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# UNITAS

SEMI-ANNUAL PEER-REVIEWED INTERNATIONAL ONLINE JOURNAL  
OF ADVANCED RESEARCH IN LITERATURE, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY

## MONOGRAPH

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# Poetics of *Paawitán* in a Tagalog Community in the Province of Quezon, Philippines

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## Abstract

This study discusses the Tayábas Tagalog *paawitán* as a cultural arena of communicative freedom which is rendered in a joyous social manner. *Paawitán* is an event marked by the confluence of drinking from a common roving glass (*tágay*) of the local vodka (*lambanóg*) and performance of sung poetic songs called *áwit* usually accompanied by guitar and dancing. It is performed in various occasions such as baptisms, birthdays, courtship, pre-marriage ceremonies (*pamamanhíkan* and *pasilungán*), weddings, and social meetings. Here, tradition continues as a lively interaction especially among mostly senior citizens who exchange repartees and sallies utilizing poetic lyrics in dodecasyllabic lines in couplets, quatrains, and sestets. Themes of *áwit* include personal beliefs, ideas, goals and experiences, public and private attitudes and actuations, customs and traditions as well as relational values rendered in humorous fashion. As ideas and concepts multiply and criss-cross in the jousting, their threads weave themselves into the framework of discourse by equivalencies, complementarities, or oppositions. As a cultural arena of communicative freedom in which tradition continues as a lively interaction, ideas and concepts circulate and are reproduced in the jousting. In the process, as this study argues, *paawitán* is a dialogism that works on vocality, heightening the listeners' understanding from its performance.

### Keywords

*paawitán*, *pasyón*, dialogism, ethnomusicology, cultural studies



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# Poetics of *Paawitán* in a Tagalog Community in the Province of Quezon, Philippines

## SUNG POETIC JOUSTING

Poetic jousting rendered in song debate form is a kind of public performance in community gatherings around the Philippines. Among the first writers to recount the tradition is Juan Alvarez Guerra (1770-1845). He wrote *Viajes por Filipinos* in which he mentions a popular type of native poetry and song he specifically calls *cumintan* (141).<sup>1</sup> I freely translate his descriptions into English as follows:

The local possesses, like all other races, his own popular romances, which have been preserved through tradition, and some, although very few, preserved in written form. The '*cumintan*' is more or less the foremost accessory or complement to their traditions.

In the traverses and extensive touring around Tayábas, you will see cacao plants and hear the plaintive guitar, and you will direct your steps in search of thatched houses; if in getting near the fence of the house you will be driven slowly by chords and noting inside a gathering of people with great silence listening to a local girl lazily singing and dancing to the sound of that

guitar, you will follow with great care the undulations of her body while balancing a cup on her head; from time to time, the silence of those who listen to her is replaced by the characteristic shouts of joy, and sometimes the local girl will clap to accompany her Andalusian songs. . .

The *cumintan* is a mixture of all sad and melancholic chords that are so known to the audience present . . . The *cumintan* is a ballad composed of sighs. The notes are those that cut in the silence of the night, the woman who loves, the heart that is hoped for, (waiting), . . . The *cumintan* has something wild, something that makes one look back to the wild forests where one can listen to the chords heard. It brings back the sight of the forest. It has its old strand reminiscent of Moorish ballads, remembering not a few times (frequently) a groaning Gypsy.

The *cumintan* was born with the first guitar you heard on these shores. In this local song, all races who have gone ahead have added a note or two. As we have said, it resembles Gypsy songs, which were neither learned nor inspired by the pattern but in the vivid light of their fiery eyes, the intense sorrow of perfidy (the pain of treachery), or in the sad remembrance of something that caused pain that you have to look for from this lost . . .

Its author? Nobody knows, they are fruits of a moment of inspiration; the ears pick them up and remember them forever. If among our popular songs we have sad and delicate thoughts, we could hear them from the natives, both *cumintan*, as in the *balitao* and the *cutangcutang*. (141-42; my trans.)<sup>2</sup>

Guerra's description of *cumintan* as published in 1887 is today's Tayábas Tagalog *áwit*. The Spanish traveler could have heard and picked up the word "*cumintan*" on his way to Quezon from Manila via Batangas, the place where the term originated. "*Cumintang*" is the old name of Batangas and may likewise refer to its people. By extension, it is a vocal genre identified with the place and the people who perform it.

*Áwit*, like *cumintan*, is passed down orally by parents to children through constant repetition. In Tayábas, its poetic lyrics are written down and compiled in a notebook called *kalipíno*. The *áwit* is accompanied by a guitar and is danced when performed in an event called *paawitán*. *Paawitán* happens during drinking sessions locally called *tagayán* or *inúman* or *barekán*; it is a celebration with singing and dancing wherein the singer holding the



commonly shared drinking glass or cup (*tágay*), which is at times balanced on the head while being danced, is passed onto the next drinker. The recipient of the drinking glass becomes the next singer commonly referred to as *mamamaawít*. The gathering is filled with laughter, shouts, and clapping. The *áwit* features a melody that is repeated and varied. According to the locals, it uses one tune and for elders only (*'iisang tóno at pangmatanda lamang'*) (*Understanding the Present-Day* 64). Its poetry, which is rendered extemporaneously, may be written down by a singer or even a listener for future use. A *paawitán* performance may last for many hours.

I view *paawitán* as a cultural arena of communicative freedom where one can articulate opinions and ideas, including those that may be considered unspeakable and offensive to a person or community. Through *paawitán*, singers may criticize persons of authority, illicit relationships, and obscene acts, among others, without fear of being rebuked. Yet, *paawitán* strengthens and unites a community as they recall past memories, situate present experiences, and plan the future.

## PAAWITÁN

*Paawitán* comes from the root word *áwit*. In the Tagalog community of Tayábas, *áwit* refers to the rhymed poetic songs in alexandrines (dodecasyllabic lines) with a specific characteristic tune or melody. Today, it is performed by mostly senior citizens who are adept at *áwit*'s poetic and musical language. *Paawitán*, therefore, is an event where sung exchanges in rhymed and measured repartees are expressed, often with dancing and drinking. It continues to be practiced today although bearers of the tradition are now on the decline.<sup>3</sup> Understanding the expressive power of Tayábas Tagalog *paawitán* through the analysis of its particulars as recalled by the *paawitán* singers is connected to various local customs and practices. Such interrelation allows for an ethnographic overview of current Tayábas singing traditions, including *pasyón* chanting during Holy Week, *dalít* singing on the feast day of San Isidro Labrador, and the indispensable association of *kantáhan* and *paawitán* to social drinking (*inúman/tagayán/barékan*).<sup>4</sup>

Of particular interest in this study are concepts of dialogism, vocality, and Mikhail M. Bakhtin (1895-1975), who defines dialogism as “the interaction or intersection of unique properties, voices, or horizons of social and political expression in communication” (Becker-Leckrone 155). Because *paawitán* is a poetic form of communication, the processes of jousting, its parts and meanings, and how the singers send communications through their actions while the event is on-going are of particular interest. In the context of this study dialogism refers to a system of “double voicing” of language, where dialogues of different views and interpretations are exchanged (Linell 280).<sup>5</sup> *Paawitán*’s sung poetry is interactive and reactionary. As may be noted, there is an indefinite number of possibilities of communicative directions, depending upon the singer’s lead as informed by other works and voices. An ensuing singer is entitled to continue or divert any topic as every rendered poetry is sung in response to the presented statements and in anticipation of future ones, like in everyday communication.

Bakhtin’s idea of addressivity in dialogism, where at least two entities are involved, namely the speaker-singer and the specific addressee (Linell 167),<sup>6</sup> connects with the performance practice of *áwit*, whether *paawitán* is performed in debate form by two singers (or two groups of performers) or as a solo rendition. In *paawitán*, solo poetic singing is addressed to a young person (like in a lullaby) or to a couple (as in post-church wedding celebrations). Jousting in *paawitán* is an address-response process characterized by continuously exchanging sallies for hours. Even in solo *paawitán*, like the *Áwit-Áral sa Babae at sa Lalaking Kinakasal*, *Áwit sa Galahán*, and *Áwit sa Pagpapatulog ng Bata o Oyáyí*, dialogism is applicable because of the presence of the singer-speaker, the addressee, and the other persons in the event with multiple yet silent perspectives, making it open-ended.

The analysis of the *paawitán* singers’ performances owes to the philosophical elaborations of Julia Kristeva (b. 1941) and Roland Barthes (1915-1980) on vocality, as expounded in *Embodied Voices* by Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones.<sup>7</sup> Vocality refers to “a very broad spectrum of utterances that encompasses all the manifestations of the voice in speaking, singing, crying, and laughing, . . . all of which are invested with social meanings

as determined by both its linguistic and sonorous contents” (Lochhead 2). With Kristeva, vocality provides meaning at the convergence of voice and language in context (Linell 114-15).<sup>8</sup> It essentially comes into play with the concept of embodiment (or materiality of the body) and Roland Barthes’s “grain of the voice.” (Barthes, *Image* 185). Moreover, vocality, like the “grain of the voice,” is roughly equivalent to expressivity, personality, intelligibility, subjectivity, and dramaticism, combined and rolled into one, its signifi-  
 cance (182).<sup>9</sup> The conflation of music and lyrics in a wedded performance and the importance of social drinking contribute to meanings in *paawitán*. Still, this study is informed by Poetics, viewed as a multi-leveled term which encompasses literature and literary discourse, including orality and intertextuality. It is a systematic theory of poetry that defines “its nature, kinds and forms, resources of device and structure, and the principles governing it, its functions as distinguished from those of the other arts, the conditions under which it can exist, and its effects on readers or auditors.” (Preminger and Borgan 929-38). The aesthetics of *áwit* elaborates on poetry in three groupings, namely debates or jousting, solo “private” listening, and solo singing with audience.

*Paawitán* and *áwit* are seen in the context of the Tayábasin milieu. Dialogism articulates the cognitive and communicative aspects of *áwit* and *paawitán*; vocality will expound on their emotional or affective contents; and poetics will deal with the *áwit* aesthetics. As elucidated by Paul Zumthor (1915-95), “a poetry that is heard creates a communal consciousness” (175). In Tayábas Tagalog community, the *paawitán* speaker-singer becomes a strategist who provides advice on everyday living. By singing such directions, the performer organizes social practices through sung poetry which people can identify, assess, and eventually understand themselves and others better.

## E. ARSENIO MANUEL AND THE TAYÁBAS TAGALOG ÁWIT

Various studies related to Tagalog *áwit* include historical accounts, folklore, anthropology, and literature. Folklore, which speaks of widely circulated traditional customs, dances, beliefs, stories, tales, and sayings, is incorpo-

rated in all of these fields of studies. Historical accounts consist of early writings of travelers such as the *Viajes por Filipinos* of Juan Alvarez Guerra, which I include in my Introduction. Anthropology, on the other hand, is exemplified by the pioneering work of Esperidion Arsenio Manuel (1909-2008), which I consider a major related writing.

Esperidion Arsenio Manuel's *Tayábas Tagalog Áwit Fragments from Quezon Province*, which records the *paawitán*'s practice in the 1940s, is instructive as a point of departure. Manuel's work focuses on three aspects of Tagalog *paawitán* whereby I ask three questions. Firstly, does the *áwit* today continue to carry the early concept of song, its contents, and functionality? Secondly, do the *áwit* lyrics refer only to the twelve-syllables-per-line verses, and not the eight-syllables-per-line? Thirdly, is the Tayábas *áwit* still danced? Necessarily, a *paawitán* connotes two main activities, that of singing and dancing at the same time (*Tayábas Tagalog Áwit Fragments* 60). Manuel clarifies that dancing may not commence at once, but when the female singer "gets warmed up, the men may be cajoled to participate, a situation looked up to by the crowd because this usually ends up in a lively contest" (61). Thus, I explore possible changes and transformations in Tayábas *paawitán* as practiced today, cautiously utilizing Manuel's ethnography and my field research.

Fully elaborating on the circumstances of his collection of *áwit*, the author is honest to point out that the sequencing of stanzas in his study has been rearranged, and that the indented stanzas indicate renditions of other singers inserted within his primary informant's *áwit* version. He also mentions the "disturbing element of folk participation or interference which might ruffle the logical continuity of the stanzas or arouse emotion of the performer, or the wit and ability of another singer drawing impromptu versification and this in turn might elicit equally versatile apt sallies and metaphorical puns which feature an *áwit* contest" (Manuel, *Tayábas Tagalog Áwit Fragments* 63). He further states that "no two singers could be under the sway of the same inspirational urge however gifted they are, and hence, no two singers would arrange or sing them in the same way" (64).

Emphasizing the element of dance, Manuel stresses that it is an inseparable feature of *paawitán* in Quezon Province, unlike in another Tagalog

province, Bulacan, where *áwit* is not known to be danced (Manuel, *Tayábas Tagalog Áwit Fragments* 97). Although Hilarion Salvaña (b.1939) named the *paawitán* dance “bálse” (waltz) in his 2006 paper after he identified the *áwit* time signature as 3/4 (2), Manuel does not give a name to the *áwit* dance. The absence of a specific name for *paawitán* dance, as concurred by two of my sources from Barangay Ibabáng Palále, Segunda “Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay (b.1945) and Belen Raca (b. 1944) (*Understanding the Present-Day* 63), is indicative that in the performance of *paawitán*, dance and song are inseparable.

Manuel identifies six *áwit* melodies, namely *Pinagbiláw* (from Pagbilao, Quezon), *Inatimunán* (from Atimonan, Quezon), *Hinarison* (in honor of Governor General Francis Burton Harrison), *Dubléhan* (in two voices or duet), *Sinanróque* for men and *Sinanróque* for women (from San Roque, Unisan, Quezon) (*Tayábas Tagalog Áwit Fragments* 90). Yet, he writes that the two measures of *áwit* music “suffice for the four lines of the stanzas, each measure serving the melody for two lines at intervals, that is, the first measure is used for the first and third lines of the quatrain, and the second measure for the second and fourth lines” (96). Manuel mentions that there are other tunes flourishing then which were spoken about as *áwit*, such as *Sinantacrúz* (from Sta. Cruz, Marinduque which was once a part of Quezon Province), one from *Katan-áwan* (Catanaun, Quezon), and the *Tinayábas* tune from Tayábas (98-99).

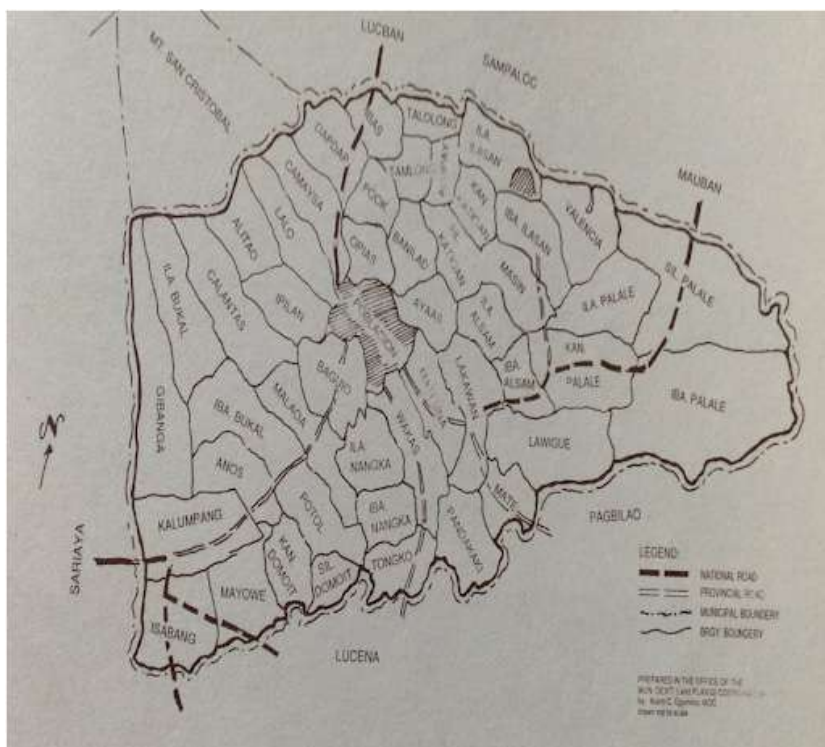
## TAYÁBAS, QUEZON, AND THE PAAWITÁN

Tayábas is a landlocked town in Quezon Province, southeast of the fabled Mt. Banahaw. On the north are the towns of Lucban and Sampaloc, while Mauban is at the eastern boundary. Southeast of Tayábas are the towns of Atimónan and Pagbilaó, and on the west is Sariáya. On the south is the capital of the province, Lucéna City (see Photograph 1). Tayábas is 150 kilometers from Manila and ten kilometers from the provincial capital. It was declared a city on March 21, 2007 via Republic Act No. 9398. The now City of Tayábas is known in the food and drinks department for its *lambanóg* (coconut vodka or arrack) and sweet delicacies, most especially cassava cake, known locally as *budín*. Aside from beautiful resorts, heritage houses, and 11 Spanish

bridges, Tayábas boasts of having the longest church in the country: Basilica Menor de San Miguel Arcangel. Tayábas comprises sixty-six (66) barangays (see Photograph 2), 19 of which are in the Poblacion or city proper. Three of these barangays are my research areas, namely Barangay Gibánga on the western section, Barangay Ibabáng Palále on the eastern part, and the still rustic city proper Poblacion. In the two barangays, most inhabitants are engaged in farming and small entrepreneurships like domestic trading and tending convenience stores. The average number of persons per household is four (4) in Barangay Gibánga and five (5) in Barangay Ibabáng Palále. Most elders are functionally literate, keeping dog-eared, yellowing copies of *áwit*, *dalít*, and *novenas*.



Photograph 1: Map of Tayábas City in the Province of Quezon and its boundaries



Photograph 2: Map of the 66 Barangays of Tayabas City.

## TAYÁBAS TAGALOG SINGING TRADITIONS

This section expounds on four (4) Tagalog vocal genres, namely *pasyón*, *dalít*, *kantáhan*, and *paawitán* in their own contexts as practiced today in Tayabas. *Pasyón* and *dalít* are two ritual complexes whereby *pasyón* is a sung narrative during the Lenten season while *dalít* is a sung prayer praising the Virgin Mary or a patron saint (usually for nine (9) consecutive days (or *nobena*) culminating on the patron saint's feast day). I elaborate on the *dalít* for *San Isidro Labrador* whose feast day is held every 15<sup>th</sup> day of May. Two secular song genres are likewise discussed, namely *kantáhan* and *paawitán*. *Kantáhan* is a generic term for a singing event usually performed during celebratory occasions such as birthdays, graduations, baptisms, and other social gatherings with accompaniment of live instruments, karaoke, or any electronic



sound system with microphones and amplifiers. *Paawitán* is the singing of a specific song called *áwit*. The two ritual complexes (*pasyón* and *dalít*) are para-liturgical celebrations connected to the Roman Catholic faith while the other two genres (*kantáhan* and *paawitán*) are secular, involving social drinking (*tagayán*, *inúman*, or *barekán*) of alcoholic beverages (*tágay*).

## PASYÓN

### A GENERAL DESCRIPTION

*Pasyón* is rendered during Lenten season. It utilizes a book entitled *Áwit at Salaysay ng Pasiong Mahal ni Hesukristong Panginoon Natin Na Sukat Ipag-alab ng Puso ng Sinumang Babasa (Pasiong Henesis)*,<sup>10</sup> or simply “*Pasiong Mahal*.” The book consists of poetry about the life and suffering of Jesus Christ<sup>11</sup> that begins with a prelude: a three-stanza prayer to God the Father and an eight-stanza prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is followed by a narrative on the story of the creation of the world which is why this book is also called “*Pasiong Henesis*.” The Creation is followed by St. Anne’s giving birth to the Virgin Mary, the incarnation (*pagkakatawáng-táo*) of the second person of God in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and the rest of the history of salvation, ending with the Last Judgment. Twenty lessons or sermonettes (*ARAL*) are interspersed among the different subtopics of Jesus Christ’s passion.

*Pasyón* is also referred to as *pabása*, meaning reading. The activity is called *pasyúnan* or *nagpapasyón* by the community. Reading the “*Pasiong Mahal*” requires exact rendering of the written poetry. Errors are rectified by going back to where the mistakes were committed and re-reading these correctly. *Pasyón* participants liken the activity to a review of the history of salvation, thereby reminding themselves of the exegetic things to come. Moreover, its text warns the community about the Last Judgment and provides reflections to cultivate character:<sup>12</sup>

**Music Example 1: Excerpt from *Pasiong Mahal* ARAL.**

*Táyo’y walang gunam-gunam  
kamuntik man gabi’t araw*

We don’t have any meditation  
not even a bit every night and day



sa kay Kristong pagkamatay,  
at ang hinaharap lámang  
layaw ng ating katawan.

of Christ's death,  
we are only after  
the pleasures of our body.

Huwag kang magpakaniig  
sa gawa mong di matuwid  
daya ng demonyong ganid,  
nilayin ng iyong isip  
ang kamatayang sasapit.

Do not indulge yourself  
in your crooked ways  
which are deceptions of the greedy demon,  
think meditatively  
of impending death.

Kayâ hanggang búhay ka pa  
ikaw ay magsamantala  
magtipon at maghanda ka,  
ng mga gawang maganda  
nang may datnin kang ginhawa.

So that while you are still alive  
you grab the opportunity  
to collect and prepare yourself,  
of good deeds  
so you will reap wellness.

(*Pasiong Mahal* 174-75)

(my trans.)

A *pabása* usually takes two (2) to four (4) days to finish, approximately eighteen (18) to thirty (30) hours, depending upon the speed of the tunes used in reading. As this print-based activity becomes the main focus from Holy Monday to Black Saturday, families hosting the *pabása*, especially those with *panatà* (devotion or vow) and community officers, as the case may be, take turns in preparing and serving food to participants. *Pabása* could also be a community activity for the duration of the whole forty (40) days of the Lenten season as practiced in the northwestern part in Barangay Kalumpang. In this practice, reading of the “*Pasiong Mahal*” starts on Ash Wednesday and ends on Black Saturday. Every afternoon, a group of participants goes to a house in the area to perform a whole section of the “*Pasiong Mahal*” that ends with its sermonette (*ARAL*). After the rendering, the group partakes of simple snacks prepared by the host. The performance makes the rounds of all the houses in that part of Barangay Kalumpang.

## PASIONG MAHAL

*Pasiong Mahal* (see Photograph 4, “*Pasiong Mahal* cover and *Panalangin sa Diyos*”) is written in rhymed octosyllabic quintillas, featuring eight syllables per line with five lines per stanza. Words are accented either on the ultimate or penultimate syllable with rhymes in assonance. For example, repeated vowels like “a” and “o” are found at the final syllable of each line:

### Music Example 2: Excerpt from *Pasyong Mahal* on repeated vowel assonance

<i>Doon sa paglakad nila</i>	While they were walking
<i>sa daan ay may nakita</i>	they saw along the way
<i>na isang punong higera,</i>	one fig tree
<i>na ang daho’y kaaya-aya</i>	with pleasant leaves
<i>ngunit wala namang bunga.</i>	but without any fruit.

<i>Pagtataka’y mago’t mago</i>	Greatly wondering
<i>niyong mga disipulo</i>	the disciples
<i>doon nila napagsino</i>	realized there and there
<i>na ang higera ngang ito</i>	that this fig tree
<i>ang katulad ay ang tao</i>	looks like a human being.

(*Pasiong Mahal* 71) (my trans.)

Repeated consonants such as “b,” “d,” “g,” “p,” and “s” preceded by a vowel are likewise found at the end of each line:

### Music Example 3: Excerpt from *Pasyong Mahal* on consonantal assonance

<i>Matunaw na nga’t madurog</i>	Melt and turn into small pieces
<i>ang tigas ng iyong loob</i>	your hardened heart
<i>gunitain mong tibobos</i>	remember fully well
<i>ang mga hirap ni Hesus</i>	the sufferings of Jesus
<i>nang sa iyo ay pagsakop.</i>	that is your salvation.

*Pagka't kusa nang natupad  
yaong hula ni Heremias  
at ng lahat ng propetas,  
nayari rin at naganap,  
lahat nilang pangungusap.*

(71)

Because it naturally took place  
the prophecy of Jeremiah  
and those of all the prophets  
realized also and happened  
all of their pronouncements.

(my trans.)

#### PERFORMING “PASIONG MAHAL”

“*Pasiong Mahal*” is rendered in two (2) styles, namely in chanting style and singing in various tunes. In chanting style, an old strain akin to reading called *sampáy-bákod* is known by a handful of singers (Prudente, *Expressing*). *Sampáy-bákod* is in free meter; it is mostly syllabic and melismatic on accented syllables (see Music Example 4). *Sampáy-bákod 1* from Barangay Gibánga has a range of an octave with a reciting tone (*confinalis*) on the fourth note in the beginning and the seventh note towards the middle of the stanza. Phrasing corresponds to the poetic quintilla ending each line on the fourth, fifth, fifth, octave, and 6<sup>th</sup> (*finalis*) notes respectively. In the second line of the stanza, the phrase ending has an option of going to the octave instead of the fifth note.

*Sampáy-bákod 2* (see Music Example 4.2) is from Barangay Ibabáng Palále. Similar to the first, it has the same range of an octave and its phrasing corresponds to lineal endings. Phrasial end notes are the first, octave, fifth, fifth, and fourth notes respectively. *Sampáy-bákod 2* has its reciting tone (*confinalis*) and final note (*finalis*) on the fourth note. *Sampáy-bákod* is perceived by listeners as having repetitions, long, and rendered to and fro like hanging washed clothes. In Tagalog language, locals say: “*May inuulit, matagal, pabalik-balik parang nagsasampay.*” Singers themselves comment that the *sampáy-bákod* is a tradition that existed even before they were born. They would say: “*Nakagisnan na ang tawag na iyan,*” or “*Kinamulatan na ang katawagang iyan.*” (Trinidad-Zeta).<sup>13</sup>

Music Example 4.1. *Pasyóng Sampáy-bákod* from Barangay Gibánga.

**PASYON SAMPAY-BAKOD 1. Panalangin sa Diyos**

Rendered by Marta Trinidad-Zeta, Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afable



1. O Diyos sa ka - la - ngi - tan, \_\_\_\_\_ Ha - ri ng Sang - ka - lu - pa - an,



Diyos na wa - lang ka - pan - tay, \_\_\_\_\_ ma - ba - it, lub - hang ma - a - lam



at pu - no ng ka - ru - nu - ru - nu - ngan. 2. I - kaw ang A - mang ti - bo - bos \_\_\_\_\_



Na na - ngu - ngu - li - lang \_\_\_\_\_ lu - bos \_\_\_\_\_ A - mang 'di ma - ta - pus - ta - pos, \_\_\_\_\_



ma - a - wa - i't ma - pag - kup - kop sa ta - ong lu - pa't \_\_\_\_\_ a - a - la - bok. \_\_\_\_\_



3. I - yong i - tu - lot sa a - min \_\_\_\_\_ Di - yos A - mang ma - a - wa - in, \_\_\_\_\_



mang - ya - ring a - ming da - li - tin hi - rap, sa - kit at hi - la - hil



ng A - nak Mong \_\_\_\_\_ gi - ni - gi - ni - gi - liw. \_\_\_\_\_

Music Example 4.2. *Pasyóng Sampáy-bákod* from Barangay Ibabáng Palále.

**PASYÓN SAMPÁY-BÁKOD 2. Panalangin sa Diyos**

Rendered by Elpidia "Elvie" C. Palayan. Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afable

1. O Diyos sa ka - la - ngi - tan, Ha - ri ng Sang - ka -  
lu - pa - an, ka - lu - pa - an, Diyos na wa - lang ka - pan - tay,  
ma - ba - it, lub - hang ma - a - lam at pu - no ng ka - ru - nu - ngan.

2. I - kaw ang A - mang ti - bo - bos Ng na - ngu - ngu - li - lang  
lu - lu - bos A - mang 'di ma - ta - pus - ta - pos, ma - a - wa - i't  
ma - pag - kup - kop sa ta - ong lu - pa't a - la - bok. 3. I - yong i - tu - lot sa - a - min  
Diyos A - mang ma - a - wa - in, mang - ya - ring a - ming da - li - tin  
hi - rap, sa - kit at hi - la - hil ng A - nak Mong gi - ni - gi - liw.

The second style of rendering “*Pasyong Mahal*” is through the use of various tunes, of which six (6) are commonly rendered in Tayábas (see Music Example No. 5 (I-VI) ).

**Music Example 5. Six Commonly Used *Pasyón* Tunes.**

*Pasyón* Tunes from Brgys Gibánga, Kalumpang, and Ibabáng Palále, Tayábas City (Quezon Province), Philippines. Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afable.

*Mga Talata mula sa Huling Aral ng Pasyóng Mahal*

**I.**  $\text{♩} = 90$

A7 Dm

O ma - nga Kris - tya - nong ta - nan \_\_\_\_\_ na ma - pag - ban - tog na a - ral \_\_\_\_\_ mag - i - sip

A7 Dm Gm Dm A7 Dm

ka na't mag - ni - lay, \_\_\_\_\_ lo - ob na - ting sa - la - wa - han sa ga - wang di ka - tu - wi - ran.

**II.** Dm Dm A Gm

Ta - lik - dan na ngang to - to - o ang ma - nga ba - nal sa mun - do Tu - mu - lad

Dm A7 Dm A7 Dm

kay He - su - kri - sto, nang ta - yo'y hu - wag ma - bu - yo sa a - ral ng ma - nga li - lo.

**III.** F C7 F

Ang a - ting ma - nga ka - ta - wan 'di sa - sa - la't ma - ma - ma - tay ga - yon din

B> F C7 F

ang di - lang ba - gay, gin - to't pi - lak ka - ya - ma - nan ang la - hat ay ma - tu - tu - naw.



The first tune is in minor tonality with triple meter. It has a melodic range of an eleventh. Entering on the second beat with the tonic note, phrasial lines end either on the fifth or seventh of the corresponding chordal accompaniment. Its melody is characterized by scalar upward direction of thirds and fourths as well as leaps of third, fourth, and ninth intervals. The third beat is tied over eighth note downbeats for the first four (4) lines while the last line slows down the syllabication with the use of half and quarter notes. The second tune is also in minor tonality with common time signature. Its melodic range covers an interval of a ninth. The melody of the second tune is characterized by downward scalar movement to the third of the tonic or the fifth of the dominant. There are melodic leaps of third, fourth, fifth, octave, and ninth intervals. With entry on the downbeat, phrasial lines end either on the third of the tonic or fifth of the dominant. The third tune is in major tonality with common time signature. It has a melodic range of a ninth, characterized by downward chordal arpeggiations and upward scalar sequences of fourths in eighth notes. This tune is usually rendered the fastest of the six (6) tunes. The fourth to the sixth tunes are in minor tonality and in triple meter. The melody of the fourth tune has a range of a ninth and is characterized by scalar direction. Another feature of the fourth tune is its dotted half notes tied to another half note at the end of the first, second, and last lines. The fifth tune has a melodic range of an octave. The first four (4) lines start on the second half of the second beat in a downward scalar direction to the third. Lineal endings have dotted half notes tied to dotted quarter notes while the last two (2) lines utilize eighth notes. The first two lines of the sixth tune has eighth, quarter, dotted quarter, and half notes while the last three (3) lines are mostly eighth notes. With a melodic range of a ninth, intervallic directions are mostly scalar with some leaps of third, fourth, fifth, and sixth intervals. A tabulation of the descriptions of the six (6) commonly used *pasyón* tunes is provided below. In singing, a selected tune is used for a long duration, usually until the sermonette (*ARAL*). Sometimes, but infrequently, tune changes occur when there are subtopic changes or when the singers encounter an illustration<sup>14</sup> on the page.



**Figure 1. Tabulation of Descriptions of the Six (6) Commonly Used *Pasyón* Tunes.**

TUNE NO.	TONALITY	METER	MELODIC RANGE	SALIENT FEATURES
I	minor	triple	eleventh	8 <sup>th</sup> note downbeats tied over third beats of previous measures
II	minor	quadruple	ninth	Dotted quarter notes and eighth notes
III	Major	quadruple	ninth	Arpeggiated downward melodies, melodic leaps of 6ths and 7ths, repeated notes on high registers (octaves and ninths)
IV	minor	triple	ninth	Scalar melodies, tied dotted half notes
V	minor	triple	octave	Arpeggiated upward melodies, tied dotted half and quarter notes, eighth notes in the last two (2) lines
VI	minor	triple	ninth	Mostly eighth notes, esp. in the last three (3) lines

**CELEBRATING HOLY WEDNESDAY WITH *PASYÓN***

I witnessed a *pabása* on March 23, 2016, which was a Holy Wednesday in Barangay Kalumpang. The session started at 4:30 in the morning and ended before 5:00 in the afternoon of the same day. Attended initially by three persons from the host household, (see Photograph 3)<sup>15</sup> the *pasyón* opened with Our Father, one Hail Mary, and one Glory Be. The prayers were followed with the singing of *Panalangin sa Diyos* (“*Pasiong Mahal*,” see Photograph 4) using *pasyón* Tune II (see Music Example 5. II, Six (6) Commonly Used *Pasyon* Tunes). This tune was repeated throughout the many stanzas until the *Viernes Santo* section (*Pasiong Mahal* 106-75). At almost 6:00 in the morning, the earliest visiting *pasyón* singer arrived as they were singing the Visitation part (18-19). As the day progressed, more *pasyón* singers (*mambabasa*) arrived in twos and threes. By 10:00 mid- morning, fifteen (15) persons were present, most of whom were elderly women who are friends of the host’s mother-in-law. As more singers joined, the tune’s pitch level steadied. The participants grouped themselves into two and took turns in stanzaic alternate singing with one group answering the other. One of the singers

intoned a different tune for *Pasiong Mahal*, page 113, a page with illustration. This is the section when Lord Jesus Christ was brought by the Jews to the Roman Procurator Pontius Pilate. This time the groups' antiphonal a-cappella singing used Tune IV (see Music Example 5.IV. of the Six (6) Commonly Used *Pasyón* Tunes). The recited prayer set of Our Father, Hail Mary, and Glory Be before each sermonette (*ARAL*) was very conspicuous too. It was followed by the singing of each letter of the *ARAL* which stands for Asuncion, Resurreccion, Adoracion, and Lamentacion, concluding with *Aral ng Diyos na Poon* as the fifth line completing the quintilla (see Music Example 6. Stretto in *Pasyon*). On page 162 of "*Pasiong Mahal*," the singers changed to a more varied Tune I in *ARAL* (see Music Example 5.I. of the Six (6) Commonly Used *Pasyón* Tunes). With this newly used *pasyón* tune, a stanza took about sixteen (16) to eighteen (18) seconds as compared to the previous Tune IV's seventeen (17) to nineteen (19) seconds. Blending second voices could be heard. The group's responsorial reading became more strettic<sup>16</sup> by mid-afternoon as dusk approached. Partaking of meals, which occurs before or after the *ARAL*, was done in alternation for uninterrupted reading.

Music Example 6. Stretto in *Pasyón*.

Stretto in *Pasyón*. "*Pasyóng Mahal*" ARAL, page 200.

Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afable

E Am  
 Ang u - nang let - ra'y A - sun - cion, \_\_\_\_\_ E - re na - ma'y Re - sur - rec - cion, \_\_\_\_\_  
 E7 Am Dm  
 \_\_\_\_\_ ang A na - ma'y A - do - ra - cion, \_\_\_\_\_ E - le na - ma'y La - men - ta - cion, A - ral  
 Am E7 Am Dm  
 O ta - ong, O ta - ong  
 ng Di - yos na Po - on. O ta - ong na - ka - li - li - mot, \_\_\_\_\_  
 Am E7  
 \_\_\_\_\_ a - ni - ni - ig sa pag - tu - log, \_\_\_\_\_ mag - ba - li - was ka't ku - mi - los \_\_\_\_\_  
 Am Dm Am E7 Am  
 \_\_\_\_\_ at i - si - pin mong ti - bo - bos ang mad - lang a - wa ng Di - yos.

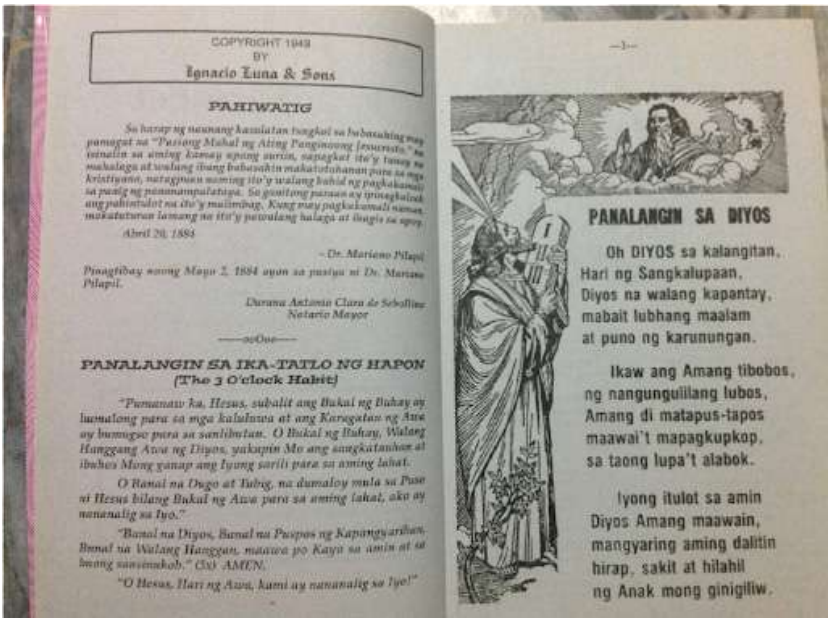
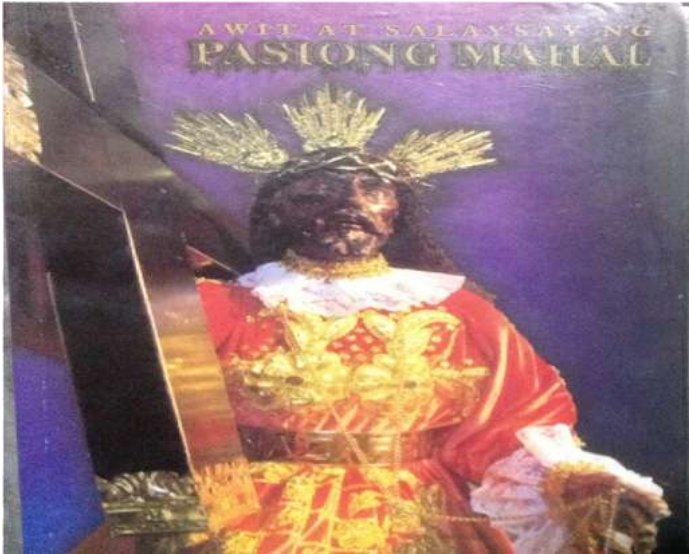
First stanza of penultimate ARAL on page 200

Photograph 3: Holy Wednesday *Pabása* in Barangay Kalumpang.

At dawn with *Lola Tacing* (b. 1931), host *Tita Opel* (b. 1956), and daughter *Maia* (b. 1994); at mid-morning to afternoon with as many as 15 singers. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 23 March 2014.



Photograph 4: “Pasiong Mahal” cover and Panalangin sa Diyos.  
Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 08 September 2014.



