try to accommodate it. (5:48)

Twaddell gives another reason:

...Much of the difficulty and confusion in des-

cribing the signalling function of English verb construction has arisen from attempts to assign a meaning to the lack of one or more of the primary modifications. Thus, it has been a common error to assign some meaning like "present, non-past" to a construction which lacks the past modification, or a meaning like "active" to a construction without *be* + participle. (14:3).

Therefore, the second approach, which involves the tabulation of the forms of the modifications, was adopted in this study.

b. *Selection of sources from which to count modification occurrences.* The frequency counts of Thorndike, Thorndike and Lorge, the semantic count of the West, the study of Stormzanad, and that of George, all of which were cited at the beginning of this chapter, were based on a variety of sources such as textbooks, encyclopedias, novels, dramas, and newspapers. Bonifacio used expository and non-expository materials; (2) Olshtain drew her materials from technical and non-technical writing (10).

The choice of sources is at best dependent upon the purpose of the count. If the purpose of the count is to make a comparison of the syntactical phenomena of tense-aspect modifications in novels and plays, the materials should be novels and plays. Similarly, if the purpose is to make a comparison of such syntactical phenomena in technical and non-technical material, the sources of materials should precisely be those.

The purpose of this study was to make a count of the occurrences of the tense-aspect modifications in English. In the trial tabulation, it was noted that normally the tenses or aspect of verbs seemed to be dependent upon the nature of the articles. For instance, professional articles of an expository nature were observed to have been written in the present tense, with variations of other tenses or aspects as contexts demanded, and narrative materials showed a tendency towards the use of the past tense, also with variations depending on contexts, which required obligatory use of other tense-aspect modifications. Since the purpose of this study was to determine

the most commonly used English tense-aspect modifications, the only way to get a fair sampling was to include as wide a variety of sources as possible. Conversational materials were included in much greater number than any other single source so as to give spoken English good representation in the sample. The final sources included the following:

I. Technical material	<i>No. of usages</i>
A. Children's Encyclopedia	1,000
B. Professional magazine (<i>Journal of Higher Education</i>)	1,000
C. Textbook in English, First Language (Roberts, <i>Understanding English</i>) ..	1,000
D. Textbook in English, Second Language (<i>Fries American English Series for the Study of English as a Second Language, Book VI</i>)	1,000
II. Non-technical material	
A. Newspaper (<i>Los Angeles Times</i>) ...	1,000
B. Popular magazine (<i>Life Magazine</i>) ..	1,000
C. Contemporary novel (Drieser, <i>Sister Carrie</i>)	1,000
D. Letters (business and friendly)	1,000
E. Sentences gathered from students	1,000
III. Recorded conversations, including TV programs of unrehearsed nature and radio interviews, actual conversation ..	3,000
Total	12,000

c. *Selection of a description of English tense-aspect modifications.* There are a number of descriptions of verbs in English with reference to tense-aspect, as well as the modals and special modifications (14:7; 17; 11; 39; 25). Twaddell's classification (14) was chosen because of its trichotomy of (a) primary modifications, (b) secondary

modifications, and (c) special modifications. The presentation of these modifications is clear and concise, and this made for easy tabulation. Besides, it was necessary to use the same modifications which were used in the tabulation of errors in the use of tense-aspect modifications.

d. *Trial tabulation.* In order to make sure that no tense-aspect modification would be missed in the final data sheet, a trial tabulation of about 600 to 700 verb usages from all the samples was first made. Extra holes for any rare form that might have appeared in the corpus during the tabulation were provided on the data sheet. The trial forms were not included in the final tabulation of the data.

e. *Preparation of the final data sheets.* The data sheets were so prepared that it would be possible to indicate the (a) sentence patterns in which the modifications were found, (b) types of transformations in which the source strings get embedded into the resultant transforms as clauses, and (c) type of tense-aspect modifications encountered.

(1) *Sentence patterns.* The basic sentence patterns used in the tabulation of errors in the students' compositions were also used in this phase of the investigation.

(2) *Two-string wh-transformations.* There are two-string transformations in English in which the source strings as embedded in the resulting transformations involve tense-aspect modifications because they are clauses. There are also others in which the sources are embedded in the resultant transforms without verbs. The following examples illustrate what is meant.

Consumer: The boy is here.
 Source: The boy is good.
 Result: —> The *good* boy is here.

Or

Consumer: The boy is here.
 Source: The boy has a *hat*.
 Result: —> The *boy with a hat* is here.

On the other hand:

Consumer: The boy is here.
 Source: The boy has a hat.
 Result: —» The boy *who has a hat* is here.

Who has a hat is just one type of clause that is embedded in the result. There are a number of transformations where the clause is introduced by *who*, *when*, *what*, or *that*, all identified by the label *wh*-transformations, but they are different from one another. The reason for classifying these under different categories is explained in the succeeding sub-sections.

(a) *Wh-1 transformation.* The following sentence types were classified under this category because in all of them a noun or pronoun in the source string is replaced by *who*, *that*, *which*, or *whom*, and because the clauses occur in adjective positions.

- 1) Consumer: The man went home.
 Source: The man was sitting here.
 Result: —» The man who was sitting here went home.
- 2) Consumer: The remarks hurt my feelings.
 Source: The remarks came from her.
 Result: — The remarks which came from her hurt my feelings.
- 3) Consumer: The man is my cousin.
 Source: The man saw you.
 Result: —» The man who saw you is my cousin.
- 4) Consumer: The man bought the house.
 Source: The house was beautiful.
 Result: —» The man bought the house which was beautiful.
- 5) Consumer: The man is my cousin.
 Source: You saw the man.
 Result: —» The man (whom) you saw is my cousin.

(b) *Wh-2 transformation*. The following sentence types were classified under this category because the source strings become relative clauses and because they take noun positions. It is to be noted that they may be introduced either by *who*, *whose*, *whom*, and *which*, or by *what*, *whatever*, *whoever*, *whenever*, or *whomever*, but not by *that*.

- 1) Consumer: He is my friend.
Source: He called you.
Result: —> Whoever called you is my friend.
- 2) Consumer: The teacher gave him a prize.
Source: He won it.
Result: —> The teacher gave whoever won it a prize.
- 3) Consumer: I know it (something).
Source: The boy said that remark.
Result —> I know who said that remark.
- 4) Consumer: I remember it.
Source: He wrote a letter.
Result: —> I remember what he wrote.

(c) *Wh-3 transformation*. The following sentence types were classified under this category because the source strings become relative clauses and because they take noun positions. They differ from *Wh-2* transformations in that nothing is omitted.

- 1) Consumer: I know it (something).
Source: The boy stole the money.
Result: —> I know (that) the boy stole the money.
- 2) Consumer: The man answered it.
Source: He was in Manila.
Result: —> The man answered that he was in Manila.
- 3) Consumer: It (something) was true.
Source: They won the game.
Result: —> That they won the game was true.
- 4) Consumer: The trouble is (something)
Source: He did not study.

Result: —» The trouble is (that) he did not study.

The type of sentence below was classified under this category although it was analyzed to have undergone an additional transformation. (See example (3) above.)

5) Consumer: It (something) was true.

Source: —» They won the game.

Result: —» That they won the game was true.

Result: —» It was true that they won the game.

(d) *Subordinatives*. The following sentence types were classified under this category because of the subordinating conjunction.

1) Peter stayed *because* John went.

2) I shall stay *if* you tell me to.

3) He went *where* there are many people.

But:

4) *He went to a place where there are many people* was classified under *wh-1* transformation.

(e) *Compound sentences*. In addition to the foregoing sentence types, compound sentences were classified under another group. There were regarded as derived from two sentences. Thus:

1) Consumer: The boy ran.

Source: The girl walked.

Result: —» The boy ran and the girl walked.

(f) *Sentences with two or more predicates*. Sentences with two or more predicates were classified under a different kind of transformation and therefore categorized under a different group. Thus:

1) Consumer: The boy ran.

Source: The boy jumped.

Result: —» The boy ran and jumped.

Gathering of corpus. Each successive sentence from the different sources was copied on 3 × 5 sheets of paper, with at least one verb on each sheet, although in some cases there were two or more. The copying went on until 1,000 sheets, which were numbered serially, were used.

1. *Sampling of corpus.* In the final tabulation of the data, every odd-numbered sheet was selected. If there happened to be two or more verbs on any given sheet, only the first one was used. In the conversational material, where response utterances were without verbs, the sheet was disregarded and the next odd-numbered one was selected. Verb substitutes were not included. For example:

(1) Did you go to the party last night?

No, I didn't. (Yes, I did).

Didn't and *did* were regarded as substitutes for 'did not go' and 'went.'

2. *Increasing the goal to 6,000 primary modifications.*

It was originally proposed to obtain 6,000 tense-aspect modifications for all three groups, primary, secondary, and special modifications. This was the number obtained as a result of a random sampling of the entire corpus of 12,000 sentences on the basis of one for every two. However, in order to achieve a more equitable representation of the nine sources of written materials used, the number of tense-aspect modifications was increased to 500 each. The number of tense-aspect modifications for the conversational materials was increased to 1,500. This yielded a grand total of 6,000 primary modifications. It was not necessary to copy more sentences from additional sources. All that was required was to go over the odd-numbered sheets in the corpus once more. The second verb in those sheets which had two or more verbs was tabulated. If this second verb was a secondary modification, it was added to the samples in Group II; if this second verb happened to be a special modification, it was added to the sample in Group III. This was done until the goal of 500 tense-aspect modifications for each of the nine sources was reached. The final sample came up to 7,403 tense-aspect modifications.

Explanation of the use of the data sheets. If a *V-ed* modification was found on a given odd-numbered sheet, Hole B on the left side of the data sheet was cut open to identify it. If this modification was used in a Pattern I type of sentence, Hole I, top row was cut open. If it happened to

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be used in a dependent clause, the corresponding hole, bottom row, was cut open.

The same procedure was followed in the tabulation of the modals and the special modifications, except that another form was used. In the case of the modals, if a *can* + *V* was encountered, the hole beside *can* + *V* was cut open; but if a *can* + *be* + *V-en* was encountered, the hole beside *can* + *V* was cut open and, in addition, the item was checked to identify which form was encountered.

Presentation and discussion of findings.

1. *Total number of tense-aspect modifications by groups.* Table IV-A present the total number of tense-aspect modifications tabulated from the written and conversational materials.

TABLE IV-A
TOTAL NUMBER OF MODIFICATIONS BY GROUPS

Grp.	Written Material				Conversation		Grand Total	
	Technical	Non-Tech	Total	%	No.	%	No.	%
I	2,000	2,500	4,500	75.00	1,500	25.00	6,000	81.20
II	269	263	892	83.60	175	16.40	1,067	14.30
III	124	122	246	73.00	90	27.00	336	4.50
	2,393	3,245	5,638		1,765		7,403	100.00

Analysis of the data in the table reveals that of the grand total of 7,403 tense-aspect modifications tabulated from the corpus, 6,000 or 81% were in Group I (Primary Modifications), 1,067 or 14.3% were in Group II (Secondary Modifications), and 336 or 4.5% were in Group III (Special Modifications). Of the 6,000 primary modifications, 4,500 or 75% were from written sources, which included both the technical and non-technical materials, and 1,500 or 25% were from the conversational materials. Of the 1,067 secondary modifications, 892 or 83.6% were from the written sources, and 175 or 16.4% were from the

conversational materials. Of the total of 336 special modifications, 246 or 73% were from the written sources, and 90 or 27% were from the conversational materials.

Further analysis of the data in the table reveals that there seems to be a tendency toward the use of modals in written materials, and that there is a tendency towards the use of more primary and special modifications in the conversational materials. The figures show this observation.

Written Material	Conversational Material
Group I 80%	85%
Group II 16%	10%
Group III 4%	5%

a. *Primary modifications, Group I.* The findings on the distribution of the different tense-aspect modifications of the Primary Modifications Group are presented in Table IV-B.

Analysis of the data in the table reveals that of the 4,500 primary modifications tabulated from the written materials, 1,962 or 43.3% were *V-s*, and 1,649 or 36.6% were *V-ed*. These two modifications alone account for 80% of the entire number of primary modifications. The *V-ing* modifications account for 3.9% of the entire number of primary modifications, while the *V-en* modifications account for 15.8% of the entire number.

In the conversational material, there is a predominance of the number of *V-s* modifications. Of the 1,500 primary modifications tabulated, 937 or 61.8% were in this tense alone, and 316 or 20.8% were in the past tense. These two tenses together account for 82% of the total number of primary modifications. The *V-ing* modifications account for 6.4% of the total number of primary modifications, which is 2.6% more than the *V-ing* modifications in the written materials. Thus relatively there is a greater tendency towards the use of the *V-ing* modifications in conversation than in writing. The *V-en* modifications account for 9.77% of the total number of primary modifications in the conversational materials, which is 6.0% less

TABLE IV-B
PRIMARY MODIFICATIONS

Primary Modifications	Written Material			Conversational Material			Total		
	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank
a V-s	1,962	43.36	1	937	61.84	1	2,899	48.41	1
b Ve-d	1,649	36.61	2	316	20.86	2	1,965	32.82	2
c pres-have + V-en	170	3.77	5	85	5.61	3	255	4.26	3
d past-have + V-en	88	1.95	7	8	.53	10	96	1.60	7
e pres-be + V-en	216	4.80	3	27	1.78	5	243	4.06	4
f past-be + V-en	186	4.30	4	18	1.19	6.5	204	3.41	5
g pres-be + V-ing	116	2.58	6	70	4.62	4	186	3.11	6
h past-be + V-ing	45	1.00	8	18	1.19	6.5	63	1.07	8
i pres-have + be-en + V-en	33	.73	9	10	.66	9	43	.72	9
j past-have + be-en + V-en	5	.11	12	0	0.00	12.5	5	.08	12
k pres-have + be-en + V-ing	14	.31	10	11	.73	8	25	.45	10
l past-have + be-en + V-ing	1	.02	14	0	0.00	12.5	1	.02	14
m pres-be + be-ing + V-en	13	.29	11	0	0.00	12.5	13	.22	11
n past-be + be-ing + V-en	2	.04	13	50	0.00		2	.04	13
Total	4,500	99.90		1,500	99.01		6,000	100.24	

than the *V-en* modifications in the written materials. It means that there is a greater tendency for the *V-en* modifications to be used in writing than in conversation.

b. *Secondary modifications, Group II.* The findings on the distribution of the different tense-aspect modifications of the Secondary Modifications Group are presented in Table IV-C.

TABLE IV-C
SECONDARY MODIFICATIONS

Modal	Written Material			Conversational Material			T o t a l		
	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank
can	157	17.60	3	44	25.24	2	201	18.83	3
could	77	8.63	5	21	12.00	3	98	9.18	4
may	80	8.97	4	12	6.86	6	92	8.62	5
might	33	3.70	8	5	2.88	8	38	3.56	8
shall	15	1.68	9	0	0.00	9	15	1.41	9
should	57	6.39	6	15	8.59	5	72	6.72	6
will	232	26.00	1	51	29.34	1	283	26.62	1
would	190	21.30	2	17	9.74	4	307	19.40	2
must	51	5.72	7	10	5.72	7	61	5.72	7
Total	892	99.99		175	100.37		1,067	99.89	

Note: In cases of contracted modals, the following were followed:

- (a) What'll I (we) do? = Classified under *shall*
- (b) What'll you (she) do = Classified under *will*

The above figures include the occurrences of the different complex combinations of the basic forms, like *can + be + V-en*, *shall + be + V-ing* or *must + have + V-en*. By basic forms are meant *can + V*, *shall + V*, or *must + V*.

Analysis of the data in the table reveals that *will* has

the highest functional load, with *would* ranking 2, and *can*, ranking 3. Of the total of 1,067 occurrences of the modals, 283 or 26.4% were *will*. *Shall* is evidently low in functional load, with only 15 or 1.4% of the total occurrences. It is to be noted that it did not occur in the conversational material at all.

c. *Special modifications, Group III.* The findings on the distribution of the different tense-aspect modifications of the Special Modifications Group are presented in Table IV-D. Analysis of the data in the table reveals that of the 15 different special modifications, (you) + *V*, as *Drive the car and Have fun* is the most productive. Modifications like *Please come in* and *Let's go* were included in this category. It was encountered in all the sources used, and it ranks 1 in the three different types of sources. Of the total of 336 special modifications, 137 or 40.8% were of this type.

The second in rank is *pres-be + going to + V*, 'is/are /am going to eat'. It was also encountered in all the sources, except in the encyclopedia. It appeared 16 times in 500 samples gathered from the textbooks in a second language, and 21 times in the conversational materials.

Ought to + V, *dare to + V*, and *need to + V* seem to have low functional load. Twaddell classifies these under a minor class and adds that:

...their former semantic functions are increasingly taken over by other modals or catenatives, either wholly or partly via suppletion. (14:10).

This probably explains why their functional load is low.

Further analysis of the data in the table reveals the following regarding the status of *will + V* (Table IV-C) and *pres-be + going to + V*.

	Written Material	Conversational Material
· will + V	26.0%	21.1%
pres-be + going to		
+ V	21.5%	23.3%

Out of a total of 892 occurrences of the modal modifications in the written materials, *will + V* was used 232

TABLE IV-D
SPECIAL MODIFICATIONS

Modification	Written			Conversation			Total		
	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank
pres-be + to + V	15	6.10	4	0	0	12	15	4.46	1
past-be + to + V	5	2.03	8.5	0	0	12	5	1.48	11
pres-have (got) + be + V	30	12.20	3	19	21.11	3	49	14.58	3
past-have + to + V	8	3.25	6.5	4	4.45	4	12	3.57	5
pres-be + going to + V	53	21.55	2	21	23.34	2	74	22.02	2
past-be + going to + V	1	.41	13.5	0	0	12	1	.29	14.5
V-s (Future)	5	2.03	8.5	1	1.11	8	6	1.78	9
pres-dó + V	10	4.07	5	1	1.11	8	11	3.27	6
past-dó + V	8	3.25	6.5	1	1.11	8	9	2.67	7
(You) + V	98	39.66	1	39	43.33	1	137	40.77	1
aux-have + NP + V-en	1	.41	13.5	0	0	12	1	.29	14.5
used to + V	4	1.63	10.5	2	22.2	5.5	6	1.78	9
need to + V	4	1.53	10.5	2	22.2	5.5	6	1.78	9
dare to + V	2	.82	12.5	0	0	22	2	.59	12.5
ought to + V	2	.82	12.5	0	0	12	2	.29	12.5
Total	246	99.86		90	99.81		336	99.92	

times, or approximately 26.0%. Out of a total of 246 occurrences of the special modifications *pres-be + going to + V* was used 53 times or 21.5%. This yields a difference of 4.5% in favor of *will + V*. It might be suspected that in writing *will + V* has ascendancy over *pres-be + going to + V*. This is not warranted in these figures because this difference is not statistically significant. If the CR (critical ratio) is used as a test of the significance of two uncorrelated percentage difference, the obtained CR is only .713. To be significant at the 5% level, a CR of 1.96 is necessary.

2. *The most common patterns in which the modifications were found.* In second-language teaching, the basic units of instruction are normally sentence patterns. Substitutions, expansions, conversions, replacement and/or transformations are standard procedures.

Table IV-E shows the most common basic sentence patterns in which the three groups of modifications were found. Analysis of the data in the table reveals that of the 6,000 occurrences of the primary modifications tabulated from both the written and conversational materials, 2,681 or 44.6% were found in sentences or clauses of Pattern IV type (NP + VPt + NP_a). Pattern IV also ranks 1 in the secondary modifications as well as in the special modifications group. Pattern I (NP + VPI + Adv) was found to be the next in rank. Further analysis of the data in the table reveals that 25% of the grand total of 7,403 modifications occurred in Pattern VII (NP + *be* + Adv), Pattern VIII (NP + *be* + Adj), and Pattern IX (NP + *be* + NP). This fact is significant because these patterns involve the verb *be*, which is a potential source of error on the part of the Hiligaynon speaker.

3. *The most common two-string transformations where the modifications were found.* Table IV-F presents the findings regarding the most common clauses in which the modifications were found. Analysis of the data in the table reveals that of the total of 1,663 primary modifications which occurred in two-string trans-

TABLE IV-E
DISTRIBUTION OF MODIFICATIONS BY PATTERNS

Pat- tern	Primary Modification		Secondary Modification		Special Modification		Total Grand		R ₁	R ₂	R ₃	R ₄
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
I	1,144	19.10	205	19.21	129	38.44	1,478	19.95	2	2	2	2
II	63	1.05	11	1.03	1	.30	75	1.01	9	9	8.5	8
III	41	.68	13	1.22	1	.30	75	.74	8	8	8.5	9
IV	2,681	44.65	572	53.60	142	42.31	3,395	45.83	1	1	1	1
V	108	1.79	43	3.93	19	5.66	170	2.30	7	7	3	7
VI	223	3.73	47	4.31	15	4.47	285	3.85	6	5	4	6
VII	397	6.63	44	4.01	8	2.38	449	6.06	5	6	7	5
VIII	592	9.89	77	7.22	10	2.98	679	9.17	4	3	6	4
IX	571	12.54	55	5.16	11	3.28	817	11.03	3	4	5	3
Total	6,000	100.05	1,067	99.69	336	100.42	7,403	99.94				

formations, 533 of 32% were of Type 28, which is traditionally described as the adverbial clause in a complex sentence illustrated in, "If he goes to New York, I'll stay in Los Angeles" or in "I stayed because he left." Second in rank is Type 15, an example of which is the *who*-clause in adjective position, as in "I know the boy *who borrowed your car.*" The clause which occurs in included position as in "I know *that he borrowed your car*" ranks third.

In the case of the secondary modifications, Type 28 also ranks first. Of the total of 302 modal modifications which occurred in the type of clause described, 80 or 26.4% were of Type 28, and 78 or 25.83% were of Type 25. Type 41 ranks last.

Column 3 of the table shows the distribution of the environments of the special modifications group. Type 28 and Type 15 rank 1 and 2 respectively as in the case of the primary and secondary modifications group.

Considering the three groups as a whole, of the grand total of 2,003 modifications which occurred in these six types of clauses, 628 or 31.3% belonged to Type 28, 409

Table IV-F
ENVIRONMENTS OF MODIFICATIONS BY GROUPS

Type	Group I			Group II			Group III			Total		
	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank
23	69	4.15	6	12	39.7	5	2	5.25	5.5	83	4.15	6
25	306	18.39	3	78	25.82	2	10	26.30	2	394	19.67	3
15	359	21.89	2	64	21.19	3	6	15.78	3	409	20.42	2
28	533	32.03	1	80	26.48	1	15	39.45	1	628	31.35	11
30	238	14.31	4	58	19.20	4	3	7.89	4	299	14.93	4
14	158	9.50	5	10	3.31	6	2	5.26	5.5	170	8.49	5
Total	1,663	99.60		302	99.66		38	99.94		2,003	99.01	

- 23 = *Whoever said that was telling a lie* (Nominalized VP in subject position)
 25 = *I know that he went home.* (Nominalized VP in direct object position)
 51 = *The boy who came here is my nephew.* (Adjectivalized VP in adjective position)
 28 = *If they stay, I'll go.* (Subordinate clause, traditionally called adverbial clause)
 30 = *The boy played, but his sister went to bed.* (Compound sentence, source string)
 14 = *The boy sang and danced.* (Compound predicate)

or 20.4% belonged to Type 15, and 394 or 19.6% belonged to Type 25. Only 83 or 4.1% belonged to Type 23 which is the least common environment in the whole group.

Summary and conclusions. In this paper, the functional load of the different tense-aspect modifications in English was determined by tabulating their frequency of occurrence in written and conversational sources. The most common sentence patterns and the most common environments or types of clauses in which these modifications occurred were also determined. The analysis of the data gathered permit the following conclusions:

(1) *V-s* and *V-ed* are the most highly productive primary modifications.

(2) *Will-would* and *can-could* are the most highly productive secondary modifications.

(3) (*You*) + *V* and *aux-be* + *going to* + *V* are the most highly productive special modifications.

(4) There is a greater tendency of the *V-ing* modifications than the *V-en* modifications to be used in conversation, but the reverse is true in the case of the written materials.

(5) Patterns IV and I are the most common patterns in which the modifications occurred, and Patterns II and III are the least common.

(6) Environment Type 28, the adverbial subordinate clause, and Type 15, the *who-clause* used as an adjective, are the most common environments in which the modifications occurred.

Implications for teaching English. The values of the findings in this study for the teaching of English are summarized as follows:

(1) The findings point out to teachers which tense-aspect modifications should be taught early because of their social usefulness.

(2) The findings point out what useful types of sen-

tence patterns and sentence expansions should be taught and mastered because of their social utility.

(3) Textbook writers can make use of the findings for purposes of selecting the most common and most useful tense-aspect modifications, sentence patterns, and sentence expansions.

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VARIATION IN PHILIPPINE VALUES: A WESTERN BISAYAN CASE-STUDY

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INTRODUCTION

In a separate paper (6) we have called for a “rethinking” of some sociological assumptions relative to the nature of Filipino values and value-orientations which many students of contemporary Philippine society *uphold* as *fundamental* in understanding the pattern of Filipino cultural behavior, if only on the grounds that these generalizations have been formulated on the basis of inadequate data. This paper is intended to supplement this earlier proposal with a specific case-study from Malitbog, a small barrio in Western Bisayas (2). In order to have greater control over our theoretical frame of references we shall limit our discussion, in this respect, to three major relational imperatives involved in local dyadic relations. These are the concepts of *iningod* (neighborhood), *huyá* (shame, self-esteem, etc.) and the two-level definition of normative behavior: the *utang nga kabubút-on* and the *utang nga kabarasan*.

The ka-ingod/iningod complex

Let us begin with the *kaingod* (pl. *iningod*) or the concept of “being neighbors.” The concept of neighborhood is basic to the social life of the people in Malitbog; that is, the residents attach high value to “living together,” irrespective of the prevailing economic difficulties that characterize this togetherness. As most of our informants put it:

Even if we have to eat leaves of grass (i.e., vegetables) if we are all together, it would not matter much at all.

Sociologically, this aphorism embodies not only the normative principle of togetherness but it also characterizes indirectly, the structure of being "*kaingod*" or "*iningod*."