Initially, there were only three (3) readers who went to the dining area. They were followed by five (5) more persons while the remaining five (5) left at the sala continued with the reading at the same pace. After eating, four (4) readers re-entered the living room to join the group again. Meanwhile, those readers who were yet to eat finished eleven (11) stanzas. The remaining five (5) persons stood up and took their lunch after two (2) minutes. After lunch, grandmother and another elderly lady took a nap while the *pabása* was going on. Most singers drank a glass of water and took some sweets provided on the table every once in a while, and similarly, everybody was free to go to the comfort room whenever one felt like doing so. At *merienda* time before the *ARAL*, in between the sections on Jesus's Burial and Resurrection, two (2) pairs followed by three (3) more singers went ahead to the kitchen while the other seven (7) continued reading. Eating usually took about ten (10) to fifteen (15) minutes. The 22-stanza sermonette was still on its second page when everybody was reading altogether again. Five (5) singers took their snacks on the third stanza of the Resurrection section, taking about eleven (11) minutes. By the time of the *ARAL* before the section on the Three Marias' visit at the Tomb of Jesus Christ, a singer discreetly bid farewell to her seatmates and grandmother. The rest finished the *pabása* before dusk.

## *DALÍT*

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

*Dalít* is a sung prayer of praise to the Blessed Virgin Mary or a saint. According to the *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* printed in 1832 and 1860, *dalít* is a genre different from *auit* (Noceda and Sanlucar 166).<sup>17</sup> Moreover, in *El Compendio de la lengua tagala* by Gaspar de San Agustin printed in 1879, *dalít* is described as “more solemn and sententious, in the style of what the Greeks and Latins call dithyrambic epic.” San Agustin adds that *dalít* contains serious themes which are usually written in monorhyming quatrains of octosyllabic lines (San Agustin 152). Marcelo H. del Pilar (1850-96) satirically used the *dalít* at the onset of the Propaganda Movement to conscientize his Bulacan compatriots of the religio-political situation then, knowing fully well that the movement's goals could be achieved by a return to folk poetic traditions.

Throughout the Tagalog historical timeline, *dalit*<sup>18</sup> features rhymed octosyllabic quatrains, couplets, and sestets sung in responsorial fashion. Examples of *dalit* in couplets, quatrains, and sestets follow.

**Music Example 7. *Dalit* Excerpts in Couplets, Quatrains, and Sestets.**

**7.1. Couplets from *Dalit* kay San Isidro Labrador**

*Sa tao't ibo'y laganap  
Ang awa mo at paglingap.*

*Kayâ ampunan ang tawag  
Sa iyo ng mahihirap*

**7.2. Quatrains from *Dalit* kay San Antonio de Padua**

*Lumalayo ang panganib  
Mahirap ay nakatatawid  
Kinalinga'y magsiáwit  
Sa Paduano'y ipagsulit.*

*Ang dagat ay humuhupa  
Bilanggo ay lumalaya  
Alin mang bagay ang mawala  
Kita ng bata't matanda.*

**7.3 Sestets from *Dalit* ni San Rafael**

*Katawan mo'y natitigib  
Ng págod at madlang sakit  
Binilanggo ka't piniit  
Sa bintang at maling isip  
Limang taon mong sinayod  
Hirap na kalunos-lunos.*

*Ngunit ang Diyos ay nuli*  
*Pakanang bala-balaki*  
*Pagtikim sa iyong budhi*  
*Lakas kayang di ugali*  
*Sa bilanggo ay ang bantog*  
*Namatay kang isang santos.*

A new type of *dalít* is seen in “*Dalít ni Padre Pio*” published in 2005 (see Appendix A. 11) which mostly consists of twelve (12) syllables per line. Other lines have nine (9), ten (10), eleven (11), thirteen (13), and fourteen (14) syllables. It has a coda and the refrain is sung after every two stanzas.<sup>19</sup>

*Dalít* (see Appendices A.1– A.11) often mentions the exemplary and holy lives of saints on earth including their sufferings, conversions, and miracles. Their teachings, as well as their promises and prophesies, are also intimated in the *dalít*. More importantly, devotees request through the *dalít* that their supplications and petitions be granted. Singing of the *dalít* entails the rendition of verses followed by an answer. An example of a popular *dalít* in Tayábas is the “*Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador*” (1070-1130) I elaborate below.

#### THE “*DALÍT SA POONG SAN ISIDRO LABRADOR*”

The “*Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador*” consists of twenty nine (29) verses of rhymed octosyllabic couplets. The rhyming scheme is assonantal similar to that of the “*Pasiong Mahal*.” Likewise, rendering of the “*Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador*” is verbatim. This is the reason why in Barangay Gibanga a plastic-covered cardboard is used on which the verses and prayers are written (see Photograph 5). A 1948 printed version by Aklatang Lunas, entitled “*Pagsisiyam kay San Isidro*,” also exists (see Photograph 6). Textual variances are found upon comparison of the two versions, though they give related or connected meanings. Reproduced below are two (2) versions of the first four (4) verses and the response to said *dalít*.<sup>20</sup> On the left side are the texts of “*Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador*” of Barangay Gibanga dated May



15, 1945 (according to senior singers). On the right is the printed version of *Aklatang Lunas*'s June 12, 1948 edition (see Appendix A.1. for complete lyrics comparing the two (2) versions).

**Music Example 8:**

Excerpt of Typewritten  
*"Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador"*  
 Barangay Gibanga, dated May 15, 1945

1. *Dukha ka man at malait*  
*Lubos ang iyong pag-ibig.*

*Sagót/Púga:*

*San Isidro ay ihibik*  
*Kami'y ampon mo't tangkilik.*

2. *Madla mong kababalaghan*  
*Nagbabantog, nagsasaysay.*

*Sagót/Púga*

*San Isidro ay ihibik*  
*Kami'y ampon mo't tangkilik.*

3. *Na ikaw ay pinagyaman*  
*Ng Diyos sa kalangitan.*

*Sagót/Púga*

*San Isidro ay ihibik*  
*Kami'y ampon mo't tangkilik.*

*Aklatang Lunas' "Dalít sa*  
*Pagsisiyam kay San Isidro"* dated  
 June 12, 1948

1. *Dukha ka mang sinasambit*  
*Lubos ang iyong pag-ibig.*

*Isidro'y iyong ihibik*  
*Kaming ampon mo't tangkilik.*

2. *Madla mong kababalaghan*  
*Nagbabantog, nagsasaysay.*

*Isidro'y iyong ihibik*  
*Kaming ampon mo't tangkilik.*

3. *Na ikaw ay pinagyaman*  
*Ng Diyos sa kabanalan.*

*Isidro'y iyong ihibik*  
*Kaming ampon mo't tangkilik.*

4. Palibhasa'y sa pag-ibig  
Nagningas ang iyong dibdib.

4. Palibhasa'y sa pag-ibig  
Nagningas ang 'yong dibdib.

Sagót/Púga

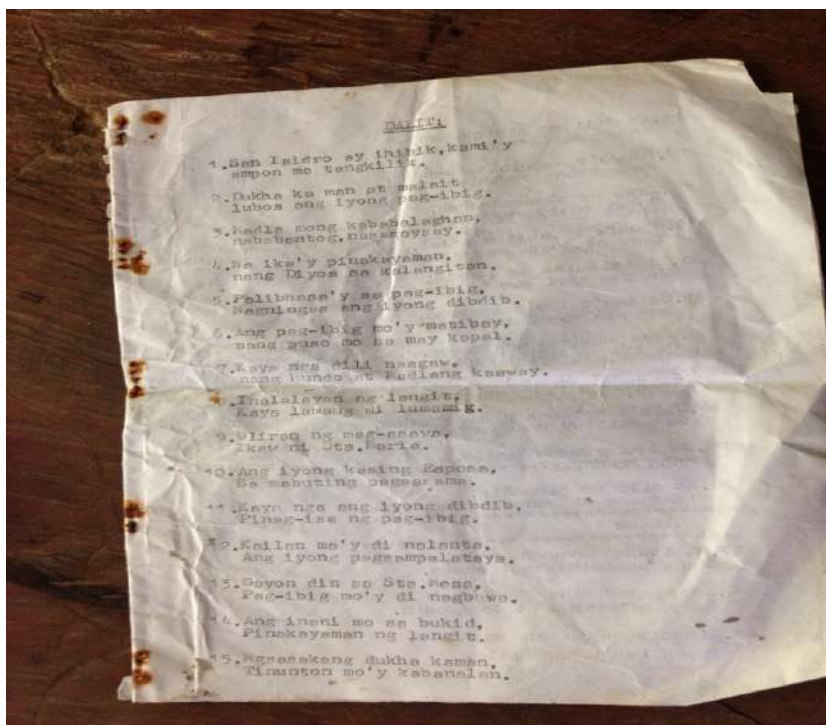
San Isidro ay ihibik

Kami'y ampon mo't tangkilik.

Isidro'y iyong ihibik

Kaming ampon mo't tangkilik.

Photograph 5: "Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador" copies from Barangay Gibánga, 1945.



24. At dili mo alinyasan.  
Angkang ikaw ay mamatay.
27. Pangaloy Natalo't Kargala.  
Nang iyang bayaning aibib.
28. Ikaw ay pinatungnan.  
Sa di mabig magmukaw.
29. Nanguna ipinagtanongkal.  
Ikaw ng pook ng may kapal.
30. Isinulat ng lencit.  
Sa ang puri may malait.
31. Sa tao't ibe'y laganap.  
Ang awa may welang ulat.
32. Kaya Ampunan ang tawag.  
Sa iyo ng mahihirap.
33. Sapekto di ka nakatag.  
Nanguna na iyo'y nalapit.
34. Baga't mabangay may damdam.  
Sa sakit ay nansakal.
35. Sa iyang naranasan.  
Nang madlang kababalaan.
36. At dili mo pinatila.  
Nangung di mabaling na sakit.
- \*\*\*\*\*  
LIMOD:  
\*\*\*\*\*
27. At itong Noverang hain.  
Nang pamimintakasi namin.
28. Iyang pagiging depatin.  
Na panungmayen at tanggapin.
29. Tignit hayin ang pag-ibig.  
At sa iyo'y nananalig.

30. Dacha ka  
Lubos ang

Lumaba  
at ang lubos  
nangin ng  
As 12  
batal sa

IPINAKIT

Idin  
ang pami  
na buwal  
magandang

lilimpe  
at pakin  
LALAT,  
Diyos.

30. Dacha ka man at malait:  
Lubos ang iyang pag-ibig:  
\*\*\*\*\*

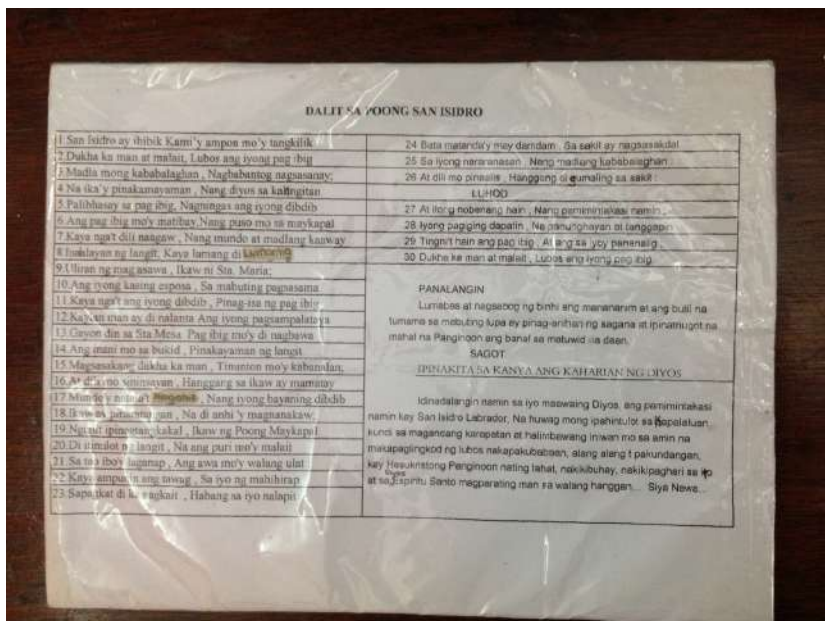
#### PANALANGIN

Lumaba at nagabong sa binai ang magmamain  
at ang bawil na tumaga sa mabuting lupa ay pinet-  
nahan na pagmam-  
At ipinagtanong na mahal na panginoon, ang  
batal sa matatag na isan.

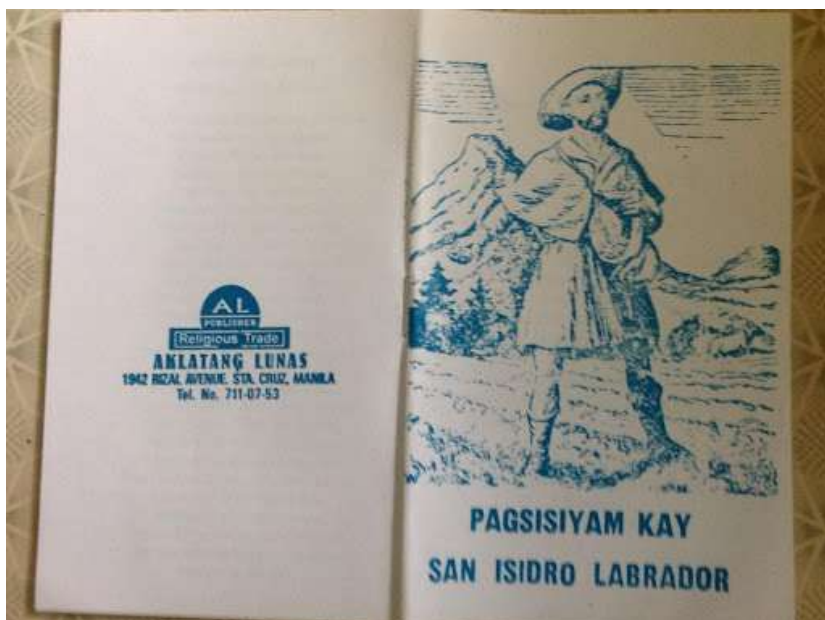
#### SAGOT

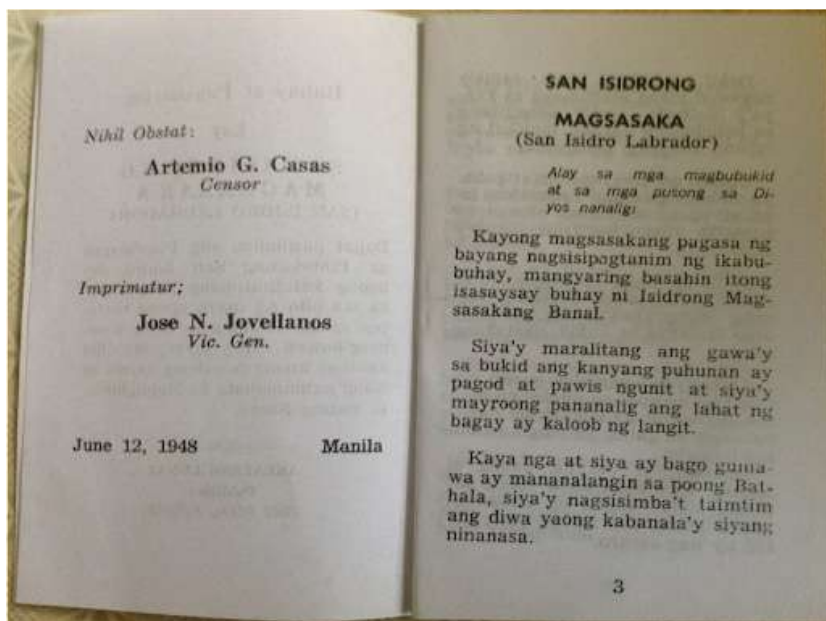
IPINAKITA SA KANYA ANG KAHARIAN NG DIYOS:

Idinadalanin namin sa iyo magmamain siyon;  
ang pamimintakasi namin kay SAM ISIDRO LABRADOR,  
na buwal mag ipinagtanong na kapalaanan, kandi sa  
Sagandang Karagatan  
at halimbawa ng inyon sa sa amon, na makasag-  
lilimpe sa Lubos na kapakumbabang, alang-alang  
at pakundanan kay HESUKRISTONG Panginoon nating  
LALAT, nakikipagay, nakikipagayari sa iyo at sa  
Diyos Espirito Santo.....  
Nagpapating man sa walang hanggan,  
SIYA NAWA.....



Photograph 6: "Pagsisiyam kay San Isidro Labrador," Aklatang Lunas, 1948.  
Taken by on 04 August 2014.





The music used in “*Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador*” is in moderately slow tempo (*andante*) and in duple time. It is in a major key progression of tonic-dominant-tonic. Slurred notes and turns (mordents) are employed on syllables that fall on the words’ accent (underlined), as exemplified in the response (*sagót* or *púga*) that vocal embellishments and syllabic accents makes the texts readily comprehensible. In the past, *dalít* singing in Barangay Gibanga was accompanied by a string band (*cumparsa* or *rondalla*), see Endnote 122). An excerpt of “*Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador*” is provided in Music Example 9.

Music Example 9: Excerpt of “*Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador*”

**DALÍT SA POONG SAN ISIDRO LABRADOR.**

May 15, Barangay Gibánga, Tayábas City. Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afafe.

The image displays a musical score for a song in 2/4 time. It consists of two systems of music, each with a vocal melody line in treble clef and a piano accompaniment line in bass clef. Above the vocal line, the chords C, G7, C, G7, C, G, and C are indicated. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system of music covers the first line of lyrics, and the second system covers the second line. The lyrics are: "Duk - ha ka man at ma - la - it Lu - bos ang i - yong pag - i - big. San I - sid - ro ay i - hi - bik, ka - mi'y am - pon mo't tang - ki - lik."

**HONORING SAN ISIDRO LABRADOR FOR GOOD HARVEST**

I participated in and observed the culminating activity (*selebrá*) on May 15, 2014 in honor of *San Isidro Labrador, Patron Saint of Farmers and Married Couples*, in the northernmost part of Barangay Gibánga, Tayábas City. The sign of the Cross and the recitation of the set prayers of one Our Father, one Hail Mary, and one Glory Be marked the start of the procession (*libot*) at 9:00 in the morning. The procession (see Photograph 8) was led by the image of *San Isidro* held by the assigned carrier and the prayer leaders (*cabesillas*). They made the rounds of all the houses in the barangay. House owners were advised so that they could prepare a *bagákay* or two. *Bagákay* is a cut bamboo pole with branches and leaves left intact. It is decorated with agricultural produce, the commonest of which is cooked sticky rice wrapped in coconut leaves with tails that serve as tie (*súmang pang-San Isidro*, see Photograph 7). Other household things like water dipper (*tabô*), slippers, children's toys, and kitchen utensils are tied to the *bagákay* fixed standing on a fence or a tree fronting the house. These *bagákay/pahiyás/pabitin*<sup>21</sup> preparations were brought down by the house owner after the image of *San Isidro* passed by his



house as signaled on the hand drum (*tamból* or *bómbo*) by its male carrier. All procession participants, who were mostly male, went scampering (*agawán*) for the products and accumulated their grabbed produce (*inágaw*) in sacks and backpacks prepared specifically for this activity. At the third house, the owner scattered candies and chocolates instead of the goods hanging from the bamboo pole (*bagákay*). Every house owner gave *súmang pang-San Isidro* to the sack carrier of the *Poong San Isidro*. This *súman* collection is allotted for visitors' snacks and take home goods (*pasalúbong*). After the procession, the men and boys who participated in *agawán* dispersed. The two (2) chosen *dalít* lead singers holding white lanterns (*paról*) then welcomed the *San Isidro* image (*salúbong*) back to the ceilingless, iron-roofed barangay hall-turned-chapel (*kapilya*). *Dalit* singing ensued inside the chapel. The lead singers who used a typewritten copy entitled "*Dalit sa Poong San Isidro*" (see Music Example 9) intoned the response and the community repeated it. Responsorial singing continued through the twenty nine (29) verses in couplets sung by the lead *dalít* singers, Inang Maring Zeta and Monalisa V. Pabilonia, to which the community answered in harmonized response, "*San Isidro ay ihibik, kami'y ampon mo't tangkilik.*"<sup>22</sup> The recitation of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary followed, with a special petition to *San Isidro* at the end of each mystery for the community's welfare and for rain and good harvest. Good amount of rain poured during the rosary recitation. A Holy Mass followed the rosary. The Mass ended at half past 11:00. By that time, the sun was brightly shining again and comments, if not complaints, about the hot summer weather were heard when lunch was served.

Photograph 7: *Súmang pang-San Isidro*. Taken from Mayohán sa Tayabas website accessed on 9 August 2016.



Photograph 8: Procession (*Libot*) during the feast of *San Isidro Labrador*. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 15 May 2014.







In Tayábas, being a “coconut vodka (*lambanóg*) country,” the drink (*tágay*) completes any celebration. Needless to say, the drinking (*tagayán*) session ensued at about 1:30 after lunch till late afternoon. By 6:00 in the evening, the youth-managed dancing (*bayléhan*) inside the prepared bamboo-fenced area (*bálag*) took place. Dancing lasted till the wee hours (see Photograph 9 and Photograph 10 for Financial Report postings of Barangay Gibanga youth).

**Photograph 9: Bamboo-fenced area for dancing (*bálag* for *bayléhan*).**  
Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 15 May 2015.



Photograph 10: Brgy. Gibanga youth management (cabesillas) Financial Report

President: Lharmel Pelayo 3000-00	
Vice President: Joseph Querubin 3000	
Treasurer: Jun Ragudo 3000	
Name	Contribution
(BOYS)	
1) Almazan, Darwin	
2) Banarac, Julius	P300.00
3) Cumayas, Wendell	
4) Loquarilla, Walter	P400.00
5) Llegado, Alvincent	
6) Pabilonia, El	P300.00
7) Pabilonia, Marvin	
8) Pabilonia, Morris	
9) Pabulayan, Russel	
10) Pabulayan, Randy	300.00
11) Pabulayan, Rocky	
12) Pabulayan, Elmer	
13) Pabulayan, Aldrin	P400.00
14) Pabulayan, Limuel	P400.00
15) Pabulayan, Willie	P400.00
16) Pelayo, Rhamil	P200.00
17) Pelayo, Miko	P400.00
18) Pelayo, Ihonel	P100.00
19) Querubin JR	P200.00
20) Querubin Julius	P200.00

1) Pabilonia, Francis	
2) Pabilonia, Denver "Dumbay"	
3) Pabulayan, Jops	P400.00
4) Ragudo, Allan Jhun	P200.00
5) Ragudo, John Paulo	P250.00
6) Trinidad, Kanalle	
7) Trinidad, Joseph	P300.00
8) Trinidad, Jonar	P200.00
9) Querubin, Rudy	HERMAMO
10) de Torres, Christine	P100.00
11) de Torres, Hazel	P100.00
12) de Torres, Janine	
13) Mata, Annaliza	P100.00 - 05/07/11
14) Pabilonia, Angeli	P100.00
15) Pabilonia, Monica	
16) Pabulayan, Rachelle	
17) Pabulayan, Mary Joy	P100.00
18) Pabulayan, Haydee	P100.00
19) Pabulayan, Cristy	P100.00
20) Pelayo, Grace	P100.00
21) Querubin, Irma	P100.00
22) Trinidad, Lerma	P100.00
23) Querubin, Jacqueline	P100.00
24) HARIPO, Querubin	
25) Kachul, Pabulayan	
26) Roghan, Trinidad	
27) Gericka Pabilonia	P100.00
28) Tracy Ragudo	P100.00

MAYOHAN 20

## KANTÁHAN

### A GENERAL DESCRIPTION

*Kantáhan* is a general term for a singing session that utilizes instrumental accompaniment as well as electronic sound systems for leisure. Moreover, it usually goes with drinking (*tagayán*) of alcoholic beverages, such as coconut vodka (*lambanóg*), beer, and liquor. *Kantáhan* may happen upon the prodding of friends and relatives for fun. If a karaoke or videoke machine<sup>23</sup> is available, a participant takes the microphone and sings his selected songs while the lyrics are displayed on the screen. Songs may range from old standards, country and folk, to the popular repertoire of rock, rap, R&B (rhythm and blues), novelty, jazz, ballad, soul, and other contemporary genres. After singing, the participants anticipate the rating or score that is given, much to everyone's entertainment (see Photograph 11). *Kantáhan* may be rendered solo, duet, trio or any combination of voices and instrumentations (see Photograph 12 for *kantáhan* with live instrumental accompaniment). These singing diversions are found to be "essential aspects of self-representation and self-construction and the practitioner's link to their social world of politics" (Pertierra 290).

Photograph 11: *Kantáhan* with videoke.  
Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 25 October 2015.





Photograph 12: *Kantáhan* with live instrumental accompaniment.  
Taken by Cynthia C. Afbale on 31 October 2010.



#### KANTÁHAN AFTER CHOIR'S CHRISTMAS PARTY, DECEMBER 28, 2014

The Fatima Choir Christmas party was held in the house of a member of our church choir in Barangay Kalumpang on December 28, 2014. It was a get-together with *kantáhan* using a rented videoke system. The party started at around 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon and attended by about twenty (20) people. Some brought food and drinks. Gifts were numbered, raffled, exchanged, and individually opened for all to see. Parlor games were played with prizes given to winners. By 6:00 o'clock in the evening when everybody had eaten, the hard drinks were served, and the *kantáhan* began. The first singers were children who had priority at the microphone as they cannot stay late at night in the party. Their song choices included teen songs which were mostly fast numbers, with loud volume, and featuring high pitches we commonly call *birit*. Meann sang *Let It Go* from *Frozen*. Amor followed with her rendition of *Dancing Queen* and *Mister Right*, and Enya sang *Girl on Fire* and *Marvin Gaye*. After the three (3) young singers, adult choir members who stayed almost until midnight started the singing. Manolo sang *Tie a Yellow Ribbon* and bade goodbye as he had to attend another get together. Andy sang *I Can't Stop Loving You*, *Oras Na*, and *You Raise Me Up*. Ogie rendered Marco Sison's *My Love Will See You Through* and Paul Anka's *Diana*. Jun followed with his rendition of *Ang Tangi Kong Pag-ibig* and *Solitaire*, and Osie sang Bette Midler's *God is Watching Us* and her favorite *The Greatest Love of All*. Bernard then rendered a medley of Ariel Rivera hits. Opel followed by singing three songs in a series, namely Janet Basco's *You Made Me Live Again, Till I Met You*, and Sharon Cuneta's *Tubig at Langis*. Doris sang *Bato Sa Buhangin* as requested by Mariella. Evelyn rendered *Torn Between Two Lovers* and *You* by The Carpenters. As the night got deeper, the alcoholic drinks took effect on the adult members. Their initial shyness vanished and they became more candid and welcoming to more singing, clapping, shouting, telling secrets, and merry making. The Christmas party concluded before midnight.

Another secular genre that involves social drinking is the *paawitán*. *Paawitán*, being the focus of this study, is discussed in detail in the next section.

## PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND CONTEXT OF PAAWÍTAN

This section elaborates on the performance practice of *paawítan* in terms of poetry, music, and structure. The discussion on poetry dwells on the topics of rhythm, figures of speech, and humor. Music is analyzed technically while performance structure is described in the context of a Senior Citizens meeting combined with a birthday celebration.

*Paawítan* may be grouped into three (3) types according to addressivity in its performance. The first type may be performed to specific solo addressees like newly married couples (*Áwit sa Lalaki o Babaeng Kinakasal*) and young children (*Áwit sa Pagpapatulog ng Bata o Oyáyi*) who are not expected to respond. The second type could also be addressed to a specific person who responds like in paying courtesy calls (*Kurtisiya*) and courtship (*Palasintáhan o Ligawán*). The third type of *paawítan* takes the form of debate or jousting wherein anyone in attendance may participate. It is in this last type that *paawítan* becomes an exciting interaction where singers may freely criticize anybody or any act that may be highlighted during the jousting process. In this manner, *paawítan* merges language and music in a wedded performance. In all three types, I apply dialogism and vocality in the interpretation of *áwit*, following Mikhail M. Bakhtin as he states that

dialogic relations are always present even among profound monologic speech works as long as there are contextual meanings and responsive understanding since responsive understanding of a speech whole is always dialogic by nature. The person who understands inevitably becomes a third party in the dialogue, but the dialogic position of this third party is a quite special one. (Bakhtin, *Speech Genres* 125-26, 134-35).

*Paawítan* structure follows a tripartite general format of introduction and greetings, repartee, and farewell. The introduction and greetings include invocation for God's blessings, respectful salutations, and felicitations. The repartee or main body of *paawítan* contains the goals of the visiting party in going to the house where *paawítan* is held. Varied and wide-ranged are the topics that include birthday praises, courting pleas, cautionary reminders, admonitions and advice to newly wed couples, traditional and customary



values, humor of all kinds, native cuisine, importance of social ancestry and genealogical reckoning, manners of conduct, public as well as private attitudes and actuations, among others. Frequently, wise sayings, myths, and truisms are incorporated in the repartee as statements of the community's ideals. All of these happen with the confluence of drinking and dancing. The fueling ritual of drinking integrated in *paawitán* is a wellspring of beliefs that enable one to have a harmonious living existence with the seen and the unseen. Leave-taking or farewell is usually done with a one-stanza *áwit* that tells of the fulfillment of assigned purposes, expressing gratitude and appreciation, being tired, and a return to the realities of the daily agricultural and domestic grind.

### *Poetry*

Poetry is verbal art. It is set in verse with heightened language and discourse. Paul Zumthor (1915-1995) opines that “poetry is a complex relationship of equivalents, complementarity, and opposition. It is an allomorph of a formulaic model set of phonetic, syntactic, lexical, rhythmic, and semantic relationships” (Zumthor and Engelhardt 79). *Áwit* elaborates on the poetry's rhythm consisting of rhyme and meter. Illustrations of figures of speech are used in the discussion of *áwit* topics for imagery and persona. Humor is highlighted and bracketed for contents, such as absurdities, sarcasm, sexual innuendos, and ironies, as a performative and dialogic discussion of *paawitán* where vocality is starkly manifested.

**Rhyme.** Rhyming scheme in *áwit* is similar to that of *pasyón* and *dalít*. It is effected by the repetition of the same vowel sound in the last syllable of each line we call assonance. Music Example 10 below are rhyming *áwit* stanzas for each line ending in vowels “a,” “e,” “i,” and “o.”

Music Example 10: Vowel assonances in *áwit* lines ending in “a,” “e,” “i,” and “o.”

On the last syllable ending in vowel “a.” Excerpt from *Áwit sa Kaarawán* (Birthday).<sup>24</sup>

<i>Madlang halaman mo, nagsisipagsaya</i>	All your plants are rejoicing
<i>Sampu ng bulaklak nangiti sa sanga</i>	Same with the flowers on the branch smiling
<i>Ang bango mo’t samyo na kaaya-aya</i>	Your fragrance and scent delighting
<i>Ay nakakaakit sa tuwa’t ligaya.</i>	Happiness and joy-enticing.

On the last syllable ending in vowel “e,” Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Kalumpang.<sup>25</sup>

<i>Binti ng dalaga ay may limang klase:</i>	Ladies’legs are of five (5) kinds/classes:
<i>May binting ulalo, may binting kamote</i>	There are legs like worms; legs like camote
<i>May binting kawayan, may binting garrote</i>	Legs like bamboos, legs like garrote
<i>May binting labanos, tadtad pa ng bune.</i>	Legs like radishes, full of ringworms.

On the last syllable ending in vowel “i.” Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga and Senior Citizens *Paawitán*.<sup>26</sup>

<i>Ako’y nautusan, hindi makatanggi</i>	I was ordered, I cannot resist
<i>Ang tumanggi nama’y hindi mangyayari</i>	Resistance will not happen anyway
<i>Subali’t kung sundin pagpipitang yari</i>	But if I give in to their desires
<i>Ay kapurihan din sa táong marami.</i>	Praise from the people will be mine.

On the last syllable ending in vowel “o.” Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.<sup>27</sup>

<i>Lamesa at silyang dito’y nakatayô</i>	The table and chairs herein positioned
<i>At doradong pilak na magkakahalo</i>	And a mixture of gold and silver
<i>Nagpapakilalang ang nagsisiupo</i>	Introduce that those who are sitting
<i>Yaong mga táong loob ay maamo.</i>	Are hearth-loving people.

Consonantal assonances likewise abound in *áwit*. Lines with words ending in hard consonants like “b,” “d,” “g,” “k,” and “t” or soft consonants like “l,” “n,” “w,” and “y” preceded by the same vowel “a,” “i,” or “o/u” are reproduced below as Music Example 11.

**Music Example 11: Consonantal assonances in *áwit*.**

**Hard consonants preceded by vowel “a.” Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.<sup>28</sup>**

<i>Ikaw nga ang rosas na sadyang bumukad</i>	You really are the rose that intentionally opened
<i>Pinakamamahal na higit sa pilak</i>	Dearly beloved that is more than silver
<i>Sa araw at gabi di ibig malingat</i>	During the day and night, not wanting to slip
<i>Halos patuntungin sa dalawang palad.</i>	Almost asked to step on two palms of the hand.

**Soft consonants preceded by vowel “a.” Excerpt from *Áwit sa Kaarawán* (Birthday).<sup>29</sup>**

<i>Ikaw nga ang rosas, bumukad sa tangkay</i>	You really are the rose that opened on the branch
<i>Halaman ng puso, pinakamamahal</i>	Plant of the heart, dearly beloved
<i>At ikaw ang siyang gagawing aliwan</i>	And you will be made the source of joy
<i>Ng mga nalunod sa dagat ng panglaw.</i>	Of those who were drowned in the sea of gloom.

**Hard consonants preceded by vowel “i.” Excerpt from *Áwit sa Kasálan* (Wedding).<sup>30</sup>**

<i>Ikaw aming bunso yayamang sumapit</i>	Youngest, while you have reached this stage
<i>At mawawalay ka sa aming tangkilik</i>	And you will be separated from our care
<i>Iyong tatandaan, itanim sa dibdib</i>	Remember, keep in your heart
<i>Ang sasabihin ko, o bunso kong ibig.</i>	What I have to say, my dear youngest.

**Soft consonants preceded by vowel “i.” Excerpt from *Áwit sa Kasálan* (Wedding).<sup>31</sup>**

<i>Tanang kasayahan, iyong lilisanin</i>	You will leave behind all merriments
<i>Dáting kaibigan, tuloy lilimutin</i>	Eventually forget old friends
<i>Bawat ikikilos, isiping magaling</i>	Every actuations, think of them wisely
<i>Nang hindi masawi sa asawang giliw.</i>	So as not to fail your dear half.

Hard consonants preceded by vowel “o.” Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibánga.<sup>32</sup>

<i>Yaring pagtindig ko, bilóg na kung bilóg</i>	In my standing position, round if it is round
<i>Tagulaylay mandin, ganda ng ‘yong loob</i>	Your benevolence is so poetic
<i>Ang nangangatuwa sa aki’y manood</i>	Those who are amused, watch me
<i>At ang hindi nama’y mukha’y italikod.</i>	Otherwise, make an about face.

Soft consonants preceded by vowel “o.” Excerpt from *Áwit-Palasintáhan* (Courtship).<sup>33</sup>

<i>Halimbawa kayá’t ang tangan ko’y lason</i>	If for example what I am holding is poison
<i>Na nasa botelyang mabagsik na Lysol</i>	Contained in a bottle, highly toxic Lysol
<i>Kung pag-akalaang inumin ko yaon</i>	If I try to drink that
<i>Tulutan mo kayang aking ipatuloy?</i>	Will you let me go on?

In the above examples of quatrains, rhyming has the formula aaaa. Other quatrains have aabb, abab, abba, abbb, aaba, and abcb rhyme formulae. In sestets, the first four (4) lines may have any of the above rhyming formulae with the last two (2) lines having the same rhyming scheme as the first or last two lines of the quatrain. There are also cases wherein the last two (2) lines follow a different scheme from the quatrain as shown in Music Example 12 below.

**Music Example 12: Rhyming Scheme in *Áwit* Sestets. Excerpts from Senior Citizens *Paawitán* followed by another excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Kalumpang.<sup>34</sup>**

<i>May isang tanghali ako’y naiidlip</i>	<i>a</i>	One noontime while taking a nap
<i>Sa aming bakuran may umalagit-it</i>	<i>a</i>	In our yard was a creaking sound
<i>Ako ay nagbangon at aking sinilip</i>	<i>a</i>	I got up and I peeped
<i>Isang baboy-ramong natangay ng ipis.</i>	<i>a</i>	A wild boar in the mouth of a roach
<i>Magpahanggang ngay-on, nanguros-nanguros</i>	<i>b</i>	Till now, making signs of the cross
<i>Magpahanggang ngay-on, suno sa paragos.</i>	<i>b</i>	Till now, riding a sledge.
<i>Ako ay nagtanim saging na but-ohan</i>	<i>a</i>	I planted a seedy banana stalk
<i>Ang pikarong uwak ay tatan-aw-tan-aw</i>	<i>a</i>	The damn crow was watching from afar
<i>Wika ng paniki, h’wag ka ngang maingay</i>	<i>a</i>	The bat said, do not be noisy

<i>Ako ang sa gabi, ikaw ang sa araw.</i>	<i>a</i>	I'll be for the night, you for the day
<i>Maghintay-hintay ka, ay ibong kanugtog</i>	<i>b</i>	Wait for a while, woodpecker
<i>Hintay, anang tikling na payungkog-yungkog.</i>	<i>b</i>	Wait, said the hunchback-walking egret.

**Meter.** Poetry of *áwit* consists of rhymed dodecasyllabic (12 syllables) lines with two-, four-, or six-lines to a stanza. Every line has a caesura (/) after the sixth syllable. This pause or rest gives a dramatic formal effect to the line, slowing speech (and singing) and giving the line a sense of importance (see Music Example 13 below on urging to render *áwit* and accepting the glass of vodka to drink). Dodecasyllabic poetry by its stress according to sense is capable of expressing simple and complex emotions, narrative descriptions, and patriotic sentiments.

**Music Example 13.** Caesura (/) in dodecasyllabic *áwit* sestet and couplet respectively. Excerpts from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga and Senior Citizens *Paawitán* respectively.<sup>35</sup>

<i>Ano kayang aking / naging kasalanan</i>	What sin did I commit
<i>At ako ay inyong / pinarurusahan?</i>	That you are punishing me?
<i>Hindi naman bato, / hindi naman bakal</i>	Neither stonerock nor metal
<i>Kung tatayahin ko'y / di ko makayanan</i>	In my estimation, I cannot take it
<i>Pasok na sa karsel, / aking bilangguan</i>	Enter now the carsel, my jail
<i>Narito na nga po / at sunud-sunuran.</i>	Am here and compliant.
<i>Abot, abot, kuha, / mahal na bituin</i>	Reach, reach, get it, dear star
<i>Ang nagreregalo'y / h'wag pakahiyain.</i>	Don't awfully displease the gift-giver.

**Figures of speech.** *Áwit* figures of speech include simile and metaphor, apostrophe and innuendo, allusion and pun, anthropomorphism and zoomorphism, and a lot of aphorisms and truisms. It is through their measured<sup>36</sup> verbalization that trivialities and ordinary things and happenings are transformed into artful sung utterances. “Figures of speech like onomatopoeia, interjections, and exclamations are used to “escape from language itself towards a fullness which would be nothing more than pure presence. . . a community-like nature of Medieval poetic text” (Zumthor and Engelhardt

86). Figures of speech in the *áwit* transport the listener to a floating sphere of understanding that brings about a somehow unexplainable bliss as given and explained in the following stanzas. Similes, which are common in the *áwit*, compare two things or occurrences with the use of ‘like’ or ‘as.’ In the three (3) stanzas below (see Music Example 14. Similes in *áwit*), the self or the human person is compared to rice hull, jackfruit, and a tree, respectively, in its uselessness. The stanzas put the person in a nonfunctional situation when asked to render *áwit* lines. Suggested things to do, more comparisons, and expected results complete the quatrains. Moreover, the ironic pronouncements, which are common in *áwit*, as in the third stanza below are baffling.