Malitbog is composed of five sitios. Within each sitio are clusters of houses that constitute one's immediate neighbors (i.e., his *iningod* or *kaingod*). The identity of each of these subgroups is revealed by the statements informants give when asked about their relationship should it be known that they are not kin: "*Ah, magiringod kami.*" (Ah, we are neighbors) or "*Kaingod ko day-a si.....*" (.....is my neighbor). The term is derived from the root-word "*ingod*," meaning "to be close". Suffix *ka* or *ining* indicates the degree of closeness. *Kaingod* is much closer than being *iningod*, spatially. The closest translation of the latter is "within the environs" and the former is "next door." These linguistic categories suggest that the *kaingod* or *iningod*, to be meaningful, has to be perceived as a frame of reference in terms of physical proximity of household units. It is this spatial propinquity that, as among the people in Tzintzuntzan, Mexico.

...establishes ties between villagers and creates, if only on a low level, bonds of common interest. A suspicious character in the street, is a matter of concern to all, as is a householder's vicious and dangerous dog, or an arroyo made impassable by a flash flood, thus preventing passage to a maize mill. Neighborhood interaction is often the basis of friendship but not all neighbors are friends. (5:1183).

In spite of sentiments attached to being close to each other, the *iningod* or *kaingod* has no autonomous existence of itself if only because it is not bound by fixed social, legal, traditional, or physical landmark within the barrio. Its existence is wholly dependent upon the intensity of interactions obtaining between members of the unit and of the social content involved in the relationship. Should anyone become disgruntled with the neighborhood, he can move to other groups and there establishes local attachments. In a word, it is the kind of relational categories that define local groupings and that in spite of the com-

munal orientation of the barrio relative to the municipal government, it is still within the context of these small, contiguous neighborhood units that Malitbog society operates. For one thing, the *kaingod* is deeply rooted, on the whole, to the "life-sphere" of the farmers; and, for another, the neighborhood represents the most effective segment of the rural society where collective responsibility and social control are best carried out.

The *iningod* functions primarily in areas of group life which is not served by the immediate nuclear family or household unit on the one hand and by the entire community on the other. It may therefore be characterized as a sociological construct — a conceptual frame of reference which, even if it is not verbalized by the people unless pressed for explanations of their actions, serves as an outline in defining set of relationships that are vital to the functioning of the barrio as a whole. Although the *iningod* is a cohesive force insofar as physical proximity is concerned, it is, at the same time, a fragmenting mechanism insofar as institutionalized behavior is concerned. It subdivides the barrio or even the sitio into a number of small, compact units or segments, defined in terms of traditional patterns of living and behaving. This we think underlies the stable adaptation and traditional practices to the prevailing conditions. For as soon as consensus about almost anything is formed among them, the *iningod* members do not allow much latitude for deviancy in behavior without sanctions.

Moreover, spatial proximity influences the intensity of interactions that underlie the configuration of the people's world view relative to specific value-orientations (7). Values are developed through group interactions and are normally expressed in the manner in which people agree and disagree about specific things, beliefs, and actions. Once a common understanding is reached about these things, beliefs, and actions, these become important to the functioning of group life. They become the constituent elements of common ends and "values toward which all members are oriented and in terms of which the life of the

group is organized" (1:115).

Functionally, group norms are not only ways of doing things, but they are also the right ways. They include folkways, *mores*, laws, beliefs, and assumptions which underlie the recurrent and consistent behaviors of the members of the group. They are, as Robert Redfield defined them, "the conventional understandings, manifest in acts and artifacts that characterize societies" (10:132). By understanding is meant the meaning which one attaches to any act or to any object under observation. Since society is composed of interacting individuals, the meanings which can be abstracted from any cultural form are expressed in actions.

This brings us to the nature of the rights and obligations accruing from the fact that persons or group of persons are neighbors. We stated that the *iningod* principle is best exemplified in terms of how one regards another. Next to consanguineal relations, friendship is another strong *iningod* norm. It reinforces neighborhood affiliations. Neighbors are expected to help one another in time of great need or even in ordinary chores which require the assistance of another person. It is not uncommon, in this respect, to hear someone call for the neighbor to "please keep watch over our house while we are away." A mother would normally request the neighbor to keep an eye on her child or children while she is away — in the market or in the field. A person who is delayed by other pressing business transactions in the town during market days would usually look for a neighbor and send through him or her what he had purchased. This is known as the *ulayhon*.

During special occasions neighbors are expected to come and offer their assistance. They help in the kitchen, butcher the livestock, fetch water, gather fuel, and assist in all other jobs that are necessary in making the occasions fitting and successful. On other occasions, they are as intermediaries for the marriage arrangements (*pamalayi*), as retinue of the bride-groom and the bride during marriage, and so on. Should a carabao get loose during the night, a

neighbor is called to help search for it. The people also unite in time of need against the common enemy like cattle rustlers, bandits, and other "gangs" from the outside by organizing themselves into night patrols known locally as *runda*.

The trait which is most expressive of *iningod* sentiment and of the selective nature of the system is the reciprocal exchange of food (the *garalwanay*). Every time a person brings home some not-too-ordinary foodstuff, cooked or uncooked, he sends a plateful or a slice to the neighbor with whom he maintains closer ties. Among the cooked food being exchanged are: chicken, beef, pork, seafoods, *pansit* (noddles) and canned goods. The norm underlying this reciprocity is discussed at length in the succeeding section. At any rate, it might be said here that food exchange strengthens the *iningod* relationship. That it can also weaken such relationship is quite true. For the moment one fails to meet his expected obligations, he disappoints the other individual and conflicts emerge. The former is branded by the latter as "*kuum*" (stingy) "*maha-kug*" (greedy) and other terms signifying "unwillingness to share." This can mean the end of the good relation.

The significance of the *iningod* as a primary unit of interactions to the generalized Malitbog society may be summed up in the words of Raymond Firth when he wrote:

Such primary groups are socially vital. They offer many types of personal satisfaction — in opportunities of feeling secure amid group support, of exercising power over others, of showing skill and petty inventiveness in adapting things to immediate group needs, in getting gratifications of a moral kind, through the display of love and self-sacrifice. They are essential also for cooperation, in economic and other fields (3:44).

The significance of *iningod* to cooperation, especially in economic pursuits, is best exemplified in the field of group work known as the *sul-ug* or *dagyaw*. As we have stated earlier, *sul-ug* is a freely offered, reciprocal serv-

ice rendered to any member of the barrio in the spirit of neighborliness. By freely we mean without compensation in cash or in kind. It is moreover either solicited or voluntarily given, but whosoever initiates this group work imposes upon himself the obligation to return the labors of those who responded to his request or who volunteered to do him a favor. Although the *dag-yaw* or *sul-ug* is free, the host serves the laborers three meals during the day and coconut beverage (*tuba*) in the afternoon after the work is over.

Apparently more work is done during the *sul-ug*. The individual who lags behind during the *sul-ug* work is likely to be branded as *uya-ya*, or "slow-foot" by his fellow workers and this is an affront to his dignity and social prestige. Added to this is the spirit of *kasadya*, which means center of group attention. In this way, *sul-ug* also operates work, the men sing, tell stories, relate interesting experiences, discuss problems concerning the welfare of the barrio, the forthcoming fiesta, and many other things, all of which enliven group activity. A man with many jokes or possessed with a good sense of humor or wit becomes the center of group attention. In this way, *sul-og* also operates as an occasion where one can display his talents and command the admiration of his fellows.

The *kumbuya* is another kind of communal labor, wherein a group of men or women pool their resources and undertake certain projects with the end in view of gaining profit from their joint labor. Unlike the *sul-ug*, the *kumbuya* is formalized as a partnership with profit-sharing in mind. This kind of group work is generally employed in harvesting rice and corn, in building a house, and in catching fresh-water fish. Another term for this kind of group among neighbors is *pakyaw*. Non-fulfillment of this reciprocal obligation is one of the major causes of the breakdown of the *iningod* sentiment.

This introduces us to two other fundamental concepts which are crucial in understanding the recurrent and consistent behavior in Malitbog. These are the *hiya* (Tag. *hiya*) and the two-level feeling of personal obligations

the *utang nga kabaraslan* and the *utang nga kabubut-on*. These concepts function side by side in determining social relations between neighbors and also in general conflicts between them. They constitute the framework upon which beliefs, values, symbols, and meanings are organized, emphasized and repressed in and for the individual members of the *iningod* in particular and of the *barrio* in general. They may be considered, furthermore, as the conceptual blue-prints from which emanate the spontaneous figuring out, so to speak, of which belief, which value, which symbol is called for at a given moment in order to make the consequent action proper, and of which appropriate meaning should be attached to any proper belief, value, or symbol in order to make the action justifiable.

HUYA

In a generic sense *huya* may be translated as "self-esteem", *dignidad*, *amor-propio*, *dongog* (honor) and in other terms which involve a breach of self or group expectations. Specifically, *huya* is put into operation when what is infringed upon deals with relationships pertaining to (1) personal dignity or honor of the individual; (2) status or position of the principal actor relative to other people; (3) the internal cohesion of the family as unit; and (4) the reputation of the entire kin-group relative to the outside world. Violation of linguistic etiquette — i. e., the tone of the voice, the choice of words, etc., — also generates *huya*. For the latter, however, the Malitbog people have a specific term — the *saklaw*. It is close to the English term "embarass."

As we have stated, *huya* ramifies throughout Malitbog life-ways. It is expressed in the attitudes, emotional attachments, and behavior relative to socio-economic life, religion, morality, and individual decorum.

Huya and socio-economic status. Our first encounter with *huya* connected with the people's socio-economic status came in 1956. When we arrived in Malitbog, it was the end of the planting season. This time of the year is always (as has been) critical in that food is scarce and

the prices of staples are high. Even the economically well-off in the barrio during this part of the year complain about economic hardships in life. This is the time of the year when even tubers and roots are not yet ripe for food. Local term for this is "*maganas*." Water from continuous rain has been absorbed by the roots so that when these are cooked they will not become soft. Corn is not yet ripe, either. Thus, when we arrived, our host did not have anything to offer us in terms of staple food and this was considered the most humiliating situation. Although we mentioned we brought our own food supply, our host told us to keep it for the time being. Surreptitiously, the wife sent one of the small boys to the pastor's house to borrow (*lingit*) a tin-can-ful of white rice. When this was cooked, none of the children joined us in the meal. But they all gathered around, looking hungrily and having occasional guttural swallows, but they were told to stay away. And they did.

Later we learned that having nothing to offer to strangers as soon as they arrive in one's house is shameful. "*Kahuruya*" is term for it. Unless there are visitors, the people in Malitbog would seldom borrow staples from other people, unless they are close relatives or *kaingod* with whom they carry reciprocal food exchange. Asked why, Tia P said: "*Mayad kun pahuramon kaw, pay kong indigani, mahuy-an ka lang. Daw parihu ka nagatinda ka lang ka kinawara mo. Hambalon ka lang ka iba*" (Free transl.: "It is good if they will lend you, but if not, you will be shamed. It is like 'selling' (i.e., making public) your shortcomings; people will talk.")

In other words, all kinds of social camouflage have to be done in order not to reveal one's economic difficulties to other people, especially to newcomers in the area. Among themselves, there is some degree of levelling process which minimizes the sentiments attached to *huya*. For one thing everyone knows that during certain parts of the year almost everyone is in difficulty. Everybody is in need. It is thus not so shameful to admit that one has nothing to eat. In fact, it is to one's advantage, in the final analysis,

in that potential borrowers, if one is well-off, are forward-ed about the difficulty. Hence, they would not come to press the issue on borrowing rice. But this is done only to a certain extent. Because the people know who are well-off and who are not, certain amount of reservation is placed on statements of those who are known to be well-off regarding their economic difficulty. Many seldom take the "rich" man's words seriously. The concept of *huya* is used as an instrument to make an individual reveal himself and to rend wider the screen of pretentions. It re-verses the situation where the well-off will feel "ashamed" of himself for not being a good neighbor, a generous re-lative. As Itik the owner of the rice-mill admitted: "*Kis-a daw ikaw do malang mahuya sa lawas mo. Kon pabalik-balik ang tawo waay kaw it mahimo. Malooy ka man. Ti taw-an mo do lang eh. Daad kabaribad kaw apay ti anhon mo hay naga-pakiluoy.*" (Free transl.: "Sometimes you feel ashamed of yourself if the person returns several times. So you give him whatever he asks because you take pity on him. Of course you have said no but well, what can you do because he is 'insisting'").

Generally, to be insistent is humiliating. In normal circumstances the people in Malitbog would never do this. But in difficult times, one forgets the norm. As the barrio captain said: "*Ginapatay mo lang ang huya mo*". (Transl.: You 'kill' — i.e., to bear the brunt of — your shame). Thus such statements as "*waay huya*" (without shame) or "*patay it huya*" (bereft of shame) are commonly heard from the lenders when the borrowers fail to meet their obligations after several attempts to collect. From the borrower's point of view the collector is also "*waay it hu-ya*" in that he keeps coming back, even if he has been promised payment. These points of view are oftentimes the root of quarrels in the area. What is most resented is not the fact that one cannot meet his obligations but that his presence "shames" the debtor before other people. "*Ginapakahuy-an mo ako*," (You are putting me to shame) is the most frequently used phrase when one cannot take the interaction any more.

As we have stated the people in Malitbog are keen about *huya* associated with economic status. This consciousness wields tremendous influence over local behavior so that it is almost possible to predict the type or kind of reaction an individual will have as soon as the problem of economic status comes to fore. Thus, when Tio C came home one evening and told Tia P that a group of town officials were passing through the barrio and would like to spend the night with them, the latter was upset. She did not say anything of course but she started kicking things around and shouted at the dogs and cats. Picking this as a cue, Tio C approached her and said: "What shall we do? They are passing by. They will stay long, anyway." Tia P stood up, picked up her chewing pouch (*maram-an*) and sat by the window. Then she looked back at Tio C and curtly said: "What will you serve them for meals, sand? Bha — you are 'advertising' your *kinawara* ('poverty') to other people." Tio C did not answer. He went down the house.