**Music Example 14. Similes in *áwit*. Excerpts from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga followed by two (2) examples from Brgy. Ibabang Palále.<sup>37</sup>**

<i>Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay.</i>	Whence I stand at the center of the house
<i>Ang nakakaparis ay ipang bualaw.</i>	I am like a rice hull
<i>Di magserbeng gatong, di magserbeng tanglaw</i>	Can't serve as fuel, can't serve as light
<i>Itapon mo na po't hahanipin lámang.</i>	Throw me out, I'll just collect bedbugs.
<i>Kung sa ganang aki'y walang mahihita</i>	As for me, you will not find any worth
<i>Kung bagá sa nangka'y pinitas ay mura</i>	Like a jackfruit, picked so young
<i>Manipis ang kalong, patda'y parang sutla</i>	The flesh is thin, the sap is silk-like
<i>Nilabon mang but-o'y nakakasikmura.</i>	Even the boiled seeds will upset the stomach.
<i>Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay</i>	Whence I stand at the center of the house
<i>Nalalantang kahoy ang aking kabagay</i>	I am like a withering tree
<i>Ang nakatutuyo'y ang patak ng ulan</i>	Rainfall dries me up
<i>Nakasasariwa'y ang sinag ng araw.</i>	The rays of the sun refreshes me.

More than similes, Tayabásin *áwit* abounds with metaphors, which are analogical comparisons of two objects. In the examples given below (Music Example 15), the first and second stanzas compare the lady to a flower. Picking of flowers corresponds to taking a lady for a wife. The second example compares the male person singing (*ako*) to Suffering who is

a progeny of Grief, the twin of Sorrow, and the cousin of Poverty. Suffering is looking for his lost ladylove named Joy. In the third stanza, a lush lemon tree is associated to a person. Perching birds on the tree refer to persons approaching and befriending that evergreen lemon. Another marvelous tree is metaphorically referred to as the person in the fourth stanza. He who has wide luxuriant leaves will surely be a good shield from the scorching sun.

**Music Example 15: Metaphors in *áwit*. Excerpts from various occasions and barangays.**

**Excerpt from Senior Citizens *Paawitán*<sup>38</sup>**

<i>Ako ay bulaklak na iisa-isa</i>	I am a flower, a lone flower
<i>Pinakamamahal ng ama ko't ina</i>	Most beloved of my father and mother
<i>Kung pipitasin mo't dadalhin sa dusa</i>	If you'll pick me and bring me to suffering
<i>Mahanga'y sa punò, malaglag, malanta.</i>	'Tis more worthy to wither and fall from my tree.

**Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Ib. Palále<sup>39</sup>**

<i>Aba masanghayang bulaklak ng aliw</i>	Ah delightful flower of joy
<i>Lingap ng awa mo'y siyang hintay namin</i>	Your caring mercy we are awaiting
<i>Kung ipagkaloob ikaw ng may hardin</i>	If you will be given by the garden owner
<i>Pakaasahan mong ika'y pipitasin.</i>	Surely hope that you will be picked.

**Excerpt from Senior Citizens *Paawitán*<sup>40</sup>**

<i>Ako ay si Dusa, kakambal ni Hapis,</i>	I am Suffering, twin of Sorrow,
<i>Pinsan ni Dalita, anak ni Hinaggis,</i>	Cousin of Poverty, son of Grief,
<i>Kaya naparito'y aking kinikita</i>	I came over because I am looking
<i>Ang nawawala kong sintang si Ligaya</i>	For my lost love, Joy.

Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibánga<sup>41</sup>

<i>Kung ikaw naman ay dayap na malago</i>	If you are a lush lemon tree
<i>Ang sanga't dahon mo'y lagaylay sa punò</i>	Your branches and leaves cover your trunk
<i>Ang alinmang ibong sa iyo'y dumapo</i>	Any bird that perches upon you
<i>Mailap-ilap ma'y pilit ding aamo.</i>	However wild, will eventually be meek and mild.

Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Ib. Palále<sup>42</sup>

<i>Marabilya ka pong kahoy ko sa parang</i>	You are my marvelous tree on the field
<i>Dahon mo'y mayabong, sanga mo'y maruklay</i>	Your leaves are lush, branches are wide
<i>Sino man daw táong dito'y maparaan</i>	Whosoever passes by your site
<i>Tiyak manganganlong kung naiinitan.</i>	Will surely take cover from the sun.

As truths may displease, poet-singers hide and say these truths implicitly to mitigate the harshness, to soften the brutality, and to smoothen the vulgarity. Yet the knowing public understands fully what is being told in the song such as the secret codes popularly infamous to them all. Only the unoriented listener who cannot make heads or tails of the poetry is lost. Other figures of speech used in *áwit* renditions are detailed below with short explanations.

The apostrophe or personified abstraction is a figure of speech found in the jousting portion of the Senior Citizens Federation *paawitán* and that of Barangay Gibánga (see Music Example 16). The manner of addressing the male singer as beloved prince (*mahal na prinsipe*) is both a respectful and jeering utterance. It is respectful because the person addressed is deemed one with a high social rank; jeering because the same is perceived as somebody without foresight, who cannot make a forecast of whatever “danger” lies ahead of him. These two (2) responses challenge the opponents’ capacity to topple the sung statements hurled at them as these quatrains give warnings on the expected result of the sung debate proceedings, hereinafter referred to as boating (*pamamangkâ*) and getting close to a native lemon tree (*dáyap*).



### Music Example 16: Apostrophe in *áwit*.

Excerpt from Senior Citizens *Paawitán*<sup>43</sup>

<i>Mahal na prinsipe, ay huwag kalulong</i>	Beloved prince, do not be too daring
<i>Sa pamamangka mo, dagat ay maalon</i>	In your sailing, the sea has got big waves
<i>Di kaloob ng D'yos, mabasâ ang timon</i>	Not by God's will, your sail might get wet
<i>Ang mapalibing ka'y wala ni kabaong.</i>	To be buried, not even a coffin you'll have.

Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Barangay *Gibánga*<sup>44</sup>

<i>Mahal na prinsipe, h'wag kang magpumilit</i>	Beloved prince, do not persevere
<i>Sa kapunong dayap na lipos ng tinik</i>	With the lemon tree surrounded by thorns
<i>Ang baro mo't sáya'y diyan mapupunit</i>	Your clothing and drapes will be there torn
<i>Ang hari mong sinta'y walang masasapit.</i>	Your conquering love will go to waste.

The following stanzas used in the jousting process (see Music Example 17 below) utilize zoomorphism, a figure of speech that applies animal attributes to humans. In the first stanza, the hesitant singer is urged to carry on the contest as a rooster being pushed to court a hen. This quatrain is familiar to all *paawitán* areas of Tayábas.

The second example adapts Tagalog reptilian nomenclature to human stock. The third stanza is another application of gallinaceous characteristics to humans employed in surrendering during the Senior Citizens jousting. In the stanzas below, the familiarity of the Tayabásin to the fauna of the place is undeniable.

### Music Example 17: Zoomorphism in *áwit*.

Excerpt from *paawitán* of Senior Citizens, Brgy. *Gibánga*, and Brgy. *Ibabáng Palále*.<sup>45</sup>

<i>Sulong aking tandang, sulong aking manok</i>	Forward, my rooster, forward, my chicken
<i>At sa dumalaga ay mangurukutok</i>	To the young hen, make a cackle
<i>Sa oras na ito't 'di ka tumaraok</i>	At this very hour if you don't cock-a-doodle
<i>Sayang ang tinuka, sa baluyot dukot.</i>	What wasted feeds, drawn from the granary.

Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Kalumpang.<sup>46</sup>

<i>Ako’y si Butiki, anak ni Bangkalang,</i>	I am House Lizard, son of Salamander,
<i>Pamangkin ng Tuko, apo ng Layagan.</i>	Nephew of Gecko, grandson of Skink.
<i>Kung itatanong mo ang aming pulangan,</i>	If you will inquire about our clan,
<i>Doon ka magpunta sa Kabayawakan.</i>	You proceed to the area of the Monitor Lizards.

Excerpt from Senior Citizens *paawitán*<sup>47</sup>

<i>Itong aking tandang, láwit na ang palong</i>	This rooster of mine already has fallen crown
<i>Hindi na po kayang tumuka’t sumulong.</i>	Neither can it peck nor advance anymore.

Paradoxical innuendos, which are figures of speech that use indirect references to persons or things seemingly contradicting themselves, are illustrated in two (2) stanzas below (Music Example 18). The thread (*sinúlíd*) in the first stanza refers to the *paawitán* jousting process itself while fate (*pálad*) in the second stanza pertains to the person being carried away by the sung debate.

Music Example 18. Paradoxical Innendos in *áwit*.

Excerpt from Senior Citizens *paawitán* <sup>48</sup>

<i>Sinulid na iya’y itali sa hangin</i>	That piece of thread, tie it on the wind
<i>Ang áwit nang áwit ang papagpigilin.</i>	Let the one who sings without let-up hold it.

Excerpt from *Tagayán* in Brgy. Gibánga<sup>49</sup>

<i>Ano kayâ itong narating ng palad</i>	What is this that fate brings
<i>Na sa laot mandin, sa gitna ng dagat</i>	That in the middle of the sea
<i>Ako’y lumulubog, di naman mabigat</i>	I am sinking, although am not heavy
<i>Wala namang hangin, ako’y napapadpad.</i>	I am blown, but there is no wind.

The figure of speech referred to as pun or asteismus that plays on a word and its different meanings is also used in *áwit*. In the first quatrain of Music Example 19 below, the word *galá* is used in the trick, first, to mean a gift to the newly married couples on their wedding date, and second, as a long pole with a cutter and/or basket at its end for picking fruits. The second stanza plays on the word *bágo* (adj. new or n. change) to refer to one's inner disposition.

**Music Example 19: Puns in *áwit*.**

**Excerpt from *Áwit sa Galahán*<sup>50</sup>**

<i>Ako'y sasayaw na ng iisang paa</i>	I will now dance on one foot
<i>Dadal'wahin ko po kung kayo'y gagála</i>	I'll make it two if you will give a gift
<i>Aanhin ang gálang panungkit ng bunga</i>	What can you do with a pole for fruit picking
<i>Di tulad ng pisong pansilid sa bulsa?</i>	Unlike the peso to be placed in the pocket?

**Excerpt from *Tagayán* in Brgy. Gibánga<sup>51</sup>**

<i>Susundin ko na po sapagkat utos mo</i>	I will now obey because it is your order
<i>Sapagkat ikaw po'y hindi nagbabago</i>	Because you are focused and constant
<i>Bakâ ang masabi ng alin ma't sino</i>	Whosoever might say that
<i>Nagbabago-bago'y di ko naman kaso.</i>	I am everchanging yet this is not even my case.

Truisms and aphorisms are also found in *áwit* (see Music Example 20). Most of these figures of speech come from widely-read references like the Bible and “Pasiong Mahal.” The first quatrain on thriftiness has allusions to the *pasyon*,<sup>52</sup> the shorter Tagalog sayings (*kasabihán*),<sup>53</sup> as well as the Italian-Spanish rhetor Lucius Annaeus Seneca (ca. 1 BC–65 AD)<sup>54</sup> (*Pasiong Mahal* 128-29; Seneca, “On the Happy Life” 106). The second couplet is adapted from the Bible (Luke 6.43-45)<sup>55</sup> while the couplet on hope in the third stanza is taken from Seneca as explicitly stated in the *áwit* (Seneca, “On the Tranquillity” 132; “Consolation” 186). The truism on the fourth stanza quatrain is reflective of life and agricultural living.

**Music Example 20: Aphorisms and truisms in *áwit*.**

**Excerpt from *Áwit-Áral sa Lalaking Kinakasa*<sup>66</sup>**

<i>Dáting kasabiha'y pag walang 'sinuksok</i>	Old saying goes, if there's nothing tucked aside
<i>Ay wala rin namang sukat madudukot.</i>	There's also nothing to be drawn out.
<i>Galing ng may simpang kahit kakarampot</i>	'Tis good to have even a little savings
<i>At may gugugulin pagdating ng signos.</i>	There'll be something to spend during bad times.

**Excerpt from *Tagayán in Brgy. Gibánga*<sup>57</sup>**

<i>Ang mabuting punò'y mabuti ang sanga</i>	A good tree has a good branch
<i>Magpahanggang dulo'y mabuti ang bunga.</i>	Until the topmost has good fruits.

**Excerpt from *Tagayán in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále*<sup>58</sup>**

<i>Pinagparon-an ko'y wika ni Seneca</i>	Whence I came as Seneca said
<i>"Ang kapangahasa'y bunga ng pag-asa."</i>	"A daring attempt is the fruit of hope." or "Courage springs from hope."

**Excerpt from *Kurtisiya*<sup>59</sup>**

<i>Maging sa halaman at sa táong buháy</i>	Even in plants and in human life
<i>Pag walang hihintin, di dapat hanapan</i>	If there's nothing to wait for, no need to search
<i>Kung sana sa dayap, pig-in man ng pig-in</i>	As in lemons, no matter how much you squeeze
<i>Pag wala nang katas, wala nang lalabas.</i>	If there's no more juice, nothing will come out.

Other figures of speech in *áwit* are appropriations or borrowings from familiar statements followed by a surprisingly unexpected ending, also known as snowclones (see Music Example 21) or paraprosodokian;<sup>60</sup> anthropomorphism,<sup>61</sup> which ascribes human characteristics to something non-human; catachresis<sup>62</sup> which uses a forced or wrong word for contextually paradoxical phrasing; and parables or anecdotes that teach moral lessons, among others.

**Music Example 21: Snowclones or paraproisdokian in *áwit*.**

**Excerpt from *Tagayán* in Barangay Kalumpáng<sup>63</sup>**

<i>Ang laki sa layaw karaniwa’y hubad</i>	Those who are bred in ease are usually naked
<i>Mabuti pa si Og, may kaunting bahag.</i>	Og is better off -- he has a scanty g-string.

The two (2) parables below and on the next page are lullabies (see Music Example 22) sung to lull children to sleep (*Áwit sa Pagpapatulog ng Bata o Oyáyi*). They are collected from Barangay Ibabáng Palále. The first lullaby that tells a story on shooting an arrow with seeming braggadocio consists of five (5) couplets. It turns out to be one of serendipity upon completion of the story. The second narrative consists of a couplet followed by three (3) quatrains. It tells a story of imitating another creature’s attributes which are beyond the imitator’s inherent capacity. This foolishness<sup>64</sup> resulted to death.

**Music Example 22: Parables in *áwit*.**

***Oyáyi* 22.1. <sup>65</sup>**

<i>Ako’y magsasabi ng kabulaanan</i>	A will relate a story of lie
<i>Siguro’y di ninyo paniniwalaan.</i>	Maybe you will not believe it.
<i>Ako ay pumana ng usang sungayan</i>	I arrow-shot a horned deer
<i>Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay tinamaan.</i>	The ear and the nail were hit together.
<i>Akin pong lalagyan ng hustong trasunta</i>	I will put a correct perspective
<i>Siguro po’y kayo’y maniniwala na.</i>	Maybe you will now believe it.
<i>Nagkataon noong usa’y nangangamot</i>	It was a chance, the deer was scratching,
<i>Ang kaniyang taynga ay kinakalikot.</i>	Was assiduously nitpicking its ear.
<i>Siya kong pagbigwas, nahayap kong tunod</i>	That very moment I released my aimed arrow
<i>Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay na natuhog!</i>	The ear and the nail were apiece hit together!

Oyáyí 22.2.<sup>66</sup>

Mayroon daw anwang na nanginginain  
Sa tabi ng tubog at mga pampangin.

There was a carabao that grazes  
Along the mudpool and its banks.

Sa binilog-bilog at tinaba-taba  
May nakakamalas na isang palaka.  
Wika ng palaka, "Makatulad kayâ  
Sa binilog-bilog at tinaba-taba."

In its roundness and fatness  
There watches a frog.  
The frog said, "What if I imitate it  
In its roundness and fatness."

Ang wika ng anwang, "Ay baliw ka pala  
At nag-iimbot ka na lumaki ka pa.  
Uminom ng tubig buhat sa umaga,  
Masdan mo kung hapon, at malaki ka na."

The carabao said, "You are indeed crazy  
And you're assuming that you'll still grow big.  
Drink water from the morning,  
In the afternoon you will see you're big.

Naniwala naman ang palakang uslak  
Uminom ng tubig hangga't hindi singkag.  
Ang nasapit niya ay dalita't hirap:  
Pumutok ang tiyan, paa'y iniunat!

And the crazy frog believed and  
Drank water until he is so very full.  
He suffered great affliction and difficulty:  
His stomach burst, feet straightened!

**Humor.** Humor is central to *paawitán*. It may be outwardly expressed in laughter and its various forms like giggles, guffaws, and it is one of the reasons why *áwit* singers and the community attend the event. In *paawitán*, the humorous verses come out spontaneously when the singers are already charged by alcoholic spirits.<sup>68</sup> These intoxicating spirits are variedly termed tongue-loosener (*pampadulás ng dilà*), remover of nervous feelings (*pampawalâ ng kabâ*), bravery or courage inducer (*pampatápang* or *pampalakás ng loób*), and source of strength (*hugután ng lakás*). These spirited drinks are also called "battery" in colloquial English, denoting its power or capacity to activate the drinkers and be more open to humor-laden *áwit* renditions. The alcohol "serves to further heighten the flow of the *paawitán*, since it eliminates the inhibitions and shyness of the drinkers, thereby becoming more creative and able to make more delightful songs, thus adding more pleasure

to the *paawitán* (Aldovino and Rodas 89). In the following elaborations on humor and laughter, vocality becomes more evident in the *paawitán* jousting. In the words of Bakhtin,

irony and laughter are the means for transcending a situation, rising above it . . . Seriousness burdens us with hopeless situations, but laughter lifts us above them and delivers us from them. Laughter does not encumber man, it liberates him. . . Indignation, anger, and dissatisfaction . . . divide while laughter only unites . . . Laughter can be combined with profoundly intimate emotionality. . . Everything that is truly great must include an element of laughter. Laughter lifts the barrier and clears the path. (Bakhtin, “From Notes” 135).

I consider absurdities and impossibilities—temporally, biologically, and logically—as the causes of humor in the following four stanzas (see Music Example 23). Once this kind of humorous concoction starts, everyone who knows a stanza of this kind follows in the race to sing his/her impossible story. The laughter elicited is a challenging kind that seems to ask the question, “Anything else greater than this?” as each singer tries to outshine the previous performer. The first three (3) quatrains are from Barangay Gibánga drinking (*tagayán*) session, while the fourth stanza is from the *paawitán* of the Senior Citizens.

**Music Example 23: Humor as absurdities and impossibilities.  
From *Tagayán* in Barangay Gibánga<sup>69</sup>**

<i>Mahal na prinsipe, kung totoo't gusto</i>	Beloved prince, if'tis true and wished for,
<i>Hayo na't magtanim ng niyog sa bato:</i>	Go on and plant a coconut tree on a rock:
<i>Ngayon din bubunga, ngayon din bubuko</i>	At once'twill bear fruits, at once with young nuts
<i>Ngayon di'y kukuha ng igagata ko.</i>	At once I can get some for my coconut milk.
<i>Ako ay nagtanim ng kapunong santol</i>	I planted a cotton fruit tree
<i>Namunga kanina, nahinog kahapon</i>	It bore fruit a while ago, it ripened yesterday
<i>Nang pipitasin ko'y natuka ng ibon</i>	When I had to pick it, a bird got it
<i>Nahulog sa lupa, sa dulo gumulong.</i>	It fell on the ground, and rolled onto the top.

<i>Biling katawan ko, iyong paglabanin:</i>	Turn my body, compete with it:
<i>Ang gilingang batong pinalad ng hangin,</i>	The stone grinder blown by the wind,
<i>Magdali-dali ka't bakâ di abutin --</i>	Hurry up, you may not catch up –
<i>Nakabit sa lawa at pabitin-bitin.</i>	Caught in a cobweb and there left a-hanging.

#### From Senior Citizens *Paawitán*

<i>May isang tanghali ako'y naiidlip</i>	There was one noontime, I was asleep <i>Sa</i>
<i>aming bakuran, may umalagit-it</i>	There was a creaking sound in our yard <i>Ako</i>
<i>ay nagbangon at aking sinilip:</i>	I got up and I peeped:
<i>Isang baboy-ramong natangay ng ipis.</i>	A wild boar carried by a roach in its mouth.

Humor is also generated by *áwit* allusions to sexual topics. Sexual themes, being taboo and held in secrecy among the Tagalogs, evoke tittering, titillating (tickling), and giggling laughs. These are sometimes accompanied by shrieks and shouts and the repetitions of the metaphoric words (underlined) which refer either to the male or female genitalia (see Photographs 13-14) and the sexual act itself. The lyrics of *áwit* stanzas are poetic and not obscene (*malaswâ* or *maháláy*) on the surface. However, listeners knowledgeable of these symbols cannot control their laughter because of their sexual connotations. Five stanzas are given in Music Example 24 on the next page. The first four (4) stanzas are from Barangay Gibanga, while the last couplet is from Barangay Ibabáng Palále.

#### Music Example 24: Humor as sexual innuendos.

##### Excerpts from *Tagayán* in Barangay Gibánga<sup>71</sup>

<i>Ang inang binyag ko, kayâ pala wala</i>	My baptismal godmother, why she's absent
<i><u>Nagbibikang-bikang</u> sa tabi ng sapa</i>	Concocting <i>bikang</i> <sup>72</sup> along the brookside
<i>Nang ako'y pumar'ot aking inusisa</i>	When I went there and inquired
<i><u>Pinaglahok-lahok súman</u> at marhuyà.</i>	She is mixing <i>súman</i> <sup>73</sup> and <i>marhuyà</i> . <sup>74</sup>



<i>Si Aling Polana'y hindi maghihirap</i>	Madame Polana will not live in poverty
<i>Pinaghahanapa'y <u>lupang gagapalad.</u></i>	She is earning from a palm-sized land.
<i>Si Aling Polana'y may <u>bahay sa labak</u></i>	Madame Polana has a house in the valley
<i>Ang bubong ay yunot, ang dingding ay balát</i>	The roof is <i>yunot</i> , <sup>75</sup> the wall is skin
<i>May <u>bintanang munti</u> sa tapat ng papag</i>	Has a small window across the bamboo bed
<i><u>Dungawan</u> ng kanyang <u>minamarisapsap.</u></i>	From where her <i>minamarisapsap</i> looks out.
<i>Si Aling Polana'y may <u>but-o ng kasuy</u></i>	Madame Polana has a cashew nut
<i>Ako namang ari'y may <u>kamoteng kahoy</u></i>	I, on the other hand, has a cassava
<i>P'wede kayâ pong ako'y <u>makilabon</u></i>	Is it possible that I may boil
<i>Sa inyong <u>palayok, tabi'y harimuymoy?</u></i>	In your pot surrounded by lace?
<i>Si Aling Polana'y nag-akyat sa bunga</i>	Madame Polana climbed a <i>hitso</i> <sup>76</sup> palm tree
<i>Nalaglag ang tapis, nakita ang <u>letra!</u></i>	Her skirt fell, her letter was exposed!

Photograph 13: Native snacks locally called *bikang* made of sweet potatoes (top) as symbol of female genitalia and *súman* made of glutinous rice (bottom) as phallic symbols mentioned in áwit stanzas. Both pictures are taken from a personal Facebook message, accessed 23 August 2016.



Photograph 14: Native snacks locally called *marhuyà* made of glutinous rice (top) symbolic of the female genitalia, and cassava (*kamoteng kahoy*, bottom) a phallic symbol mentioned in áwit stanzas in Music Example 24. Top picture was taken from a personal Facebook message accessed 23 August 2016; bottom picture taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 20 October 2016.



*Paawitán* poetry has an arresting effect (*supalpál*) in its narrative when it comes to sarcastic boasting. Stanzas of this kind elicit guffaws, sniggers, and boisterous laughters. Examples below (Music Example 25) are from the drinking session (*tagayán*) in Barangay Gibánga.

**Music Example 25: Humor as sarcasm.**

**Excerpts from *Tagayán* in Barangay Gibánga.<sup>77</sup>**

<i>“Di ko sana nasang katalo’y patulan</i>	It was not my desire to fight my opponent
<i>Sa kalbo’y wala raw masasabunutan</i>	There’s no hair to pull in a bald man
<i>Subalit sa kanyang mga kayabangan</i>	But in his many boastful stirrings
<i>Bakâ maniwala ang mutya kong hirang.</i>	My love might dangerously believe.

<i>Kayâ alang-alang sa katotohanan</i>	So for the sake of truth
<i>At lilisanin ko ang madlang tinuran</i>	And I will leave all that I planned
<i>Siya raw po’y merong isang mahar-pilak</i>	‘Tis said that he has a noble-silver
<i>Sa may Dagat Sulung katimugang dagat.</i>	Near the southern Sulu Sea.

<i>Sa dami ng silid, wala raw katulad</i>	In the many number of rooms, nothing compares
<i>At ang tuktok nito’y lampas raw sa ulap</i>	And its top ‘tis said is beyond the clouds
<i>Sa gusaling guhit ay aking nahagap</i>	In its architectural design, I realized that
<i>Ang Bilibid pala’y doon ililipat!</i>	The Bilibid Prison will be transferred there!

Laughter is similarly brought forth by truths that expose hidden and delicate matters, untouched characters, and other unexpected realizations. Reactions sometimes include embarrassment but are celebratory most of the time. Examples are given in five (5) stanzas (see Music Example 26 below) from various sources.

**Music Example 26. Humor elicited by unexpected realizations.**

**Excerpt from *Tagayán* in Barangay Gibánga.<sup>78</sup>**

<i>Mahirap nga pala ang búhay ng duling</i>	The life of a cross-eyed is really difficult
<i>Pagkatanghalia'y sa langit ang tingin!</i>	Always looking at the sky every after lunch.

**Excerpt from Senior Citizens *Paawitán*.<sup>79</sup>**

<i>No'ng unang panahong ako'y batang munti</i>	In the olden days when I was a little kid
<i>Ang aking panatà ako'y magpapari</i>	I promise myself that I will become a priest
<i>Nang makakita na ng magandang binti</i>	When I saw some beautiful legs
<i>Ay nalimutan na itong pagpapari.</i>	This priesthood was already forgotten.

**Excerpts from *Tagayan* in Barangay Ibabáng Palále.<sup>80</sup>**

<i>Ako'y magsasabi ng kabulaanan</i>	I will relate a story of lies
<i>Siguro'y di ninyo paniniwalaan—</i>	You might not believe this
<i>Ako ay pumana ng using sungayan</i>	I arrow-shot a horned deer
<i>Ang taynga't kuko ay sabay tinamaan.</i>	Its ear and the nail were hit simultaneously.

<i>Akin pong lalagyan ng hustong trasunta</i>	I will put it in a full perspective
<i>Siguro po'y kayo'y maniniwala na</i>	Maybe you will believe me now
<i>Nagkataon noong usa'y nangangamot</i>	It happened when the deer was scratching,
<i>Ang kaniyang taynga ay kinakalikot.</i>	Assiduously nitpicking its ear.

<i>Siya kong pagbigwas, nahayap kong tunod</i>	That very moment I released my arrow
<i>Ang taynga't kuko ay sabay na natuhog.</i>	The ear and the nail were hit a-piece.

Áwit humor entails reframing and play of words to aptly complete syllabic counts and rhyme. The good timing of sallies brings smiles, chuckles, laughter, and even applause and shouts of praise (*ang galing!*) during the repartee. The efficient timing in the response, regardless of inconsistencies, reverse truths, or simply the ironic non-truths which are delivered intentionally, are given from various sources in Music Example 27 below. The

first stanza is a response sung when the vodka glass is just handed to the singer. The second stanza is used to delay the drinking, whereas the third and fourth quatrains are inducements to drink the glass contents.

**Music Example 27: Humor by pun, reframing, and exact timing in *paawitán* jousting.**

**Excerpt from Senior Citizens *Paawitán*.<sup>81</sup>**

<i>Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay</i>	In my standing at the center of the house
<i>Nalalantang kahoy ang aking kabagay</i>	I am like a withering tree
<i>Ang nakatutuyo'y ang patak ng ulan</i>	Rainfall makes me dry
<i>Nakakasariwa'y ang sinag ng araw.</i>	Sunrays make me fresh.

**Excerpts from *Tagayán* in Barangay Ibabáng Palále.<sup>82</sup>**

<i>Kung gusto mo, Neneng, táyo'y mag-áwitan</i>	If you desire, Neneng, we will sing
<i>Tibagin ang bundok, dagat ay tabunan</i>	Level the mountain, fill the sea
<i>Dakipin ang alon, ilagay sa pinggan</i>	Catch the waves, put them on a plate
<i>At siya po nating gagawing laruan.</i>	And we will make them our toys.
 <i>Inom na'y inom na ng dilakonesa</i>	 Drink now, drink now this wine
<i>Palamig sa dibdib nang di mamaos ka</i>	Breast-cooler so your voice will not be hoarse
<i>At pagkainom mo'y ikaw ay gaganda</i>	After drinking, you will be beautiful
<i>Pupula ang labi, pupungay ang mata.</i>	Your lips will redden and your eyes, dreamy.
 <i>Inom na'y inom na'y nása tasang tagay</i>	 Drink now, drink now your <i>tagay</i>
<i>Pag naubos ninyo ang laman ng tagay</i>	When you finish its contents
<i>Pupula ang pisngi, mata ay pupungay</i>	Your cheeks will redden, your eyes, dreamy
<i>Gagandang lalaki, parang artista ay!</i>	You'll be a gorgeous man, like a movie actor.

Laughter can also be explicitly included in *áwit* stanzas. Music Example 28 talks about shortcomings as cause of humor. The first stanza refers to the absence of a clown in a happy occasion. The second quatrain is about the lack of good voice of a singer, and third, a neophyte's limited experience.

Music Example 28: Humor as explicitly (underlined) mentioned in áwit.

Excerpts from *Tagayán* in *Barangay Gibánga*<sup>83</sup>

<i>Anuman daw sayá pag walang lakayo</i>	However happy, 'tis said, if there's no clown
<i>Ay <u>pagtatawanan</u> ng maraming tao.</i>	Many people will make fun of that occasion.

<i>'Wag mong paghanapan ang di pa bihasa</i>	Don't search for many things from newbies
<i>Mauuna kayong tunay na <u>tumawa</u></i>	You will be the first to really laugh
<i>Walang magagawa at ang nagdadala</i>	Can't do anything because the bearer
<i>Bagong nag-aaral sa primera letra.</i>	Is just a newbie in the first letters.

Excerpt from Senior Citizens *Paawitán*<sup>84</sup>

<i>Ako'y nahihiyang umáwit kung tikis</i>	I am embarrassed to sing when forced
<i>Sapagkat masama yaring aking boses</i>	Because my voice is bad
<i>Maraming <u>tatawa</u>, maraming iismid</i>	Many will laugh, many will pout
<i>Magkukuhitan pa ang magkakaratig.</i>	Seatmates will even pinch each other.

Laughter resonates with another who shares the same feeling on the subject being laughed at. As humor tends to work on familiar references, it binds one and all to the shared joy that everybody understands, thus increasing the sense of intimacy in the community. It is common knowledge that

[m]any foreigners are disconcerted by the insistence of the Filipinos to mix hilarity with seriousness. Joking behavior has been an important element of anthropological study in societies with rigid status hierarchies. Rituals of reversal oblige the highborn to momentarily play the fool as a form of self-deprecation. Through these displays of self-abnegation, social hierarchies are reinforced and legitimized. (Pertierra 291)

This is the sense of *communitas* as described by Victor Turner (1969). Pertierra then proceeds with his definition of alterity: "Alterity is a reciprocal and necessary aspect of the self" (291).

The above discussion of the *paawitán* from the vista of poetry needs to be informed by what has been learned about Tagalog poetry or *tula*. As seen above, *paawitán* can be analyzed as poetry as has been learned from the study of literary genres in order to facilitate greater understanding by a broader audience.

Nonetheless, it will benefit from a view through the lens of *tula*, to which *paawitán* is inevitably connected via community and language. From this lens, the most pertinent aspect for our discussion has to do with rhymes and caesuras, which is very much connected to song and music, the fundamental basis of analysis in this present work.

While rhyme is never wanting in the *paawitán*, the level of rhyme (*antas ng tugmaan*) according to the rules of *tula* can be generally called *karaniwan* (ordinary), meaning that the rhymes match only in terms of accent and strength. In the rhyming syllables, the vowels either have or don't have a glottal stop (*impit*), and the consonants are either *malakas* (hard) or *mahina* (soft)

In both words that end with a vowel or consonant: when the matching of vowels or consonants is paired with the way of reading the rhymed words, then one attains the *antas ng tugmaan* called *tudlikan*. In this level, there are two ways of reading words. The first is the slow way—either with emphasis on the penultimate syllable (*malumì*, for words that end on a vowel with glottal stop, or *malúmay*, for words that end on a vowel with no glottal stop, or words that end with consonants). The second is the fast way, with emphasis on the ultimate syllable of a word (*maragsâ*, for words that end on a vowel with glottal stop, or *mabilis*, for words that end on a vowel with no glottal stop, or words that end with consonants). (“*Ang mga Antas ng Tugmaan*”)

It must be remembered that *karaniwan* is the lowest level of rhyme, and *tudlikan* is more desirable in the writing of *tula*. Higher than *tudlikan*, however, is *pantigan*, which possesses the defining characteristics of *tudlikan* plus the matching sequence of vowel-consonant or consonant-vowel in the last syllable of both rhyming words. The highest *antas ng tugmaan* is *dalisay*,



which has the characteristics of *pantigan*, plus the vowel before the last syllable of the rhyming words is the same. (“*Ang mga Antas ng Tugmaan*”).

In relation to caesuras, the metric count in *paawitán* is consistently dodecasyllabic with a medial caesura after six (6) syllables. The division of the hemistiches is generally classifiable, though in terms of sense, a few hemistiches may be thought wanting in terms of wholeness as seen in endings with connecting words. Nonetheless, one must note that the above demand on caesuras is intended for *tula*, and the matter being assessed in this present work is *áwit*. Hence, there is the possibility of forgiving what is not achieved.

### *Music*

*Tayabásin áwit* is rhymed poetry sung and danced to a minor key using a tonic-dominant progression that is repeated. Singing is usually accompanied by the guitar. When the *áwit* lyrics are known to all or most of the *paawitán* attendees, harmony in thirds and sixths could be heard. Each *áwit* couplet ends in the dominant chord that ensures the continuity of the performance. The following pages will contain the detailed discussions on *paawitán* music which consist of melody and harmony, rhythm, meter, and sound associations.

*Áwit* practitioners I met and talked with have a baffling description of the *áwit* melody. They often say that it has only one tune and is rendered only by the elderly (*iisang tono at pangmatanda lámang*). Following is a simultaneous melody-harmony description of a typical *áwit* stanza (see Music Example 29) to elucidate their point of view. A two-note preparatory passage to the fourth note of the minor scale brings the third syllable of the first line in the dominant (V). The sixth syllable is in the tonic (i), its fifth note. A rest or breath mark follows, corresponding to the poetic caesura in the first line. The seventh syllable starts with the seventh note of the scale in dominant chord (V). It resolves to the tonic (i), both note and chord, on the twelfth syllable that ends the first line. The second line of the stanza starts in the dominant (V), moving down in an arpeggiated fashion to the next tonic (i), its fifth note on the sixth syllable. The melody goes further down to the tonic root for the eleventh syllable. The second line ends with the second note

of the scale in the dominant chord (V). Given on the next page is a tabulation (Figure 2) of the *Tayabásin áwit* simple melodic-harmonic analysis. A summarized chordal sequence by hemistiches (phrasial endings every six syllables) has a tonic (i) – tonic (i) – tonic (i) – dominant (V) order for every couplet. The third and fourth lines in quatrains follow the same sequence as the first and second lines of the couplet, similar to the fifth and sixth lines in sestets. This chordal series always applies in *áwit* renditions whether the singer has a low or a high voice. The difference between the low and high voices lies in the individual note endings of the second and third hemistiches of the couplet and the other notes that usher in going thereto.

**Figure 2: Syllabic Tabulations of a Typical *Tayabásin áwit* melodic-harmonic analysis.**

Lines 1, 3, and 5			
Syllable No.	Melody Note of the scale	Chord	Additional Notes
1	Second	Dominant (V)	Passing tone on second syllable
3	Fourth	Dominant (V)	Fifth note on fifth syllable
6	<b>Fifth</b>	<b>Tonic (i)</b>	
7	Seventh	Dominant (V)	
11	Seventh	Dominant (V)	Changing tone embellishment
12	<b>Tonic</b>	<b>Tonic (i)</b>	

Lines 2, 4, and 6			
Syllable No.	Melody Note of the scale	Chord	Additional Notes
1	Second	Dominant (V)	Arpeggiation of the dominant chord (V)
3	Fourth	Dominant (V)	
6	<b>Fifth</b>	<b>Tonic (i)</b>	
7	Fifth	Tonic (i)	Downward passing tones to tonic root
11	Tonic	Tonic (i)	Changing tone embellishment
12	<b>Second</b>	<b>Dominant (V)</b>	

*Áwit* rhythm is lilting, encouraging singers as well as listeners to dance. It approximates a moderately fast tempo (*allegretto*) with three-four time signature or a waltz. Tayabásin practitioners refer to the *áwit* dance as *sayáw* (Rivera-Mirano 65). Nanay Sedeng Caagbay (b. 1945) from Barangay Ibabáng Palále commented that a singer has to fit the movements to the message of the *áwit* (Afable, *Understanding the Present-Day* 68n44). Clapping and stomping of feet accompany the *áwit*, which coincides with the second and third beats of the rhythm. An *áwit* singer (*mamamaáwit*) may not take the normal rest after every couplet, similar to *pasyón* rendition when the readers have that urge to finish the book before sundown. Whenever the singer takes the rest after a couplet that has a complete thought, the guitarist continues with improvisatory instrumental passages in the same tonic-dominant progression (see Music Example 29). The poetic break may be a short or a long pause. The guitar improvisations use mostly scalar solo passages with some arpeggiations that end in the dominant chord to let the singer enter. The singer, in the meantime, while thinking of the next poetic lines, dances and acknowledges claps, shouts, and laughter from the attendees.

**TAYABÁSIN ÁWIT.** Rendered by Lola Santa Naynes of Brgy. Ibabáng Palále  
with guitar instrumental interlude performed by Mang Biloy Cabuyao.  
Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afable

E7 Am E7 Am E7

I - nom na'y i - nom na, sa ka-may ko ga - ling Suk - dang i - to'y

Am E E7 Am

la - son, hin - di ka ta - tal - bin, Kung mag - ka - sa - kit ka sa

E7 Am E7 Am

a - kin ang da - hil Ma - la - yo man a - ko'y i - yong i - pag - bi -

E (Guitar interlude) Am E7 Am Dm

lin.