Several minutes later he came back carrying a bundle of kasasava-roots. While we were roasting the roots in the kitchen, the Barrio Captain came up. He told Tia P and Tio C that he had received word from the town officials that they were coming. "Could you please accomodate them? My house is very small," the Barrio Captain said. Thereupon, Tio C confronted him: "And what do you think of our house? It is very small, too. Besides Mr. Ukano is already staying with us." The Barrio Captain smiled at us and said: "That's all right. I think Mr. Ukano wouldn't mind." "What do you mean all right," Tia P put in again. "It is all right ha! It doesn't matter to you because you have enough food to serve them. But us, — Bha — we have nothing to eat. Go to the kitchen and see for yourself. We are eating kassava. What shall we give the visitors, roots?"

Tio C suggested that if the Barrio Captain and other members of the barrio contributed rice and chicken, they would be willing to accommodate the town officials. The Barrio Captain said he would do "the best I can — I will go around the barrio." Then he left. When he came back,

he had three gantas of red rice and two small chickens. When Tia P saw the rice, she told the Barrio Captain to "bring it to Itik, the rice-mill owner, and have it changed to white rice." She added: "It is shameful to serve this kind of grains to visitors."

Another incident worthy of mention because of its implication for *huya* arising from economic status of the people was the coming of a group of researchers who identified themselves as fieldworkers doing "nutrition survey." Before they came to the area, the leader of the team wrote the town mayor. The mayor picked Malitbog as one of the barrios where they could work. He sent word to the Barrio Captain, informing him about the arrival of the team. In turn, the Barrio Captain made the round of the barrio and asked the well-to-do members if they would accommodate the researchers. There was consternation among the people in the barrio. No one wanted to have visitors stay in their place. "You know this is the most difficult time of the year. We have nothing to eat," many complained. "We will be shamed if they know what we are eating — or how many times we eat during the day. Can't you ask the mayor to tell these people to go elsewhere?"

In spite of this local concern the researchers came. The Barrio Captain immediately brought them to Itik, the rice-mill owner, whom he coerced into accommodating the newcomers. Then he introduced them to the families among whom they would "like to measure food eaten by the people in terms of nutritional content." These measurements, the families were informed, would be done three times a day, three days a week. Nobody said "No," if only because each was *huya* to protest. Should they protest, the visitors' curiosity might be aroused and they would be asked to explain. Their economic "inadequacy" therefore would be found out.

During the first day, the team went to visit Tio C's family in the morning. Measurements of the food eaten, left-overs, and those fed to the domestic animals were made. The day's menu consisted suddenly (we did not have it before) of eggs, dried fish, rice, salt, and tomatoes. From

our supply Tia P served coffee and sugar. After breakfast, the researchers stayed for a while and asked a number of questions: "How many times do you eat a day?" "What constitutes your breakfast, lunch, and supper?" "How often do you have meat, fish, vegetables, noddles and others in your meal?" "What are your food preferences?" There were many other questions.

By this time a number of people had gathered in the house. Tia P was hard put in answering the questions. She hedged questions and gave generalized answers. Then she would look at the people around who, taking the cue perhaps, would contribute an answer which they thought the researchers wanted. There was, apparently, always a ready answer for the questions asked. When the researchers finally left, the people started talking among themselves. Tia P and her neighbor C borrowed money from Sambe so they could purchase in town the things they told the researchers they serve each mealtime. "They are coming back tomorrow and it would be shameful if they found that we are not really eating the things we told them."

We were surprised over this statement which was uttered unguardedly. We never realized until this incident that for a stranger to ask about what people eat, how many times they eat, and so forth is a breach of proper conduct. What was interesting, in this connection, was that in the course of our stay, we heard people ask and inform each other about food — i.e., whether a neighbor had already cooked lunch or supper and what it consisted of. In fact, we had watched them exchange cooked viands. Small boys did not wash their hands should they chanced to have sardines for viands and they went about in their games making other children smell their hands. It is, we learned later, considered prestigious to have canned food for viands.

In about the same manner that the people feel *huya* when they do not have food that they feel *huya* if they fail to share with the *kaingod* whatever extra food they have. This brings us to exchange of food among immediate neighbors. We have already discussed the social implications of this system. Suffice it to say here that ex-

changing food with the neighbor is a sign of generosity and anyone who violates this expectation is considered "*waay et huya*." Aside from cooked food, staple and meat are also exchanged raw. When bigger livestock is butchered, every *iningod* receives his share. This bolsters the family's prestige and position in the community.

The kind of staple or dish which is served during mealtime is a measure of the family's economic status. Red rice (*bahay*) is considered a low-status variety. Should an individual chance to come up the house when the family is eating, he would be invited to "come and eat, but our rice is *bahay*. You should excuse us for this." White rice (*bisaya*) is considered prestigious and is oftentimes reserved for visitors. Corn is not considered a staple; it is a supplementary cereal and it is of low status. Young corn — roasted or boiled — is for snacks. When ripe corn is ground and mixed with rice (*lamud*), it is served only to members of the family. Should a visitor come unannounced, an apology is made about the kind of cereal being served. When we insisted on eating mixed rice-and-corn meal, our host said: "Do not try to make fun of us. We will feel bad if you do so. You are not used to this kind of cereal. You might have stomach ache. This is a poor man's meal."

The value which people place on food they eat affects the kind of staple they raise. Corn is raised for sale. It is considered fitting only for fowls and pigs. No one will cook ground corn for meals unless it is during the most difficult part of the year. Red rice variety is not considered desirable because "even the *Insik* (Chinaman) would not buy it." Interestingly enough, the storekeepers (three Chinamen and ten Filipinos) we interviewed in the poblacion agreed that red rice variety (*bahay*) was one of the difficult varieties to sell. Hence they gave us a very low and discouraging price. Only few farmers plant the red rice variety. This variety is known for its yield and resistance to pests.

Huya and attire. How one dresses himself in the barrio is closely rooted in how one feels other people would

feel about him. To wear a clean dress every day is to invoke such comments as: "*Daw si sin-o ka gid. Indi kaw mahuya magpadayaw-dayaw diyay sa baryo.*" (Transl.: "You think as if you are somebody. Are you not ashamed of yourself — showing off in the barrio?). Correspondingly, a newcomer who immediately dons dirty clothes hoping that he would be accepted by the people as one of them in that everyone wears dirty work-clothes is apt to be regarded as "*naka-insulto*" (very insulting). Not being part of the group, he is expected to behave differently. To imitate the way the barrio folks dress is a breach of proper conduct: the act is oftentimes interpreted as adding insult to injury. This is more so if the newcomer comes from the city or is educated.

During occasions, however, everyone is expected to don the appropriate attire. This means clean shirt, trousers for males, and clean blouse and skirt for females. Wanting to impress her peer group that she just arrived from the city where she had been studying, A's daughter put on her black jeans and thin blouse and went to the party held in honor of her newly baptized nephew. When her father stepped out of the kitchen and saw her in her attire immediately he upbraided her.

"Hoy kahuruya kaw. Uli tu kag mag-ilis. Karaway kadang bisti mo. Daw sa urag-uragan kaw. Anong gusto mo hambalon kaw ka tawo doon?"

(Free transl.: You are shameful. Go home and dress properly. You look humiliating in that dress. You look like an ill-repute. Do you like to be the talk of the people here?)

The girl tried to reason out. But her mother came to her father's defense. Soon every relative was commenting on her attire. While they admit it was nice on her and that it was the 'fashion' of the time, yet, as her aunt stated: "It is good if we are only among ourselves. But there are visitors and what will they think? It is indeed shameful. Go home and change it." The girl relented.

The awareness about *huya* related to dress is developed early in childhood when children are impressed with the need of dress. A child who goes around naked is at

once scolded and told not to display his genitals. "You are now old enough to be ashamed of yourself." This is interesting in that many male children run around the barrio without any pants at all. By the time the children become adults they are fully aware of the *huya* and its implications in terms of one's self-esteem and of one's family position in the community. It needs to be emphasized in this connection that an individual's wrong-doing reflects not only his personal concern but it also reflects how the parents have trained him.

Huya and social interaction. Fundamental to Malitbog social interactions is the observance of the existing form of conduct prescribed by the values set down by tradition. One of the mechanisms through which this is achieved, we have already said, is through the *huya*. *Huya* may be viewed in Redcliffe-Brown's terms as the "the reactions toward the particular or general behavior of a member of the community which constitute judgments of disapproval." (9:206). This involves one's feelings about or evaluation of the situation relative to his relationship with other people. As social psychologist Tomatsu Shibutani has expressed it:

Each person attempts to guide his conduct in a deliberate effort to maintain an acceptable view of himself; [each] perceives his surroundings as well as himself from the standpoint of the group in which he is participating; he takes into account certain expectations that can be reasonably imputed to others. (11)

Huya, from this standpoint, functions as a culturally-defined code of self- or group- appraisal that underlies interactions. Social action is dependent on the degree to which an individual or groups of individuals take into account and respond to another individual or groups of individuals. Relationship in this context is more than the physical contact in that each person does something to another. It encompasses the expectations which members of the group have of each others, which, as soon as they become standardized, they take on elements of right and

wrong; they become social norms — the principle which reinforces the ability of an individual or groups of individuals to anticipate the behavior of others and to adjust their own behavior accordingly.

The common expression "*mahuya ta or kita*" (we will be ashamed) clearly states this pattern of expectations. In fact, when an individual is requested to approach someone for something, the first statement he or she utters is: "*Ah — nahuya takon*" (I am ashamed). Or if a person is persuading another not to do what he plans to do, he simply reminds the latter: "*Indi day-a pagpadayona, mahuya kita sa tao.*" (Don't proceed with your plans, we would be shamed before other people). To show disapproval for another's behavior, the expression "*kahurnya ang ginbuhay mo*" (Your actions are shameful) is used to make the individual stop. In other words, the term *huya* is used as a means of sanctioning all types of behavior in the barrio.

There are two levels of actions which are the common source of conflicts, due to the *huya* they generate among the people. One involves breach of linguistic etiquette and the other is trespass of approved mode of conduct. The former is referred to as *saklaw*. It is often used to characterize an offended feeling due to a comment or statement made, intentional or non-intentional, about another person's action, including ways of speaking, manner of attire, physical deformity, and so on. It is not so much an individual's shortcoming that is considered *hurting* as an overt statement of a consensus about the shortcoming that is *nakasaklaw* (embarrassing or being shameful).

During a Sunday school meeting, a group of men were listening to the Pastor emphasize a point in the Bible. A discussion followed between E and the pastor. The latter strongly argued his position that in the end, E accepted having misinterpreted the Biblical passage: "*Hu-u, ah, belid ron ko*" (Yes, ah, I do believe now).

Near him were seated B and A. Upon hearing E's *ay belid* (for believe) they laughed. E was embarrassed because present in the crowd were his

relatives. When B and A further teased him for saying "belid" instead of "believe", E stepped out of the Church and refused to go to church anymore. When the pastor tried to persuade him, he said: "I'd rather worship at home; anyway the people in the church are making fun of me."

"Well, for that simple thing you are offended. We are no longer boys," the pastor tried to appease him.

"Ofended? Huh- it is not what they said that really hurt me; it is the fact that they know I do not know and yet they have to say it in public. And in front of all my relatives! Bha — who they really think they are? If that happens to you, Pastor, you will also do the same."

To be more direct in speaking to people, one is likely to generate the *saklaw* feeling. Choice of words is another aspect in the conversation which causes troubles between people. Malitbog dialect does not possess respect terms similar to the Tagalog "po." Instead, respect (or breach of it) is expressed in the tone of the voice when speaking. Malitbog people speak in soft, cool tone (similar to what the Tagalogs call 'malaming' and anyone who speaks in a loud, harsh manner transgresses the prescribed linguistic etiquette. He *saklaw*s the fellow he is speaking to or even his friends who hear him do it.

Related to *saklaw* but much deeper in implication for dyadic relations is the *pasipala*. This is to upbraid someone in public. Younger people are oftentimes afraid to contradict older men in group gatherings because of *pasipala*. As one of our informants said: "You like to be shamed in the public then *sublang* (contradict) the old people in public discussions." The reason why Badu nearly boloed Mal-am Itik was that the latter upbraided him for his public misdeemeanor. Badu was somewhat drunk (tipsy) when he entered the house of Mal-am Itik to join the group of young people who came to visit the old man. Because he did not call out ("panagbalay") before coming in, Mal-am Itik was mad. He spoke to him in a loud voice: "*Waat batasan, waat huya. Bisan managbalay indi.*"

(Transl.: 'No character, no shame. Even to call out before entering you did not bother!'). Badu unsheathed his bolo and laughed at the old man. Cool and quicker hands prevented him from inflicting harm to the old man. When subdued, Badu kept saying: "Why did he shame me, why did he shame me."

Another easily noticed Malitbog behavior is the extending of the hand(s) downward when passing between two or more people who are conversing. This is known as *panabi-tabi*. Its implication ramifies from observance of simple politeness to recognition of social status. Which-ever is emphasized one obtains an explanation involving *huya*. It is improper for one not to do this. And those who trespass this norm are immediately reprimanded. If it is a child who does it, he receives a pinch; if it is a grown up, he is scolded and told that he has no '*huya*.' So deeply internalized is this mode of conduct that almost all people in Malitbog unconsciously and spontaneously extend their hands, stoop a little, and ask permission to be allowed to walk between two persons conversing.

Learning this norm starts early during childhood. Efforts are made by the parents and other members of the family to impress on the child the proper mode of behavior. When a child cries in the presence of visitors, the mother tells him to stop because it is "*kahuruya*" (shameful) to the visitors. He is also told to obey what the elder people tell him to do because "it is shameful for children to be lazy." To answer back an older member of the family is to receive physical punishment — pinching, slapping, beating across the mouth, etc. — followed by a reprimand: "Next time learn to check your behavior because it is *makahuruya* (shameful)." The underlying principle here is, we learned later, that the person is not only held responsible for his behavior but his family, especially the parents, are blamed for it as well.

Thus when Clarit's little boy brought home the toy-dog of the neighbor, she was very mad. She scolded the boy. "Go — return that toy or I will peel your buttocks with a beating-stick. What will people in the neighborhood

think — I am not teaching you good conduct?" The boy ran back and returned the plaything.

We believe no one will object to the assumption that an individual's standing in the community is largely a matter of accepted social usage. Clarit's deep concern over what her little boy did exemplifies this. Her alarm was less on what the boy did, but more so on what people would say about the act. In this context, then, even the behavior of the child is considered a reflection of the family's standing in the community; that is, they are good or bad, depending upon how well-behaved the members are. And this is so, too, in the mature world of the adults. Whatever an individual does also involves the reputation of the family. It is the "shame" of the family, in fact, that matters in the final analysis.

2.2 *Utang nga kabaraslan* and *Utang nga kabubut-on*

Closely associated with *huya* are two other fundamental norms that underlie Malitbog dyadic and group behavior. These are *utang nga kabaraslan* and *utang nga kabubut-on* (buot). They form the basic framework of reciprocity in the barrio. The term reciprocity is used here to mean the tendency to perceive and anticipate social relations. As a system of social usage, *utang nga kabaraslan* and *utang nga kabubut-on* constitute the conventional rules that govern a wide variety of transactions in the barrio, with strong emotional overtones.

There are no English equivalents into which the terms may be translated without clarifications. Their basic features are likewise difficult to isolate, describe and analyze with precision in that they ramify throughout all facets of local value-orientations and system of actions. Our present analysis must therefore be taken as suggestive of the pattern and not as a conclusive statement about them. Be this as it may, it is nevertheless the best approximation of what we can deduce from the people's overt behavior, reinforced by their statements about reciprocal obligations. For one thing, the people in Malitbog utilize either of these concepts to define the nature of their orientation toward each other and to delimit the extent of socially accepted

patterns of responses and modes of choices.

Semantic base — A good grasp of the functional dynamics of *utang niya kabarasan* and the *utang nga buot* (*kabubut-on*) may be had by first describing the semantic base of the terms. Both types of reciprocal obligations — the *kabarasan* and the *kabubut-on* (*buot*) — are anchored on the basic concept of *utang*. *Utang* is a generic term for “debt” or “obligations”, incurred as a result of a behavior done, a service rendered, a material object handed out as a loan or given as a gift. It must be pointed out that the people in Malitbog do not *utang* without a good reason for doing so. It may be to meet a previous obligation, to help another individual (friend or kin), to provide for his current needs, and so forth. Normally, a business transaction like obtaining a loan from loan shark or a government agency is conceived to be devoid of sentiments. Business is business. But in Malitbog, the fact that someone in the community, however disliked at other occasions, or, in the agency however condemned for his acts, is of assistance in time of need is enough to establish a sentimental bond between that particular person and the one in need. For in the transaction that follows both orient their relationships not purely on the business is business proposition but on the extra-business sentiments of the *utang*. Sentiment is used here behavioristically “not so much in terms of any particular act but through their organization” (11:333). It constitutes, in other words, the organization of attitudes and perception, as well as normative expectations that surround the *utang*. Functionally, it provides us with cues for the proper understanding of the component tendencies underlying Malitbog behavior related to the *utang*.

The second word in both phrases is *nga*. It corresponds roughly to the English preposition “of” and its function is to show relationship between the *utang* (obligation) and the nature of indebtedness. That is, whether the *utang* has been incurred by soliciting for material loans, gifts or services, or be receiving a voluntary assistance from someone without asking for it. The sentiment underlying the configuration of responses involved in the former is

known as *kabaraslan*, that of the later is *kabubut-on*, or plainly *buot*. There is a wider latitude of choice in the latter. *Kabaraslan* is derived from the root-word *balos* which means "to reciprocate, to return, to give back, to vindicate."

Ka- is a prefix which indicates the futurity of the action and *-an* is a suffix signifying "state of being or the condition" of the act. There is an internal lexical shift from lateral "l" to thrill "r" but this phonetic alternation does not, in any way, affect the meaning of the term. It is more structural than semantic. The term *kabaraslan* therefore would mean "something to be repaid, reciprocated, or vindicated" in the future — be it a favor, a service, or a material object.

Kabubut-on is similarly derived from the root-word *buot*, the closest English equivalent of which are "state of being good, possessing goodwill, generosity of the heart, having conscience." *Ka-* is a prefix indicating futurity and *-on* is a suffix indicating the condition of the fact. Hence, *kabubut-on* may be translated as "goodwill, goodness, or generosity of the heart."

Utang nga kabubut-on would then approximate any of these English phrase: "debt of goodwill, debt of gratitude, or debt of generosity of the heart," while *utang nga kabaraslan* would mean "debt to be repaid, reciprocated, or vindicated." The term "debt of gratitude" which has been associated with the Tagalog term *utang na loob* applies to both types of Malitbog *utang-* the *kabaraslan* and the *kabubut-on*. Linguistically, Malitbog dialect (*Kinaray-a*) has apparently no term (or least we have not found any) similar to the Tagalog specifying-term "kaloob" for gift. The Spanish term "regalo" is used; hence, it is difficult to be precise about the behavioral attributes of the "gift" in translating the term associated with it. At any rate, the most important thing to keep in mind is that *utang nga kabubut-on* is established through unsolicited extension of assistance in the form of either gift or services while *utang nga kabaraslan* is created through solicitation of another's help or services in realizing the goals desired.

Structure of the relationship. — As we have stated the basic unit of our analysis of *utang nga kabarasan* and *utang nga kabubut-on* as functional concepts in Malitbog is the sentiment of reciprocity underlying the interactions associated with them. How things are done, how security is achieved, how local power is manipulated to meet one's ends and so forth — all these, in the final analysis, are dependent upon the quality and number of reciprocal ties one has established with his *iningod* (*neighbors*), friends, relatives, people with higher economic and social status in and outside the barrio, and with government officials like the municipal mayor, the chief of police and his staff, the forest rangers, and the health officers. Non-government officials who are regarded with equally high status are Catholic priests and Protestant ministers. Contractual obligations are similarly established with the environment spirits (the *engkanto*, *tomawo*, etc.), saints and Virgin Mary. Jesus Christ is acknowledged as the Redeemer but the Virgin Mary is regarded as the more powerful person if only because the former is her son.

The creation and validation of these contractual ties is done through reciprocal exchange of goods, services, and "goodwill" (*kabubut-on*). Once instituted each contractants expect to receive something from the other "at times in ways and in forms that are clearly understood by both... or in ways and forms that are a function of the type of relationship involved (4:1281)." We have said earlier that there are two types of reciprocal obligations operating in the barrio: the *kabarasan*, which arises through exchange of material objects or solicited services, and *kabubut-on*, through exchanges of goodwill and unsolicited services. The degree of involvement in this system is proportionate with the length of the relationship and the status of the persons involved.

If the *kabarasan* is carried out with friends, relatives and neighbors, the psychological commitment is of shorter duration. As soon as repayment in kind or services has been made, the relationship ceases to be defined in the context of reciprocity. None of the participants feel the qualms of obligations and the underlying feeling of *huya*

(shame) to each other does not come to fore in face-to-face interactions. This is best exemplified in communal work in agriculture, in house building or transferring, and in other odd jobs. As soon as the *kabaraslan* is repaid the commitment is terminated. Another situation is needed in order to create another reciprocal obligation. The injunction *warat kabaraslan* cannot be used or invoked to sanction an unfavorable response. In this respect, the system is operating on a horizontal base in that those who are involved are of some economic and social status.

On the other hand, if the principal actors are of different socio-economic status, the sense of obligations involved in *kabaraslan* is of longer duration on the part of the initiator while it may be minimal on the part of the respondent. The vertical nature of the base accounts for this unequal involvement in the value system. For example, if the farmer requests the clerk at the municipal treasurer's office in town to facilitate his land tax clearance or the processing of whatever papers he needs, he creates an *utang nga kabaraslan* obligation. Next time he comes to town the farmer brings to the clerk's house eggs, chickens, vegetables, and so forth. But the feeling of obligation is not terminated here. The status of the clerk is much higher and the services rendered are beyond the capacity of the farmer to perform. Moreover, the fact that the clerk attended to his request is proof enough that former has "*maayo nga kabubut-on*" (of generous [heart] conscience). Here the commitment shifts somewhat from pure *kabaraslan* to *kabubut-on*. Thus even if the title of his land and other papers pertaining to it were done five years ago Baldis still reminisce his relationships with the clerk in town. He would shake his head and say: "*Man hanggod ang kabaraslan kay* (mentions the name of the clerk) *nga day-a.*" (Free translation: "You see, my debt of obligation to is indeed big").

On the other hand, the *utang nga kabubut-on* is more emotionally laden and of longer duration than the *utang nga kabaraslan*. It transcends the relationship between the contractants. That is, even if social relations are termi-

nated, some people in Malitbog still remember how well received they were when they went to the house of a friend acquaintance, or an official's house and that they have an *utang nga kabubut-on* to them. The reasons for "parting way" are always given and these have two individuals. The alternative term for *kabubut-on* is *amuma*. The transcendental quality of the *kabubut-on* obligations emanates from the fact that those who are involved in the process are not required, by custom, consensus or traditional norm, to repay the obligations right away. It is incurred in the first place, through voluntary offering of assistance or of giving gifts. If a farmer is overtaken by night or rain near a friend's or an acquaintance's house and he is requested or offered to pass the night, and he accepts it, he immediately incurs an *utang nga kabubut-on* to that friend or acquaintance. In a similar circumstance or in any situation in the future, he must reciprocate even if the choice is open for him to do so or not. If he does not, he may be branded as *warat utang nga kabubut-on* but not openly as in the case of *utang nga kabaraslan*. The same norm operates when an individual voluntarily contributes to baptismal, wedding or funeral rites.

It must be pointed out that *utang nga kabubut-on* does not operate within the nuclear family. It is *utang nga kabaraslan* which is weighted as the reinforcing principle in inter-family relationships. As we see it, this is perhaps due to the fact that inherent in the structural relationships of the individuals involved are specific rights and obligations. These rights and obligations are kinship-defined, making the relationship, first of all, a required one. That is, it is the right of the children to demand support and protection from the parents and it is the parent's obligation to provide them these in return for their right to demand obedience and respect. The nexus of relationship, in other words, is oftentimes expressed in material goods and "kinship-obligated" services. Birth and siblinghood are considered as gift and forced-situation (i.e., the choice of sibling is not voluntary). Hence, the value-commitment in the relationship is *kabaraslan* rather than *kabubut-on*. Outside of the family, however, as well as within the narrow

confines of close relatives, it is the *utang nga kabaraslan* which is the main conceptual frame of reference of interactions. In other words, the boundaries of these two concepts are largely determined by the kind of relationship the contractants have, the propinquity of residence, the frequency of interactions and the level of socio-economic status in the community.

REMARKS

Thus far we have discussed the various aspects of social relations wherein the concepts of *iningod* or *kaingod* (neighborhood), *huya* (shame, self-esteem, *amor proprio*), and *utang nga kabaraslan* and *utang nga kabubut-on* are best exemplified. We wish to state here that this discussion is not the last statement relative to the nature and function of these concepts; we are still involved in an ongoing research in this respect. Hence no conclusion is in order. It needs to be pointed out nevertheless that whatever positive relationships and inter-personal conflicts are generated by these cultural norms are resolved in terms of contingency principle — i.e. wider latitude of choice-patterns — emanating from local definitions and evaluations of social categories involved in the interactions of people. It is, in other words, the circumstances or the situations surrounding the mode of interaction — (and which are normally of moment) — that define the kind of type of relationships among the people, at least in this barrio, and not merely the presence of these conceptual categories as many writers have argued that leaves them no other recourse but to act accordingly. After all

“the basic life task facing the individual is . . . given only a finite store of time and other resources, to juggle the multitudinous commitments and demands of his position and relationships and demands following from his role-identity hierarchies in such a way as to negotiate a ‘safe’ and ‘meaningful’ passage through life” (8:234).

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THE STORY OF ANCIENT PANAY: ITS SETTLEMENT AND PRE-SPANISH CULTURE

Felix B. Regalado

1.0 *Background.* The whole of Asia was swept by a mighty wave of culture occasioned by the rise of the Shri-Vishayan Empire during the period from 700 to 1000 A.D. This spectacle of the empire's expansion crept northward and engulfed the whole of Malay Peninsula, East, Indies, and the greater portion of the Philippine archipelago. In India, the might of the Shri-Vishayan empire began to be visibly felt in the political and cultural life of the people (6). In the Philippines, the irrepressible force left in its wake a deep and impressive mark on the lifeways of the people. The name Visayas, it is said, was given by the Shri-Vishayan colonizers.