Am E7 Am E7 Am

Dm Am E7 (Singer)

Kung sa pag - i - nom

Am E7 Am E7 Am

ko'y 'di ka ma - si - ya - han At \_\_\_\_\_ ang i - yong mit - hi'y

E7 Am E7

'di ko ma - i - a - lay, Pa - ta - wa - rin a - ko at ya - ring ka - wal -

Am E7 Am E

an Ang \_\_\_\_\_ si - yang may sa - la ng la - hat ng ba - gay.

Tayabásin musicians often perform in triadic harmony whether accompanying instrumentally or singing in chorale fashion (*bozesan*). That *áwit* refers to “only one tune” (*iisang tóno*) is an indication of harmonic reference where melodic variants are described as “the same.” Their reference of *áwit* as having ‘only one tune’ underscores their understanding of melody as part and parcel of triadic harmony.

### *Structure*

I witnessed a *paawitán* performance by the Tayabas Senior Citizens Federation during their November Board of Directors meeting. It was held in their home office in Munting Bayan. The *paawitán* consisted of three parts, namely Introduction, Repartee, and Farewell. It was an offshoot of the day-long officers meeting and monthly birthday celebration. The treasurer of the federation, Lola Nida Jabola, informed me that *paawitán* only happens whenever the guitarist Mang Biloy Cabuyao from Barangay Ibabáng Palále is available. Mang Biloy comes upon the invitation of federation president, Mr. Aristeo Palad, and director Ret. Col. Luis Araya, who are both avid *paawitán* practitioners.

### I. INTRODUCTION

Two tables were set for the *tagayán* after lunch. Mr. Palad called everybody to go to their respective places saying, “*p’westo-p’westo!*” All the men went to one table while all the women went to the other, including myself. One of the two available microphones was used so that when one is singing (*nama-maawit*), another rises up “at bat,” while still another waits “on deck.” Musical continuity was provided by Mang Biloy at the electric guitar, who played dominant-tonic instrumental interludes on the spot ending in dominant chord E Major that facilitated the entry of the next stanza. The guitarist rendered longer passages when the next singer took the microphone. Those who knew how to sing *áwit* sang voluntarily one after another especially when they learned that I came specifically to listen to their *paawitán*. One grandmother told me earlier, and I quote, “*Ay hala, at ako rin ay aáwit ng*

*tumbas kaunti*” (*Understanding the Present-Day* 20). The following guitar introduction ushered the start of the *paawitán* (see Music Example 30).

**Music Example 30: Guitar introduction by Mang Biloy Cabuyao, Tayábas Senior Citizens Federation, Munting Bayan, Tayábas City.**



Then, Tia Nelly de Torres stood up and sang her lines (Music Example 31) as follows:

**Music Example 31: Introductory sally as rendered by Mrs. Nelly de Torres.**

Translation:      Come out, come out, whoever will come out  
                              The guitar music may pass away  
                              On this day, we are awaiting . . .

## II. REPARTÉE

This initial rendition was followed by another stanza with Mr. Maximo “Lolo Memong” Naynes taking on the microphone to sing a stanza urging one to drink the *tágay* (see Music Example 32)

Music Example 32: Lolo Memong Naynes’ drinking offer.

E                      Am                      E                      Am                      E

I - nom na'y i - nom na, sa ka-may ko ga - ling, ay suk - dang i -

Am                      E                      Am                      E                      Am

to'y la - son, hin - di ka ta - tal - bin. (Guitar)

Translation:      Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand  
                              Even if it is poison, it will not take effect on you.

Mrs. Esperanza “Lola Asang” Tabi took her turn while Mang Biloy Cabuyao played a longer interlude on the guitar as transcribed in Music Example 33. Lola Asang’s stanza is translated below:

Music Example 33: Guitar interlude with segue of Lola Asang Tabi's hesitations.

E Am E Am  
 (Guitar)  
 E7 Am E7 Am  
 E7 Am E Am E7  
 A - ko ay na - u - tu - san, hin - di ma - ka - tang - gi, (Ay) Ang \_\_\_\_\_ tu - mang - gi  
 Am E Am E  
 na - ma'y hin - di mang - ya - ya - ri. (Guitar)  
 E7 Am E7 Am  
 Su - ba - lit kung sun - din, pag - pi - pi - tang ya - ri, ay ka -  
 Am E  
 - pu - ri - han din sa ta - ong ma - ra - mi.

Translation: I was ordered, I cannot resist  
 Resisting will not happen  
 But if I give in to their desire  
 Praise from the people will be mine.

After Lola Asang Tabi's stanza, she handed the microphone back to Lolo Memong Naynes who responded to his own first stanza above with the following sally (Music Example 34).



Music Example 34: Lolo Memong Naynes' provisos.

Chords: E, Am, E, Am, F7, Am, F7, Am, Dm, Am, E.

Lyrics: Kung ta na i sa yaw a: sa ka su nu ngin, Kung ta na i kun day, a-ky' i i noni cin.

(Guitar)

Translation: If it will be danced and placed on the head  
If it will be swayed, I will also drink.

Another one-stanza answer rendered in a low voice was sang by Lolo Marcial Tabi notated on the next page as Music Example 35.

Music Example 35: Lolo Marcial Tabi's response.

Chords: E, Am, E, Am, E7, Am, E, Am, E7, Am, E.

Lyrics: Si - nu - sul - yap - sul - yap, ni - li - li - ngon - li - ngon, (Ay) I - ti - nu - tu - ro pa, ang wi - ka ay do - on. Pag - da - ting sa git - na ay pa - bi - ling - bi - ling, (Ay) Ma - ma'y ku - nin mo na't 'pa - ki - ta sa a - kin.

Translation:      Being looked at and looked back  
                          Pointing still, says ‘there.’  
                          Upon reaching the center, head a-turning  
                          Man, get it and let me see.

Thereafter, Lolo Memong Naynes related a love-searching story (see Music Example 36) in his *áwit* which I translated as follows:

Music Example 36: Lolo Memong Naynes’ search story of a lost love.

The musical score is written in 3/4 time and consists of six staves. The melody is in the treble clef, and the guitar accompaniment is in the bass clef. The lyrics are in Tagalog and are written below the melody. The chords are indicated above the staff.

Staff 1: E Am E Am E7  
 A ko ay si Du sa, ka kam ba ni Ha pis, (Ay) Pin sar ni

Staff 2: Am E Am E Am E  
 Da li ta, a nak ni Hi nag pis. (Guitar)

Staff 3: E7 Am E7 Am E7  
 Ka ya na pa ri to, a king ki ni ki ta ang na wa wa

Staff 4: Am E7 Am E Am E  
 la kong sin tang si Li ga ya. (Guitar)

Staff 5: Am E7 Am E7  
 Si Li ga ya na nga, wa la at nag ta go, (Ay) A ko'y pa tu

Staff 6: Am E Am E Am  
 tu ngo, pin sang si Tu mu ro, Na hi pan ng ha ngin



E7 E7 Am E

ang nag - su - si - ma - mo, Ay ba - ka na - ag - nas ang pi - ta sa

Am E Am E7 Am

pu so. Si Li ga ya na nga, wa la't di ma di ta. (Ay) A

E/ Am E Am E

ko'y pa - tu - tu - ngo, pin - sang si Su - min - ta Sa tu - long ng

Am E7 Am E7 Am

a king pin sang si Mag ti is Ay ba ka na ag nas

E Am E Am E

ang ti - gas ng dib - dib (Guitar)

E/ Am E Am E

Pag - da - ting ko ro - on, ta - ta - wa - gan ki -

Am F Am F Am E

ta Na sa an ka, Ne neng? Kay ta mis su min ta!

Translation: I am Suffering, twin of Sorrow  
Cousin of Poverty, Son of Grief.  
I came here because I am meeting  
My lost love, Joy.

This Joy, who is lost and in hiding  
 I am going to my cousin To-Point-Out.  
 Windblown, the one who pleads,  
 The desire in his heart may melt.

This Joy, who is lost and cannot be found,  
 I am going to my cousin, To-Fall-In-Love.  
 With the help of my cousin To-Bear,  
 The hardness of the heart may melt.

Upon reaching there,  
 I will call upon you.  
 Where are you, Neneng?  
 How sweet it is to fall in love.

Lola Mely Naynes, Lola Nida Jabola, and Ret. Col Luis Araya took their turns. Here is an excerpt of the retired colonel's stories (Music Example 37):

**Music Example 37: Ret. Col. Luis Araya's fauna and other lessons.**

May i - sang tang - ha - li, a - ko'y na - i - id - lip Sa \_\_\_\_\_ a - ming ba -

ku - ran, may u - ma - la - git - it. A - ko ay nag - ba - ngon

at a - king si - ni - lip: i - sang \_\_\_\_\_ ba - boy - da - mong na - ta -

ngay ng i - pis. Mag - pa - hang - gang ngay - on, na - ngu - ros - na - ngu -



Translation:      One noontime, I was asleep  
                          In our yard was creaking sound  
                          I got up and I peeped:  
                          A wild boar carried on the mouth by a roach.  
                          Up to now, signs of the cross  
                          Up to now, carried on a sledge.

This was followed by Lolo Memong Naynes' naughty story (see Music Example 38) translated as follows –

**Music Example 38: Lolo Memong Naynes' aborted priestly plan.**

E Am E Am E7 Am E Am E Am E

No'ng u - nang pa - na - hon, a - ko'y ba - tang mun - ti, Ang a - king pa - na - ta, a - ko'y mag - pa - pa - ri. (Guitar)

Nang ma - ka - ki - ta na ng ma - gan - dang bin - ti, ay na - li - mu - tan na i - tong pag - pa - pa - ri.

Translation: In the olden days, when I was a little kid  
I promised myself that I will become a priest.  
When I see some beautiful legs  
I forgot all about becoming a priest.

Mrs. Nida Jabola thought of her own story (See Music Example 39) and, with a slower tempo, sang the following lines:

Music Example 39: Lola Nida Jabola's story.

The musical score is written in 3/4 time and consists of four lines of music. The lyrics are in Tagalog. The chords indicated above the notes are E9, Am, E9, Am, E7, Am, E, Am, E, E9, Am, E9, Am, E7, Am, and E. The lyrics are: A - ko ay bu - lak - lak na ka - i - sa - i - sa, Pi - na - ka - ma - ma - hal ng a - ma ko't i - na. (Guitar) Kung pi - pi - ta - sin mo't da - dal - hin sa du - sa, Ma - ha - nga'y sa pu - no, ma - lag - lag, ma - lan - ta.

Translation: I am an only flower  
Dearest beloved of my father and mother  
If you will pick me and bring me to suffering  
It is a lot better for me from my tree to fall off, wither.

At this juncture, Mr. Aristeo Palad called on those who were not singing *áwit*, saying and I quote, “*Kantáhan naman para sa mga hindi umaáwit!*” The

federation secretary, Mrs. Nita Reyes, took her turn with an old love song that starts with the line I translated as ‘Is it a sin?’ The first line’s transcription follows.

**Music Example 40: Nita Reyes’ “Is it a sin?”**



This was followed by three (3) more members’ favorite Tagalog love songs, namely *Ibig Kong Magtapat*, *Hinahanap Kita*, and *Inday ng Buhay Ko* with their first lines transcribed on the next page as Music Example 41.

**Music Example 41: Excerpts of *Ibig Kong Magtapat* (I Would Like to Confide). *Hinahanap Kita* (I Am Searching For You) and *Inday ng Buhay Ko* (Inday of My Life) as rendered by Federation President Mr. Palad.**

Music notation for Music Example 41: Excerpts of *Ibig Kong Magtapat*, *Hinahanap Kita*, and *Inday ng Buhay Ko*. The notation is in treble clef, 2/4 time, and C major. The first excerpt is from *Ibig Kong Magtapat* and consists of the following notes: quarter rest, quarter note G4, eighth note A4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, and half note F#4. The lyrics "I - big kong mag - ta - pat..." are written below the notes, with "I" under the first G, "big" under the first A, "kong" under the first B, "mag" under the second A, "ta" under the second G, and "pat..." under the F#. The second excerpt is from *Hinahanap Kita* and consists of the following notes: quarter rest, quarter note G4, eighth note A4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, and half note F#4. The lyrics "Hi - na - ha - nap ki - ta..." are written below the notes, with "Hi" under the first G, "na" under the first A, "ha" under the first B, "nap" under the second A, "ki" under the second G, and "ta..." under the F#. The third excerpt is from *Inday ng Buhay Ko* and consists of the following notes: quarter rest, quarter note G4, eighth note A4, eighth note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, and half note F#4. The lyrics "In - day ng bu - hay ko..." are written below the notes, with "In" under the first G, "day" under the first A, "ng" under the first B, "bu" under the second A, "hay" under the second G, and "ko..." under the F#.

*Paawitán* resumed thereafter with Ret. Col. Luis Araya (see Music Example 43 on the next page) restarting the repartee after the guitar's introduction in Music Example 42 below.

**Music Example 42: Guitar instrumental passages by Mang Biloy Cabuyao to re-usher the *paawitán* in repartee.**



**Music Example 43: Ret. Col. Luis Araya's stories to re-usher the *paawitán* jousting.**







Translation: One noontime, I was asleep  
 In our yard was a creaking sound  
 I got up and saw when I peeped:  
 A wild boar carried on the mouth by a cockroach.  
 Up to now, doing signs of the cross  
 Up to now, carried on a wooden sledge.

This repartee was answered by Mr. Palad, citing his unknown reasons for coming (Music Example 44) translated as follows:

Music Example 44: Mr. Aristeo Palad's arrival.

E Am E Am E7

Ang pag - pa - ri - to ko'y wa - lang nag - ha - ha - tid, (Ay) Ti - la may —

Am E

kung a - nong i - ni - hip ng ha - ngin. (Guitar)

Am E Am E

Kung i - ta - ta - nong mo kung sa - an nang - ga -

Am E7 Am E

ling: Kay A - ling Po la - nang si Kun - ay ang tit - ser.

Translation:      My coming over was not guided at all  
                              It is as if there is something blown by the wind.  
                              If you will ask where I come from,  
                              Ask Madame Polana whose teacher is this unnamed one.

Mere mention of *Aling Polana* gave rise to more *Aling Polana* stories from Ret. Col. Araya. He sang about the childlike *Aling Polana* and the beautiful and capricious one who had some sort of exquisite taste for food. Three (3) more women intended to gang up on the retired colonel. I learned about this from a side comment, “*Nag-aayo-ayo para pagtulungan si Colonel Araya.*” This time, the two microphones were utilized. Lively *awit* exchanges ensued. Challenges and warnings were hurled at each other, such as the following lines rendered by Mrs. Nelly de Torres (see Music Example 45) which I translated as follows:

Music Example 45: Mrs. Nelly de Torres’ warning:

Ma - hal na \_\_\_\_\_ prin - si - pe      ay h'wag kang ka - lu - long (Ay) Sa \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ pa - ma - mang ka mo,      da - gat ay \_\_\_\_\_ ma - a - lon.

'Di ka - lo - ob ng Diyos      ma - ba - sa ang ti - mon,      Ang ma -

pa \_\_\_\_\_ li - tong ka'y wa - la ni \_\_\_\_\_ ka - ba - ong.

Translation: Beloved prince, do not be too absorbed  
 In your boat-sailing, the seas has huge waves  
 Not by God's will, your sail may get wet,  
 If you will be buried, you will not even have a coffin.

More hesitations and encouragement followed. When the topic on money and lending came out (see Music Example 46), the exchanges were once more heightened.

**Music Example 46: On monetary lending.**

The musical score for Music Example 46 is written in 2/4 time and consists of three staves. The lyrics are in Tagalog with English transliterations below them. Chords are indicated above the notes.

Staff 1: E Am E Am E7  
 A - no ba - ga, a - le, pa - kay mo sa a - kin? Ang pa - u - ta - ngin

Staff 2: Am E Am E7  
 ka'y 'di a - ko si - si - ngil. Pag - da - ting ng bu - kas, bu - bu - kas - bu - ka -

Staff 3: Am E7 Am E  
 sin, Pag - da - ting ng Ling - go'y sa Ling - go pa man - din.

Translation: What, woman, can I do for you?  
 To lend you, I will not demand payment.  
 When tomorrow comes, still the next days  
 When Sunday comes, the very Sunday still.

With laughters and shouts of “*Laban po!*” in the background, surrender from the men’s side was hinted by the federation president Mr. Palad as he sang thus:

Music Example 47: Mr. Aristeo Palad's surrender.

E Am E Am E7

I - tong a - king tan - dang, la - wit na ang pa - long, (Ay) 'Di

Am E

na ma - ka - tu - ka, 'di na ma - ka - su - long.

Translation: This rooster of mine, already has a fallen crown  
It cannot peck nor advance anymore . . .

Everybody enjoyed the sung jousting; even those who did not sing showed much appreciation. Somebody from the men's table shouted while laughing, "Whoa! Immensely enjoyable! But I am so unknowing" ("Waaah! Masaya! Pero wala akong kinamuangan"), cognizant of his inability to render *áwit* actively.

## FAREWELL

Concluding the *paawitán* was signaled by a farewell stanza after which the guitar player rendered another postlude that ended in the final tonic A minor chord (Music Example 49). See the transcription below (Music Example 48) as rendered by Tia Nelly de Torres.

Music Example 48: Mrs. Nelly de Torres farewell stanza.

E Am E Am E7

A - ko'y pa - a - lam na, mag - pa - pa - i - la - ya, (Ay) Ta -

Am E7 Am E

- ta-wid ng i - log at ma - nga - ngar - sa - da. (Guitar)

Translation: It is farewell now, am going northbound  
Will cross a river, then walk a cemented road.  
Upon reaching the house, I will still wash clothes  
More so, the flow of water is so delightful.

The image displays a musical score for the song "The Sound of Silence" by Simon & Garfunkel. It consists of four staves of music. The first three staves show a melody line in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. The chords are indicated by letters above the staff: Em, Am, E, Am, E7, Am, E, Am, E, E7. The fourth staff shows the guitar accompaniment, with chords Am, E, E7, and Am. The melody line ends with a double bar line.

*Paawitán* performance, visibility, and textuality shed light on the orality of *áwit* as a process, and its dialogism in terms of its addressivity. Tagalog

originality and individuality have their own improvisatory genius, communal memory, and participation during composition-performance. Resonating with the observation of Haruo Shirane (b. 1951) in his study of Japanese poetry, *paawitán* likewise “is a one time performance whose excitement can never be matched by the final written record of it” (Shirane 223).

Having discussed the performance practice and context of *paawitán*, I proceed to narrate the life of a Tayábasin Tagalog female singer, on her role as a performer of *dalít*, *pasyón*, and *paawitán*.

## **A LIFE STORY OF A TAYABASIN TAGALOG SINGER: MARTA TRINIDAD-ZETA**

This section focuses on the life of an elderly female singer named Marta Trinidad-Zeta. Fondly called Inang Maring, she is a practitioner of the three important Tagalog vocal genres in Tayábas which is hardly found with other singers. She is a cultural bearer of *paawitán*, *pasyón*, and *dalít*. Her events in life and lived-experience as a dedicated singer give meaning and importance to Tayabásin vocal traditions.<sup>85</sup>

Born on 18 January 1934 in Barangay Gibánga, Inang Maring is the firstborn of Alfredo “Biting” Pabilonia-Trinidad (b. April 1912), then twenty-two (22) years old, and Gregoria “Ligô” Villoria-Trinidad (b. 08 May 1914), then twenty (20). She has two brothers, namely Cristilano (born in 1942) and Juanito (born in 1945). A weekly routine of the family as farmers and laborers consists of tending, milling, and cooking sugarcane into raw candies or jaggery (*pakaskás* or *panutsá*). The mother is a midwife and together with the daughter, Inang Maring, attends to childbirths and endless domestic chores of cleaning the house and yard, washing and ironing clothes, marketing and cooking, among others.

Inang Maring, being the only girl, is attached to her mother, who is called Inanang Ligô by her grandchildren. For the community in Barangay Gibánga, Inang Maring’s mother is known as Inang Ligong-Biting. The young Maring had always tagged along with her mother to all the where-

abouts and motherly chores. It was also from her mother that Inang Maring learned how to sing *áwit*. Her baptismal godfather, Francisco “Isko” Labitigan, who was also a well-known singer and musician in the locality was another influential factor in Inang Maring’s singing. Her Ninong Isko played the saxophone, accordion, guitar, and bandurria and was a member of a string band or *cumparsa*,<sup>86</sup> also known as *rondalla*, a group of musicians playing fretted string instruments using plectra or picks (see Photograph 15). With this musical environment, Inang Maring is very certain that she knew her craft since she was fourteen (14) years old.

**Photograph 15: Brgy. Gibanga String Band (*Cumparsa/Rondalla*), ca. 1950 Provided by Amang Pinô and Inang Anita Labitigan-Ragudo on 14 September 2016 at their residence.**



Standing, left to right: Agustin Flores (bass), Apolinario “Poli” Jaspeo (guitar), Cesario Labitigan, Sofio “Piyong” Jaspeo (bandurria), Paulino Labitigan, Francisco “Isko” Labitigan (bandurria), Norberto “Berto” Jaspeo (bandurria), Gelacio Pabulayan (guitar). Seated, left to right: Tomas Labitigan, manager, lady singers Anita Labitigan (now Ragudo), Corita Jaspeo (now Abas), lady companions Anita Ragudo (now Villalon), Paulita Pabulayan (now Querubin), and Diarita Valle (now Pabulayan), and Modesto “Esto” Pabulayan, manager.

At 18 years old, she got married to Dionisio (Doni) Zeta, a laborer who worked on copra processing<sup>87</sup> we locally call *pagkakalibkib* (see Photograph 16. Inang Maring and Amang Doni's union of twenty-three (23) years produced six offsprings of two sons and four daughters. They are Juancho (born 1953), Guillermo (born 1956), Julieta (born 1958), Elsa (born 1962), Marlyn (born 1965), and Lilian (born 1968). The hardworking Mang Doni died of pneumonia in 1975. At present, Inang Maring has twenty-one (21) grandchildren and four (4) great grandchildren. Of these twenty-five (25) grandchildren (*apó*), only five (5) of them, from her eldest daughter Juliet who lives just a stone's throw away from her house, stay in her birthplace, Barangay Gibánga. Inang Maring's two sons, the third daughter, Marlyn, and their respective families live in Marikina. The youngest, Lilian, and her family are in Taytay, Rizal. Elsa and her family reside in Mindoro.

**Photograph 16: Copra Processing from fresh to dessicated coconut showing the first three of the long process. Taken from a personal message in Facebook accessed 02 June 2015.**





Though Inang Maring knows *áwit*, *dalít*, and *pasyón* at age fourteen (14), her shyness and introverted predisposition did not give her the green light to spread her wings fully that early. She confides that she finished only elementary schooling. At her earliest at fifteen (15), she was chosen by the *dalít* organizers as lead San Isidro *dalít* singer (*magdadalít sa San Isidro*). From then on, she was sure to have at least a day to lead during the *dalít* novena, and sometimes she takes the lead during the May 15 *selebrá*. Somehow, she holds back and says apologetically that she is not so learned and that their poverty did not permit her to study. She is rather repetitious in stating these personal experiences, almost always saying I must bear with her (“*Pasensiya ka na*”).<sup>88</sup> In my interviews with her, much prodding was needed for her to talk more, telling me that she is not a gregarious person. She does not talk much. She is also not a sociable person as she does not even attend small gatherings for pounded banana (“*hindi ako belyaka, hindi ako maimik, hindi ako paladalo sa kasayahan, ni sa mukmukan ay hindi ako paladalo—*” see Photograph 17 *minukmok* or *nilupak*). Inherently, she is a silent type of person we locally describe as the one question-one answer type (*isang tanong-isang sagot*).<sup>89</sup> But what amazes me is the fact that she has an influential command on her barangay mates (*kababáryos*). When I hinted that I really wanted to see a live *paawitán* in Barangay Gibanga way back in 2011, she was able to gather the senior citizens of the community who knows how to do *áwit* for an instant rehearsal and the actual performance in the shortest possible time. Similarly, when I asked her about Barangay Gibanga schedules of *pasyón* reading last Holy Week’s Palm Sunday after our early morning Holy Mass, she said she is sure there will be one in the coming Holy Wednesday at the barangay chapel at ten o’clock in the morning and that I could record their *pabása*. It was only later that I learned she was the President of the Catholic Foundation for Children and Aging (CFCA) of our town for a decade (since 1994), and it was only in 2015 when she asked to be replaced. Currently, she is the Vice President of this foundation which now has a new name, “Unbound.” Her convincing power lies on the way she urges her constituents to help those who need help. Right after that Domingo de Ramos church service, she says, “*Binaybay at inisa-isa ko sila. Sabi ko’y kung p’wedeng ako’y tulungan.*” (“I made

a one by one round of all of them in their houses. I asked them if they could help me.”) The tenacity, the patience, the will, the drive—all of this vividly captures her “semiotic chora,” following Kristeva (25).<sup>90</sup> She avers, “*Masaya ako at nagpapasalamat. Nasasayahan ako dahil ako’y nakatulong. Nasasayahan ako dahil napili akong isali sa mga ganitong gawain. Masaya ang makumbida at dumayo sa ibang lugar para magbasá ng pasyón. Lalo na kung Mahal na Araw, naaalaalang puntahan ang mga kamag-anak at magbabasá.*” (I am happy and thankful. I am happy because I was able to help. I am happy because I was chosen to belong to this kind of work or duty. It brings happiness when one is invited and is able to go to another place to read the *pasyon*. It is especially so when we remember to visit our relatives during Holy Week, and we read together.)<sup>91</sup> Lest one knows that Inang Maring, who prefers walking than riding tricycles to and from Barangay Gibánga to the national road, lives alone in her simple semi-concrete house with her cat and a faithful dog, some chickens, and a surrounding of plants. She says her abode is disorderly (*maguló*), but everyone who comes by her house knows that it is not true.<sup>92</sup>

**Photograph 17: Pounded sweetened boiled bananas (*minukmók/nilupák na saging*.)**  
Taken from a personal message in Facebook accessed on 23 August 2016.



From Inang Maring I learned that today's *Dalít sa San Isidro* is an offshoot of the annual May *Santakrúsan* or *Mayohán* in northbound Gibánga. The *Santa Cruz de Mayo* is a month-long celebration of *dalít*. Anyone who has stocks of unhusked rice bundles (*imbak na palay*) puts a lantern (*paról*) in the house within view. Differently colored lanterns were then used, such as red, yellow, white, blue, and pink. Moreover, *dalít* in the past was held in a curtained altar area unlike today where it is held in the barangay multi-purpose hall after the house-to-house procession of San Isidro. Two persons lead the prayers per lantern color. She explains, "There was no procession, no parade of queens. But when the old citizens passed away, so many things perished with them. The next generation, they do not mind the old traditions anymore. But they themselves agreed not to neglect the Patron Saint of Farmers, he who is *San Isidro*." ("Walang prusisyon, walang reyna-reyna. Pero no'ng nawala na ang mga sinaunang tao, marami na ring nawala. Ang mga sumunod, hindi na nila ito pansin. Pero ang sabi ay huwag nating walaing halaga ang Patron ng mga Magbubukid – si San Isidro na nga.") Other singers further describe: "*San Isidro's* lantern is white. You and I could only imagine these complex celebrations were once happening in verdant Gibánga."<sup>93</sup> It is not an understatement that the locals of Barangay Gibánga were then always waiting for the month of May to come to break the grueling life of agricultural grind of rice, sugarcane, vegetable, and fruit cultivation.<sup>94</sup> The feast of San Isidro is a time of renewal and a time to heal (Cornelio 17).<sup>95</sup>

Inang Maring was almost always asking for forbearance (*pasensiyá*) from me, repeatedly telling me that she was not able to study. Because of her lack of formal schooling, the idea that the unschooled is always looked down upon by those who have studied is always at the back of her mind. I had to remind her every now and then that there are so many things that formal schooling cannot provide, that experience is the greatest teacher in life. For all of her skills and ways of doing things, Inang Maring's life reminds us that popular creativity is a creativity of practice.<sup>96</sup> At 82, she fervently prays that she be given a longer life so that she will be able to serve her community more in whatever capacity she can. Inang Maring is content in her simple niche, yet her concern for the community is unswerving. As a socially inter-

ested agent, she looks after her constituents whom she has to link to their benefactors. In such negotiations, she is in turn “negotiating her particular trajectory through the historical conditions into which they were born.”<sup>97</sup>

The three vocal traditions of singing *dalit*, *pasyón*, and *áwit* converge with Inang Maring. However, it is unfortunate that her singing skills were not passed onto her children and grandchildren (see Althusser 59).

**Photograph 18:** The white lantern of San Isidro held by Inang Maring while leading *Dalit Kay San Isidro Labrador*. Taken by Cynthia C. Afaile on 15 May 2014.



Photograph 19: Inang Maring chanting *pasyón*. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 16 March 2016.



## POSTLUDE: TRANSFORMATION OF *PÁAWITÁN*

This section discusses the current state of *paawitán* performance in different contexts. It consists of three subtopics, namely Fiesta, More Celebrations, and In Modern Media. Fiesta features *Mayohán sa Tayábas* with a staged *paawitán* as part of an evening Program, while More Celebrations include an oath-taking and birthday celebrations with welcome drinks offered in *áwit*. Television exposure, movie cameo, borrowing of a popular tune, and adapting it on existing *áwit* lyrics comprise the third subtopic. In Modern Media. It also elaborates the transformation of *paawitán* in connection with the tourism industry, advances in technology, and globalization.

### *Fiesta: Mayohán sa Tayábas*

*Mayohán sa Tayábas* is a ten-day festival (see Photograph 20) which was launched in 1988. It was institutionalized by the Tayábas municipal government during the incumbency of Mayor Faustino “Dondi” Alandy-Silang, DMD (b. 1961) with writer and film director Orlando “Dandy” R. Nadres (1938-1991) to bring back the splendor and the glorious atmosphere of the city.<sup>98</sup> The ten-day festivities enlist the full participation of the sixty-six (66) barangays of the 99,779-populated city (2015 Census), known now for its sweet delicacies (most especially cassava cake or *budín*), coconut vodka or *lambanóg*, natural resorts, heritage/ancestral houses, historical landmarks like Spanish colonial bridges, and the longest church in the country (the Basilica Menor de San Miguel Arcangel), “the avian chest (*pechó*).”<sup>99</sup> The activities of *Mayohán sa Tayábas* center on the agri-cultural (hyphen intended) activities of the town. There are parades of welcome arches or *baliskóg* using local materials. This parade has become a competition among barangays. A *novenario* for San Isidro Labrador was added during the incumbency of Mayor Walfredo “Boy” Sumilang (mayoralty 1998-2001), as well as the *pa’yas* (shortened name of *pahiyas*, meaning decorations) and *Hagisan ng Súman* (Suman-throwing) during the San Isidro May 15 feast and procession, various competitions, and pageants. Among these activities is the Senior Citizens Night that featured a *paawitán* using the wedding-drinking (*kasálan-tagayán*) theme (see Photograph 21). The program started with four (4) rondalla musical numbers which included “*Walay Angay Ang Kamingaw*” and “*Pandangguhan-Kondansoy- Magtanim Ay ‘Di Biro Medley*” among others. This was followed by the solo singing of “*Bundok Banahaw*” by a female performer. The singing (with dancing) of a paired couple followed as accompanied by the nine-member *Kwerdas ng Tayábas*, composed of one (1) contrabass, three (3) guitars, three (3) bandurrias, and two (2) octavina players.

The program then featured two (2) serenade (*harána*) numbers, followed by a series of dances of boogie, chacha, and rumba by a pair of dancing couple. Two (2) more solo love songs ensued, then an introduction on *paawitán* was given. *Paawitán* was described in the introduction as “a custom of our forefathers that is buried in oblivion amidst progress.” It happens

“while drinking in one roving glass,” with the singers “reciting in song with stomping, clapping, and dancing.”<sup>100</sup> The *paawitán* performance featured a wedding reception (see Figure 3) that starts with the newly-married couple entering the stage while being showered with flowers and rice. The mothers of the groom and the bride then entered followed by the wedding sponsors. The bride started the singing of *áwit* to her mother-in-law asking if she is accepted as a daughter-in-law. Dancing and drinking ensued as the string chamber group *Kwerdas ng Tayábas* provided the non-stop accompaniment all throughout the *paawitán* part. *Áwit* stanzas were specifically selected from Advices to the Newly Married Couples (*Áwit-Áral sa Lalaki at Babaeng Kinakasal*) and Giving of Wedding Gifts (*Galahán*), as well as those from drinking sessions. Illustrated in Music Example 50 are the excerpts from Advices to the Bride included in the *paawitán* as part of the evening’s program. Four (4) folk dances concluded the program with one group exiting while another enters to perform. An all-dancers cast bow was given at the end of the number before the credits and acknowledgments were read.



**24<sup>TH</sup> MAYOHAN SA TAYABAS**  
MAY 6-12, 2011  
**Parini na... Yanong Sayal!**

**8** **Binaga Bananag**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Lolo at Lolo  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**9** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**10** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**11** **Pinkie Contest**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Pinkie  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**12** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**13** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**14** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**15** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**16** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**17** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

**18** **Parangay ng Balaok**  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM  
Activity: ng Balaok  
Starting Point: 8:00 AM

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Mayo 14	6:00 N.U.	Gayakan ng Pa'yas Kay San Isidro	Munting Bayan	Mayohan Execom	Mr. Enrico Na7ez
Miyerkules	7:00 N.U	Karera ng Kabayo	Brgy. Potol	City Agriculture's Office/DRRMO	Engr. Fritz Tabernilla/Mr. Melvin Rada
	3:00 N.H	El Voz de Mayo Elimination Round: Paggili ng may Pinakamagandang Himig mula sa 7 <sup>th</sup> Cluster ng Kanayunan	Silungang Bayan	LnB	Chairwoman Edna Lopez - LnB Committee on Tourism
	6:00 N.G	El Voz de Mayo Elimination Round: Paggili ng may Pinakamagandang Himig mula sa 8 <sup>th</sup> Cluster ng Kanayunan	Parke Rizal	LnB	Chairwoman Edna Lopez - LnB Committee on Tourism
	7:00 N.G	Handog sa Mayohan ni Inana't Amama	Silungang Bayan	Senior Citizen's Federation	Mr. Aristeo Palad/ Mrs. Lorna Cabaysa
		Ika-walong Gabi ng Kasayahan	Parke Rizal	Mayohan Execom	Ms. Roselle Villaverde
	8:00 N.G	Paghahatol sa Gintong Sinag Award sa Pa'ya's Kay San Isidro	Munting Bayan	Mayohan Execom	Mr. Enrico Na7ez
Mayo 15	8:00	Paghahatol ng	Munting Bayan	Mayohan	Mr. Enrico



**Music Example 50: Excerpts from Advices to the Bride in Staged *Paawitán* as Senior Citizen's Part in *Mayohán sa Tayábas* entitled *Handog sa Mayohán ni Inana't Amama* (Mayohán Offering of Grandmother and Grandfather).**

<i>Araw mo'y tapos na sa kadalagahan</i>	Your days are through with maidenhood
<i>At haharap ka na'y sa katahimikan</i>	And you will now face peacefulness
<i>Kusang lilisanin ang lahat ng bagay</i>	Voluntarily leaving all things
<i>Dahil sa asawang dapat panimbangan.</i>	Because of the husband with whom you will be weighing your actuations.
<i>Sa araw at gabi magsasama kayo</i>	Through the days and night you will be together
<i>Ang pagmamahala'y walang pagbabago</i>	With unchanging love for each other
<i>Ang dáting pagtingin sa ama't ina mo</i>	The former concern with your father and mother
<i>Higit sa sarili na daragdagan mo.</i>	More than to yourself, you have to augment.
<i>Ubus-ubusin na'y ang mga pag-angal</i>	Consume now all your tantrums
<i>Sa ama't ina mong labis kang minahal</i>	To your father and mother who loved you much
<i>At sa kapatid mong iyong maiiwan</i>	And your siblings whom you will leave
<i>At sasama ka na'y sa asawang hirang.</i>	And you will live with your chosen man.

Photograph 20: Three in a series from staged *paawitán*: A wedding sponsor accepts the glass from the bride; bride carries the glass on her head as an *áwit* requirement; a female wedding sponsor renders the Advices To The Bride.



### *More Celebrations: Oath-taking, Birthdays*

*Paawitán* today is performed as a showcase for non-Tayabásin visitors attending birthdays and other drinking (*tagayán*) occasions. The birthday welcome or *asálto*, also termed locally as *salúbong-tágay* (see Music Example 51), is performed a day before or early during the celebrator's birthdate. The *áwit* is either memorized or dictated by a prompter to the dancing solo *áwit* singer (*mamamaawít*) who holds the glass(*tágay*) to be handed to the visitors (see Photograph 21). The following stanzas were utilized in the welcome with drinks (*salúbong-tágay*) for the birthday of the parish priest of the Basilica. These stanzas are lifted from known stanzas, appropriately rearranged and added with a toast to the birthday celebrator.

**Music Example 51: Welcome drinks (*Salúbong-tágay*, a birthday *asálto*).**  
Dictated by Nanay Sedeng Caagbay and Lola Santa Naynes (b. 1926)  
on 20 October 2016 in Barangay Ibabang Palale.

<i>Ano kayâ baga't ako ang dinampot</i>	Why on earth was I chosen
<i>Batang alanganin, kulang pa sa loob</i>	An uncertain kid, lacking in inner strength
<i>Maigi-igi pa ang kawayang Anos</i>	An <i>Anos</i> bamboo is a better choice
<i>Kung hipan ng hangì'y umaalinsunod.</i>	It sways wherever the wind blows.
<i>Yaring katawan ko'y kung ako ay asin</i>	This body of mine, if I am a piece of salt
<i>Natunaw na lamang sa inyong paningin</i>	Had just melted because of how you see me
<i>Mga mata ninyo'y kamukha'y patalim</i>	Your eyes look like daggers
<i>Na s'ya na nga yatang papatay sa akin.</i>	That will really kill me.
<i>Di mo ba narinig ang aking panaghoy</i>	Did you not hear my lament
<i>Sa laot ng dusa ay luluyong-luyong?</i>	Lingering in the sea of suffering?
<i>Dumalagang manok na nása ruweda</i>	Young hen in the round pit
<i>Ang pamumutak mo'y di naming importa</i>	Your persistent cackling is not expected here
<i>Pagaspas ng bagwis, pilantik ng paa</i>	The beatings of your wings, the flicks of your feet
<i>Ang siya po naming gahinahanap pa.</i>	Are what we are still looking for.

<i>Ano kayâ itong sinapit ng palad</i>	What is this that fate brings
<i>Nása laot mandin, gitna nitong dagat</i>	Am in the deep open sea
<i>Wari'y lumulubog, di naman mabigat</i>	Seemingly drowning, but am not heavy
<i>Wala namang hangin, ako'y napapalad.</i>	Being blown but there is no wind.

#### Toast Stanzas:

<i>Itataas ko na ang tangan kong tasa</i>	I will now lift up the cup am holding
<i>Na sa aking ulo ay nakakorona</i>	That is now crowning my head
<i>Ang laman pa nito'y Agua de Kolonya</i>	This contains Cologne Water
<i>Sa atay ko't puso doon ko kinuha.</i>	I got from my liver and heart.

<i>Naari na nga po, sa inyo'y narating</i>	It is here now, coming to you
<i>Ang pinangalanang mahal na inumin</i>	The branded expensive drink
<i>Ngay-on ko titingnan at panonoorin</i>	I will look and see now
<i>Ay ang ibubundol at palalayawin.</i>	To you offered and given.