Although little of the Shri-Vishayan influence could be seen in the Philippines today, there are indelible imprints of that influence on our cultural heritage which manifest themselves in the character and mentality of our people.

After the collapse of the Pallava kingdom in Southern India, the Shri-Vishayan Empire meteorically rose in power in Malasia. Its power extended over the Malay Peninsula, stretching as far as central Java, Ceylon, Moluccas, a large portion of Sumatra, part of Siam (Thailand), Borneo, and the Philippines. The record to account for the exact number of tributary states are non-existent today, but the chroniclers of oriental history attest to the fact that there were four major states: Banjarmassin, Sukadana, and later the Southern Sarawak region, and Brunei. The relationship that developed between the Philippines, Banjarmassin, and Brunei, lent a new color to our national scene.

1.1 *Relations with Banjarmassin.* The pearls from the

beds of the Sulu sea attracted the colonizers from Banjarmasin and caught the fancy of the Shri-Vishayan lord. Word about these hidden riches penetrated the hinterlands of the empire, and the Philippine coast of Sulu, like a magnet, drew a never-ending stream of treasure hunters, traders, and adventurers from Brunei and the neighboring states. This event marked the beginning of a keener and spirited competition for the possession of the low lying plains and valleys of the Sulu coastlines. The fabulous riches of the Sulu beds whetted the colonizer appetite for expansion in order to (1) monopolize the fabulous pearl-trade; (2) to expand their commercial interests, and (3) to secure supplies necessary to sustain their increasing population.

The influx of immigrants and traders was not without its repercussions, for hardly had they set foot on the shores of Sulu than their presence was met with veiled hostility — the native Buruanons. A clash of interests ensued between the exploiters and the exploited which gained momentum when the Orang Dampuans appeared in the scene in search of the same treasure. The Buruanons threatened to close all avenues of trade and commerce unless the new wave of settlers left. Something had to be done in order to maintain commercial relations necessary for economic survival. The Banjars and the Dampuans felt insecure. Later the Banjars, who were better strategists of the two, conceived of a plan that would loosen the grip of the Buruanon chieftain on the fabulous treasures hidden in the muddy beds of the Sulu deep and enable them to realize their ambition for territorial expansion. The plan was to offer in marriage to the principal Buruanon chief, a Banjarmassin princess of blinding beauty. The plan worked, for “under the thrall of the princess,” wrote Otley Beyer and associates, “the Buruanon chief, signed a marriage contract making Sulu a tributary of Banjarmassin or probably a tributary to the Shri-Visayan Empire through Banjarmassin. Thus the colonists secured, through a state of marriage, a permanent foothold for peaceful trade and expansion of Sulu,” (11:5-10).

As trade and commerce resumed its normal pace, fortune hunters and traders from the far reaches of the empire continued to swarm the coastline of Sulu. In consequence, the island became a melting pot of all cultures, and the natives were crowded out of their homes and driven to the hills, leaving the control of the coastal regions to the foreigners.

The Shri-Vishayan Empire, just like other great empires in recorded history, did not last very long, for by the thirteenth century it began to decline to give way to the rising power of the Madjapahit kingdom of Java before whose mighty armies it fell in 1377.

1.2 *The Bornean Datus.* With the Shri-Vishayan Empire prostrate at the feet of the conquering hordes of Madjapahit, came wranglings over the spoils of conquest. Sultan Makatunaw's offensive and tyrannical rule irked the favored members of his royal court they made plans to flee Brunei (Borneo) to seek new lands and greater fortunes beyond the northern seas (1:12). Manifesting their usual subserviency, but seething with anger at the grasping and inhuman policies of the sultan, they sought audience with the chief minister of the sultanate. Datu Puti, the chief minister, lent a patient and sympathetic ear to their complaints. He realized that unless the surging tide of popular discontent was checked, the whole of Borneo would suffer the fate of blood and desolation. It would be unwise to seize upon brutal solutions if a crisis was to be averted. In a situation such as this which involved principles long cherished, a patient and deliberate reappraisal of the solution was needed.

Finding himself in the same predicament as his leaders, Datu Puti realized that like one of them he was under the rule of a despotic ruler before whom all must bow in complacency and subservience. Open revolt against the formidable forces of Sultan Makatunaw would be suicidal, so the only recourse was to leave. Secret preparations with the leaders of the group were made. After the long preparation, a flotilla of fast sailing vessels left under the cover of darkness. Heading the expedition was Datu Puti

himself, accompanied by his wife, Pinangpangan. The other datos were Datu Sumakwel, Datu Dumangsil, Datu Lubay, Datu Balkasusa, Datu Bangkaya, Datu Paiborong, Datu Paduhinog, and Datu Dumatogdog (8:4-8). With them, too, were their wives, most prominent of whom were Pabulawas, wife of Paiborong; Capinangan, wife of Sumakwel; Katurong, wife of Bangkaya; Ribongsapaw, wife of Paduhinog; Kabling, wife of Dumangsil; Ilohay Tanayon and Ilohay Sakangaon, beautiful daughters of Paiborong, and their followers, warriors, slaves and their worldly possessions that could be carried in the barangays (12).

2.0 *Arrival in Panay.* Favored by the tropical winds and guided by the stars, Datu Puti steered the expedition through the unchartered seas, skirted the coast of Parawan (Palawan) until they sighted the island of Aninipay, which was the earliest name of Panay, and Buglas now Negros. Upon reaching the southern tip of the island, they sailed farther north and finally, in 1250 (1:12), entered the Sirawagan River and landed in the bank of Andona Creek, not far from the site of barrio Sinogbohan in San Joaquin, Iloilo, where they saw a negrito fishing in the creek (8:9). It was this man from whom the newcomers came to know about the chief, Marikudo, his kingdom, and his people. With this fisherman as guide, the Borneans gained audience with Marikudo, the Negrito King. His experience with the Moro pirates who came as friends at daytime, but pillaged his village at night, taught him to act with caution and restraint. Datu Puti made known his desire to be friends with the natives, and their intention of settling in the land permanently, possibly on the site of Marikudo's settlement.

The offer struck Marikudo's fancy and he told the newcomers that he would study the offer and consult his men, and send a messenger at the time he would be ready to discuss the terms of the purchase. The Borneans returned to their boats to wait, while Marikudo, as was the custom during those days, prepared a feast and gathered his men to discuss terms of the offer. He ordered his men to hunt for wild game, to catch crabs and fish,

and gather edible shells (8:10), and advised them to be present during the conference with the Borneans with their musical instruments. When everything was ready, a banquet was held at which the two peoples freely drank, danced, and made merry. The Borneans, resplendent in their native costumes, danced their *sinulog* and displayed their *dinapay* dance accompanied by their *lantuy* and *tipano*, made of light three-noded bamboo. They beat their drums, and played with their *mang-mang*, *gurunggurong*, and *subing*. As they played the rhythm of the war dance, they brandished their arms with realism that threw the Negritos into a panic. In return, the Negritos danced their *urokoy*, and their *undok-undok* (8:11).

2.1 *The Barter of Panay.* The feast being over, Marikudo's elders and the ten datu sat down to discuss the terms of the purchase through an interpreter. Datu Puti inquired about the extent of Marikudo's territory and he was answered that "should a man go around the island, he would return just on time for harvest" (8:12). In turn Marikudo asked the Borneans how much they were willing to buy the land and Datu Puti ordered his servant to go back to the boat and get a *saduk* made of gold and one basin also made of gold (10). He handed them to Marikudo and asked him if he was willing to exchange the land with those objects. Marikudo was attracted by the size of the gold and so he placed it on his head and danced. Seeing him with the hat of gold, his wife Maniwantiwan cried and stubbornly insisted that she, too, be given a necklace like the one worn by Pinangpangan as a part of the purchase, otherwise she would not give her consent to the barter agreement. She did not mind giving back the basin in exchange to Maniwantiwan, and Pinangpangan, without any complaint, handed it to her on condition that she give to Pinangpangan, in addition to the land, a basket of crabs, a wild boar with long fangs, and one white cross-eyed deer. Maniwantiwan agreed to the bargain, but asked that she be given time to gather them. Maniwantiwan thereupon wore the necklace and danced in front of her people accompanied by Marikudo.

The high price paid by the Borneans for their land satisfied the Negritos, and even told the Borneans that they would include in the bargain their huts and their farm plants. They packed their belongings and moved to new places. Some repaired to "Dalanas" which was the source of the river and the others settled in Kabadyangan. The Borneans temporarily stayed and waited in Andona until the Negritos completed their evacuation from their Sinugbohan homes. After the Negritos had left, the Borneans burned their huts, cleared the forests and built new and stronger huts for their families.

The new settlers moved there after three days with exception of Datu Paiburong and his wife together with his followers who settled separately in a place called Lanag.

3.0 *Settlement of Panay.* At the threshold of a new era in colonization, wisdom and insight dictated that offerings be made to the natives' chief god, *Bulalakaw*. So, three days after they had moved to Sinogbuan, Datu Puti instructed Bangutbanwa, the chief priest, to ask their god's counsel as to what place was best for them to live. Bangutbanwa followed the order and repaired to the mountain fastnesses of Madya-as, where the supposed god *Bulalakaw* lived and remained there for seven days (7). Upon his return on the seventh day, he informed the group that according to *Bulalakaw*, the northwestern part of the island was the best place for a permanent settlement. Acting upon this information, Datu Puti ordered Datu Sumakwel to conduct a general survey of the place. Upon his return after the lapse of several days, Sumakwel reported that a place called Malandog, "had wide fertile plains and valley with shores teeming with fish" (8:15). Thereupon Sumakwel was instructed not to stay at Sinogbuan any longer, but to move to the new place right away. Before Sumakwel left for Malandog, Datu Puti made known his desire to return to Borneo. He assembled all the other datos and their followers so that he could give his final instructions to all his subjects. He appointed Sumakwel his successor as the head datu, and urged his people to respect and obey him as such.

The following day at nightfall, Datu Puti accompanied by Datu Dumangsil and Datu Balkasusa set sail for Borneo. As they were nearing the island of Mindoro, Dumangsil and Balkasusa refused to proceed to Borneo. Instead they sailed farther northward and founded a settlement in Southern Luzon.

No sooner had Datu Puti left for Borneo than Sumakwel and Bangkaya with their followers effected the transfer to Malandog as they were instructed. Exploration of the surrounding places followed. One day while his companions were resting under a tree near a spring, Sumakwel walked farther away alone to reconnoiter the place. Accidentally he stumbled upon a mound of earth which turned out to be a colony of big ants called Hamtik-Hamtik. Because all around he saw were ants, he decided to call the place Hamtik. The place became the center of the Panay settlement during the pre-Magellanic days.

3.1 *Confederation of Madya-as.* The exigencies of the times demanded the establishment of government for the purpose of protection and... regulation of human conduct. About a year after the transfer to Malandog, the seven datu held a meeting, and agreed, among other things, to name the island "Madya-as" after the name of one of the highest mountain peaks in Panay, where the god Bulalakaw lived. They also agreed to divide the island into three *sakups*, namely: Hamtik (Antique) to be ruled by Datu Sumakwel, Aklan (Capiz) to be ruled by Datu Bangkaya, and Irong-Irong to be ruled by Datu Paiburong. These three *sakups* were then organized into confederation called the "Confederation of Madya-as" especially for protection against enemy attacks. Sumakwel, one of the first and oldest leaders of the groups, was elected the supreme ruler of the confederation.

They agreed to join in a tour of the island. Each datu assigned to head a district would bring his men and seedlings to be planted in his district. No contributions would be paid by the people, but they should give offerings to their god once every seven years.

The day following the historic gathering, all their ves-

sels were readied and stuffed with seeds to be planted in their particular districts. A few were left behind to take care of their farms in Malandog.

Starting from Malandog the vessels sailed northward and stopped at Polondan (Pandan), where a married servant of Sumakwel got off with seedlings of coconut, bamboo and *hidyuk* to be planted in that area. From there they proceeded to Aklan, which was the second district assigned to Bangkaya. They spotted the Aklan river which runs through the heart of the province and meanders through its bends. Here Bangkaya, with his wife Katarung, his child Balinganga, and his servants, disembarked. They brought with them seedlings of bamboo, nipa, and coconuts.

Proceeding to the third district of Irong-Irong, their vessels reached a cape or point where they left two families under Datu Paiburong named Kurukuro and Barbutak with large quantities of seedlings of rice, coconut, *buri*, and *burak*.

Finally they reached the mouth of the Halawud river where everybody disembarked to reconnoiter the broad swampland of the banks. They were attracted by the crabs which, so goes the story, were said to be so many that they seemed to be like mats spread out over the fringes of the swamps. The Borneans had a fondness for sea foods, so Alayon, the wife of Sumakwel, insisted that they settle here. Here Datu Paiburong left one of his servants, Sarmen, with his wife, Bukaybukay. They had two unmarried sons who later cultivated a wide tract of land on both sides of the river from where they harvested much rice.