<i>Ang tágay na ito'y di ko iinumín</i>	This drink, I will not take
<i>Ang timtiman lamang, di ako titimtim</i>	Just to taste, I won't do either
<i>Intana isayaw at sakâ sunungin</i>	Unless you dance and put it on your head
<i>Intana biro man, iinumín ko rin!</i>	Just a joke, I will also drink!

**Photograph 21: Welcome drinks (*Salúbong-tágay*, a birthday *asáto*).**  
 Provided by Lola Santa Naynes of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20 October 2016.



In the older and longer version of welcome (*salúbong-tágay*), courtesy (*kortes* or *kurtisiya*) is done first (*pamuno*). Sample stanzas in *kortes* are given below as Music Example 52 where male-female jousting contains greetings, begging each other to sing, dance, and drink, enumerating the ‘good’ effects of drinking, resisting each other’s coaxes, and much later on giving in to the entreaties.<sup>101</sup>

**Music Example 52: Courtesy (*Kortes/Kurtisiya*) excerpts in older welcome drinks (*salúbong-tágay*). Dictated by Nanay Sedeng Caagbay and Lola Santa Naynes on 20 October 2016 in Barangay Ibabáng Palále.**

<i>Sa pagkakahimlay sa gitna ng dilim</i>	In my deep slumber in the midst of darkness
<i>May mahinhing bango sa aki’y gumising</i>	A soft scent awakened me
<i>Nang ako’y magbangon at aking hanapin</i>	When I got up and searched for it
<i>Di na matagpuan kung saan nanggaling.</i>	I cannot find where it came from.

<i>Aking tinalunton ang mahinhing bango</i>	I followed the soft scent
<i>Na mapanghalina, bulaklak ng liryo</i>	That is so enticing, as a lily flower
<i>Liryong mahiwaga, saan ka naroon?</i>	Mysterious lily, where are you?
<i>Kita'y tinatawag, bakit di tumugon?</i>	I am calling you, why aren't you responding?

<i>Di mo ba narinig ang aking panaghoy</i>	Did you not hear my lament
<i>Sa laot ng dusa ay lulungoy-lungoy.</i>	Lingering in the sea of suffering?

### *In Modern Media: Television and Movie*

**Television exposure.** Video clips of staged *paawitán* are shown in the local television station. For example, the staged *paawitán* during the *Mayohán sa Tayábas* described above was documented and put on the local television. In such situations, *áwit* stanza selection and rearrangement were done by the seniors group headed by a script writer-directress. Consequently, *paawitán* recomposition and rendition today depend upon the purpose for which the performance is intended, like those of European medieval literature variation.<sup>102</sup> Audience expectation was also considered in the scripted *áwit* rearrangement.

**Movie Cameo.** The movie *Fausta* (see Photograph 22 below) is an account of the life of Hermana Fausta Labrador (1858-1942), foundress of Sacred Heart College in Lucena City. Originally, her father's family name was San Agustin but it was changed to Labrador, which means laborer or worker, in compliance with the decree of Gov. Gen. Narciso Claveria y Zaldua (1795-1851). Hence, Fausta Zarzadias San Agustin became Fausta Labrador, with no relation to San Isidro Labrador. The indie movie was produced as a tribute to its foundress on the 125<sup>th</sup> foundation anniversary of the college. The movie includes a wedding cameo utilizing the *Áwit sa Galahán* (Giving of Gifts to the newlyweds). See Music Example 53 below.

Music Example 53: Giving of Wedding Gifts (*Áwit sa Galahán*) in the movie *Fausta*.

<i>Dudulugin ko na ang aking biyanan</i>	I will now go to my parent-in-law
<i>At itatanong ko kung ako'y manugang</i>	And I will ask if I am a daughter/son-in-law
<i>Kung makapagsabi at makapagsaysay</i>	If he/she is able to tell and state
<i>Alangan ang piso sa aki'y ibigay.</i>	A peso is not enough to be given to me.

Photograph 22: Movie “Fausta” compact disc front and back covers. From a copy given by Maria Judith Masilungan (b. 1985) in October 2010.





### Appropriation of a Popular Tune to *Áwit* Poetry

In Barangay Kalumpang, one person adapted a Yoyoy Villame (Roman Tesorio Villame, 1932-2007) novelty tune<sup>103</sup> entitled “Buhay at Pag-ibig ni Barok” to an existing *paawitán* lyrics. There is correspondence between the word and musical accents. The locals though do not recognize this as *áwit* because of the different tune application. Notated below as Music Example 54 is an excerpt from the rendition of Herminia Sandoval (b. 1964), the orig-



inal of which came from her father, the late Pedro “Pedrong Kuya” Sandoval (1918-1993).

**Music Example 54: Appropriation of popular tune to *áwit* poetry.**  
**Adaptation of Paawitán. Yoyoy Villame Tune “Barok/Korokan”**  
**Hermie Sandoval, 2015**

Am



1. A - ko ay nag - ta - nim, sa - ging na but - o - han, ang pi - ka - rong u -  
 2. Do - on po sa a - min, na - yon ng Bi - ku - yo, may nag - pa - Pas - ku -  
 3. Ang su - ma - got na - man, ang ha - ring ka - yu - ran, na kung wa - lang ni -

E7 Dm E7



wak ay ta - tan - aw - tan - aw. Wi - ka ng pa - ni - ki, 'wag ka ngang mag - i -  
 hang pa - i - te at su - so, wi - ka ng pa - i - te, ku - mu - ha ng pa -  
 yog ay hu - wag nang gat - an, ang kut - sa - ra't san - dok nag - pa - pa - na - ba -

Am E7 Am



ngay, a - ko ang sa ga - bi, i - kaw ang sa a - raw. \_\_\_\_\_  
 ko at a - ting ga - gat - an ng pi - to ka - bu - o. \_\_\_\_\_  
 kan, ang a - poy at tu - big ay nag - pa - pa - ta - yan. \_\_\_\_\_

Áwit has taken different levels of meaning. It started as *cancion* with Frs. Francisco de San Jose and Pedro de San Buenaventura.<sup>104</sup> Frs. Juan de Noceda and Pedro de San Lucar classified 16 types of *áwit*,<sup>105</sup> while acclaimed Filipino anthropologist Esperidion Arsenio Manuel enlisted *áwit* as a generic “song” with a restricted definition as “songs sung in the house” (58).

Tayábas Tagalog *áwit* now takes the level of danced “one-tune” songs of rhymed two-hemistiched dodecasyllabic narratives in pairs among a gathering of drinking people. It would be recalled that the first distinction between *áwit* and *corrido* was credited to Don Epifanio de los Santos Cristobal. He recognized the *áwit* as secular, chivalric-heroic, dodecasyllabic poems and the *corrido* as sacred or religious, legendary, and octosyllabic narratives (Lumbera 52). Gabriel A. Bernardo, on the other hand, differen-

tiated the music of the two as slow against hurried time. He further averred that *áwit* is read mainly for the quality of its thought and the beauty and sweetness of expression, while *corrido* is read mainly for the plot of the story it tells (52). Currently, the *áwit-corrido* distinctions of Bernardo are implausible as there are also narratives or stories abounding in the Tayabásin *áwit*.

Continuity and transformation happen within and outside the *paawitán*. Within the *paawitán*, continuity is musically provided by the instrumentalist/s who ceaselessly play interludes that end in the dominant chord. This makes the singer prepare for his or her ensuing paired rhyming lines. In terms of topics, a dovetailing process occurs whenever a singer mentions a proper name such as Aling Polana, a common thing like a shot of spirited drink (*tágay*), or an incident like dancing (*bayléhan*); many a story on the same topics are sure to follow. Mere mention of the name, the thing, or the incident serves as a reminder to all about the other stories attached thereto. In such a recollection, all the associative feelings and related stories could lead to other conversations among *paawitán* attendees. Rumor mongering (*chismísan*) and talking about sensitive topics sometimes become unavoidable (*“hindi maiwásan”*), lest somebody reminds them that they are in a *paawitán*. The one who reminded the participants usually takes the lead to restart the singing with the famous stanzas known to all Tayábas areas.

<i>Labas na’y labas na kung sinong lalabas</i>	Come out now, whoever will come out
<i>Tugtog ng gitara ay bakâ lumipas</i>	The music of the guitar may pass away
<i>Ang nakikita ko’y gila-gila lámang</i>	What I see are just small things
<i>Ituloy mo na po yaong karamihan.</i>	Please continue with the bulk.

or

<i>Inom na’y inom na sa kamay ko gáling</i>	Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand
<i>Sukdang ito’y lason hindi ka tatal’bin</i>	Even if ‘tis poison, you will not be harmed
<i>Kung magkasakit ka sa akin ang dahil</i>	If you get sick, mine is the cause
<i>Malayo man ako’y iyong ipagbilin.</i>	Even if I am far away, call for me.

In the bigger picture, *paawitán* is seldom seen and heard nowadays, save for some excerpts used in town fiesta celebrations as scripted, directed, and rehearsed, stage performances. One of the explicitly mentioned reasons for its decline is that *paawitán*'s seems out of sync with the current times (“*hindi na napapanahón*”).

Everybody is in a rush for things to get finished. A short sentence or two will not take much time as listening to a stanza or two of *áwit*. With all the varied instant products all around us from *arroz caldo* to xerography, listening to a time-consuming oral art seems not a choice. If admonitions (*pangáral*) are nowadays regarded out of place (“*wala nang nangangaral sa kinasalan*”) since much could be learned from available media such as the television (O’Guinn 278)<sup>106</sup> and the internet, not to mention the many incidents of children neither listening or heeding their parents (“*mas may pinag-aralan kesa sa mga magulang*”), then *paawitán* is a dying art. When the social functions that bring about an art cease to exist, then the accompanying art correspondingly becomes non-existent (Afable, *Understanding the Present-Day* 46).<sup>107</sup>

Substitution is the act, process, or result of replacing or exchanging one thing for another of equal or seemingly equal value. If *kantáhan* is the modern version of *paawitán*, the improvisatory character of *áwit* is lost as well as its conversational nature that brings momentary surprises, the exact timing of sallies in the repartee that elicits shouts and laughter, and the wit and wisdom of the *paawitán* experts that only they could muster. This is the cause of many a retrospectively melancholic sigh, no, yearning excitement of collective memory to those who have heard them extemporaneously in the past. Anand Pandian emphasizes this point in saying, “modernity,<sup>108</sup> paradoxically, promises both its proper development and its inevitable loss” and “that the decay of the *elegiac* tradition itself ultimately bears witness to the tragic character of moral cultivation in modern times. Perhaps there is no progress without the ruin of something beautiful and just” (Pandian 183, 219). Finally, *paawitán*, the arena of communicative freedom where the way of life of Tayabásin and its cultural milieu are versified and debated in song, is truly dialogism in the expressive poetic tradition of this Tagalog

community. Despite its story of decline, it engenders a community who is linguistically adept and conversant about his own person, his community and environment, and mirrors one with an openness to the world and what it can offer.

## DIALOGISM OF SUNG VOICES IN THE AGE OF TECHNOLOGY AND COMMODITY

After elaborating on the transformation of *paawitán*, connecting its changes with commodification in the midst of the country's tourism industry as well as its decline in relation to advances in technology, more sociological sensitivities are hereinafter discussed.

Singing is a cohesive social force. It connects and binds participants to each other and the community where he or she belongs. Belongingness is enhanced and strengthened during and even after a performance in a community. Furthermore, greater participation in singing activities entails more regard and prominence. A community quickly notices a solo performer's leadership and capability when he or she intones new tunes in *pasyón* or sing verses of the *dalít* while the rest of the singers respond.

Satisfaction rating is gauged when new invitations to lead in singing events are offered again. On the other hand, the secular vocal genres of *kantáhan* and *paawitán* are interconnected to more personal associations and identification with specific songs known in the community. Every age group has its own set of songs according to each individual's voice category. Thus, when a researcher or visitor asks for a *dalít* or *videoke* singer, or a person in the area who is knowledgeable on any of the vocal genres, community members could point you to the right persons to approach as singing pervades and becomes the stamp of community life and action.

The *pasyón* is a tool for revolution in Reynaldo Clemeña Iletto's (b. 1946) benchmarking "history from below" or "knowledge from within." *Pasyón and Revolution*, published in 1979, has an incendiary bent. The transformation of the inner self (*loób*) for the salvation of souls as *pasyón*-impelled<sup>109</sup> is hitherto practiced but now in a more personal and individual manner as

compared to one that unleashes compassion and unity (*dámay*) which Ileto said greatly contributed to the struggles of the masses (1840-1910). In these times of peace, *pasyón* is a tool for individual salvation, as opposed to that of inciting revolutionary consciousness to the collective (Scalice 6).<sup>110</sup> In the absence of struggles, people are more disposed to meditate on personal salvation through the *pasyón* and its 20 sermonettes (*ARAL*) during Holy Week. In general though, *pasyón*'s functions in both times of unrest and of peace remains the same, that is, making the inner self purified for salvation. In so doing, a person becomes capable of withstanding persecution, resisting temptation, enduring trials, and maintaining composure in the face of threats and pressures, and even death, in times of revolution; while in the absence of strife, capable of giving others whatever springs altruistically<sup>111</sup> from the heart (*loób*), which in turn redounds back to the self. *Pabása* is still, for one, Tagalog Catholics' inspired lived experience of power and renewal of faith ("*una ay para sa Poon*"), an edifying undertaking in addition to the highest sacrifice of the Holy Mass as Tayábas remains largely Roman Catholic. The activity also serves to reestablish and update connections with relatives and friends, a kind of bonding time ("*para sa pagsasama-sama at pakikisama o kahit kahiyaan lámang*"). *Pabása* is one of the common practices in the Tayábas area during Holy Week together with processions and church visitations, with recitation of and meditation on the Stations of the Cross, known as *Visita Iglesia*, now largely facilitated with ready access to transportation. Despite the presence of Jehovah's Witnesses, Protestants, and Rizalistas, the influence of the Catholic religion in Tayábas is considered wide and deep, providing instructions on morality to improve collective existence. The presence of parishes and community organizations makes most individuals familiar with religious and social expectations. Basic Ecclesial Communities (or *mga Munting Sambayanang Kristiyano*), the nurturing arm of the Catholic church for evangelization of communities and the preservation and transmission of religious heritage, are prominent even in the barrios (*lináng*). Alongside the religious hold of the Catholic Church, farmers' associations in Tayábas, at least in Barangays Gibánga and Alitao, are functional and most active in the annual *San Isidrohan* (Cornelio 17).<sup>112</sup> As a matter of fact, in

Barangay Gibánga, two sets of *San Isidro* novenas are done every year: one in the central part of the barangay and another in the northernmost section of Gibánga. As expressed by Inang Maring Zeta, the farmers agreed to perform procession (*libot*) and *dalít* as minimized to its barest from the *Mayohán* (also called *Santakrúsan* and *floresán*) of the olden days which had a bigger, more elaborate celebration (Cornelio 12n8).<sup>113</sup> Yet, the ritual impact of the procession (*libot*) in the community cannot be discounted where every Catholic household participates in its performance, as also mutually agreed upon by the farmers of most Tayábas barangays including those of Alitao, Camaysa, Dapdap, Ilasan, Ipilan, Lakawan, and Silangang Catigan.<sup>113</sup> In Barangay Gibánga, locals who are staying in other areas of the province and nearby cities and provinces, like Metro Manila, Bataan, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, and Rizal provinces, for reasons of professional practice, gainful work, or college and higher studies, make it a point to come home to celebrate San Isidro (“*mananan-isidro* or *makikipag-San Isidrohan*”), renew ties with family, relatives, and friends, or simply to update themselves with the people and area of their origin. Robert S. Love reminds us about Tagalog peasant society that “when a people are allowed to embrace their own words for things, the result is action” (Love 238).

In most social occasions such as baptisms, weddings, and birthday celebrations, be it the surprisal *hagbúngan* or the invitational *asáto*, *kantáhan* almost always supersedes *paawitán*. The replacement could be ascribed to many factors. For one, most elders who know how to do and referred to as “experts” in *paawitán* have passed away and the oral art was not transferred down to the next or younger generations who exhibit dwindling interest on folk practices and traditions (Palad 112).

These days, however, radio, stereo, karaoke and videoke have effectively cast out the choir, the guitar, the serenade, and the string ensemble called *rondálya*, closing most venues of self-expression with the exception of debilitating videoke. Overloud sound seems to be the current way of life (Mulder, “Philippine Vignettes” 9).

If from the early morning of the occasion the proliferating electronic singing devices are set up in the venue, *kantáhan* will surely happen and not

*paawitán* as elders do not usually assert themselves in mixed kinds of get-together. They somehow favor exclusivity, singing only in the presence of others who are in the know of the same vocal genre. The “civility-driving”<sup>115</sup> karaoke/videoke machines are foreign elements which are able to “connect to the local milieu, grafted on a local stem, feeding on its life blood and surviving” (Mulder, “Filipino Civilisation” 22; Appadurai 29).<sup>116</sup> These machines were localized as they suited well to the locals’ singing propensity (Mulder, “Filipino Civilisation” 14), especially in the presence of the shyness-expelling, confident-inducing “*lambanóg*, the Tayabásin sociability, bonding, and leveling device that is deeply integrated to Tayabásin way of life” (Palad 169).<sup>117</sup>

*Kantáhan* is different from *paawitán* and may not be a substitute. The improvisatory exchanges of sallies in the repartee is characteristic of *paawitán* that is nowhere to be found in *kantáhan* (“*walang masarap na sagútan*”). Though both happen with the confluence of drinking alcoholic beverages that goes with social gatherings, such as weddings, baptisms, and birthdays, and are for leisure and entertainment purposes, *kantáhan* highlights the singer’s individual capacity to render songs with flashed lyrics on screen and the audio with its ready-made accompaniment; good singing garners higher scores because of exact timing, notwithstanding good tuning. In the case of *kantáhan* with live accompaniment, the ensemble and musicality between the singer and the accompanist(s) brings more listening satisfaction to the audience. *Paawitán*, on the other hand, becomes more enjoyable when the participants respond stanza after stanza to each other wittily, and most of the time metaphorically, with measured and rhymed poetry “*of only one tune*,” notwithstanding the quality of the singers’ voices. With shouts of “*laban po!*” the jousting becomes more ‘heated’ when a small group gangs up on a singer, a feature which can only be found in *paawitán*. For the locals, the extinct Tagalog *harána*<sup>118</sup> is more likely the predecessor of *kantáhan*, though the former has an added function of courtship and enhancing man-woman relationships through an all-love-song repertoire.

The communicative freedom present in *paawitán* that directly incorporates indigenous values and community elements cannot be directly

expressed in *kantáhan*, aside from the fact that the latter can be performed without dance. Moreover, *paawitán* involves community living and bonding unlike *kantáhan* concerns which are individualistic and very personal to the singers. *Kantáhan* brings into the forefront American way of living and values.<sup>119</sup>

In this era of the self, every aspect of life and living is directed towards self-enrichment and fulfillment of individual aspirations (Mulder, “Summary” 41),<sup>120</sup> with separation of family members becoming inevitable. Family breadwinners search for the proverbial greener pastures in other provinces and abroad while children are sent to the cities to study, leaving the elderlies and housekeepers in the barrio to tend to agricultural works and domestic chores. The educating generation’s migration, temporary or otherwise, and their absence in the locale makes the transmission of *paawitán* and other homegrown traditions limited. The dwindling interest of the youth in folk traditions and their pursuit of electronic gadgets and western luxuries (38)<sup>121</sup> as influenced by the media are other factors that contribute to the waning of this oral art. Meanwhile, migration to a new environment brings about alienation according to Niels Mulder as follows:

Experiencing new urban life as surrounded by unknown people results to individualism. Anonymity is not rooted in their own previous way of living; it has no morality. Money is of utmost importance and everybody is looking for self-profit. There is moral decay in a wide society. People become selfish and materialistic, having no genuine concern for human society and nature.<sup>122</sup> Accordingly, the society is reduced to an aggregate of person-to-person bonds that are supposedly in good order if everybody lives up to his or her ethics of place. (Mulder, “Summary” 36)

Going back to one’s place of birth and renewing ties is essentially a re-rooting and recouping of the self. In the case of Inang Maring Zeta, for one, who is known to get invited, lead and perform *pasyón*, *dalít*, and *áwit*, not one of her twenty-five grandchildren is interested in *paawitán*. But very commendable is her grip-and-grasp or power over her fellow barangay mates, which is facilitated by her singing popularity, aside from the authority given her by being a senior citizen community leader. This is the so-called



“ethics of place in a highly person-centered and personalistic sociality,” where the “mother is the pinnacle of the moral hierarchy” (Mulder, “Filipino Civilisation 13), or it used to be. For Bakhtin, “an utterance is open to modification, transformation, and qualification by the group. Every utterance is oriented towards a response” (*Speech Genres* 85).

*Paawitán* is performative (Austin 150, 162)<sup>123</sup> as well as ethical. The event expresses many stanzas that constitute the performance of an action, as well as those value-laden poetic lines that prescribe conduct and regulate human behavior. The structure of SUBJECT plus VERB in simple present plus the word THAT followed by performatives with truth-value also abounds, thus making some examples of *áwit* expositive or expository performative. The widely-known *Áwit sa Galahán*’s “I will now dance with a foot, I will make it two if you will give a gift . . .” and *Áwit sa Tagayán*’s “This vodka glass I will not drink, Even just to taste, I will not try . . .” are just two of the many examples of *paawitán* performatives. Most ethical propositions are found in the tear-shedding *Áwit sa Babae* at Lalaking Kinakasal, like “And you, woman, light of the home, Of one husband and household . . .” and “But it is truly the duty of the man That he must love his dear wife To follow and take heed the good deeds Worthy of praise in the people’s eyes . . .” Expositives are also present, like in *Kurtisiya* poetry as follows: “I (subject) force (simple verb) myself now *that* I do not disobey (performative), but it does not happen. . . Even in plants and in human lives, If there is nothing to wait for, There is no need to search for it, As in lemon, no matter how much you squeeze, If there is no more juice, nothing will come out of it . . .” (truth-value). The ample supply of utterances with performative function in *paawitán*, known in linguistics as speech acts, that directly and indirectly greet, suggest, order, promise, warn, invite, apologize, congratulate, insinuate, etc., with aspects of being either felicitous or emergent or creative, lend itself to greater communication with animated exchanges of news and information, feelings, and intelligences in rhymed *áwit*. *Paawitán* performatives mostly work within the context of conversation, interlocution, general exposition, and dialogue (Austin 85).

*Paawitán* is communicative freedom in a joyous social manner. As ideas and concepts multiply and crisscross in the *paawitán* jousting, their threads weave themselves into the framework of discourse. One sung speech act is answered by another which in turn engenders another sung response either by equivalencies, complementarities, or oppositions. Sung discourses has its “roots more clearly in the human body and in other narrowly defined areas and lends itself better to the inflections of memory” (Zumthor and Engelhardt 69). *Paawitán* is dialogism working in a vocality that heightens the listeners’ understanding (68)<sup>124</sup> from the performance that gives due recognition to the qualities of the human voice (67).

Following Bakhtin’s idea, dialogism in *paawitán* sustains and thinks through one voice with regard to another. It addresses not only distinct voices but also the distinction of voices (*Dialogic Imagination*). In the process, as this study argues, *paawitán* is a dialogism of sung voices working on vocality, heightening the listeners’ understanding from the act of the performance itself.

Life assumes continuity. Continuity in economic life presupposes profitability and expansion; social life continues with nurtured relationships and open communications, while spiritual continuity undertakes growth in faith coupled with good work. In Tayabásin vocal culture, continuity could be attributed to functionality. Functionality, in turn, is greatly affected by the changes in the day-to-day courses of action of the different Tagalog Tayabásin generations. In the process, some intrinsic aspect of one cultural genre may be laid aside and left to oblivion due to continuous non- practice. Other cultural facets may be prominently carried over by the next generation for reasons of family tradition and the strong belief in the specific practice’s helpfulness and benefits to its practitioners. When these benefits redound to the whole community, there is a high possibility of continuity. As time passes by, simplification, substitution, commodification, and other forms of cultural adaptation may occur. Whatever happens to the Tayábas Tagalog *paawitán*, having documented the initial changes now happening in this vocal genre in the area, only time will tell.

## GLOSSARY

<i>Agawán</i>	act of getting something or scampering for goods by force. In the neighboring western town of Sariaya, Quezon, the feast of San Isidro Labrador incorporates an <i>Agawán Festival</i> .
<i>Arpeggio</i>	playing of a chord one note at a time.
<i>Áwit</i>	rhymed dodecasyllabic lines sung with a specific tune and danced solo, solo with audience, or in jousting style in an event called <i>paawitán</i> with the confluence of drinking.
<i>Bagákay</i>	long bamboo pole with the branches and leaves intact used in San Isidro Labrador festivals.
<i>Bálag</i>	bamboo-fenced or enclosed area.
<i>Baliskóg</i>	welcome arches.
<i>Báyle</i>	dance, also called <i>sayaw</i> .
<i>Bayléhan</i>	dancing, also called <i>sayáwan</i> .
Behabitives	performatives that have to do with attitudes and social behavior; also known as ethical speech acts/propositions.
<i>Bílang</i>	a native snack made of fried banana ( <i>saging na saba</i> ) or camote (sweet potato) strips with sweetened flour as binder or coagulant.

<i>Bírit</i>	singing style characterized by high pitches and loud volumes.
<i>Budín</i>	cassava cake.
Commissives	performatives that assume an obligation or declare an intention, thus committing the speaker to do or undo something.
Constative	statements with no referents.
<i>Dalít</i>	responsorial sung prayers honoring the Blessed Virgin Mary or any patron saint.
Exercitives	performatives that assert influence, exercise powers and rights by appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, warning, etc.
Expositives	performatives with truth value following the structure subject plus simple present verb plus ‘that’ followed by performatives. Truth value means provable as true or false. Expositives clarify reasons, arguments, and communications.
Ethical proposition	value-laden statements with prescribed conduct that regulates human behavior; also known as Behabitives.
<i>Floresán</i>	flower festivals and celebrations, also called <i>Mayohán</i> or <i>Santakrusan</i> .

<i>Gála</i>	(1) gifts for newly-wed couples; (2) long pole with a knife or sickle and/or basket at its end used to gather high-hanging fruits.
<i>Galahán</i>	giving of gifts to newly-wed couples during the wedding reception.
<i>Hitsó</i>	also called <i>nganga</i> or <i>bunga</i> , a kind of palm whose fruit is included in the mastication ( <i>maskada</i> ) of <i>buyo</i> , a mixture of lime ( <i>apog</i> ), <i>bunga</i> , fresh <i>ikmo</i> and tobacco leaves.
<i>Huntáhan</i>	informal social conversations.
<i>Kaarawán</i>	birth anniversary.
<i>Kalipíno</i>	handwritten compilation of <i>áwit</i> lyrics; chapbooks.
<i>Kantá</i>	generic term for songs.
<i>Kasálan</i>	wedding.
<i>Kurtisiya</i>	courtesy; also called <i>kortes</i> .
<i>Lambanóg</i>	local coconut vodka or arrack.
<i>Mamamaawít</i>	singer of <i>áwit</i> in <i>paawitán</i> .
<i>Mambabasá</i>	<i>pasyon</i> reader-singer.
<i>Marhuyà</i>	native snack made of glutinous rice ( <i>malagkit</i> ) or sweetened grated cassava, unwrapped and fried

	flatted. Sometimes, violet and black rice are used ( <i>parirutong</i> ).
<i>Mayohán</i>	month of May celebrations.
Nobéna o Pagsisiyám	a series of nine-day devotional prayers culminating in the <i>selebrá</i> or <i>selebráhan</i> .
Oral	any poetic communication “where transmission and reception at least are carried by voice and hearing.” (Zumthor 22)
<i>Oyáyi</i>	lullaby.
<i>Paawitán</i>	event where sung exchanges of rhymed and measured repartees or sallies are performed often with dancing.
<i>Palasintáhan</i>	courtship; also called <i>ligawán</i> or <i>patanúngan</i> .
<i>Pamamanhíkan</i>	the formal asking for the hand of the lady by the family of the groom-to-be; also called <i>dayuhán</i> or <i>pamamaysan</i> .
<i>Panatà</i>	devotion or vow.
<i>Paról</i>	lantern.
<i>Pasilungán</i>	dancing and/or singing on the night before the wedding day.

Performance	the complex action by which a poetic message is simultaneously transmitted and perceived in the here and now (Zumthor 22)
Performative	saying of the words constitutes the performing of an action; speech act.
<i>Poblacion</i>	town or city proper. In Tayábas, the city proper to the east of Alitao River is called <i>Malaking Bayan</i> while the area to the west of the river is <i>Munting Bayan</i> .
<i>Púga</i>	response or answer; also called <i>sagot</i> .
<i>Sampáy-bákod</i>	literally, hang on the fence. A type of <i>pasyon</i> chanting.
<i>Santakrúsan</i>	celebration of the cross.
<i>Selebrá/Selebráhan</i>	culminating activity or feast; also called <i>tapusan</i> (ending).
Speech act	an utterance with performative function, directly or indirectly suggesting, ordering, promising, warning, greeting, apologizing, inviting, congratulating, etc.
<i>Súman</i>	native snack made from glutinous rice ( <i>malagkit</i> ) with coconut milk ( <i>gatâ</i> ) or lye ( <i>lihiya</i> ), or sweetened grated cassava with coconut. The mixture is wrapped in banana leaves ( <i>súman sa dáhon</i> ) or buri leaves ( <i>súman sa ibos</i> ), or coconut leaves ( <i>súman</i> )

*pang San Isidro's hagsán, agawán, or pahiyás/pabítin sa bagákay).*

<i>Suwísan</i>	formal meetings in the barangay with town officials during the latter's annual visitation (from the root word juez which means judge).
<i>Tágay</i>	local vodka in a common glass, may refer to the glass itself.
<i>Tagayán</i>	to give a <i>tágay</i>
<i>Tagayán</i>	(1) drinking session, also called <i>inuman</i> or <i>barekan</i> ; (2) the common glass into where the coconut vodka ( <i>lambanóg</i> ) is poured for drinking.
<i>Talinghagà</i>	metaphor; <i>matalinghagà</i> means metaphorical.
<i>Talinghágang-báyan</i>	local metaphors.
<i>Tóno</i>	tune.
Verdictives	performatives that exercise judgment or give a verdict.
<i>Yúnót</i>	conglomeration of dried palay stalks and leaves.



## ENDNOTES

1. Juan Alvarez Guerra's *Viajes por Filipinos* consists of three volumes: *De Manila a Albay* Vol. 1), *De Manila a Marianas* (Vol. 2), and *De Manila a Tayábas* (Vol. 3). He mentions customs in volume three, chapter 7, 2nd edition. Following is the full subtitle of chapter 7:

Costumbres. – Poesia popular indigena. – La tradicion y el manuscrito. – *El cumintan*. -- ¿Que es el *cumintan*? – Reminiscencias moriscas. – El *cariquitdiq-uitan*. – Pensamientos tomados al oido.– El indio. -- ¿Es o no definable? -- El libro en blanco. – Identificacion del indio. – Condiciones para conocerlo. – Fenomenos psicologicos. – Un regimiento europeo y un regimiento indigena. Ingratitud agradecimiento. – La india amiga y la india amante. – El portalon del *Gloria*. – *Titay*.– Una fortuna a la mar. – La Revista Europea viajando por el reino de aracan. – *Conocimientos* de los escritoires de alla y algunos de los de aca. – El como se escribe la historia. – Apreciaciones diversas.

2. The original text is as follows:

[Todas las comarcas del mundo tienen su poesia popular que conservan bien por la constant repeticion que cuidadosamente hacen de padres a hijos o bien por la compilacion excrita que guarda el libro.]

El indio posee, como todas las demeis razas, su romancero popular, que conserva por la tradicion, y algo, aunque poco, en el manuscrito. El *cumintan* tagalo no es, ni mas ni menos que el primer auxiliar de sus tradiciones.

Si al recorrer los extensos *tubiganes* y *cocales* que rodean a Tayábas ois plañidera guitarra y dirigis vuestros pasos en busca del tañidor; si al llegar al cerco de la casa donde salen los acordes, veis los *tapancos* y *caranes* alzados, notando en el interior profusion de gente que con gran silencio escucha a una india que perezosamente canta y baila al son de la guitarra, siguiendo con gran cuidado las ondulaciones de su cuerpo, el equilibrio de una taza que mantiene en la cabeza; si de cuando en cuando el silencio de los que escuchan es sustituido por el caracteristico grito de alegria del indio y a veces con un palmoteo semejante al que acompaña las canciones andaluzas; si subis la *escala* de caña y bejuco y tomáis asiento entre aquella reunion, que sin preguntaros quien sois, ni quien os presenta, os acoge con cariño y os da lo que tiene; si entendéis el tagalo y lleváis algun tiempo en el pais, desde luego compresderies que a vuestra llegada se bailaba y cantaba el *cumintan*. . . El *cumintan* es una mezcla de todos los acordes tristes y melancolicos que se conocen en el pentagrama. El *cumintan* es una balada compuesta de

suspiros. Sus notas son otros tantos *ayes* arrancados en el silencio de la noche, de la mujer que ama, del corazón que espera, del proscrito que tras la azulada boveda busca cual otro rey del Oriente la estrella que marca el derrotero de su patria. El *cumintan* tiene algo de salvaje, algo que hace volver la vista a los agrestes bosques en que se escuchan sus acordes. Tiene sus reminiscencias de las antiguas cantigas moriscas, recordando no pocas veces el gemir del *polo* gitano. El *cumintan* nació con la primera guitarra que so oyo en estas playas. En esta canción india, todas las razas que han pasado por este suelo han llevado una adición o una nota. Como dejamos dicho, se asemeja a las canciones gitanas, las cuales ni se aprenden, ni se inspiran en la *pauta* sino en la vivida luz de unos ojos de fuego, en el dolor intenso de una perfidia o en el triste recuerdo que sintetiza un acerbo dolor.

. . . su autor? Nadie lo sabe, son hijos de un momento de inspiración; el oído los recoge y la memoria los perpetúa. Si entre nuestros cantares populares tenemos tiernos y delicados pensamientos, no los tiene menos el indio, tanto en el *cumintan*, como en el *balitao* y el *cutangcutang*.

3. My initial inquiries into the tradition resulted in many replies which can be summarized into one question, "Why only now when most expert singers are already six feet under the ground?"
4. Being a member of the Tayábas community myself, I have the privilege to intermingle with *pááwitan* singers, attend social events, and interact with the local people. I formally started fieldwork in 2010 and gathered my data consisting of audio and video recordings. Moreover, I held personal interviews and informal conversations which we call *huntáhan*. I personally attended various singing events during fiestas and post-church rites, some para-liturgical activities such as the *tapusan* or *selebra/selebrahan* (culminating event) of the *Santakrusan* or *floresan* in the month of May, and other celebrations in at least three different barangays of Tayábas City, namely Gibanga, Ibabang Palale, Kalumpang, and the Poblacion or Malaking Bayan (city proper). I went to the Tayábas Casa Comunidad Library and the University of Santo Tomas Miguel de Benavides Library for archival work aside from internet searches. I started some musical and textual analyses of *áwit* which were included in my master's thesis entitled "Understanding the Present-Day *Pááwitan* Among Tayabasin Communities in the Province of Quezon, Philippines."
5. According to Linell, Double- or multi-voicing is the varied interpretations of language as spoken according to the situation, considering the tradition, for interaction and/or about institutions, thus, having different perspectives.
6. Addressivity is defined by Linell this way: (E)very act is addressed to somebody, whether this addressee is individual or collective, real or imaginary,

- being another person or group or an aspect of one's own self. Addressivity in speaking involves the speaker's anticipation of potential responses by particular addressees or recipients or particular communities of them, and it influences the speaker's choice of particular linguistic expression topics and perspectives on topics, discourse types or genres, and communicative activity framings. (167)
7. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, editors. *Embodied Voices: Representing female vocality in western culture*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
  8. Per Linell, *Rethinking Language, Mind, and World Dialogically: Interactional and Contextual Theories of Human Sense-Making*. (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2009), p. 114-115. Vocality "involves the material or physical embodiment, personal signature, and perspectives on topics and issues of the speaker in interaction. This deals with prosody (intonation, accents, rhythm, etc.) and voice quality in producing utterance (revealing emotion, social and personal identities, geographical and individual "lect").
  9. Signifiante is style in layman's term. Metaphorically, signifiante lies in the gaps in the meanings of the work; the writer's suchness dispersed in language.
  10. The book title is roughly translated as "Song and Narrative of the Sacred Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ Which Should Inflamm the Heart of Anyone Who Reads It."
  11. 2011 edition.
  12. *Pasiong Mahal* subtitles roughly translated and enumerated in order and their corresponding lengths in terms of number of stanzas are as follows: Prayer to God (3 stanzas), Prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 stanzas), God's Creation of the world (47 stanzas), the devil's temptation of Adam and Eve (60 stanzas), the birth of the Virgin Mary by St. Anne (41 stanzas), first Lesson/Sermonette (ARAL) (6 stanzas), the incarnation (*pagkakatawang-tao*) of the second person of God in the womb of the Virgin Mary (10 stanzas), the Annunciation (greeting) of Archangel St. Gabriel to the Virgin Mary (23 stanzas), the visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary to St. Elizabeth (24 stanzas), the Nativity (birth) of our Lord Jesus Christ by the Virgin Mary (24 stanzas), the Baptism of Jesus (7 stanzas), the Epiphany (visitation) of the three Magi Kings (40 stanzas), the Purification of the Virgin Mary at the temple of Jerusalem (32 stanzas), the passage to Egypt (10 stanzas), the beheading of all infants by order of King Herod (38 stanzas), the visit to the temple of Jerusalem (10 stanzas), Jesus' stay at the temple of Jerusalem (15 stanzas), second Lesson (10 stanzas), the death of St. Joseph (14 stanzas), the teaching (*pangangaral*) of St. John the Baptist in the desert and the baptism of Jesus (8 stanzas), the temptation of Jesus by the devil (46 stanzas), the reasons for Jesus' going to Galilee (26 stanzas), Jesus' first miracle made at Cana (22 stanzas), Jesus' teaching to the Samaritan woman (67 stanzas), Magdalene's search for Jesus (5 stanzas), Fear of the apostles in the middle of the sea (24 stanzas), the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ to the

multitude (5 stanzas), Jesus' miracle made on five bread loaves and two pieces of fish (18 stanzas), the conference (*pakikipanayam*) of Moses and Elijah with our Lord Jesus Christ at Mt. Tabor (Transfiguration) (56 stanzas), Lazarus was brought to life by Jesus (88 stanzas), third Lesson (13 stanzas), the prophesy of the Prophets on our Lord Jesus Christ (20 stanzas), When Jesus rode the donkey and entered Jerusalem (Palm Sunday) (26 stanzas), fourth Lesson (21 stanzas), Holy Monday (20 stanzas), the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ to His apostles (Holy Tuesday) (34 stanzas), Holy Wednesday: the story of the tyrant Judas (76 stanzas), fifth Lesson (12 stanzas), Holy Thursday (29 stanzas), the Last Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ together with His apostles (8 stanzas), the Washing of His apostles' feet by our Lord Jesus Christ (59 stanzas), the death of Judas at the Cenacle and the arrest of The Teacher (18 stanzas), sixth Lesson (6 stanzas), the prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ at the garden of Gethsemane (52 stanzas), the capture of Jesus Christ by the Jews (40 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ was brought by the Jews to the court of Annas (27 stanzas), the mockery (*pagbibiro*) of the Jews to our Lord Jesus Christ (24 stanzas), seventh Lesson (8 stanzas), the denial of St. Peter of our Lord Jesus Christ (55 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ was brought by the Jews this second time to the court of Caiphas (Good Friday) (50 stanzas), the suicide of Judas Iscariot sans hope of the forgiveness of his sin (29 stanzas), eighth Lesson (21 stanzas), the Jews brought our Lord Jesus Christ to Pontius Pilate (87 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ was brought by the Jews to King Herod (42 stanzas), ninth Lesson (13 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ was again brought by the Jews to the Roman Procurator Pontius Pilate (36 stanzas), tenth Lesson (12 stanzas), the scourging at the pillar of our Lord Jesus Christ per order of Pilate (15 stanzas), eleventh Lesson (23 stanzas), the crowning with thorns by the Jews of our Lord Jesus Christ (15 stanzas), the presentation (*pagpapatanaw*) of our Lord Jesus Christ by Pilate (24 stanzas), Pilate's washing off of his hands (10 stanzas), twelfth Lesson (13 stanzas), Pilate made his sentence (8 stanzas), the carrying of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ (15 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ's embrace of the Holy Cross (8 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ's first fall (8 stanzas), the meeting of Jesus Christ and His weeping beloved Mother Mary (64 stanzas), the meeting of our Lord Jesus Christ and the weeping women (10 stanzas), thirteenth Lesson (13 stanzas), Veronica wipes the Holy Face of our Lord Jesus Christ (14 stanzas), the exit from the door of the Judiciary of our Lord Jesus Christ (6 stanzas), the third fall of our Lord Jesus Christ due to the heaviness of the Cross He carries (19 stanzas), the substitution of Simon of Cirene (8 stanzas), the undressing by the Jews of our Lord Jesus Christ (8 stanzas), the nailing to the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ (12 stanzas), fourteenth Lesson (7 stanzas), the Holy Cross was erected (*pagbabangon*) (43 stanzas), fifteenth Lesson (19 stanzas), Dimas asked for forgiveness from our Lord Jesus Christ (14 stanzas), sixteenth Lesson (19 stanzas), the arrival of the Virgin Mary

together with the women of Galilee (54 stanzas), The Judaic rule of breaking the leg bones of the crucified (10 stanzas), Our Lord Jesus Christ was brought down from the Holy Cross (53 stanzas), the burial of our Lord Jesus Christ (11 stanzas), seventeenth Lesson (10 stanzas), the Judaic rule to guard the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ (12 stanzas), the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ (68 stanzas), eighteenth Lesson (3 stanzas), Christ met His beloved Mother (11 stanzas), the Three Maries visited the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ (23 stanzas), Magdalene asked our Lord Jesus Christ assuming He is a Hortelian (48 stanzas), St. Thomas touched the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ (8 stanzas), the Ascension into Heaven of our Lord Jesus Christ after forty days (18 stanzas), the descent of the Holy Spirit on Mary and the Apostles in the form of tongues of fire (24 stanzas), the death and assumption to Heaven of the Blessed Virgin Mary (54 stanzas), the Virgin Mary was crowned by the Most Holy Trinity (40 stanzas), nineteenth Lesson (11 stanzas), Empress Helena went to visit the place of the Crucifixion and the nails of our Lord Jesus Christ (52 stanzas), Christian Prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary (9 stanzas), the Last Judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ to the human World (111 stanzas), and the twentieth, the ultimate ARAL (Lesson) (10 stanzas). – Wakas -- (End).

13. Informal interview (*huntahan*) with *pasyon* readers Inang Maring Trinidad-Zeta and early comers in Barangay Gibanga chapel on March 16, 2016 while waiting for other *pabasa* participants.
14. Tita Opel opined that the changing of tunes occur whenever the group decides or somebody intones a different tune after an *ARAL* or whenever the readers encounter a picture in the *pasyon* pages.
15. Host household of Tita Opel (Ofelia), her mother-in-law Lola Tacing (Anastacia), and daughter Maia Feliz (Maia).
16. One group starts the ensuing stanza even before the currently singing group is finished with their stanza.
17. In Noceda and Sanlucar's *Vocabulario*, *dalit* is defined as *tula* (Spanish *copla*) and a *bogtong/bugtong* (riddle) is given: *Ang dalit ay masarap, kung ang basa'y 'di tilad.* (*Dalit* is good-tasting, if it is read unchopped.) (166)
18. There currently exists an *Áwit sa Dalit* in Barangay Ibabang Palale during their May *Santakrusan*. This is different from the *dalit* that I am elaborating in this paper. I witnessed both Barangay Gibanga's *Dalit sa Poong San Isidro Labrador* and Barangay Ibabang Palale's *Áwit sa Dalit sa Banal na Krus*. The latter is a ritual of sung octosyllabic prayer made in front of a cross. The narrative used is about the cross of Christ already found after a long journey and given its symbolic location in the ritual – the cross is sheltered within the home of the participating family. The nine-day or novena proceedings are as follows: (1) invocation or *panawagan*, (2) paying respects to the owner of the house (*pagbibigay-galang sa maybahay*) which includes admiration of the house, the cleanliness of the stairs and floors,

strength of the doors, etc.), (3) singing hymns of praise to the cross (*pagpupuri sa krus*), (4) prayers to the Holy Cross (*Dasal*), (5) leave-taking (*pamamaalam*). The culmination (*selebra*) is much lengthier and takes the following order: (1) The Origin of the Holy Tree, (2) Council of the Holy Trinity/*Junta Trinitario*, (3) The Holy Tree, (4) The Tree in Paradise and the Adam and Eve Story, (5) David and Solomon, (6) Solomon and Sheba, (7) The *Santakrusan* Story about the Suffering, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus, (8) Resurrection and Ascension: The Story of the *Cruz de Vandera* and How it Differs from the Cross of the Crucified Christ, and (9) The Quest of the Holy Cross: The Story of Queen Helene and Emperor Constantine. The *selebra* usually takes 14 hours. Page 19 of the Ateneo paper also enumerated the above while on page 25 of the same paper, they claim that *Áwit sa Dalit* is a ritual that effectively brings together members of the community in order to share not just the food in the after-ritual feast that marks the relationships but also to reconsider the frailty of humanity, most deeply held in an agricultural setting reliant on the forces of nature. Nonilon Queaño (1985) claims that this *Áwit sa Dalit* is a *la Komedia* and *Senakulo* which are structures used by Spanish colonizers “to exploit and enslave the people” on page 26 of his U.P. Diliman thesis. Queaño also asserts that *Santakrusan* and its powerful images of suffering and devotion “must have instilled in the people’s minds a habit of subservience and complacency which proved difficult to break even at present.”

19. Understandably, its treatment of *dalit* is very different from the genre tradition as the Parish of Padre Pio in the country was founded only in 2003 in Sto. Tomas, Batangas, and declared a National Shrine in 2004.
20. My free translation of the first four (4) verses of the *dalit* follows:
  - (1) Though known as poor  
Your love is complete.
  - (2) All your mysteries/miracles  
Are making it known
  - (3) That you are blessed  
By God in heaven/in sacredness.
  - (4) Because of love  
That is burning in your heart.
21. Literally, *libot* means moving around or house hopping. *Pahiyas* is the general term describing decorations which can be attached to walls, windows, doors, and ceilings while *pabitin* is anything hanged on lightweight, manmade horizontal trellis.
22. My free translation of “*Dalit sa Poong San Isidro Labrador*” response is “*San Isidro*, we plead, we are your adopted children and you are our patron.”

23. Even the Medium Security of the Muntinlupa Bilibid Prison boasts of five *videoke* machines as one of their means of entertainment in the compound when my Community Development team made a visit there more than a decade ago to give music fundamentals, choir singing, and conducting lessons.
24. From handwritten *áwit* notes (*kalipino*) of Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale, given on December 20, 2010.
25. Sang by the late Hospicia E. Cagahastian on 29 October, 2012, in Brgy. Kalumpang.
26. Rendered by Lola Asang Tabi during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán*, *Munting Bayan*, November 25, 2010. Also sang by Inang Anita Rabina-Ragudo in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011.
27. Sang by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay in Brgy. Ibabang Palale on December 30, 2011.
28. Sung by Naynes-Caagbay.
29. From handwritten *áwit* notes (*kalipino*) of Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale, given on December 20, 2010.
30. Tabi.
31. Tabi.
32. Sang by Lola Claudia “Alud” Jaspio-Caagbay in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011.
33. Furnished by Dr. Hilarion “Tio Lolon” T. Salvaña from the notebook of his father-in-law, Arcadio C. Tolentino, Sr., on October 27, 2010.
34. Rendered by the late Ret. Col. Luis Araya during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010. The following sestet was sang by Herminia Sandoval on 02 November, 2012, in Brgy. Kalumpang.
35. These two stanzas were sang by Lola Claudia “Alud” Jaspio-Caagbay in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011. These were similarly rendered by Emma Flores and Nelly de Torres, respectively, during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.
36. Both applied in the sense of conversational relationships and linguistic sense, i. e., metrically.
37. The first stanza was sang by Marta “Inang Maring” Zeta in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011. The next two stanzas were rendered by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Ibabang Palale on April 20, 2011.
38. Rendered by Leonida “Lola Nida” Jabola during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.
39. Rendered by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Ibabang Palale on April 20, 2011.
40. Sang by Maximo “Lolo Memong” Naynes during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.

41. Sang by Anita Rabina-Ragudo in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011.
42. Rendered by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále on April 20, 2011.
43. Rendered by Tia Nelly de Torres during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán*, *Munting Bayan*, November 25, 2010.
44. Sang by Anita Rabina-Ragudo in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011.
45. This stanza was encountered in all Tayábasin *paawitán* sources: in Brgy. Kalumpang, among the Senior Citizens (on November 25, 2010), in Brgy. Gibanga (on November 2, 2011), in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále (on April 20 and December 20, 2011).
46. Sang by Herminia Sandoval on 2 November 2012, in Brgy. Kalumpang.
47. Sang by Federation President Aristeo Palad to surrender to the ladies’ group during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* jousting in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.
48. Sang by Federation President Aristeo Palad during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* jousting in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.
49. Sang by Anita “Inang Anitang Pinô” Labitigan-Ragudo in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011.
50. Lyrics dictated by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay during our informal conversation (*huntahan*) and demonstrated on April 20, 2011 in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.
51. Sang by Lola Claudia “Alud” Jaspio-Caagbay in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011.
52. *ARAL* after the Scourging at the Pillar before the Crowning of Thorns:

Samantalang may hininga  
 At ikaw’y nabubuhay pa  
 ay maglaan kang maaga,  
 sukat mong ikaginhawa  
 ng kagamit-gamit no na.

At kung ikaw’y pag-isipan  
 nang kagamit-gamit lamang  
 Maganda rin ang may simpan  
 At munting naiingatan  
 Mayroon ngang pagkukunan. (*Pasiong Mahal* 128-29)

53. Tagalog saying (*kasabihan*): *Ang may isinuksok ay may madudukot*. Translation: He who has saved something will have something to be drawn out.



54. John Davie, translator. *Lucius Annaeus Seneca (ca. 1 BC-AD 65): Dialogues and Essays*. (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), “On the Happy Life” p. 106. “One should store away a benefit like a deeply buried treasure only to be dug up in time of necessity.”

55. These verses are an example of a biblical reference in the songs:

For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. For every tree is known by his own fruit. For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes. A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and an evilman out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh. (Luke 6.43-45, *King James Version*).

56. From the handwritten notes (*kalipino*) and as rendered by Marta “Inang Maring” Zeta on December 27, 2010.
57. Rendered by Anita Rabina-Ragudo in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011.
58. Rendered by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Ibabang Palale on April 20, 2011.
59. Furnished by Dr. Hilarion “Tio Lolon” T. Salvaña from the notebook of his father-in-law, Arcadio C. Tolentino, Sr., on October 27, 2010.
60. The first line of this couplet used in *awit* is taken from Francisco Balagtas’ *Florante at Laura*. The complete stanza reads:

*Ang laki sa layaw karaniwa’y hubad  
Sa bait at muni’t sa hatol ay salat;  
Masaklap na bunga ng maling paglingap,  
Habag ng magulang sa irog na anak.*

George St. Claire beautifully translated the stanza as follows:

Those who are reared in wealth and ease,  
Walk stripped of good, no counsel hear;  
The father’s wrong care sons to please,  
Bears bitter fruit, and costs them dear.

61. In this anthropomorphism, human relationship is equated to the treatment of ginger.

<i>Huwag mo na akong igaya sa luya</i>	Do not compare me to ginger
<i>Gagayat-gayatin, gagawing atsara</i>	Will be minced and made into pickles
<i>Hangga't bago-bago'y lagay sa lamesa</i>	Placed atop the table while still new
<i>Kapag naluma na'y sa lino kasama.</i>	Will be in the hogfood when old.

62. The figure of speech catachresis using the combination of bolo and field for pen and paper partnership reads:

<i>Ako'y huwag mo nang pagpari-paringgan</i>	Do not insinuate me anymore
<i>Tungkol hangong sulat, 'di ako maalam</i>	I know nothing about that digged letter
<i>Ang kinagisnan ko sa aking magulang</i>	I was brought up by my parents
<i>Ang pluma ko'y dulos, ang papel ko'y parang.</i>	With garden bolo as pen, my paper is the field.

63. Rendered by my maternal aunt, Hospicia E. Cagahastian, followed by her signature laughter.
64. After the rendition of this *awit*, all of us around laughed and said “*buti ngal!*” (that’s what you got, fool!) That was our first time to hear that funny story. Two pairs of elderly couples who are neighbors of resource singer Nanay Sedeng Caagbay were laughing at our reactions, realizing that even us were not familiar with tales of this kind, adding that we may not even know that the local term for carabao is not *kalabaw* but *anwang*. What realizations we had, indeed!
65. Lyrics dictated by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay during our informal conversation (*huntahan*) and demonstrated on April 20, 2011 in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.
66. Lyrics dictated by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay during our informal conversation (*huntahan*) and demonstrated on April 20, 2011 in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.
67. “I will join even if I do not sing *awit*. It is full of gaiety!” Comments expressed by Inang Elisa Galapate upon learning that there will be a *paawitán* in Barangay Gibánga, (“*Pupunta ako kahit hindi ako umaáwit. Ay masaya ‘yon!*” Then she whispered that she is a monotone (*sintunado*) and giggled.
68. Comment of the late Genoveva “Inang Gening” Pabulayan during the Gibanga *paawitán*, “*Pag nakakalasa na’y papaanhin ba’t hindi lumabas ‘yang mga áwit na ‘yan?*” (When the alcohol is already taking effect, how can there be no way that the *awit* will not come out?): double negative = positive!
69. The first to third quatrains were rendered in sequence by Lola Alud Jaspio-Caagbay, Inang Anita Rabina-Ragudo and Cacion Labitigan-Pabulayan respectively in the November 2, 2011 *Tagayán* in Barangay Gibánga.
70. Rendered by Ret. Col. Luis Araya during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* jousting in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.

71. Sung by Corita “Tia Unta” Jaspeo-Abas of Barangay Gibanga.
72. *Bikang* is a native snack (*kakanin*) made of fried bananas/camotes (sweet potatoes) cut in strips with sweetened flour as binder or coagulant.
73. *Suman* is also a native snack made of glutinous rice (*malagkit*) either with coconut milk (*gata*) or lye (*lihiya*) or sweetened cassava with coconut. The mixture is wrapped in banana leaves (*sa dahon*) or coconut leaves (for San Isidro’s *hagisan*, *agawan* or *pabitin*) or buri leaves (*sa ibos*).
74. *Marhuya*, another native *kakanin* is made of the same ingredients as *suman* but unwrapped and fried flatted. Sometimes, violet and black rice *marhuya* called *parirutong* are also found in Tayabas.
75. *Yunot* is a conglomeration of dried palay stalks and leaves.
76. *Hitso* is also called *nganga* or *bunga*, a kind of palm whose fruit is included in the mastication (*maskada*) of *buyo*, a mixture of lime (*apog*), *bunga*, fresh *ikmo* leaves or *buyo*, and sometimes, dried tobacco leaves.
77. Rendered by Corita “Tia Unta” Jaspeo-Abas of Barangay Gibanga.
78. Jaspeo-Abas.
79. Sang by Maximo “Lolo Memong” Naynes during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.
80. Lyrics dictated by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay during our informal conversation (*huntahan*) and demonstrated on April 20, 2011 in Brgy. Ibabang Palale.
81. Rendered by Emma Flores of Barangay Masin during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.
82. Lyrics dictated by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay during our informal conversation (*huntahan*) and demonstrated on April 20, 2011 in Brgy. Ibabang Palale.
83. Rendered by Anita Rabina-Ragudo in the *Tagayan* in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011.
84. Rendered by Emma Flores of Barangay Masin during the Senior Citizens *Paawitán* in *Munting Bayan* on November 25, 2010.
85. Interview with the above-named feature in her house in Barangay Gibanga on 18 June 2016 from 10 a.m. to 12:15 nn.
86. The string band or *cumparsa* was composed of managers Tomas Labitigan, Cornelio “Kudni” Lacorte, and Modesto “Esto” Pabulayan, Agustin Flores (bass), Apolinario “Poli” Jaspeo (bandurria), Norberto “Berto” Jaspeo (bandurria), Sofio “Piyong” Jaspeo (bandurria), Francisco “Isko” Labitigan (godfather of Inang Maring; played the saxophone, accordion, guitar and bandurria), Eleno Gaetano (bandurria), Hermogenes “Genès” Almazan (guitar), Gelacio Pabulayan (guitar), singers Anita Labitigan (now Ragudo, daughter of Amamang/Lolo Isko), Corita Jaspeo (now Abas), and companions Anita Ragudo (now Villalon), Diarita Valle (now Pabulayan) and Paulita “Payta” Pabulayan (now Querubin). The group

- used to accompany *pasyón*, *dalít*, and *paawitán* in Barangay Gibanga. Invitations and performances of the group reached as far as the province of Batangas.
87. The long copra-making process starts from coconut picking, gathering, de-husking, breaking, arranging, smoking, de-shelling, chopping, putting in sacks, bringing to the copra trader we locally call *sulitan*. In Tagalog, the processes in sequence are *káwit-bunton hakot-tapas-biyak-hanay-luto-lukad-tadtad-sako-hakot-sulit*.
  88. Ann Rosalind Jones expounds on the act of repeating personal experiences: "The social is always oppressive in Kristevan schemes" (58).
  89. John Fiske presents a related concept: "'Sacred inarticulateness' (as coined by Levine in 1972, page 40) is defined as 'people's inability to explain their most sacred as well as mundane institutions in an objective discourse'" (158).
  90. In *Revolution in Poetic Language*, Julia Kristeva defines *semiotic chora* as defined as "the non-expressive totality formed by the drives and their stases in a motility (ability or capacity to move) that is as full of movement as it is regulated" (25).
  91. Fiske expounds: "The desire for expectation of variety and richness of experience is a produce of capitalism, and serves to maintain the system. For such variety, whether of object or experience, must usually be bought and paid for. . . It is the people's art of making do with what they have (de Certeau, 1984) and what they have is almost exclusively what the social order that oppresses them offers them" (158).
  92. The humility in the person of Inang Maring that mentions of the "disorderliness" in her house and surroundings is reminiscent of the clean stairs and "dirty feet" exemplified in *áwit* greetings.
  93. This decision by the locals of Brgy. Gibanga is similar to that of the farmers of Barangay Alitao as documented by Jayeel Serrano Cornelio (17). San Isidro replaced Santakrusan in 1978 because apart from the demise of Santakrusan experts, the locals did not feel "*na may patutunguhan ang Santakrusan. Ipinalit namin ang San Isidrohan dahil kami ay mga magsasaka*." Religious rituals are modified according to historical exigencies and prevailing social condition. What is retained is that which to them will be beneficial.
  94. Interview with Mrs. Corita Jaspeo-Abas on 06 July 2016, Wednesday, at their Kalumpang residence, "*Noong una'y wala kaming ginagawa kundi maghintay ng Mayo. Yun lamang ang masayang buwan*." (Way back then, we eagerly and anxiously wait for the month of May. That is the only merry month of the year.)
  95. The ritual becomes an outlet for the hardship involved in farming, with participants highlighting the feeling of *communitas* and satisfaction for doing it together.
  96. Fiske writes that "(I)t is our bodies that finally bind us to our historical and social specificities. As the mundanities of our social conditions are set aside or distances, so, too, are the so-called sensuous, cheap, and easy pleasures of the body distanced from the more contemplative aesthetic pleasures of the mind. . .

- This critical and aesthetic distance is thus, finally, a mark of distinction between those able to separate their culture from the social and economic conditions of the everyday and those who cannot" (154).
97. Fiske again writes: "The culture of everyday life is a culture of concrete practices which embody and perform differences. These embodied differences are sites of struggle between the measured individuations that constitute social discipline, and the popularity-produced differences that fill and extend the spaces and power of the people" (162).
  98. 1779-1910 in Maria Lourdes B. Abulencia, *Mayohan sa Tayábas: Resurrecting the cabecera spirit*. *The Manila Times* (05 May 2000): 11B, etc. [www.seasite.niu.edu](http://www.seasite.niu.edu), and [http://www.codewan.com.ph/CyberDyaryo/features/f2000\\_0501\\_02.htm](http://www.codewan.com.ph/CyberDyaryo/features/f2000_0501_02.htm). Accessed 22 December 2015 and re-accessed 09 August 2016, page 1.

*Muy Noble Villa de Tayábas*. In more than three centuries of Spanish occupation, only eight towns/cities in the country were given the title of Villa. These are La Villa del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Cebu in 1565, La Villa de Santiago de Libon, Albay in 1573, La Villa Fernandina de Vigan, Ilocos in 1574, La Villa Rica de Arevalo, Iloilo in 1581, La Noble Villa de Pila, Laguna in 1610, *La Muy Noble Villa de Tayábas*, *Tayábas in 1703*, La Villa de Bacolor, Pampanga in 1765, and La Villa de Lipa, Batangas in 1887. Interestingly, that Tayábas was given the title of 'most noble' villa even before it became the provincial capital shows its importance even before 1749, the year it was declared the capital of the Province of Tayábas). From Tayábas City, "The City of Festivals" in <http://www.philippinescities.com.tayabascity-quezon> and <http://www.alchetron.com.tayabas-wikipedia>. Accessed 19 August 2016.

Tayábas was the provincial capital for 131 years (1749-1880) of the now province of Quezon. The province was also named Tayábas then. The town of Tayábas, which was *the richest and gayest places in the province* according to Manuel Luis Quezon, was burned to the ground during the Second World War. On March 15, 1945, the Americans heavily bombarded the once glorious and flourishing municipality, thus *including its heart and soul*—exact words of Necias Chaves Pataunia, Tayábasin writer and sociologist, Municipal Planning and Development Coordinator during the publication of his article. Prior to that, the old houses of Tayábas rivaled those of Vigan's Spanish-era structures.

99. The Basilica Menor de San Miguel Arcangel is called "the chicken breast," with the bird's right wing as the parishes to its west (Our Mother of Perpetual Help in Barangay Ibabang Bukal and Our Lady of Fatima in Barangay Kalumpang) and the left wing as the parishes to its east (San Roque in Barangay Ilasan and Our Lady of the Visitation in Barangay Ibabang Palale). (*Ang pecho -- dahil*

ang dalawang pakpak ay ang *Our Mother of Perpetual Help-Our Lady of Fatima sa Poto* Kalumpang (to the west) at ang *San Roque sa Ilasan at Lourdes sa Palale* (to the east), kaya positibo at puwede talagang lumipad.”) From the homily of Rev. Fr. Jude Paquito S. Moreno, current Parish Priest of Our Mother of Perpetual Help Parish,

Ibabang Bukal as quoted from a former parish priest Fr. Francis Bingco, during the Installation of the Knights of Columbus of the City of Tayábas on August 20, 2016, Saturday, 1:00 to 4:00 p.m.

100. “*Ang Paawitán ay isang tampok na kaugalian ng ating mga ninuno . . . nalibing na sa limot sa gitna ng kabihasnan . . . iinom sa iisang basong umiikot . . . bigkas na pakanta at may kasamang padyak, palakpak, at sayaw.*” as introduced by Mrs. Ligaya “Lily” Osana Rea (b. 12/25/1930), now retired elementary school principal and *paawitán* and folk dance practitioner, who directed the wedding (*kasalan*)-themed *paawitán*.
101. Rea; see pp. 193-198 for a complete version of *Kurtisiya*, and p. 228 for additional *Kortes* stanzas.
102. *Variance* is the term used by Bernard Cerquiglini in his 1989 *Eloge de la variante* (In Praise of the Variant) and Tim William Machan in his 1994 *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts* to mean textual mobility. This is equivalent to Medieval literary historian, linguist, and structuralist Paul Zumthor’s *mouvance* which denotes among other things textual changes for changing audiences or functions.
103. Yoyoy Villame, “*Buhay at Pag-ibig ni Barok*,” from *The Best of Yoyoy Villame Volume 2*, Alpha Records, 1997, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=09RpuzK7BUQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=09RpuzK7BUQ), accessed August 19, 2016.
104. Frs. Francisco de San Jose and Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*. *Auit* means *cancion o canto*.
105. Frs. Juan de Noceda and Pedro de San Lucar, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*. 1754, 1832, and 1860. 16 types of song: (1) *auit*: those songs sung in the house, (2) *balicongcong*, (3) *diona*, (4) *dolayanin/dolayinin*, (5) *dopayanin/dopaynin*, (6) *halirao/hilirao/hiliriao*, (7) *hila*, (8) *horlohorlo*, (9) *indolanin*, (10) *manigpasin*, (11) *ombayi/umbay*, (12) *omiguing/umiguing*, (13) *oyayi*, (14) *soliranin*, (15) *tagumpay*, and (16) *talindao*.
106. Thomas C. O’Guinn and L. J. Shrum claim that the ubiquitous television “rivals many traditional socialization agents such as school, church, and even parents;” . . . it “has forever changed our families and the way we set social policies, . . . view ourselves in relation to others.” It “has supplanted reading and interpersonal narrative as our primary means of storytelling and myth delivery (Silverstone, 1991) and has thus fundamentally changed our culture (McLuhan, 1964)” (278).

107. Nanay Sedeng Naynes-Caagbay recalls that *paawitán* in the past was rendered while planting rice (*hasikan*) on mountain slopes (*talabis*). This was done with two wooden poles (*batibot*) used by men to make holes to which the palay seeds are placed by the trailing ladies. Dry rice agriculture on plain land uses bamboo poles (*bakàl*) with ringers (*kalansing*). With the mechanization of agriculture, the wooden poles (*batibot*) and the bamboo poles (*bakàl*) were replaced first by the carabao and then later by machines. The *paawitán* that was part of traditional agriculture faded away with this change.

108. Patrick Brantlinger writes:

Modern history has been characterized by a trend toward the replacement of all traditional forms of proletarian culture. The institution of mass culture . . . have become central to the process of reproducing the labor force in proportion to the weaknesses of family, church, and school. Television programs aim to narrow and flatten consciousness to tailor everyman's world view to the consumer mentality, to placate discontent, to manage what cannot be placated, to render social pathologies personal, to level class-consciousness. The television's spectacle and images undermine such traditional gauges of meaning as truth and falsehood. (250)

109. In "Telling Is Listening," Ursula K. Le Guin writes: "Words are events, they do things, change things. They transform both speaker and hearer; they feed energy back and forth and amplify it. They feed" (Popova, "Ursula K. Le Guin").

110. Joseph Scalice writes about the *pasyon*: "The *pasyon* gave the masses 'a pattern of universal history' – that is the pattern of paradise, fall and redemption – and 'ideal forms of behavior' – *damay*, *awa*, and so on. This idiom enabled the masses to understand the world, the revolution, and their participation in it" (6). Scalice, who claims that Iletto examined the *pasyon* text without performance (textual hermeneutics), explains that Iletto crossed class boundaries, thereby making his use of the term 'masses' doubtful, stating that "tradition cannot be reduced to intertextuality" (10, 21).

111. Susan Sontag writes about living in the "century of the self":

I don't believe there is any inherent value in the cultivation of the self. And I think there is no culture (using the term normatively) without a standard of altruism, of regard for others. I do believe there is an inherent value in extending our sense of what a human life can be. If literature has engaged me as a project, first as a reader and then as a writer, it is as an extension of my sympathies to other selves, other domains, other dreams, other words, other territories of concern. (qtd. in Popova, "Conscience")

Similarly, in an interview with Jonathan Cott in 2003, Sontag says, “There is no possibility of true culture without altruism”

“Culture always has a standard of altruism” (regard for others) like sympathies to the other serves, domains, dreams, words, and other territories of concern. Quote from Susan Sontag (1933-2004) in *The Conscience of Words: Susan Sontag on the Wisdom of Literature, the Danger of Opinions, the Writer’s Task and writing about living in the “century of the self.”* Brain Pickings. 19 December, 2016. <https://www.brainpickings.org> accessed 29 November 2016; and Susan Sontag: The Complete Rolling Stone Interview by Jonathan Cott, as quoted from her *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 2003, page <http://books.google.com.ph>. accessed 27 December 2016. “There is no possibility of true culture without altruism.”

112. In Barangay Alitao, *libot* and novena organizers are the local barangay council members who are landowners-farmers. They claim that *San Isidrohan* replaced *Santrakrusan* since 1978 because apart from the demise of *Santakrusan* experts, the locals did not feel any positive direction in *Santakrusan*. “*Ipinalit namin ang San Isidrohan dahil kami ay mga magsasaka.*” (We changed *Santakrusan* to *San Isidrohan* because we are farmers.) Cornelio then presents a realization that “religious rituals . . . can be modified by its practitioners according to historical exigencies and social condition” (18).
113. Cornelio notes that farmers of Barangay Silangang Catigan mutually agreed to retain the San Isidro celebrations and considered it highly beneficial to them (12n8).
114. Ryan adds, “. . . with their exposure to the television and the internet, the young are bombarded with Western pop culture” (Palad 112).
115. Niels Mulder writes: “. . . The pressing forward of media -- newspaper, radio, television, stereo, the shopping mall, computer, videoke, internet, ATM, cell phone, etc., causes irreversible changes, bringing the ancient order into new culture and novel sociality, so the carriage was driven out by the motor car, the guitar by the stereo, and civility by videoke.” (“Filipino Civilisation” 22)
116. Appadurai assesses Pico Iyer’s account on the Filipinos’ affinity with American popular music: “The uncanny Philippine affinity for American popular music is rich testimony to the global culture of the hyperreal, for somehow Philippine renditions of American popular songs are both more widespread in the Philippines, and more disturbingly (underscoring, mine) faithful to their originals, than they are in the United States today” (29).
117. Ryan Palad adds, “*lambanog* makers are multiplying.”
118. *Harana* is a singing activity with the purpose of getting acquainted, wooing/courting and winning a lady through love songs. It could also be for the purpose



of enhancing a man-woman relationship through singing. Initially, *harana* starts near the window of the lady's house (*sa tapat ng durungawan ng dalaga*) and if the parents consent, the *haranistas* would be given access to go up the house and continue the *harana* in the receiving room. Currently, there are no more *haranas* held in Tayabas.

119. Epifanio San Juan, Jr. writes about the impact of American influence in Filipino culture: "We have been thoroughly Americanized according to the racialized utilitarian bourgeoisie standards of the industrialized metropole" (20). He then presents the need for systematic change in the Philippines: "Given the massive archive of treatise, ideological control, customary habits, and various diplomatic constraints, only a radical systemic change can cut off United States stranglehold in this neocolony" (21). He then proceeds with presenting the actions that led to the "Americanization" of Filipino culture: "America's success is in making the natives speak English, imitate the American Way of Life as shown in Hollywood movies, and indulge in mimicked consumerism" (30).
120. Niels Mulder writes: "These days, individual habitus, or the personal way of being in the world, and competition for personal glory are what matters, at the same time that the mass media seem to do everything to keep it this way" ("Summary" 41).
121. Mulder writes: ". . . so there remained nothing to derive comparative identity but from the American way" ("Summary" 38).
122. See Mulder ("*Lipunan*" 50).
123. According to Austin, performatives could be of five (5) classes: Verdictive is an exercise of judgment by giving a verdict by a jury, arbitrator, or umpire; Exercitive is an assertion of influence or exercising of powers, or rights by appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, warning, etc; Commissive is an assuming of an obligation or declaring of an intention by promising or otherwise undertaking; Behabitive is the adopting of an attitude and have to do with social behavior like apologizing, congratulating, commending, condoling, cursing, and challenging; and Expositive is the clarifying of reasons, arguments, and communications (150, 162).
124. Adapted from Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg Novalis' "communion of the word," which means "love evolves into communion with God, the perfection of our consciousness of how we relate to it."

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## APPENDICES

### A. MGA DALIT

#### A.1. Dalit kay San Isidro Labrador

##### Barangay Gibanga, 1945

Sagot/Puga

*San Isidro ay ihibik*

*Kami'y ampon mo't tangkilik.*

1. *Dukha ka man at malait*

*Lubos ang iyong pag-ibig.*

2. *Madla mong kababalaghan*

*Nagbabantog, nagsasaysay.*

3. *Na ikaw ay pinagyaman*

*Ng Diyos sa kalangitan.*

4. *Palibhasa'y sa pag-ibig*

*Nagningas ang iyong dibdib.*

5. *Ang pag-ibig mong matibay*

*Ng puso mo sa Maykapal.*

6. *Kayâ nga't dili naagaw*

*Ng mundo't madlang kaaway.*

7. *Inalalayan ng langit*

*Kayâ lámang 'di lumamig.*

8. *Uliran ng mag-asawa*

*Ikaw ni Santa Maria.*

9. *Ang iyong kasing esposa*

*Sa mabuting pagsasama.*

##### Aklatang Lunas, 1948

*Isidro'y iyong ihibik*

*Kaming ampon mo't tangkilik.*

1. *Dukha ka mang sinasambit*

*Lubos ang iyong pag-ibig.*

2. *Madla mong kababalaghan*

*Nagbabantog, nagsasaysay.*

3. *Na ikaw ay pinagyaman*

*Ng Diyos sa kabanalan.*

4. *Palibhasa'y sa pag-ibig*

*Nagningas ang 'yong dibdib.*

5. *Ang pag-ibig ay matibay*

*Ng puso mo sa Maykapal.*

6. *Kayâ hindi naagaw*

*Ng mundo't madlang kaaway.*

7. *Inalalayan ng langit*

*Kayâ naman di nagahis.*

8. *Uliran ng mag-asawa*

*Ikaw at si Santa Maria.*

9. *Na iyong kasi at sinta*

*Sa mabuting pagsasama.*



10. Kayâ nga't ang inyong dibdib  
Pinag-isa ng pag-ibig.

11. Kailan ma'y di nalanta  
Ang 'yong pagsampalataya.

12. Gayundin sa Santa Misa  
Pag-ibig mo'y di nagbawa.

13. Ang inani mo sa bukid  
Pinagayaman ng langit.

14. Nagsasakang dukha ka man  
Tinunton mo'y kabanalan.

15. At dili mo sininsayan  
Hanggang sa ikaw'y mamatay.

16. Mundo'y natalo't nagahis  
Ng iyong bayaning dibdib.

17. Ikaw ay pinaratangan  
Na di anhi'y magnanakaw.

18. Ngunit ipinagtangkakal  
Ikaw ng Poong Maykapal.

19. Di itinulot ng langit  
Na ang puri mo'y malait.

20. Sa tao't libo'y laganap  
Ang awa mong walang ulat.

21. Kayâ ampunan ang tawag  
Sa iyo ng mahihirap.

22. Sapagkat di ka nagkait  
Sa abang sa 'yo'y nalapit.

23. Bata, matanda, may damdam  
Sa sakit ay nararata'y.

10. Kayâ nga't ang inyong dibdib  
Pinag-isa ng pag-ibig.

11. Kailan ma'y di nalanta  
Ang 'yong pagsampalataya.

12. Gayundin sa Santa Misa  
Pag-ibig mo'y di nagbawa.

13. Kayâ't ang ani mo sa bukid  
Pinakayaman ng langit.

14. Magsasakang dukha ka man  
Tinunton mo'y kabanalan.

15. At hindi mo sininsayan  
Hanggang sa ikaw'y mamatay.

16. Mundo'y natalo't nagahis  
Ng iyong bayaning dibdib.

17. Ikaw ay pinaratangan  
Na di anhi'y magnanakaw.

18. Ngunit ipinagtangkakal  
Ikaw ng Poong Maykapal.

19. Di itinulot ng langit  
Na ang puri mo'y maamis.

20. Sa tao't libo'y laganap  
Ang awa mong walang likat.

21. Kayâ ampunan ang tawag  
Sa iyo ng mahihirap.

22. Sapagkat di ka nagkait  
Sa abang sa 'yo'y lumapit.

23. Bata't matandang may damdam  
Na sakit, kung nagsasakdal.

24. Sa iyang nararanasan  
Ang madlang kababalaghan.

25. Dili mo pinaalis  
Hanggang di gumaling sa sakit.

26. At itong nobenang hain  
Ang pamimintakasi namin.

27. Iyong papagindapating  
Panunghayan at tanggapin.

28. Tingni't hain ang pag-ibig  
At sa iyo'y pananalig.

29. Dukha ka man at malait  
Lubos ang iyong pag-ibig.

24. Sa iyo ay nasusundan  
Ang madlang kababalaghan.

25. Hindi mo pinaalis  
Hanggang di maligtas sa sakit.

26. At itong nobenang hain  
Ng pamimintakasi namin.

27. Iyong papagindapating  
Papakinggan at tanggapin.

28. Tingni't hain ng pag-ibig  
At sa iyo'y pananalig.

29. Dukha ka mang masasambit  
Lubos ang iyong pag-ibig.

## A.2. Dalit sa Mahal na Birhen ng Lourdes

SAGOT:   Babaeng lubhang marangal  
              Ligaya ng kalangitan  
              Sa Lourdes na poong mahal  
              Kami'y iyong saklolohan.

Tingni at kaaya-aya  
Tingni at bumababa na  
Mukha ay mapanghalina  
Umaakit sa pagsinta  
At bibigyang kaaliwan  
Ang sangmundong kabilugan. Sagot.

Daop ang kamay sa dibdib  
Mata'y tingala sa langit  
Mahinhin ang pananamit  
Katawa'y takip na takip  
Táyo ay inaaralan  
Magmahal sa kalinisan. Sagot.