Paiburong and his wife Pabulanan decided to settle in Sitio Kamunsilan where trees called *Kamunsil* abound although without fruit. Here they planted plenty of coconuts, nipa, *tagum* and rice. Paiburong assigned his married servants and Solnap, whom he considered among his best men, to a place called Buyo situated on the Alimodian river which flowed to Salog. Datu Paiburong later moved to Katagman. He had two daughters. One whose name was Ilohay Tanayon was married to Datu Labawdungon. An-

other whose name was Ilohay Sakanga-on became the wife of Datu Paibare. These two datos returned to Borneo where they succeeded in killing Sultan Makatunaw.

With Paiburong and his people in Katagman, Datu Sumakwel left Kamunsilan and returned to Malandug but made stopovers at Katigbawan, Nanga, Bungol, Kalampitak, Banuya, Kirayan, Egpuro, Bankhanan, Manara, Buyanan, and then the Sirwagan river where they first dropped anchor from Borneo. With Datus Lubay, Padohinog, Dumangsil, and Dumalogdog, Sumakwel finally passed a point in southern Antique which is presently called Dao because Sumakwel referred to it as "dao dao dao" while trying to compare it at something he could not pronounce.

Following his last trip around the island of Panay, Datu Sumakwel dedicated his time to the development and growth of the Confederation of Madya-as. Assisting him in this tremendous job were Datu Paduhinog, Datu Dumalogdog, Datu Lobay, and Datu Dumangsil.

At the time the barangays were disorganized, Sumakwel tried to unite them into a *rarawigan* or province under a chieftain, with Padi Bangutbanwa as the high priest. Under him were placed the sitio of Hinar-ogan, Bukao, Bantok, Tarim, stretching from Alibunan to the Putian mountain, the sitios of Malnod, and Daraitan, in Antique. All the sitios along the Suague, Ulian, and Jaluar Rivers were also included in Sumakwel's *rarawigan*. All the above settlements were placed under Datu Labawdungon and Datu Paibare with their respective wives, Ilohay Tanayon, and Ilohay Salanga-on. When these two datos returned to Borneo, warrior Lumakad took charge of all the northern plains and hills along the Jalaur River. On the other hand, all the plains and hills along the Ulian River went to warrior Dumara-ay. Datu Lumakad married Maring-ay by whom he had two sons, Berdin and Lutos (3:68-69). It is said that these two men became famous warriors. Datu Dumara-og's wife named Kadangdang was a dancer of no mean ability. She bore him two daughters Maputing Daluga and Ampaw.

When the Borneans occupied Simsiman, the Negritos

settled in Sitio *Puro Lambunao*. The story is told that when Goite and his men were in the place, they saw a man fishing. He asked him what the name of the place was and he answered "Naga panglambu sa linao," believing that he was being asked what he was doing. Other sitios developed along the Ulian River and were consolidated into Malonod which became a pueblo sometime in 1743.

Other settlements developed from Simsiman. This was due to the initiative and leadership of the Simsiman patriarchs. The settlement of Passi, Dingle, Calinog, San Enrique, Lambunao, Pototan, and Janiuay flourished sometime in the 14th century and became a center of commerce and trade in central Panay.

4.0 *Culture of the People.* (9:70-71). From the time the Borneans clans beached their barangays at the quiet and tranquil Sirwagan River south of the town of San Joaquin to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521, the Indo Malayan culture had already flourished for 300 years. Our early forefathers were not only sailors, but farmers. The imperatives of survival in a strange land forced them to buckle down right away to clearing patches of virgin soil under which to bury the seeds of corn and rice in order to bring an abundant harvest.

In Hamtik, the people were not merely farmers engaged in the elemental form of shifting agriculture, but were also skilled hunters, fishermen, and explorers. The long range of picturesque hills and mountains stretching throughout her entire length teemed with wild game, and the rivers and seas were abundant with fishes. The people of Hamtik were the first to raise cotton from which yarn was made. Datu Lubay taught them how to weave, and engage in weaving industry. The women became excellent designers and dyers of sinamay. They were the first to develop pottery, but were behind in the arts particularly in music. They were shy, noble and peace-loving, but intense in war.

In Aklan, the wife of Balinganga, son of Bangkaya, gave birth to twins named "Adlaw and Bulan" (Sun and Moon) because of their charming appearance. In order to honor Bangkaya, the inhabitants of the district proposed

that the district be named Aklan and Kapid. Later the Spaniards substituted the named Kapid to Capiz as many of them could not pronounce the letter "d" at the end of the word (5:78-80).

The settlers of Aklan and Kapid had commercial intercourse with the other island. They were sea-farers by nature, and more adept in piloting big vessels for purposes of trade and fishing. In education and in music they were ahead of the settlers in Irong-Irong and Hamtik. It is said that the first school or *buthoan* was opened in Aklan. Like the settlers in Hamtik, they constructed wooden houses. Aklan abound with swamplands which explain why they were the first to manufacture alcohol. They also manufactured wine from fermented rice (*pangasi*). The people of Aklan lisped and stammered when they spoke. This was attributed to the fact that Balingaga lisped when he talked. It is said that the manufacture of wine helped them to become superior musicians because the festivities in those days called for drinking, singing and dancing.

Upon his assumption as datu of Irong-Irong, Paiburong distributed his men throughout his *rarawigan* while he stayed in the area around the Halawod River with his family and slaves for administrative purposes. In this way, his people could cultivate as extensively as possible wide areas of virgin soil while it was easier for him to go up and down the Halawod River to supervise.

Paiburong knew the value of athletics and training in the art of fighting so he taught his people how to play games and the technique of fighting with bladed weapons which he learned in Borneo. Later he taught his people how to manufacture bladed and other weapons.

The people of Paiburong also engaged in trade and commerce like those in Aklan. Favored by excellent location, business flourished and his people reaped immense profits from their commercial intercourse with the merchants and the people of Luzon, Cebu, and Brunei. They also bought a lot of jewelry from Chinese and Malay traders. The people were arrogant, loyal and sincere. Although they had petty quarrels among themselves, they

were united in time of crises especially during the attacks of the Moro marauders and looters from the mountain.

4.1 *The Code of Kalantiao* (2:15). Another evidence of high cultural standing of the Panay Visayans is found in the Code of Kalantiao which is said to be comparable to the ancient laws then in existence. The Code was written in 1433 by Datu Kalantiao, who was considered the First Filipino Lawgiver and a genuine Aklanon, because he was born in the "Aklan Sakup" which was founded by Datu Bangkaya some three hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521.

There have been positive evidences that an ancient civilization must have existed on the site for there were blocks of quarried stones cemented together by a process used during the Pre-Spanish period. There were also archaeological traces which were believed to be the foundations of the ancient capital right on the grounds just recently excavated in the construction of the town wharf along the shore of Batan Bay (4).

There are traces of Kalantiao's early domain in the present day Batan. There is, for example, a Kalantiao street in the municipality. A barrio had also been named "Mabuttia" (now Mabukiao). There is also an old custom still being observed which was practised during the time of Kalantiao, and that is, the gathering of the elders of the "Punoan" in the barrios for the purpose of conducting and promulgating rules and regulations. This was announced by a public crier, for the "sakups" to obey. Furthermore, there is still the practice of arranging the marriage suits by the old folks.

The Code contains eighteen orders. There were times when the people and races in the regions in Europe, Africa, and Asia were organizing themselves into groups and classes or barangays as in our case, to be confederated for self-protection under rules and laws to regulate their conduct.

The orders in this code consist of eight groups, and besides the provisions regarding punishment of crimes, it also includes laws for the protection of life and property, punishment for profanation of religion, the pro-

tection of women, penalty for crimes against truth, order for the establishment of a strong and vigorous government.

4.2 *The Maragtas Code.* The Maragtas Code, which is believed to be the oldest written laws in the Philippines, also considered stealing and laziness to be the greatest crimes. Stealing was punishable by cutting off the hands without mercy. Lazy persons were driven to the mountains where they could not see anybody in town. They were supposed to be ancestors of the *Aetas* (Negritos), who are presently wandering in the towns of Iloilo begging for money. Furthermore, a man was allowed to have two wives provided he could support them. This was permitted so that population might increase. Those who could not afford to support their children were not allowed to have more than two children. If he exceeded that number, the rest were thrown into the river.

The Maragtas and Kalantiao were considered very cruel in comparison with the present Penal Code, but they are said to be no less severe than the laws promulgated by Lycurgus in Sparta, and Draco in Athens. In Egypt, minor offenses as well as major crimes were punishable crimes and were punishable by death in the Codes of Hammurabi and Draco.

THE CPU COLLECTION OF WORLD WAR II DOCUMENTS ON THE PANAY RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (GUERRILLA)

Jose Balagot

1.0 *How it all began.* Actually, the greater bulk of World War II documents on the Resistance Movement, of which the present collection is a part, had their origin in the mountain fastnesses of Panay Island where they had been issued by leaders of the armed guerilla units or those of the civil resistance underground movement, during the darkest days of the Japanese occupation years from 1942 to 1945. Luckily, the CPU did not have to begin from scratch inasmuch as, by some turn of fortune, a wealth of these documents came into the possession of some of the faculty members of the CPU, who were active participants in the said movement. They were shown to the Dean of Graduate Studies, Dr. Leonard L. Bowman, who looked over the said materials, and who thought they were valuable acquisitions. This was the nucleus.

They are not just ordinary documents, despite the inferior quality of stationery on which the message is written. They had been gathered the hard way; secretly forwarded or brought over by carriers, usually a small group of barefoot guerrilla, who did not look like one. These boys had to go their way the best they could to the widely dispersed hideouts and outposts throughout all of Panay, crossing swollen streams and trudging over muddy roads during the rainy months, before reaching their destinations. These hardships would make reason enough which should induce one's concern for the preservation of these materials.

1.1 *How the CPU got involved.* During the early stages of this special project, no money for operational expenses was ever thought of. The documents were classified

and the work proceeded as an extra assignment, in the Office of Graduate Studies. However, after some time, President Howard was informed of the idea, and he readily gave his acceptance. He went further by obtaining from the Board of Trustees its approval for the project to use the Robbins Memorial Fund (P1,650.00), a bequest to the CPU by the late Joseph Robbins. This was partly utilized for the needed stationery and office supplies, binding of documents and other incidental expenses. No salary for personnel was set aside from this fund inasmuch as the work was part of the load given the undersigned for the semester. At the same time, the gathering of documents was carried on through writing letters to former participants of the Civil Resistance Movement and to leaders of the guerrilla, such as Col. Peralta, Col. Chavez, Major Tomas de Castro, Col. Amos Francia, among others. Two trips to Manila were made subsequently for the purpose of contacting personally these persons and other prospective donors. The response was encouraging. It may be stated here that the most substantial acquisition in point of pivotal or strategic importance was the file of the late Governor Tomas Confesor donated by Patricio V. Confesor, himself a former Second-in-Command of the Civil Resistance Movement on Panay during World War II, consisting of more than 20 volumes. This phase of the collection netted fifty-eight bound-volumes at the end of the school year 1963-64, with plenty more to spare of the Robbins Memorial Fund.

1.2 *How the Asia Foundation Grant of P7,384.00 was obtained.* During the early part of the CPU Summer Term in 1964, the Honorable Consul-General Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., a campus guest of this University, must have been informed of this special project, and came over purposely to see the project and browsed over a few of the volumes. His favorable impression could be understood by the fact that he took personal interest in having the work pushed on further. It was through his recommendation, more than anything else, that the Asia Foundation Grant of P7,394.00 has been allotted to CPU, "to secure additional

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documents for compilation and collection of materials through interviews of their individual source...¹ This grant was to last for twelve months effective September 1, 1964.

Needless to say that this aid not only added greater momentum to the activity but also widened the range of territory covered in contacting prospective donors in view of the addition of a Field Man to go around in search for more donations to the project. When the 12-month period was ended and the allotment became exhausted, the collection reached a total of two hundred fourteen (214) neatly bound volumes. This number does not include other unsorted documents recently acquired which will be classified, pasted, and assembled for binding, and which, incidentally, could not be included in the previous bundles, due to lack of funds. According to a rough estimate, these unclassified documents may take no less than twenty volumes, which will be added to the 214 volumes when bound.

1.3 *The Asia Foundation Grant of P3,160.00 (additional) of 1965.* Another campus guest of CPU was Dr. John V. Hart, of Syracuse University, who came here while doing some special sociological study at Silliman University. His exact address is: c/o Administrator of Manuscripts, Carnegie Library, Syracuse University, New York City 13210, N.Y. He had the whole day together with the undersigned browsing over the volumes which he selected at random. Before he left on the following day, he suggested the idea of microfilming the documents to avoid disintegration of originals through handling or using of materials . . . and with the cost to be paid by the institutions receiving copies of the microfilm. The idea of microfilming seemed acceptable to Dr. Howard, so he (Dr. Hart) talked to Mr. Raymundo V. Johnson, Representative of the Asia Foundation.²

When I went to the Asia Foundation Office in Manila

¹Letter of Hon. Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr. to Dr. Joseph T. Howard, Central Philippine University, dated May 1, 1964.

²Letter of Dr. D.V. Hart to President Howard, Central Philippine University, Iloilo City, dated May 12, 1965.

(July 1965), to report on the ₱7,394.00 grant and to follow up about the microfilming proposal, the additional grant of ₱3,160.00 was readily approved, and the agreement was signed, the main purpose of which was... "To retype all deteriorating documents in the collection or those that cannot be microfilmed in their present condition to insure their preservation..." The agreement was good for three months, and did not include microfilming plans.¹ At the termination of the period, there were 2,592 pages or sheets, typewritten, as of November 30, 1965. These are ready for microfilming.