*Minalas ang kalupaan  
Sakâ nagmukhang mapanglaw  
Bernardita'y tinitigan  
Poon, ano't nalulumbay  
Manalangin,manalangin  
Ang mundo'y papagsisihin. Sagot.*

*Tingni at nangingiti na  
Wala ngang luha sa mata  
Táyo'y bibigyang ligaya  
Halina't dumulog sa kanya  
O Inang kaibig-ibig  
Kami ngayo'y lumalapit. Sagot.*

*Ginhawa ang kinakamtan  
Sa kanyang himalang bukal  
Makinom na sino man  
Gumagaling kapagkuwan  
Diyan ay mananamnaman  
Dalisay na katamisan. Sagot.*

*Narito o Inang giliw  
Aba't mahabag sa amin  
Karamdaman ay gamutin  
Kaluluwa'y pagpalain  
O Birhen ng karaingan  
Dinggin yaring karaingan. Sagot.*

### *A.3. Dalít kay San Antonio de Padua*

*SAGOT: Ang dagat ay lumuluha  
Bilanggo ay lumalaya  
Alinmang bagay ang mawala  
Nakikita ng bata at matanda.*

*Kung hanap mo'y himala, iyong masdan  
Nawawaksi kamatayan sa kamalian  
Lumalayo demonyo at kahirapan  
Gumagaling ang maysakit leprahin man. Sagot.*

*Lumalayo ang panganib  
Ang mahirap ay nakatatawid  
Kayong kinalinga ay magsiáwit  
Sa Paduano'y ipagsulit. Sagot.*

*Luwalhati sa Ama, Luwalhati sa Anak, Luwalhati sa Espiritu Santo. Sagot.*

*Ipanalangin mo kami, maluwalhating San Antonio*

*Sagot:       Nang kami'y maging dapat magtamo  
              Ng mga pangako ni Hesukristo.  
              Siya Nawa.*

#### *A.4 Dalít kay San Diego*

*SAGOT:    Aba po, Poong San Diego  
              Kami po'y idalangin mo.*

*Aba Poong Santong mahal  
Napuspos ng kalinisan  
At lubos na katipunan  
Ng ligaya't kabanalan  
Ang Diyos haring totoo  
Ay inibig kang katoto. Sagot.*

*Nilisan mo at iniwan  
Ang lupang kaginhawahan  
At pinaghanap mong tunay  
Ang langit na kataasan  
Ang damit na inibig mo  
Ay ang saya at abito. Sagot.*

*Kami ay dumadalangin  
At sa iyo'y dumaraing  
Na kami'y iyong ampunin  
Sa masamang sasapitin  
Kaming lahat mong deboto  
Ay dumaraing sa iyo. Sagot.*

*Ikaw ang inaasahan  
Naming deboto mong tanan  
At iba pang dumadalaw  
Na kami'y ipagsanggalang  
Sa dilang paraya't tukso  
Hindi kami mangatalo. Sagot.*

*At ang maraming may damdam  
Sa sakit ay dumaratay  
Kung ikaw ay panaligan  
Ginhawa'y siyang kakamtan  
Ito'y siyang kaloob mo  
Sa napaampon sa iyo. Sagot.*

*Tagarito't ibang bayan  
Na mahihinang katawan  
Ang pagnanasa'y matibay  
Na sa iyo ay pagdalaw  
Nananalig na totoo  
Sa pagkamaawain mo. Sagot.*

*Lingunin kami ng awa  
At tulong mo pong dakila  
Gayundin ang mga dukha  
Mga bulág at salanta  
Pag-ibig ay 'yong ituro  
Kami sa kapuwa tao. Sagot.*

*Pukawin ang aming loob  
Sa mga dukha'y umirog  
Maawa at bigyang-limos  
Para ng iyong pagsunod  
Ng ikaw ay relihyoso  
Sa orden ni San Francisco. Sagot.*

*Nang ikaw nama'y utusan  
Ng pinuno mong naghalal  
Sa Canariang kapuluan  
Tinupad mong malumanay  
Doon ang mga aral mo  
Napatanyag na totoo. Sagot.*

*Aral mo'y nang matalastas  
Ng kapuluang Canarias  
Marami ang idolatrias  
Ng pawang nagsipabinyag  
Tubig na santo bautismo  
Hiningi ng madlang tao. Sagot.*

*Loob mo'y pinakababa  
Pagsisilbi sa may gawa  
Ituro mo sa 'ming pawa  
At nang maging dapat nawa  
Kami'y tumulad sa iyo  
Ng maawaing mata mo. Sagot.*

*Iadya mo itong bayan  
Sampung debotong tanan  
Sa salot at kamatayan,  
Sa gutom at kasamaan  
Ipagsanggalang sa tukso  
Sa kaaway na demonyo. Sagot.*

*Pag-asa'y nananatili  
Mga obehas mong yari  
Sa awa mo pong parati  
Ng ikaw ay pintakasi  
Sa amin ay ituro  
Nang awa ay matamo. Sagot.*

#### *A.5. Dalit kay San Miguel Arkanghel*

*SAGOT: Maluwalhating arkanghel  
Prinsipe, Santo San Miguel  
Kami po'y iyong ampunin  
Sa masamang sasapitin.*

*Ngalan mo'y walang kahambing  
Maluwalhating San Miguel  
Yari pong sinabi namin  
Sa iyo po'y panalangin*

*Kalingain mo't lingapin  
Kaming mga dumaraing. Sagot.*

*Sa di masabi ng dila  
Santong sa langit nagmula  
Kung sa misteryo'y sagana  
Di masabi ng akala  
Parati mong pagkaawa  
Sa bayang ito'y adhika. Sagot.*

*Yari pong sinabi namin  
Sa iyo po'y panalangin  
Di man dapat ay tanggapin  
Poon kami'y kalingain  
Sidlan ang aming panimdim  
Ng awa't saklolong tambing. Sagot.*

*Ani San Juan'y ganito:  
Sinag din ng espada ko  
Ang tanang mga demonyo  
Mangingilag na totoo  
Tanang angeles at santo  
Pintakasi ng Kristiyano. Sagot.*

*Lingapin mo itong bayan  
At kami'y ipagsanggalang  
At huwag mong pabayaang  
Armas mo'y ipanagumpay  
Magdalita't kaawaan  
Kaming obehang mong tanan. Sagot.*

*Kayâ po ang loob namin  
Diyos na poon ay hayin  
Iyong papagindapatin  
Na pangunahing tanggapin  
Santong walang makahambing  
At marangal na kerubin. Sagot.*

*At angeles na tanan  
Siya nating panaligan  
Sa tukso'y ipagsanggalang*

*Ating dilang kaaway  
Sampu pa ng Birheng Mahal  
Siya nawang walang hanggan. Sagot.*

#### *A.6. Dalít ni Poong San Rafael*

*SAGOT:      Aba, Poong malulugdin  
                Poong Santo San Rafael  
                Kaluluwa't búhay namin  
                Kaawaan mo't ampunin.*

*Sa sintang hindi masayod  
Kerubing kalugod-lugod  
Sa grasya'y pinakapuspos  
Ikaw ng poong si Hesus  
Ampon kaming dumudulog  
Arkanghel na maalindog. Sagot.*

*O santong pilit hinirang  
Ng Diyos sa kalangitan  
Kami'y iyong kaawaan  
Idalangin sa Maykapal  
Kaming obehas mong tanan  
Dito sa mundong marawal. Sagot.*

*Ikaw po ang nagpasunod  
Nag-alagang walang tugot  
Pakamahalin mong lubos  
Kaming hamak na alabok  
Ipamagitan mong lubos  
Sa harap ng Poong Diyos. Sagot.*

*Kami'y nagpapasalamat  
Araw-gabi, walang likat  
Ng paghingi ng patawad  
Kasalanang mabibigat  
Ang aming ipatatanggap  
Mga puring walang súkat. Sagot.*



*Ang iyong mahal na ngalan  
Pinupuring walang tahan  
San Rafael na timtiman  
Ilaw nami't paraluman  
Kami ngayo'y kaawaan  
Iadya sa kahirapan. Sagot.*

*Maawa ka nang maawa  
Awang masakit na lubha  
Yamang ikaw ang may gawa  
O kerubing pinagpala  
Ng Diyos haring dakila. Sagot.*

*Ikaw ang inaasahan  
Ikaw ang pinanggalingan  
Kami'y iyong kaawaan  
Walang wikang pagsakdalan  
Amin ka ring katibayan  
At magparating man saan. Sagot.*

#### *A.7. Dalít ni San Roque*

*SAGOT:   Aba, matibay na moog  
              Ng táong nangangaslot  
              Ampunin mo kami't kupkop  
              Roqueng kapalara'y puspos.*

*Araw ng ipanganak ka  
Sa katawan mo'y nakita  
Tandang nagpapakilala  
Búhay na sadya  
Sa sikmura'y isang Krus  
Ang ikinintal ng Diyos. Sagot.*

*Pagkawili mong mataman  
Sa Reyna ng kalangitan  
Tanang adhika mong asal  
Ikaw ang tinutularan  
Bata ka pa'y naghahandog  
Ng pagpapakadayukdok. Sagot.*

*Nang ikaw ay maulila  
Binahagi kapagdaka  
Yaman sa dukhang lahat  
Sa ama't ina mo'y mana  
Alab ng sinta ng Diyos  
Ang puso ay nalilipos. Sagot.*

*Nagdamit kang peregrino  
Agua pendiente'y tinungo  
Doon ang natagpuan mo  
Nunuksang salot sa tao  
Kusa kang nakipanggamot  
Nag-alaga sa maysalot. Sagot.*

*Ang salot at mga hiráp  
Napapawing agad-agad  
Himalang ito'y naganap  
Sampung bagsik mo pong lahat  
Ang sa ngalan mo'y tumuod  
Gumagaling ang maysalot. Sagot.*

*Ang sambayang Cecena  
Gayundin ang taga-Roma  
Sa iyo'y kinamtan nila  
Isang bayanang pagsinta  
Pagsipot ng salot  
Lubhang kakila-kilabot. Sagot.*

*Lalaki, babae't bata  
Nagsisisigaling na pawa  
Ang Krus kung iyong itala  
Sa damit nila'y ilagda  
Anila'y angel na lubos  
Nag-anyong isang busabos. Sagot.*

*Ibinuyo ka ng sinta  
Napasabayang Placencia  
Pinagaling ang lahat na  
At doo'y nagkasakit ka  
Pinaalis ka't binukod  
Dahil sa sakit mong salot. Sagot.*

*At sa tahanan mong dampa  
Diyos ikaw'y kinalinga  
Gumaling ka alipala  
Himalang tantong mistula  
M ay aso na nagdudulot  
Kanin mong ikabubusog. Sagot.*

*Katawan mo'y natitigib  
Ng págod at madlang sakit  
Binilanggo ka't piniit  
Sa bintang at maling isip  
Limang taon mong sinayod  
Hirap na kalunos-lunos. Sagot.*

*Ngunit ang Diyos ay nuli  
Pakanang bala-balaki  
Pagtikim sa iyong budhi  
Lakas kayang di ugali  
Sa bilanggo ay ang bantog  
Namatay kang isang santos. Sagot.*

*Nakita sa isang barlaya  
Nalilimbag, natatala  
Ngalan mo'y pag sinambitla  
Sa salot natitimawa  
Ng di kami mangasalot  
Ngalan mo'y ibinabantog. Sagot.*

#### *A.8. Dalít kay San Vicente Ferrer*

*Kalarang walang kapara  
Ng mga taong lahat na.*

*SAGOT:   Vicente, magdalita ka  
              Sa Diyos mo ikalara  
              Ang hingi namin sa Kanya.*

*Hinulaan ka sa una  
Ni San Juan Evangelista*

*Nang kaniyang ipakita  
Angel na kaliga-ligaya.  
Sa Pathmos tahanan niya  
Ng paglabas mo sa ina. Sagot.*

*Pinanuntan ka ng Diyos  
Ng grasiang mapag-milagros  
Mapag-utos na elementos  
Bukod sa lahat ng Santos.  
At ang sa impiyerno pa  
Ay kinatatakutan ka. Sagot.*

*Siyam ka pang taon lámang  
Muling binigyan mong búhay,  
Isang batang kababayan,  
Tanda rin ng kabagsikan  
Bigay ng Diyos na mahal.  
Ang gawa mong ito pala  
Nahayag kapagkaraka. Sagot.*

*Ama mong si Santo Domingo  
Napakita sa iyo  
Nang nabubuhay ka pa sa mundo  
Larawan ka ngang totoo  
Asal niya't pagka-Santo.  
Halal ka ni Kristong Ama  
Sugo't Predicador Niya. Sagot.*

*Pitong laksa ang Hudiyos  
At sanlaksang mga moros  
Erehes sila'y naubos  
Nagbalik-loob sa Diyos  
Nang iyong aral natalos.  
Wika mong parang espada  
Tumaos sa puso nila. Sagot.*

*Bagaman wika mong dati  
Ipinagsermon parati  
Sa kahariang marami  
Walang di tanto ang sabi  
Para sa wikang sarili.*

*Angel kang kataka-taka  
Sa sangmundo'y sinasamba. Sagot.*

*Isang babaeng nauulol  
Pinatay na walang tutol  
Yaong anak niyang sanggol  
Sa palayok ay idinoon  
Pagsisili't ng malamon.  
At bagama't naluto na  
Binuhay mo kapagdaka. Sagot.*

*Tatlong libong mahigit pa  
Pinakain mo sa una  
Tinapay na labinlima  
Ay nabusog na lahat na  
Bagsik na walang kapara.  
Tanang loob ay nakilala  
Ginoo't mga iba pa. Sagot.*

*Angel ang bansag mong tunay  
Sa 'sang-Salamangkang bayan  
Ng isang patay at bangkay  
Sinaulian mo ng búhay.  
Ang lahat ay nangagitla  
Sa gayong kataka-taka. Sagot.*

*Yaong isa mong larawan  
Nagsermon ng walang tahan  
Labing-limang araw minsan  
Tantong kinamanghaan  
Ng mga erehes na tanan.  
Walang 'di nangagkaiba  
At sa Diyos nagsisamba. Sagot.*

*Nang ang kampana'y tugtugin  
Iyong gawang milagro rin,  
Ang lahat ng masasaktin  
Sabihin at bilangin  
Pawa mong pinagaling.  
Walang di guminhawa  
Sa awa mo sa kanila. Sagot.*

*Ang bulág, pipi't bingi man,  
Pilay, lumpo't kalagnatan,  
Hika't nababalian,  
Balang sangkap ng katawan,  
Ginamot at kinaawaan.  
At ang iyong Prelado pa  
Pinagmilagro mo na. Sagot.*

*Sa buntis na manganganak  
Ang pagtulong mo'y di hamak,  
Ang baog ay nag-aanak  
Dukha'y nawawalang salat  
Sa saklolo mo't paghawak.  
Apat na pung patay na  
Sinaulian mong hininga. Sagot.*

*Laman ng kanilang tiyan  
Nabuhay at nuli man  
Damhin ang Reliquias lámang  
Katawan mong kasantusan.  
O mahal na Poong Ama  
Tingni ang aking panata. Sagot.*

*Pinanganganlang kang Santo  
Saan mang bayan sa mundo  
Angel, Profeta't Maestro  
Virgen Apostol ni Kristo  
Kaniyang kasi at katoto.  
At may kapangyarihan ka  
Sa lupa man at sa Gloria. Sagot.*

#### *A.9. Dalít sa Birhen de los Dolores*

SAGOT:    *Yamang ikaw, Inang mahal  
              Nagtiis ng kahirapan  
              Kami'y iyong kaawaan  
              Sa hapis mo'y alang-alang.*

*Sa paglilibot kay Hesus  
Ng pagpapasan ng Krus  
Iyong inaalinsunod  
Ang pagsalunga sa bundok  
Mirang kapait-paitan  
Ang sa iyo'y nalalaan. Sagot.*

*Yamang nang maipako na  
Sa Krus ang anak mong sinta  
Tinanghal mo at nakita  
Ang hirap Niyang lahat na  
Puso mo'y pinaglampasan  
Espada ng kasakitan. Sagot.*

*At niyong mamatay na nga  
Ang anak mong sinisinta  
Ay inihalal kang ina  
Ng katauhang lahat na  
Na ang naging punong tunay  
Ay ang apostol San Juan. Sagot.*

*Yamang hindi magkamayaw  
Ang paglait at pagtuyaw  
Kay Hesus anak mong mahal  
Ang puso mo'y nalunusan  
Pakinggan mo, Inang mahal  
Pagtangis nami't pag-uwang. Sagot.*

*Yamang nang maibigay na  
Ang anak mong sinisinta  
Ang kaniyang kaluluwa  
May isang soldado naman  
Dibdib niya'y sinugatan. Sagot.*

*Pakundangan inang mahal  
Sa madla mong kahirapan  
Madre Elena de dolor  
Hace cuando esperemos  
Nuestras entrehinos  
En las manos y del señor. Sagot.*

#### A.10. *Dalít ni Santa Catalina*

*Sagot: Santa Catalinang birhen  
Kami'y iyong idalangin.*

*O maluwalhating santa  
Pinuspos ka po ng grasya  
At agad mong nakilala  
Tamang pananampalataya  
At ang mundong sinungaling  
Ay tinalikdan mong tambing. Sagot.*

*Nakita mo sa panaginip  
Si Hesus na poong ibig  
At Ina niyang marikit  
Kasama'y mga anghelos  
At sinuutan ng singsing  
Nakita mo pagkagising. Sagot.*

*Dinaig mo at tinalo  
Ang limampung pilosopo  
Pati Haring Maximino  
Ay napahiya sa iyo  
Dunong na sa Diyos galing  
Kayâ walang makasupil. Sagot.*

*Sa malaking kagalitan  
Niyong haring tampalasan  
Na emperador na hunghang  
Ikalabing-isang araw  
Sapagka pinagkaitan  
At gayundin sa inumin  
Ikaw ay di pinatikim. Sagot.*

*Ikaw rin po'y dinaganan  
Ng isang gulong na bakal  
At may patalim pang laan  
Pakong sadyang inilagay  
Ngunit ika'y nanalangin  
Nasira'ng bakal, patalim. Sagot.*



*Sa malaking kapootan  
Ng emperador na hunghang  
Ikaw po'y pinapugutan  
Sa berdugong tampalasan  
At pati na ang coronel  
Na dumalaw sa 'yo sa karsel. Sagot.*

*At nang ikaw po'y mautas  
May himala pang namalas  
Sa sugat ang lumalabas  
Ay di dugo kundi gatas  
Kayâ at maraming hentil  
Ang nagbago ng damdamin. Sagot.*

#### *A.11. Dalit ni Santo Padre Pio*

(Publication in 2005, Parish erected on June 28, 2003.)

*Francesco Forgione ngalang ibinigay (12 syllables)  
Sa 'yo ng 'yong butihing magulang (10)  
Tanging pangarap mo'y ang makapag-aral (12)  
At maging alagad ng Poong Maykapal. (12)*

*Sa mura mong gulang na ika'y sakitin (12)  
Nanatili sa iyo pagkamadasalin (13)  
Di mo alintana anumang gawain (12)  
Itong paglalaro di mo napapansin. (12)*

Refrain:

*Padre Pio, o Padre Pio (9)  
Maraming salamat sa awa't tulong mo. (12)  
Padre Pio, O Padre Pio (9)  
Maraming salamat sa dalangi't paggabay mo. (14)*

*Sa 'yong pagkapari ay nakita sa 'yo (12)  
Ang malasakit at pag-ibig sa kapwa-tao (14)  
Tanang karamdamang idaing sa iyo (12)  
Walang pasubaling pinagagaling mo. (12)*

*Sa 'yong buhay bilang Capuchino (10)  
Banaag ang Amang si Francisco (10)*

*Tapat sa nasà ng Poong Ama* (10)  
*At dalisay na pag-ibig ni Maria.* (12) Refrain.

*Ang makasalanang sa 'yo'y mangumpisal* (12)  
*T'yak magkakamit ng kapatawaran* (11)  
*Walang pagdududang awa ay kakamtan* (12)  
*Pagkat dalangin mo'y makapangyarihan.* (12)

*Sa limampung taong may stigmata ka* (11)  
*Ang hapdi at kirot di mo alintana* (12)  
*Di ka dumadaing, di ka nabalisa* (12)  
*Sa 'ting Panginoon ay nakiramay ka.* (12) Refrain.

Coda:

*Sa iyong pagyao di pa rin natapos* (12)  
*Ang paglilingkod mo sa Panginoong Diyos.* (13)  
*Mga daing namin at mga pagluhog* (12)  
*Batid naming lahat 'yong idinudulog.* (12)

Refrain:

*Padre Pio, o Padre Pio* (9)  
*Maraming salamat sa awa't tulong mo.* (12)  
*Dalangin din namin na maging tulad mo* (12)  
*Matutong umibig tulad ni Kristo.* (11)

## B. AWIT COLLECTION 2010-2012

### B.1. *Áwit sa Kaarawan* (Birthday)

Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale on 20 December 2010.

<i>Pagpanhik po namin at biglang pagsampa</i>	When we climb and suddenly ascend
<i>Sa hagdanan ninyo, puspos ng ligaya</i>	Your stairs, filled with joy
<i>Ang linis ng sahig, hinayang tuntungan</i>	The cleanness of the floor, a waste to step on
<i>Ng amin pong mga maruruming paa.</i>	By our dirty feet.

<i>Satiyadamiya bunying soberana</i>	For you triumphant sovereign
<i>Kita'y binabati oras na masaya</i>	I am greeting you a happy time
<i>Kita'y binabati oras na maganda</i>	I am greeting you a beautiful hour
<i>Kalakip ang iyong mutyang ama't ina.</i>	Along with your beloved father and mother.

*Sapagkat ngay-on ay iyong kaarawan  
Mahal mong anyaya sa mundo'y pagsilang  
Ang bahay mo Neneng na tinatahanan  
Lupang maligaya na iyong nilakhan.*

Because today is your birthday  
Precious invitation of your birth on earth  
Your house Neneng where you stay  
A happy land where you were raised.

*Madlang halaman mo, nagsisipagsaya  
Sampu ng bulaklak nangiti sa sanga  
Ang bango mo't samyo na kaaya-aya  
Ay nakakaakit sa tuwa't ligaya.*

All your plants are rejoicing  
And all the flowers are smiling on the branches  
Your fragrance and scent that is delightful  
Is enticing joy and happiness.

*Ikaw nga ang rosas na sadyang bumukad  
Pinakamamahal na higit sa pilak  
Sa araw at gabi di ibig malingat  
Halos patuntungin sa dalawang palad.*

You are the rose that intentionally bloomed  
Dearly beloved that is more than silver  
In the day and night, not wanting to forget  
Almost asked to step on two palms of the hands.

*Ikaw nga ang rosas bumukad sa tangkay  
Halaman ng puso, pinakamamahal  
At ikaw ang siyang gagawing aliwan  
Ng mga nalunod sa dagat ng panglaw.*

You're truly the rose that opened on the branch  
Plant of the heart, dearly beloved  
And you will be made the source of joy  
Of those who drowned in the sea of gloom.

*Aba masanghayang bulaklak ng aliw  
Lingap ng awa mo siyang hintay namin  
Kung ipagkaloob ikaw na may hardin  
Pakaasahan mong ika'y pipitasin.*

Alas delightful flower of joy  
Your merciful concern is what we're awaiting  
If granted, you who have the garden  
Expect that you will surely be picked.

*Sa pagpitas namin hindi susupilin  
Sanga't sampung ugat aming huhukayin  
Sa aming hardinan doon ka dadalhin  
Gagawing aliwan ng puso't panimdim.*

In our picking we will not cut  
The branches and the roots we will dig up  
In our own garden we will bring you  
To be made the source of joy of the heart  
and remedy for profound sorrow.

### B.2.1. *Áwit-Palasintáhan/Ligawán* (Courtship 1)

Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale on 20 December 2010.

*Ikaw na sa aking puso ay gumapi  
Na hindi na kita malimot sa isip  
Maatim ko kaya bagang di ihibik  
Sa iyo ang aking dusang tinitiiis?*

You who have conquered my heart  
That I can't get you out of my mind anymore  
Can I take not to lament  
To you the sorrow that I am bearing?

<i>Pinaglabbay kita upang maidaing Ang di na makayang hirap sa paggiliw Yaong sinabi mong pag-isip-isipin Magpahangga ngay-o'y taglay sa panimdim.</i>	I travelled to you to be able to pour out The unbearable pain of loving Your mentioned message to think fully well Until now is carried with profound sorrow.
<i>Di mamakailang bugsô ang nagdaan Sa aking sarili dinudulang-dulang Na ang pagsinta ko ay iwaksi ko man Ang itinuro'y ikaw rin at ikaw.</i>	Not just a few gusts have passed Inside me I have wrestled That my love, even if I toss it away Points to you and you alone.
<i>Ano pa at walang naaksayang oras Na di ang isip ko'y nasa iyong lahat Kayâ sa loob ko'y di na makakatkat Na ikaw ang siyang ligaya ng palad.</i>	What else but no time was wasted That my mind is all upon you So inside me it will never be removed That you are the joy of the palm of my hand.
<i>Patdin ko na't yamang batid mo nang labis Ang nilalamay kong hirap sa pag-ibig Mayamang awa mo huwag ipagkait Sa may pitang lunas na ikabibihis.</i>	I will stop now since you know very well My sleepless hardship in loving Your abundant mercy do not restraint To the one wishing remedy for redress.
<i>Ito'y tanggapin mo, handog na pagsinta At panahong ukol nama'y maawa ka.</i>	Please accept this, an offering of love And at opportune time, take pity.

### B.2.2. *Áwit-Palasintáhan/Ligawán* (Courtship 2)

Provided by Dr. Hilarion T. Salvaña at their residence at the poblacion, 26-27 October 2010. These collections came from a notebook of his late father-in-law, Arcadio C. Tolentino, Sr., former supervisor of Quezon Province NAWASA, who died in 1977.

<i>Halimbawa kayâ't ang tangan ko'y lason Na nasa botelyang mabagsik na Lysol Kung pag-aakalang inumin ko yaon Tulutan mo kayang aking ipatuloy?</i>	If for example what I am holding is poison Contained in a bottle, highly toxic Lysol If I try to drink that Will you let me go on?
<i>Halimbawa kayâ't yaring aking hawak Na nakikita mong punyal na matalas Dini sa dibdib ko'y aking itatarak Salagin mo kayâ't magdala kang habag?</i>	If for example this that I am holding That you see is a sharp dagger/lancet Here in my chest I will stab/pierce into Will you shield me and will you take pity?
<i>Halimbawa kayâ't ikaw ay gusali Na napakaganda't magaling ang yari</i>	If for example you are an edifice That is so beautiful and made excellently

*Ako nama'y isang pulubing nasawi  
Makapanuluyan kayang sumandali?*

While I am a pauper who met a misfortune  
May I take shelter in even for a while?

*Halimbawa kayâ't mabango kang hasmin  
Paruparo akong tinatakipsilim  
Mangyayari kayang sa mahal mong hardin  
Magpahi-pahinga upang umagahin?*

If for example you are a fragrant jasmine  
I am a twilight-caught-up butterfly  
Will it happen that in your dear garden  
I will rest to wait for the next morning?

*Halimbawa kayang sa duyan ng lugod  
Awitan 'tang muli ng lumang pag-irog  
Hindi naman kayâ dalawin ng lungkot  
Ang bago mo ngay-ong aliwan ng loob?*

If for example in the hammock of joy  
I will sing to you again of an old love  
Will sadness not visit  
Your current source of new joy?

*Halimbawa kaya't ang iyong paggiliw  
Na nalalanta na'y muling sariwain  
Diligin ng suyô hibik ng damdamin  
Ako kayâ'y iyong paligayahin din?*

If for example that your love  
That is wilting will be made fresh anew  
Will be watered with loving and laments  
Will you make me happy too?

*Halimbawa kayâ't halimbawa lámang  
Na táyong dalawa'y muling magmahalan  
Sa masuyong tamis ng ating lambingan  
Napapahalakhak pati ang batisan.*

If for example, for example only  
That we two will fall in love again  
In the loving sweetness of our romance  
Even the brooks are laughing.

*Babae:  
Ang búhay ng tao may guhit na tandâ  
Di mo man hintayin darating na kusâ  
Ikaw sa búhay mo'y kumbaga nagsawâ  
Magpakamatay ka't walang sasansalâ.*

Woman:  
Man's life has a line that marks  
Even if you don't wait, it will naturally come  
You in your life as if you became bored  
Kill yourself and nobody will prevent it.

*Ang lahat ng iyong mga hilingbawâ  
Mayroong magaling, mayron ding masamá  
Kumbaga sa isang bibiniting panâ  
Di pa binibitiwa'y alam na ang tamâ.*

All of your request-examples  
There are good ones, there are also bad ones  
Compared to an arrow to be shot from a bow  
Unreleased, yet the intended target is known.

*Lalaki:  
Sa pita ng aking pusong batang-batâ  
Ay may larawan kang lubhang masanghaya  
Na sinusunod ko ng buong paghangâ  
Na di nagmamaliw sukdang mapayapâ*

Man:  
In the wish of my heart that is so young  
You have a very delightful picture  
That I follow with full appreciation  
That does not vanish until am laid in peace.

*Mesa ka sa aking nagtampóng panitik  
Na kung kayâ lámang ako'y nanumbalik  
Ay nang mamasdan ko ang ganda mo't dikit  
Na sa aking puso'y kusang napaukit.*

You are the table in my offended literature  
That the only reason why I came back  
Is when I saw your beauty and charm  
That in my heart is voluntarily etched.

*Kunsabagay sana'y hindi ako kawal  
Ng Haring Balagtas kung pag-uusapan  
Ay nang makita ko ang iyong karikitan  
Tulog kong damdamin ay agad napukaw.*

Anyway I wish that I am not a soldier  
Of King Balagtas if it will be talked about  
But when I saw your beauty  
My sleeping feeling was at once awoken.

*Ngayon binibini ako'y magtatapat  
Huwa magagalit sa ipangungusap  
Iniibig kita dapat mong matatap  
Oo mula ngayon at hanggang sa wakas.*

Now lady I will honestly tell you  
Do not get angry on what I will say  
I love you, you have to understand  
Yes from now on till the end of time.

*Nang ipahayag kong ikaw ang bathalâ  
Nitong aking pusong sakmal ng dâlitâ  
Ano ba ang sanhi't nanlaglag ang luhâ  
Mula sa mata mong kawangis ng talâ?*

When I declared that you are the god  
Of my heart that's furiously bitten by sorrow  
What was the cause that your tears fell down  
From your starlike eyes?

*Naging subyang бага sa iyong damdamin  
Nang ipahayag kong mahal ka sa akin?  
Alinlangan ka ba at bakâ magtaksil  
Akong sumusumpa na iyong alipin?*

Did it become a sliver to your feeling  
When I declared that you are dear to me?  
Are you in doubt that I might betray  
I, your slave, who is promising/pledging?

### B.3. *Áwit sa Pamamáysan sa Dalága* (Asking for the Lady's Hand in Marriage)

Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20 December 2010.

*O sakdal ng dilag na aming dinulog  
Kinagigiliwang ama't inang irog  
Tumatawag kami sa ngalan ng Diyos  
Lakip ang pitagan naming naghahandog.*

O most beautiful lady whom we approach  
Beloved father and mother dear  
We are calling in the name of God  
Coupled with our, the offerors,' respect.

*Kahimanawari ang Diyos na ibig  
Na lumalang nitong buong sandaigdig  
Siyang umalalay sa aming pagpanhik  
Sa hagdanan mo pong sakdalan ng linis.*

We wish that our dear God  
Who created this whole world  
Will be the One to help us in our ascend  
To your immaculately clean stairs.

*Unang bati ko po, maybahay na ama  
Dios ng magandang gab-i ay bigyan ka*

My initial greeting, father of the house  
God of good evening grant you

*Maybahay na ama na kagiliw-giliw  
Nasà n'yaring puso sa iyo'y sabihin.*

Father owner of the house, dearest  
The wish of this heart to tell you.

*Pagparito nami'y walang nagdadala  
Turan ko sa iyo nang maniwala ka  
Kami'y inilipad bagwis n'yaring sinta  
Parito raw kami, dito'y may sampaga.*

Our coming over here, nobody is carrying  
I will speak to you so that you will believe  
We were flown by the wings of love  
We have to come over, here's a champaca.

*Aba masanghayang bulaklak ng aliw  
Lingap ng awa mo siyang hintay namin  
Ako'y inutusan ng prinsipe namin  
Kinataw-an niyang sa iyo'y magturing.*

Alas delightful flower of joy  
Your merciful concern is what we're awaiting  
I was ordered by our prince  
His representative to speak to you.

*Ang sabi'y dinggin mo, mahal na prinsesa  
At sasabihin ko ang biling lahat na  
Dito raw ay mayro'ng iisang sampaga  
Ang pamumukadkad ay kaaya-aya.*

Please hear what he said, dear princess  
And I will tell all his orders  
'Tis said that here is an only champaca  
The flowering bloom is delightful.

*Pinaglingkuran ng maraming ibon  
Madlang sari-sari, iba't ibang kolor  
Nguni at ang aming ninanasa ngay-on  
Ay paglingkuran ka sa habang panahon.*

Being served by a lot of birds  
Of a great variety, of different colors  
But what we desire now  
Is to serve you all throughout time.

*Masitas na ito ang nakakabakod  
Ay pitong bulaklak na kalugod-lugod  
Si Mariang Birhen, una kong nasambit  
Nitong pagdulog ko, sa iyo'y paglapit.*

Masitas plants that serve as fencing  
Are seven flowers that gives merriment  
The Virgin Mary, I have first spoken of  
In my coming over, in approaching you.

*Dala ko'y de-bino, bulaklak ng langit  
Inumin mo raw pong maluwag sa dibdib  
Agad iniabot doon sa dalaga  
'Tanggapin mo raw po,' anang Diyos Ama.*

Am bringing something wine, heaven's flower  
For you to drink with a roomy chest  
At once handed to the lady  
'Please accept,' said God the Father.

*Maging laso't apdo, bahala'y ikaw na  
Lunas-kagamutan, nariya't kasama  
Kayong mga ibon na nagliliparan  
Munti at malaki, langit ang tahanan.  
Magsibaba kayo't inyong alalayan  
Magandang dalaga, iinom ng tagay!*

Even if it is poison and gall, 'tis up to you  
Remedy and medication, therein included  
You birds that are flying  
Little or big, sky is your home.  
You come down and assist  
A beautiful lady, will now drink the wine!

#### B.4. *Áwit Para sa Magúlang ng Dalága* (For the Parents of the Lady)

Recalled by Lolo Mario Cabriga of Barangay Silángang Palále on 03 December 2010 and told to and written by Lolo Marcial Tabi.

*Maybahay na ama katulad ko ngay-on  
Ng pananalangin sa Diyos na Poon  
Sa bundok ng Sinai nang sila'y paroon  
Ang ipinagsama ay tatlong apostol.*

Homeowner father, am likened now  
To praying to the Lord God  
In Mount Sinai when they went there  
They were accompanied by three apostles.

*Nang sila'y dumating sa gitna ng puerta  
Ang tatlong apostol iniwanan nila.  
At pinagbilinan ang isa at isa  
Huwag matutulog kayong para-para.*

When they reached the door's center  
They left behind the three apostles  
And they reminded one another  
Not to sleep tightly.

*At kayo sa akin ay mangagsitulong  
Ng pananalangin at pag-oorasyon.  
Sa masamang gawa nang hindi matuloy  
At sa D'yos Ama tayo ay paampon.*

And you should help me  
In praying and saying the *oracion*  
That evil doings will not push through  
And to God the Father we be taken care.

*Ang pananalangin ano'y nang matapos  
Anang isa't isa wikang oryentasyon.  
Arkanghel San Gabriel tinawag ng Diyos  
At pinagbilinang sa lupa'y manaog.*

The praying, alas, when done  
By each one, as to orientation  
Archangel Saint Gabriel was called by God  
And was ordered to go down to earth.

*Nanaog sa lupa Arkanghel San Gabriel  
Na sugo ng Diyos na sa langit galing  
Sa paglipad niya, sabihin ang tuling  
Sa harap ni Kristo ay doon tumigil.*

Archangel Saint Gabriel went down to earth  
Sent by God from the heavens  
In his flight, talk about the swiftness  
In front of the Christ, there he stopped.

*Ang tangan sa kamay ay kalis at krus  
Sa harap ni Kristo'y tabing nanikluhod.  
Ito po'y padala sa iyo at handog  
Sakâ may bilin pa itong Amang Diyos.*

Holding in his hand the chalice and the cross  
In front of the Christ, he respectfully knelt.  
This is handcarried for you and a gift  
And God the Father still has a reminder.

*Ang sa Diyos Ama na bilin sa akin  
Hesus tanggapin Mo ang kalis kong hayin  
Táong nása sala'y Iyong patawarin  
At tub'sin Mo na po sa pagkaalipin.*

The order given to me by God the Father  
Jesus please accept the chalice I offer  
Please forgive those men who are in sin  
And save them from their slavery.



### B.5. *Áwit-Áral sa Babaeng Kinákasal* (Advices to the Bride)

Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20 December 2010.

<i>Giliw na kasuyo sandaling limutin Nasà'y ipatanto ang nása panimdim Kahit sa puso mo'y masaklap anakin Bilang pahimakas pagsasama natin.</i>	Dearly beloved forget for a while Let your sorrowing feeling be known Even if in your heart it is painful As a farewell from our togetherness.
<i>Samantalahin mo'y ang mga pagtanaw Sa pisngi at mukha ng ina mong hirang Ngayo'y sumapit na itinakdang araw Mawawalay ka na sa iyong magulang.</i>	Savor while they last, the gazes To your beloved mother's cheeks and face The appointed day has now come You will now be separated from your parents.
<i>Ang sasamahan mo'y di mo ama't ina Di mo naman pinsan, bagong kakilala Iyong susu-yuin nang tapat na sinta Hanggang sa malagot ang tanging hininga.</i>	You'll go with neither your father nor mother Not even your cousin, a new acquaintance You will woo him with honest love Until your only breath is severed.
<i>Araw mo'y tapos na sa kadalagahan At haharap ka na'y sa katahimikan Kusang lilisanin ang lahat ng bagay Dahil sa asawang dapat panimbangan.</i>	Your days of maidenhood are through And you will now face peacefulness Voluntarily will leave all the things Because of the husband whom you should be weighing your actions.
<i>Sa araw at gabi magsasama kayo Ang pagmamahala'y walang pagbabago Ang dáting pagtingin sa ama't ina mo Higit sa sarili na daragdagan mo.</i>	All days and night you will be together With unchanging love for each other The old concern for your father and mother More than to yourself, you have to augment.
<i>Ubus-ubusin na'y ang mga pag-angal Sa ama't ina mong labis kang minahal At sa kapatid mong iyong maiiwan At sasama ka na'y sa asawang hirang.</i>	Consume now all your tantrums To your father and mother who loved you more And to your siblings whom you'll leave behind And you will live with your chosen man.
<i>Guni-gunihin ma'y di maghapon lamang Na kakasamahin, kundi habang-búhay Haharapin mo na ang kaginhawahan Iniwang ligaya sa kadalagahan.</i>	Even if imagined, it will not just be for a day That you will live together, but for a lifetime You will now face stableness Maidenhood's joy is what you left.
<i>Kung magkaanak na, narito ang hirap Bukod sa babat'hing kapagura't púyat</i>	When you bear a child, suffering here comes Aside from the weariness and sleepless nights

*Mura ng asawa't sa batang pag-iyak  
Sabay titiisin ng nasabing palad.*

Scolding from husband and the child's cries  
Will be both suffered by your fate.

*Ito na ang iyak, pagtangis at lumbay  
Luhang di maampat ng panyo sa kamay  
Kayâ kasuyo ko'y bahala na'y ikaw  
Lalong mag-isip ka, kagaling-galingan.*

Here comes the cries, wails and sorrow  
Unarrested tears by the kerchief on hand  
So my dear this is all up to you  
Think even more, be wiser.

*Adios, adios, Neneng na kasuyong giliw  
Ang kadalagaha'y iyong lilisanin  
At ikaw, babae, ilaw ng tahanan  
Ng isang asawa sakâ pamahayan.*

Farewell, farewell, Neneng, my dearest  
Maidenhood you will leave behind  
And you, woman, light of the home  
Of one husband and household.

*Ako'y paalam na't ako'y aalis na A  
Sikât na ang araw, ako'y tanghali na  
Pagdating sa amin, ako'y maglalaba.  
Agos pa ng tubig kaiga-igaya.*

am saying goodbye now, am leaving now  
The sun is high up, am late already  
When I reach our place, I will wash clothes  
The flow of the water is very delightful.