1.4 *Present needs for carrying on the project: Money.* (for salary and supplies) On the basis of priority, the following things need to be done:

- 1st: To work on the unsorted documents recently acquired and to have them bound — (about 20 volumes). This work should cost about ₱80.00 including materials for pasting and the cost of binding.
- 2nd: To continue the retyping of deteriorating documents to make them ready for microfilming. This might require four or five months with two full-time typists on the job. The cost of stationery and supplies is estimated to reach about ₱300.00, salaries of typists excluded.
- 3rd: To microfilm selected documents, which could be done either in Manila or at some other place. See price quotations by the Microfilm Corporation of the Philippines, 500 Echague, Quiapo, Manila, Telephone 4-28-91 (Miss Chamber's file), for possible rough estimate of microfilming costs.
- 4th: To take steps necessary to make the collection more functional to qualified users or researchers, including cataloguing, indexing, cross-indexing, etc. This job could be done jointly if desired by

¹Letter of Mr. James C. Porterfield, Acting Representative, Asia Foundation, to Professor Jose C. Balagot, Central Philippine University, Iloilo City, dated July 20, 1965.

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the University Research Center, and/or the CPU Library.

1.5 *Sources of documents collected.*

- a. The Sixth Military District, or Armed Resistance Movement, the remnants of the USAFFE under Brig. Gen. Christie — the unsundered officers and men thereof;
- b. The Underground Civil Resistance Movement under the leadership of the late Tomas Confesor in Panay;
- c. Files of Deputy Governors, Municipal Mayors, and their instrumentalities in the field covering Iloilo, Antique, Capiz, and Romblon;
- d. The SWPA Command, Australia, under Gen. Douglas MacArthur; radiograms, instructions, radio broadcasts, during the War Years;
- e. Japanese-propaganda material — pamphlets, air-dropped leaflets, newspapers from Japanese-occupied areas of Iloilo.

1.6 *Content of the documents.* It is not possible to enumerate even just only a major portion of the content; hence it may suffice to give a few insights, such as the following:

The wonderful fortitude of spirit of the people, their capacity to stand strong even under pressure of all kinds;

The continuous struggle to obtain food and other prime necessities to survive the war;

The tools of terror resorted to, like murder, bombing torture, rape, destruction of life and property by the enemy;

Secret landings of arms and ammunitions through submarine rendezvous, under Command-er Chic Parsons, USNR;

Authority to print Emergency Currency in Panay, on orders of Gen. MacArthur;

The imposition of Martial Law over Panay by the Armed Forces;

First Radio Contact with Washington, D.C.
by Guerrilla Units;

Rampant abuses committed, the looting,
killing, and acts of banditry in the countryside
and isolated areas;

The power struggle between Col. Peralta
and Governor Confesor;

Message-center notes of Col. Peralta, CO,
6thMD with Stations WIC, KML, DK2, WAM,
KRC, and other friendly stations;

Other operational workings of the resistance
movement in the widely-scattered areas;

Etc., etc.,

WORLD WAR II DOCUMENTS

(Editor's Note: This constitutes Mr. Balagot's first at-
tempt to index the documents, which is a gigantic
task, indeed. We hope to be able to continue this se-
ries.)

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“NO SURRENDER”*

TOMAS CONFESOR
Governor of Iloilo

Some countrymen of mine, impatient at, and unsatisfied with, the progress thus far of the present war in so far as the Philippines is concerned, are wondering why I did not surrender as several other public officials have done. For my personal convenience, it would be best for me, they believe, to give up the hopeless resistance, and come out of my hideout in the mountains to live in the city in peace and comfort. They also say that for the sake of the civilian population, it would be advisable for me to turn over the reins of the provincial government to the Japanese-sponsored regime, which would be in a better position, they claim, to maintain peace and order, and to promote the general well-being than a civil government operating with obviously great difficulty in view of pressure of constant enemy punitive expeditions. My surrender, they assert finally, would mean the end of the war, or the horrors of it, at least, in so far as we of this province are concerned.

Far from impeaching the motives of these countrymen of mine, among whom are counted some of my best friends, but grateful ever for the kindly spirit of solicitude which they entertain for my welfare and for the fate of the masses of this province, I must say, however, that the reasons they press forth for my surrender are found to be lacking in substance when viewed in the light of a clear and impartial analysis of the facts and issues involved in the present struggle. It is self-evident that in this war, as in any other conflict of nations in the past, the matter of personal safety or self-convenience is out of the question. When countless others, without distinction of rank or condition in life, are giving their full measure

* One of the many documents in the C.P.U. collection; heretofore unpublished — Editor.

of immolation on the field of battle in the defense of our country against the invaders, there is no sensible reason whatsoever why the governor of this province should withhold from the motherland the sacrifice of such a small matter as personal convenience. Surely, it is not becoming to the dignity of the exalted position which I now occupy to hold the safety of my person over and above the future of the people who have elevated me to the seat of power not merely to serve them, as it is my solemn duty to do, but also to provide them with the guidance and inspiration which they so sorely need in this their dark hour of great perplexity. For me to surrender now would be to invite upon myself the charge of moral cowardice, for which I shall ever be stigmatized even long after my body shall have crumbled into dust.

As for the civilian population, I must say, modesty aside, that I yield to no man in my solicitude for the happiness and comfort of the masses, to whom I owe much for what I am now or ever hope to be in public life. It must also be stated here, for purposes of record, that long before the Japanese invasion forces landed in this province, I, as governor thereof, have taken every precaution to insure the safety and well-being of the people in the face of a terrible national emergency, so that when the inevitable really happened, the inhabitants were more or less prepared to meet the difficulties which they have foreseen the war will bring to all concerned. In their hideouts, they live without much of the facilities for comfort which they were used to enjoy in their former homes; but still they go through the ordeal with Spartan courage and are happy in the thought that what the future has in store for them is worth all that sacrifice. To the people, as well as it is to me, nothing is more certain than the defeat, sooner or later, of the enemy who has invaded our shores, raided and ravished our homes, robbed and raped our women, and committed all manner of atrocities upon our innocent citizenry; and to all of us, Japan's complete debacle would be a glorious event to witness, even if we have to wait for that hour in long moments of suffering in our improvised thatch-roofed huts in the heart of the

hills and forests of the land. Therefore, for me to surrender now is to undermine the morale of the people and to shake their faith in that ultimate victory for which they have endured so much and suffered so long.

As for the assertion that the surrender of the governor would mean the end of the war, or the horrors of it at least, in so far as the Province of Iloilo is concerned, it is only fair to recall that this war has just begun and will not be over until the serpent of militarism which has raised its head in Asia and Europe shall have been crushed under the heel of the forces of freedom forever. Viewed in the light of the tremendous proportions which the present titanic struggle has taken, it would be no more right to say that the surrender of the governor of Iloilo would put an end to it, than it would be to expect that a tiny pebble thrown in midstream would stop the onrush of a mighty river flood.

In the other parts of the Philippines, our good people there are continuing their struggle against the common enemy, with full knowledge of the odds they are up against. Are the people of the Province of Iloilo so lacking in the fervor of their devotion to our country that, unlike our brave brothers in the other provinces where resistance to the enemy is being stubbornly carried out, they are all too ready to give up in expectation for a chimerical respite from the horrors of the war? Of course, the war is almost unbearable; it breaks my heart to think that none of us, whether young or old, will be spared from its horrible effects as long as it lasts. But we must be able to see what many of our courageous countrymen have already discerned; namely: That the tide of battle is turning in our favor and the dawn of victory is breaking right after the darkest hour of our night. It would be most unwise for me and for all of us to give up while the prospect of national deliverance is in sight.

To all these considerations I might add as a reminder that the seat of the Civil Government of the Philippines is in Washington, D.C., and until that supreme authority so commands, I will never consent to surrender.

But there are other underlying motives which impel

me not to surrender to the Japanese authorities. One of these is, that I, as one of the leaders of the masses in this part of the Philippines, would not be adding anything to the honor of that great trust were I to lead the people on their knees in meek submission to the Japanese militarists. Were I to surrender now when the people of this province are stubbornly resisting subjugation by the invaders and just when the fortunes of the war are rapidly turning in our favor, my action would be interpreted as a betrayal of a public trust, an act tantamount to high treason which, when the dust of battle shall have cleared off, shall undoubtedly leave me high and dry on the barren rocks of infamy.

But the most important consideration of all is that a great issue is at stake in this war. It is whether all that we cherish of liberty and democracy which have been vouchsafed to us by our forbears amidst tears and blood shall give way to the rule of steel and fire under an Emperor and his clique of saber rattlers who exercise their power of life and death over their subjects without disguise or discrimination. For me to surrender now before the issue has been finally decided is not only to surrender every principle or conviction that has been woven into the very fabric of our political life, but also to allow the hand of the Japanese military power, at present being directed at our throat, to stifle the voice of the people so that their will might not be heard.

It is futile to drown the issue in a flood of false enemy pretensions, one of which is, that the Japanese are here to free our country from the bondage of American domination. It is an open secret that these back-stabbing Japanese militarists, in their march of aggression against weak and innocent neighbors, leave in their wake a blaze of their own promises sadly broken by them. To surrender to them now, in the hope that they will do the right thing by us, as they pretend to do, is to become an accomplice to a treacherous plot of national deception.

Another reminder which is not often openly broached for fear of irritating the much bloated egotism of the Japanese, is being urged, namely: That America is going

to win the war anyway; therefore, the surrender of the governor will not in any manner militate against the issue at stake, inasmuch as America will restore to us the liberties which the invaders have temporarily taken away. But it is precisely because America is going to win the war that there is no sense in surrendering; for to do so in exchange for a temporary local truce while in the other parts of our country and of the world the enemy is carrying on his acts of barbarous cruelty, is not only to cast doubt and suspicion on the loyalty of the inhabitants of this province to the common cause but also to invite discredit on the good name of our people in general.

Now for a final word. Long before the war broke out, I have searched my conscience for the purpose of discovering where my duty lies, should this country become involved in the maelstrom of this colossal world chaos. The quest was soon ended, and ever since the time when the storm broke loose with all its fury upon us, the way has all been clear as crystal to me. It lies on the rough and rugged road of the Calvary of resistance; but it is the way of honor and victory. So that we may tread this path together, I have repeatedly asked the people of this province to follow me; and they have responded so sublimely that I am eternally grateful. But should the war last a little longer, it would be no wonder to me if some of my countrymen were to become weary of the struggle, while others, yielding to temptations of one form or another, might falter or would be constrained to give up the journey altogether. Even then, I must continue to exhort them to carry on, in the hope that I might be able to rekindle their enthusiasm and to renew their strength for the attainment of our common goal. However, should circumstances beyond our control force me to bear the cross alone, I am ready to accept the burden and follow the path where my duties lies, for it is there where my conscience leads me.

THESIS ABSTRACT

ABSTRACTS OF MASTERS' THESES
1965-1966

School of Graduate Studies, Central Philippine University

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GENERAL
SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA AND THE
PHILIPPINES

By I. Anang Ao
Dr. Macario B. Ruiz, *Adviser*

Secondary education has a vital role to play in any program of education for any community. In India, it provides teachers for both elementary education and adult education. In the Philippines, as well as in India, it prepares pupils for the universities and other institutions of higher learning. Besides, secondary education is the stage which in all the countries marks the completion of education for the vast majority.

The present study was undertaken to investigate the current status of the educational set-up of general secondary education of India and the Philippines. As a comparative study, it aimed to compare the current aims and objectives, the administrative organization and supervision, the curriculum of general secondary education, the methods of financing and the systems of examinations and evaluation.

One of the major purposes for the present study was to unveil the whole structure of the general secondary education of the Philippines and India, and to examine the validity of each nation's educational principles as applied to its particular culture and experience with its concomitant problems of standard of life in relation to the other country's culture. It must be stressed that the present study can present a challenge to educators of both countries in initiating changes and qualitative improvement in the reconstruction of general secondary education of their public schools.

The data for this research were gathered through the study of books, government publications, educational magazines, bulletins, circulars and memoranda of the two countries as well as by interviews with local school administrators.

Both India and the Philippines became democratic republics just after World War II. Tremendous progress has been made in the field of general secondary education in both the countries. However, marked differences exist in the educational systems of these two countries.

The educational system of the Philippines is highly centralized. The program of general secondary education in the public schools is under the control of the Bureau of Public Schools. The general secondary curriculum under the 2-2 Plan is the standard curriculum for the public high schools. One of the great problems faced by general secondary schools is how to establish an effective and stable system of financing these schools. Tuition fees from students are the principal source of support.

India has a decentralized system of education. General secondary education is under the direct and full control of the provincial or state governments. At present the uniform pattern of education consists of three years of higher education with diversified courses to give a vocational orientation to this stage of education. The Board of Secondary Education supervises and controls the matriculation and higher secondary examinations in each state. In some states, it lays down rules and regulations for the schools.

The governments of India and the Philippines are making conscientious efforts to improve and raise the standards of the present general secondary education programs. In this respect, the writer wishes to recommend that the national government of the Philippines increase national aid and enforce collection of educational taxes earmarked for the development of the 2-2 Plan. As for India, external examinations should be replaced by internal evaluation and a system of cumulative records should be maintained systematically for every pupil by all schools. In addition, Indian school heads should be oriented to the philosophy of supervision as a means of improving the teaching-learning situation to replace the present program of school inspection. Lastly, guidance and counseling programs should be organized in all general secondary schools in India.

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