*At itong paglibot nama'y aking lisan  
Ang sasabihin ko'y ang pamamaalam  
Sakâ kung matapos, umuli na naman  
Sa loob ng templo, mahal na simbahan.*

And this ambling around, am leaving behind  
Am speaking of bidding farewell  
And if after 'tis finished, it repeats once more  
Inside the temple, beloved church.

## B.6. Áwit-Áral sa Lalaking Kinakasal (Advices to the Groom)

Recalled and handwritten by Marta Trinidad-Zeta of Barangay Gibánga and recorded on 27 December 2010.

*Mga maginoong dito'y napipisan  
Sa lipunang ito'y bilang pamparangal  
Ako po'y babati ng puspos na galang  
Tuloy humihingi ng katahimikan.*

Gentlemen who are gathered here  
Who render honor to this society  
I will greet you with full respect  
And hereupon asking for silence.

*Upang ang tungkuling sa aki'y importa  
Ang magmanukala ng ganitong sayá  
Matupad ko ngay-o't mabigyang-halaga  
Sa abot ng aking maralitang káya.*

So that the duty of my import  
The management of a celebration like this  
I will fulfill today and give significance  
To the best of my humble ability.

*Pagkat ito'y oras na katangi-tangi  
Sa dalawang puso, ngay-o'y 'pinagtalì*

Because this is an opportune time  
For the two hearts, now bound

*Dapat ipagsaya, tuloy ipagbunyi  
Handugan ng isang maligayang bati.*

*Yamang sa dambana ng pagkakasundô  
Iyong pinagbuhol ang hibla ng suyô  
Iyang isang tali ng sumpa't pangakô  
Kamatayan lámang ang nakakasugpô.*

*Kapuwa sa inyo ang ligaya't tuwâ  
Ang kaligayahang pawang talinghagâ  
Sa lambing ng palad sa asawang mutyâ  
Siyang tanging tinig na mauunawâ.*

*At dahilan dito'y iyong pagdamutin  
Ang isasaysay kong ilang tagubilin  
Kahimanawari kung inyong tuparin  
Isang maligayang búhay ang sapitin.*

*At sa matrimonyong katutubong dangal  
Magaang pasanin kung pagtutulungân  
Ngunit wala namang kabigat-bigatan  
Kung sakali't hindi magdidinamayan.*

*Ngunit tungkulin nga ng isang lalaki  
Dapat na magmahal sa asawang kasi  
Sundi't talimahin sa gawang mabuti  
Sa mata ng tao'y ipagkakapuri.*

*Sa dáko pa roon binata pa kayo  
Nagpapakagumon sa maraming bisyo  
Mula-mula ngay-o'y pangingilagan mo  
Nang kayo ay huwag malimit magtalo.*

*Sakâ bukod dito'y kinakailangan  
Sa isang lalaki'y maghahanapbúhay  
Ang gugol sa mga walang kabuluhan  
Tatalikdan mo na't magtipid ang bagay.*

*Ikaw nga ang bisig ng iyong asawa  
Ang mga bunso mo'y sa iyo aasa*

Must be rejoiced, herein celebrated  
To be offered one happy greeting.

Since at the altar of agreement  
You tied the thread of love  
This sole knot of pledge and promise  
Only death could sever.

To you both are the happiness and joy  
The all metaphorical blissfulness  
In the palm-sweetness to dear better-half  
The only voice who understands.

And because of this, please take heed  
Some reminders that I will speak of  
Wish, if you will follow,  
You will have a happy life.

And to matrimony's inherent honor  
'Tis light burden when worked together  
But there is really nothing so heavy  
Had it not been not helping each other.

But it is truly the duty of the man  
That he must love his dear wife  
To follow and take heed the good deeds  
Worthy of praise in the people's eyes.

Far before when you were still single  
You were buried deep in many vices  
From now on you have to evade them  
So that you will not quarrel frequently.

And aside from this, there is a need  
For a man to have a gainful work  
The expenses for unnecessaries  
You have to turn your back against and be thrifty instead.

You are indeed the arm of your wife  
Your youngs will depend upon you

*Kung di ka mag-impok at matugagas ka  
Marahil ay di ka bibigyan ng iba.*

If you won't save and be a spendthrift  
Others might not provide for you.

*Dating kasabiha'y pag walang 'sinuksok  
Ay wala rin namang sukat madudukot.  
Galing ng may simpang kahit kakarampot  
At may gugugulin pagdating ng signos.*

Old saying goes, if there's nothing tucked aside  
There's also nothing to be drawn up  
'Tis good to have some savings even just a little  
There'll be something to spend during bad times.

*Kayâ nga bago ka manaog ng bahay  
Ihanda ang mga kinakailangan  
At huwag hihingi ng ano mang bagay  
Na sa asawa mo'y walang iniwanan.*

So before you go down the house  
Prepare everything you need  
And do not ask for anything  
That you didn't leave with your wife.

*Isa pang gawaing pagkamalibangin  
Sa mga sabungan, sugal ay limutin  
Pagkat itong bisyo kung di mo limutin  
Asawa't anak mo'y tatangis sa lihim.*

Another vice that diverts your attention  
In cockfights, forget your gambling  
Because these vices if you will not forget  
Your wife and children will wail in secret.

*Huwag kang tutulad sa ibang lalaki  
Ang pinupuhuna'y hanap ng babae  
At kung darating ka sa inyong sarili  
Ikaw pa ang siyang nag-aasal tigre.*

Do not imitate those other men  
Who capitalize on the earnings of the wife  
And when you reach home  
It is even you who act like a tiger.

*Kung mahirati kang uminom ng alak  
At sakâ may bisyo, susugal, bibilyar  
Lilimutin mo rin ang asawa't anak  
Na siya mong dangal sa dusa't bagabag.*

If you become accustomed to drinking  
Have vices, will gamble, play billiards  
You'll also forget your wife and children  
Who are your honor in suffering and anxiety.

*Hanggang dito na po't niloloob naming  
Pagsasama ninyo'y maging mapayapa,  
Maligtas sa madlang kahirapa't sakit  
Na handog ng mundong mapagmalikmata.*

Until here and we pray that  
Your togetherness will be peaceful,  
Be safe from all sufferings and pains  
That the delusory world offers.

### B.7. *Áwit sa Kasálan* (Wedding)

Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20, December 2010.

*Araw mo'y natapos sa kadalagahan  
At ang tutunguhin ay katahimikan  
Pawang lilisanin ang lahat ng bagay  
Dahil sa asawang tapat kung magmahal.*

Your maidenhood days are through  
And you will be treading the stable state  
You will leave behind all things  
Because of the husband who loves honestly.

*Tanang kasayahan iyong lilisanin  
Dáting kaibigan tuloy lilimutin  
Bawat ikikilos isiping magaling  
Nang hindi masawi sa asawang giliw.*

You will leave behind all merriments  
And eventually forget old friends  
Think wisely of every movement.  
So that you won't fail your dear half.

*Buksi ang bibig mo koraless na hiyas  
At sa kapatid mo ay makipag-usap  
Pahid iyang luha sa mata'y nanatak  
Ako'y sagutin mo sa tinawag-tawag.*

Open your mouth coral jewel  
And with your sibling communicate  
Wipe the tears falling from your eyes  
Answer me, my calls.

*Ikaw aming bunso yayamang sumapit  
At mawawalay ka sa aming tangkilik  
Iyong tatandaan, itanim sa dibdib  
Ang sasabihin ko, o bunso kong ibig.*

You, our youngest, while you have arrived  
And you will be separated from our care  
Remember, keep in your breast  
What I have to say, o dear youngest.

*Magmula nang ikaw sa mundo'y iluwal  
At iyong makita ang kaliwanagan  
Ama't ina ninyo ipinagminsanan  
Sa inyo ang kan'lang buong pagmamahal.*

Since you were on earth born  
And you saw the light of day  
Your father and mother pour out all  
To you their undivided love.

*Walang oras na di ang pagkakandili  
Ang siyang ginawa ng ina mong kasi  
At hindi dinamdang ang pagkaduhagi  
Hanggang ikaw bunso kanyang mapalaki.*

There was no time that not just the caring  
Was done by your beloved mother  
And she didn't mind the abuse  
Till you youngest she was able to raise up.

*Ngayo'y sumapit na ang tadhanang oras  
Kung datnin mo, bunso, sapitin ng palad  
Iba na sa dati at di mo talastas  
Ang sasapitin mo, kung tuwa o hirap.*

Now the fateful time has come  
When you reach, youngest, destined fortune  
Different from the old and you know not  
What awaits you, whether joy or suffering.

*Ang kaligayaha'y iyong tatamuhin  
Kung ika'y matuto sa asawang giliw  
Subalit kung hindi, kulangin sa lining  
Kahirapa'y iyong kakaulayawin.*

Happiness you will reap  
If you'll learn from your dear half  
But if not, lack in meditative thinking  
You will court suffering.

*Magtiis ng lumbay, o bunso kong ibig  
At iyang luha mo sa mata ay pahid  
Diwa'y talaga na ng Diyos sa langit  
Ariing ligaya, kurdiyal sa dibdib.*

Suffer great sorrow, o dear youngest  
And wipe the tears from your eyes  
The spirit is the heavenly God's will  
Accept happily, cordially to your chest.

*Itingin Mo, Poon, mata Mong diamante  
Ang bibig Mong martel, bakit di magsabi?  
Kung ako ay sala, bigyan mo ng sisi  
Katawa'y talaga at di tumatanggi.*

Look, Lord, with Your diamond eyes  
Your martial mouth, why not speak?  
If I am wrong, put the blame on me  
My body is resigned and not resisting.

### B.8. Kurtisya (Courtesy)

Given by Dr. Hilarion “Lolon” T. Salvaña at their residence in Malaking Báyan on 26-27 October 2010. These collections came from a notebook of his late father-in-law, Arcadio C. Tolentino, Sr., former supervisor of Quezon Province NAWASA, who died in 1977.

*Pinangahasan kong ikaw ay batiin  
Gintong alaala sa puso'y nanggaling  
Tulad ng halamang nasà ko'y diligin  
Nang huwag malanta puso sa paggiliw.*

I courageously attempted to greet you  
A golden memory coming from the heart  
Like a plant that I wish to water  
So as not to wither, the heart in loving.

*At magtapat ka rin kung may ligaya pa  
Tanging mahihintay ng aking pag-asa  
At kung wala nama'y sabihin mo sana  
At ihanda mo na ang hukay ng dusa.*

And tell me honestly if there is still joy  
The only thing to be waited by my hope  
And if there's nothing please say so  
And do prepare the grave of grief.

*Aywan ko kung bakit ako'y nagtataka  
At yaring puso ko'y kalaro ng dusa  
Ngayong makita ka'y dagling lumigaya  
Pagkat kayo pala'y bathala ng ganda.*

I do not know why, am wondering  
Why my heart is a playmate of grief  
When I saw you, am overjoyed at once  
Because you're indeed a goddess of beauty.

*Paruparo akong kinulang sa palad  
Sa dagok ng dusa'y di makapagaspas  
Ngunit ang pag-asa'y hindi kumukupas  
Pagkat dinidilig ng ganda mong ingat.*

Am a butterfly who is lacking in fortune  
At sorrow's strike, I cannot flap my wings  
But hope never fades because  
It is being watered by your cared beauty.

*Naririto akong kalong ng hinagpis  
Alipin ng madlang mga pagtitiis  
Kulang sa aruga ng iyong tangkilik  
Kayâ't ang ligaya'y pumanaw sa dibdib.*

I am here sitting on the lap of sorrow  
A slave of all the sufferings  
Wanting in care of your support  
So happiness perished in my breast.

*Gayon ma'y tanggapin ng iyong kariktan  
Na siya kong handog sa iyong kalakhan  
Gintong alaalang dala'y pagmamahal  
Bagong kakilala sa hardin ng búhay.*

Despite that, your beauty, please accept  
My offering to your magnanimity  
Golden memory, bearing love  
A new acquaintance in the garden of life.

*O Aling Polana ako'y pautangin  
Ng kaunting áwit, sayaw ay gayundin  
Ipanghanggang dito, patdin ko ang hibik  
Yamang talos mo na ang laman ng dibdib.*

*Sagutin mo lámang itong nahahapis  
Na kung makakamta'y tuwa at pag-ibig*

*Lalaki:*

*Salamat sa iyong ugaling timtiman  
Mapagbigay-loob kung hinihilingan  
Hinggil sa magaling at ikatatanghal  
Ng puri ng lahat, ay sunud-sunuran.*

*Pakidamputin mo ang mga tagayan  
Alak na pandilig sa pusong may lumbay  
Mga panauhin ay iyong alayan  
Upang magsisigla mga kalooban.*

*Babae:*

*Kami'y susunod na't aming ibibigay  
Sa mga ginoong sa ati'y dumalaw  
Ang alak na katas ng sasang halaman  
Nagbibigay-lugod sa pusong may lumbay.*

*Narito na nga po, mga maginoo  
Tagay na talagang laan po sa inyo  
Tanggapit inumin nang upang magbago  
Inyong pakiramdam sa oras na ito.*

*At kung mainom na kayo'y giginhawa  
Mga paninimdim ay mawawala na  
Sakali mang kayo'y nagsisipangamba  
Agad titiwasay loob ninyong bakla.*

*Lalaki:*

*Huwag naman kayong agad maalis-is  
Magbigay ng tagay, bakit masigasig?  
Gawa ninyong iyan ay hindi matuwid  
Sa wikang sisihan ay lihis na lihis.*

*O Madame Polana, please lend me  
Some songs, dances just the same  
Until here, am cutting the lament  
As you already know my breast's content.*

*Just answer this person in sorrow  
Will give joy and love.*

*Man:*

*Thanks to you modest character  
Abiding when being requested  
Regarding the good and worthy of praise  
Of the praise of all, is obedient.*

*Please pick up the spirited drink glasses  
Wine used to pour on a gravely sad heart  
To the visitors make an offering  
To enliven their feeling within.*

*Woman:*

*We will now obey and we will give  
To the gentlemen who visited us  
The wine that is the sap of the palm plant  
Giving pleasure to a saddened heart.*

*It is here now, dear gentlemen  
Tágay that is really intended for you  
Accept and drink to be able to change  
Your feelings at this time.*

*When you have drunk, you will feel better  
Your anxieties will readily vanish  
In case you are doubting  
Unsettled feeling will stabilize soon.*

*Man:*

*Please don't be fretfully irritated at once  
To give tágay, why so persistent?  
That work of yours is not proper  
In words of blaming, is so inappropriate.*

*Sandaling pakinggan, aking isasaysay  
Tila di marapat ganyang pag-aalay  
Sapagkat ang tagay ay bago ibigay  
Kailangan munang ikaw ay sumayaw.*

*Babae:*

*Ako nama'y iyong ibig paghanapan  
Bagay na di lubhang kinakailangan  
At bukod sa rito'y wala akong alam  
Upang isagawa ang wikang pagsayaw.*

*Maanong huwag nang ipilit sa akin  
Sinabing pagsayaw ipagpaumanhin  
Tanggapin na ninyo't walang hahanapin  
At ako ay musmos, ano ang gagawin?*

*Lalaki:*

*Samantalang kayo ay nagpapautang  
Lubos-lubusin na nang walang ligamgam  
Kung talastas naming kayo'y walang alam  
Di na mangangahas kayo'y paghanápan.*

*Ngunit isasaan at kailan pa ngâ  
Ipakikilala alam ninyong madlâ  
Sa gawang pagsayaw, sinuma'y hahangâ  
Tikis lámang kayo ay nangangahiyâ.*

*Babae:*

*Ano man ang aking gawing katuwiran  
Hahanggang pagsunod ang kauuwian  
Kayâ't ang mabuti'y mag-utay-utay nang  
Aking isagawa't nababalam lámang.*

*Baka naman kami'y kung nakasayaw na  
Matapos maganap lahat ninyong pita  
Di pa tatanggapin at bibitiwan pa  
Iba't ibang utos di na makakaya.*

*O mamang ginoo naming minamahal  
Tanggap inyong kuha itong inyong tagay*

Listen for a while to what I will relate  
Seemingly unworthy is that kind of offering  
Because the *tágay* before it is handed  
You need to dance first.

Woman:

You only want to find fault in me  
A thing that is really not much needed  
And aside from this, I know nothing  
To put to work the said dancing.

May it not be insisted unto me  
That said dancing, may I be excused  
Accept now, there's nothing to look for  
And I am young, what shall I do?

Man:

While you are letting us lend  
Do it to the fullest without lukewarmness  
If we know that you know nothing  
We will not attempt to find fault in you.

But really, where else and how else  
Will you introduce what you all know  
In dance work, anybody will be awed  
Had you not been so shy.

Woman:

Whatever reasoning or retorting I do  
Will only result to/arrive at obeying  
So it is good to slowly  
Perform it, this is just delaying.

It might be that if we finish the dance  
After all your wishes have transpired  
Will still not accept and will still not hold it  
Various orders, cannot anymore follow.

Gentleman whom we love  
Accept, please get this your *tágay*



*Pagkakaganito'y alang-alang lamang  
Sa inyong mapuring mga kalagayan.*

*Lalaki:*

*Kayo nama'y huwag magkakawikaan  
Ako'y tututol pa at may ibig lamang  
Mapagkita naming ang kadalisayan  
Ng lakad ng ating mga kasayahan.*

*May lalong marikit na kahanga-hangâ  
Na hindi pa ninyo naisasagawâ  
Tágay ay sunungin sa harap ng madlâ  
At muling sumayaw na walang bahalâ.*

*Katulad ng lagi naming namamasdan  
Na sa pagsusunong niyang inyong tagay  
Tuloy ang pagsayaw at ang mga kamay  
Ay wala nang tigil ng pakunday-kunday.*

*Babae:*

*Ang ugali ninyo ay lubhang kakatwâ  
Ang nakakatulad yaong mga batâ  
Pag sinusunod na ay lubhang utitâ  
Mga hinihingi'y ang 'di magagawâ.*

*Kayâ ang malimit, siyang karaniwan  
Na dapat mangyari sa hinihilingan  
Ay wala nang sukat magawa't ibigay  
Tumampo't magalit, magkalutas lámang.*

*Lalaki:*

*Huwag naman kayong kapapanibulos  
At ang nais nami'y matuwâ nang lubos  
Pakiusap nami'y itakwil sa loob  
Ang maling akala at huwag mapoot.*

*Ay sapagkat kayo'y hayag na maalam  
Bakit magkakait, sa anong dahilan?  
At kung ibig ninyong kayo ay matanghal  
Oras na nga ngayon at kapanahunan.*

This is all just for  
Your praiseworthy situation/condition.

Man:

Please do not be offended  
I will dissent and I just have a wish  
For us to witness the purity  
Of the proceedings of our celebration.

There is one prettier that is more acclaimed  
Thing that you haven't done yet  
Put the *tágay* on your head in front of the people  
And to dance once more without worry.

Like what we always witness  
That in putting your *tágay* upon your head  
You continue dancing and the hands  
Are swaying without stopping.

Woman:

Your character is really funny  
Comparable to those of children  
When obeyed becomes more talkative  
Asking for things that cannot be done.

That is why frequently, thus commonly  
What should happen to the requested one  
As there's nothing more she can do or give  
Get hurt and angry, just to have a solution.

Man:

Please do not take offense  
And we just want to be truly happy  
We entreat that you take away inside  
The wrong notions and do not bear hatred.

Because it is well-known that you are wise  
Why restraint, for what reason?  
And if you like to be featured  
The hour and the opportune time is now.

*Babae:*

*Pinipilit ko na ang aking sarili  
Na huwag sumuay, ngunit di mangyari  
Anumang sabih'y wala na nga kaming  
Magagawang iba na kawili-wili.*

*Maging sa halaman at sa taóng buháy  
Pag walang hihintin, di dapat hanapan  
Kung sana sa dayap, pig-in man nang pig-in  
Pag wala nang katas, wala nang lalabas.*

*Lalaki:*

*Kung kayo nga disin 'di namin kilala  
At natatalastas na hindi bihasa  
Magsunong ng tagay, kami'y tahanan na  
Ng aming pagdaing buhat pa kanina.*

*Baka naman kayâ kayo'y alinlangan  
At walang pakulit at nalilimutan  
Inumin nga muna hawak ninyong tagay  
At upang lumakas ang inyong katawan.*

*At kung iya'y inyong mainom, maubos  
Pilit na tatapang puso ninyo'y loob  
Tanggapit inumin itong inyong tágay  
Huwag magtitira kahit kapatak man.*

*Ang alak na iyan ang taglay na bisâ  
Sa bawat uminom gamot na mistulâ  
Huling tagubilin ay pakatandaan  
Ang bisa ng alak na inyong titikman.*

*Babae:*

*Muling nautusa'y walang magagawâ  
Kundi and sumunod na walang bahalâ  
Pagkat kung sumuay ay lalong masamá  
Mawiwikang kami'y babaeng mulalâ.*

*Ang mga tagayang muling dadamputin  
Nang di nalalaon, pagdaka'y sunungin*

*Woman:*

*I am now forcing myself  
Not to disobey, but it does not happen  
Whatever you say, we really cannot  
Do any other thing that is pleasurable.*

*Even in plants and in live humans  
If there's nothing to wait for, no need to search  
As in lemon, no matter how much you squeeze  
If there's no more juice, nothing will come out.*

*Man:*

*Had you not been known to us  
And we understand that you are not experts  
In carry tágay on your head, then we'll stop  
With our requests since a while ago.*

*It may be that you are doubting  
And you don't just give in and you forget  
Drink first the tágay you are holding  
To make your bodies strong.*

*And when you drink that, all consumed  
Your heart and loob will be eventually brave  
Accept and drink your tágay  
Do not leave any, not even a single drop.*

*That wine, the effect that it has  
To everyone who drinks, is like medicine  
Just remember the last reminder  
The wine that you'll taste is very effective.*

*Woman:*

*Once more ordered, cannot do otherwise  
But to obey without worry  
Because to disobey is worse  
It will be said that we are bad women.*

*The tágay glasses will be picked up again  
So as not to be delayed, carry on the head at once*

*At ito rin lamang ang magiging dahil  
Ng hinabaha pag-uusap natin.*

*Narito na naman sa inyong harapan  
Ang tagay ay sunong at pasayaw-sayaw  
Nang walang marami táyong pag-usapan  
Pinakyaw na namin ang lahat ng iyan.*

*Kawikaan namin kung gawi'y ganito  
Hindi manginginip kami, sampung kayo  
Yaon ding bibigyang mahal na ginoo  
Di pa antay-antay, bakâ magsitampo.*

[Will approach and give the *tágay*.]

*Kaipala kayo'y masisiyahan na  
Sa aming ginawa na inyong nakita  
At dahil nga dito ay walang-wala na  
Mahihinakit kayong para-para.*

*Tanggapin maluwag ang alak na itó  
Ang taglay na bisa'y hindi magbabago  
Inumi't katulad ng nadinig ninyó  
Na aming sinabi sa dal'wang ginoo.*

*Kayâ marapating tanggapí't ubusin  
Nang ang bisang taglay ay biglang tumiim  
At nang malunasan taming na gumaling  
Sakali mang kayo'y may tinagong lihim.*

*Lalaki:  
Nang lalong tumalab ang bisang tinuran  
Mga tinataglay ng alak na iyan  
Maigi'y hatiin ninyo ang ibabaw  
At ang matitira ay sa akin naman.*

*Babae:  
Ano nama't kayo ay labis kalambing  
At iniibig pa'y tagay ay hatiin  
Kung kakalahati ang inyong inumin  
Bisa niyang taglay kayo'y di talabin.*

As it will only be the reason  
For this lengthy conversation of ours.

Here once again in front of you  
With the *tágay* on the head and dancing  
That there'll be not much we've to talk about  
We already took all of them.

As our saying goes, if we do it this way  
We will not be impatient, even you  
Same with the dear gentleman to be offered  
Won't be waiting, might take offense.

Wish that you will be satisfied  
With what we have done that you witnessed  
And because of it, there is nothing more  
No hurt feelings that you can think of.

Accept with openness this wine  
The innate strength will not change  
Drink and like what you heard  
That we told the two gentlemen.

So rightfully accept and consume everything  
So that the effect will at once be felt  
To remedy and truly get well  
In case you have a hidden secret.

Man:  
So that the said effect will be felt more  
What that wine contains  
Better divide the upper portion  
Whatever will be left is mine.

Woman:  
How can you be so sweet  
And desires that the *tágay* be divided  
If your drink will be only half  
Its effect will not take on you.

Lalaki:

*Salamat sa inyong mga karangalan  
At naipatnugot ating kasayahan  
At ang bawat isa ay nasisiyahan  
Kayâ naman kami ay namamaalam.*

Man:

*Thanks to your honorable excellencies  
And you managed our celebration  
And each one is satisfied  
That is why we are saying goodbye.*

### B.9. *Áwit sa Galahán* (Gift-giving to Newly Married Couple)

From Maria Judith Masilungan who unselfishly provided the 2009 Indie film “Fausta,” where this *áwit* is featured as a cameo, October, 2010; the first two stanzas are also well-known in most Tayâbas areas; the third quatrain is from Barangay Ibabáng Palále courtesy of Nanay Sedeng Caagbay. The fourth stanza is from my maternal aunt, the late Hospicia E. Cagahastian.

*Dudulugin ko na ang aking bíanan  
At itatanong ko kung ako’y manugang  
Kung makapagsabi at makapagsaysay  
Alaalang piso, sa aki’y ibigay.  
(Ay kulang/Alangan ang piso . . .*

*I will now go to my parent-in-law  
And I will ask if I am a daughter/son-in-law  
If he/she is able to tell and able to state  
A peso souvenir, to be given to me.  
(One peso is not enough . . .*

*Ako’y titindig/sasayaw na ng iisang paa  
Dadal’wahn ko po kung kayo’y gagála\*<sup>1</sup>  
Aanhin ang gálang panungkit ng bunga  
Di tulad ng pisong pambili ng sáyá.  
(pansilid sa bulsa.)*

*I will now stand/dance on one foot  
I will make it two if you will give a gift  
What will I do with a pole for fruit picking?  
Unlike the peso which could buy a long skirt  
(to be placed in the pocket.)*

*Dudulugin ko na’y ama sa kasal ko  
Na siyang sumaksi nitong matrimonyo  
Ilayo ng Diyos at kami’y magtalo  
Kayo ang bahala sa ami’y magpayo.*

*I will not go to my wedding father (sponsor)  
Who witnessed this matrimony  
May God forbid that we (couple) quarrel  
‘Tis up to you to counsel/advise us.*

*Ako’y paalam na, maghahanap-hanap,  
Maghahanap-hanap, bagong kamag-anak.*

*Goodbye for now, I will be looking for,  
Will be looking for new relatives.*

\*<sup>1</sup> Pun was used in this stanza with the double meanings of the word *gála*: (1) gift during weddings, and (2) bamboo pole with a cutter and/or basket at its end used to get and collect fruits from tall trees.

### B.10. *Áwit sa Pagpapatulog ng Bata o Oyáyí* (Lullaby)

From Segunda “Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20 May 2011 in the house of Nanay Aida and Tatay Melo Cabalsa.

*Mayroon daw anwang na nanginginain  
Sa tabi ng tubog at mga pampangin  
Sa binilog-bilog at tinaba-tabâ  
May nakakamalas na isang palakâ.*

There was a carabao that grazes  
Along the mudpool and its banks  
In its roundness and fatness  
There watches a frog.

*Wika ng palakâ, “makatulad kayâ  
Sa binilog-bilog at tinaba-tabâ.”  
Ang wika ng anwang, “ay baliw ka pala  
At nag-iimbot ka na lumaki ka pa.”*

The frog said, “what if I imitate  
In its roundness and fatness.”  
The carabao said, “you are indeed crazy  
And you are lying that you’ll still grow big.”

*“Uminon ng tubig buhat sa umaga,  
Masdan mo kung hapon, at malaki ka na.  
Naniwala naman ang palakang uslak  
Uminom ng tubig hangga’t hindi singkag.*

“Drink water from the morning,  
“See in the afternoon, you’ll be big.”  
And the crazy frog believed and  
Drank water until he is so very full.

*Ang nasapit niya ay dalita’t hiraþ:  
Pumutok ang tiyan, paa’y iniunat.*

He suffered great affliction and difficulty:  
His stomach burst, feet straightened.

*Ako’y magsasabi ng kabulaanan  
Siguro’y di ninyo paniniwalaan.  
Ako ay pumana ng usang sungayan  
Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay tinamaan.*

I will relate a story of lies  
Maybe, you will not believe  
I arrow-shot a horned deer  
The ear and the nail were hit together.

*Akin pong lalagyan ng hustong trasunta  
Siguro po’y kayo’y maniniwala na  
Nagkataon noong usa’y nangangamot  
Ang kaniyang taynga ay kinakalikot.*

I will put a correct perspective  
Maybe you will now believe  
It was a chance, the deer was scratching  
Was assiduously nitpicking its ear.

*Siya kong pagbigwas, nahayap kong tunod  
Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay na natuhog.*

That moment I released my aimed arrow  
The ear and nail were together hit apiece.

## B.11. Mga Áwit sa Tagayán (Drinking)

### 11.1 Paawitán Text From Barangay Ibabang Palale

20 May and 30 December 2011 collections from Barangay Ibabang Palále. Participants were mother and daughter tandem of Lola Crisanta “Santa” Naynes and Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay, Lolo Marcial Tabi, Mrs. Barbara “Lola Bareng” Baasis, and Nanay Belen Raca. Guitarist was Mang Biloy Cabuyao.

*Ganda ng loob mo’y ‘pakita sa akin  
Sinasalubong ko’y magandang loob din  
Ang loob mong iya’y ba’t di mo baguhin  
Ang loob ko’y lalong madaragdagan din.*

Show me your benevolence  
I am welcoming it with benevolence also  
That loob of yours, why don’t you change  
Mine will be augmented more.

*Atas palibhasa’y ligayang sumibol  
Ang di maiwasang likat ng panahon  
Iniisip yata’y nandirito ngay-on  
Ang pagpapaunlad, tuwa’y suson-suson.*

An order wherefore is joy that sprung  
An unavoidable flow of time  
‘Tis supposed thinking that it is herein now  
The progressing way, happiness a-piling.

*Kung sa pag-inom ko’y di ka masiyahan  
At ang iyong mithi’y di ko maialay  
Patawarin ako at yaring kawal-an  
Ang siyang may sala ng lahat ng bagay.*

If in my drinking you won’t be satisfied  
And your desire I cannot offer  
Forgive me and this utter lack  
Is the offender of all things.

*Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay  
Nalalantang kahoy ang aking kabagay  
Ang nakakatuyo’y ang patak ng ulan  
Nakakasariwa’y ang sinag ng araw.*

My standing at the center of the house  
A withering tree I am compatible to  
The rainfall dries me up  
The rays of the sun refreshes me.

*Kami’y may halaman, punò ng sampága  
Mayroong bulaklak na kaaya-aya  
Kung pipitasin mo’y magpapakaága  
Ngunit ang hiling ko’y maging maligaya.*

We have a plant, a champaca tree  
It has a delightful flower  
If you will pick it, be really early  
But my request is to be happy.

*Ako ay aalam, sa iyo’y lalapit  
Ang dala ko’y baso na may lámáng tubig  
Handog ko sa iyo, lakip ang pag-ibig  
Ito’y tanggapin mong maluwag sa dibdib.*

I will be knowledgeable, I will approach you  
Am carrying a glass containing water  
My offering to you filled with love  
Accept this with a roomy breast.

*Malaon nang araw, aking hinahangad  
Sa ganitong piging ang kayo’y mamalas  
Sa oras na ito, tayo’y nagkapalad*

It has been a long time, I am wishing  
In this kind of celebration, to see you  
At this time, we had the opportunity

*Ang iyong karikitan, nalunod sa galak.*

Your beauty, drowned in happiness.

*Ako'y nilapitan, hagdang inyong sandig  
N'yaring may dalitang nagnasang pumanhik  
Pinagkaisahan na dito'y lumapit  
Upang di'y makamtan, ligaya'y masapit.*

I was approached, your leaning stairs  
Of this poor one wanting to go up  
All agreed to approach here  
So as to receive, to arrive at happiness.

*Narito na kami, mabunying ginoo  
At nakapasok na sa pintuan ninyo  
Aming pupunuan, pangunang bandito  
Giliw na maybahay, pakinggan po ninyo.*

We are now here, triumphant gentleman  
And have entered your doorstep  
We will begin with the initial band  
Beloved houseowner, please listen.

*Aking pupurihin, pasasalamatan  
Bunying sakramento, kamahal-mahalan  
At ang ikalawa'y ang amang maybahay  
At sa nandiritong táong nakagapay.*

I will praise, will give thanks  
Hailed sacrament, dearly beloved  
And the second is the father of the house  
And to the one herein supporting.

*Lamesa at silyang dito'y nakatayô  
At doradong pilak na magkakahalô  
Nagpapakilalang ang nagsisiupô  
Yaong mga taong loob ay maamô.*

The table and chair herein standing  
And golden silver which are mixed  
Introduce that those who sit  
Are people of mild character.

*Sukat hanggang dito, yamang natanto na  
Kami ay uupô sa naturang silya  
Pinagparon-an ko'y, wika ni Seneca  
"Ang kapangahasa'y bunga ng pag-asa."*

So until here whereupon it is known  
We will sit upon said chair  
Whence I came, Seneca said  
"Courage springs from hope."

*Magandang oras po, bunying soberana  
Kita'y binabati, oras na maganda  
Kita'y binabati, oras na masaya  
At lakip ang iyong mutyang ama't ina.*

Good hour, hailed sovereign  
I am greeting you a beautiful hour  
I am greeting you a happy time  
With your beloved father and mother.

*Sapagkat ay ngay-o'y siyang kaarawan  
Mahal mong anyaya sa mundo'y pagsinta  
Sa bahay mo, Neneng, na tinatahanan  
Lupang maligaya na iyong nilakhan.*

Because today is the birthday  
Your beloved invitation to the world is love  
In your house, Neneng, where you stay  
A happy land where you grew up.

*Madlang halaman mo'y nagsisipagsaya  
Sampu ng bulaklak nagngiti sa sanga  
At ang samyo nito ay kaaya-aya  
At nakakaakit sa tuwa't ligaya.*

All your plants are enjoying  
All flowers are smiling on their branches  
And their fragrance is very delightful  
And enticing joy and happiness.

*Ikaw nga ang rosas na namumukadkad  
Ang laman ng pusong mahigit sa pilak  
Sa araw at gab-i'y di ibig malingat  
Halos patuntungin sa dalawang palad.*

*Aba masanghayang bulaklak ng aliw  
Lingap ng awa mo'y siyang hintay namin  
Kung ipagkaloob ikaw ng may hardin  
Pakaasahan mong ika'y pipitasin.*

*Pagpitas kong ito'y hindi sisipiin  
Puno't sampung ugat aming aakatin  
itananim ko sa mabuting hardin  
Ipagdilig ko'y loob na magaling.*

*Ayon sa ligaya ng puso ko't dibdib  
Alay ko sa iyong kabutiha't dikit  
Ang tagay na ito na hawak ko't bitbit  
Sa ina sa binyag, doon ihahatid.*

*Iabot ko na't kami'y nalalaon  
Yaring tangan-tangan rosas de palaton  
Tinitingnan-tingnan, nililingon-lingon  
Itinuturo pang iabot ko room.*

*Inom na'y inom na, sa kamay ko galing  
Sukdang ito'y lason, di ka tatalabin  
Kung magkasakit ka, sa akin ang dahil  
Ako'y malayo ma'y iyong ipagbilin.*

*Ang tagay na iya'y di ko iinum  
Ang timtiman lámang, di ako tititim  
Tana kung isayaw at sakâ sunungin  
Intana biro ma'y iinum ko rin.*

*Ako'y titindig na'y di man tinatawag  
Ugali ng bata na may hinahanap  
Ang hinahanap ko'y hindi ginto't pilak  
Kapuwa rin bata na kaisang-palad.*

You really are the rose that blooms  
The more-than-silver contents of the heart  
Days and nights, don't want to neglect  
Almost asked to step on two palms.

Alas, delightful flower of joy  
Your caring mercy we are awaiting  
If you will be given by the garden owner  
Surely hope that you will be picked.

This picking of mine will not sever  
The trunk and all the roots we'll be balling At  
And I will plant in a good garden  
I will water with a good intent.

Through to the joy of my heart and breast  
My offering to your goodness and beauty  
This drink that I hold and carry  
To my baptismal godmother, there I'll bring.

I will now give, as we are being delayed  
This that I am holding rose of advance  
Being looked at, head being turned  
And still pointing to be handed there.

Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand  
Even if it is poison, you won't be harmed  
If ever you get sick, I am the reason  
Even if I am far away, call for me.

That tagay I will not drink  
Even just to taste, I will not taste  
Lest it'll be danced and placed on the head  
Even if 'tis a joke, I'll also drink it.

I will now stand, though not called upon  
The actuation of a child who looks for. . .  
I am neither looking for gold nor silver  
Also a child, who is a palm-mate.



No'ng unang panahong ako ay bayabas  
Sa tabi ng daa'y hinahampas-hampas  
Sakâ ngay-on nama'y lumaki't tumaas  
Hindi makalalo kung hindi pipitas.

Kung gusto mo Neneng tayo'y mag-áwitan  
Tibagin ang bundok, dagat ay tabunan  
Dakipin ang alon, ilagay sa pinggan  
At siya po nating gagawing laruan.

Ano po ba't tayo ay maglalaro pa?  
Di na kayo batâ; kayo'y matanda na  
Kayâ ko sinabi, sa buti mo't ganda  
Ang laman ng tasa, inyong inumin na.

Inom na'y inom na ng dilakonesa  
Palamig sa dibdib nang 'di mamaos ka  
At pagka-inom mo'y ikaw ay gaganda  
Pupula ang labi, pupungay ang mata.

Ano kayâ baga't ako ang dinampot  
Batang alanganin, kulang pa ang loob  
Maigi-igi pa ang kawayang Ános  
Kung hipan ng hangì'y umaalinsunod.

Kung ako'y mayroong isandaang piso  
Nalalaman ko na ang tutunguhin ko  
Sa maglalaruan paroroon ako  
Lakad ko'y matulin, may halo pang takbo.

Itong balbarosa'y magandang halaman  
Di man umiimik ay nakakadágang  
Ang bango at samyo siyang nagsasaysay  
Marunong ka raw pong magpasayaw-sayaw.

Yaring pagtindig ko kung ako ay asin  
Natunaw na laang sa inyong paningin  
Mga mata ninyong kamukha'y patalim  
Ang siya rin yatang papatay sa akin.

In the old days I was a guava  
Along the road, was being slighted/hit  
And now that I am have grown and tall  
They cannot pass/advance without picking.

If you want Neneng, let us do some singing  
Tear down the mountain, fill-up the sea  
Catch the waves, put them on a plate  
And we will make them our playthings.

Why do we still have to play?  
You're not young anymore, you're now old  
I said it because in your goodness and beauty  
The contents of the cup, you drink now.

Drink now, drink now, the *dilakonesa*  
Chest cooler so your voice won't get hoarse  
And once you drink, you will be beautiful  
Will have red lips, flickering eyes.

Why did it happen that I was the one chosen  
A doubtful child, wanting in will/volition  
The Anos bamboo is a little better  
Swaying with wherever the wind blows.

If I have a hundred pesos  
I already know where I will head  
To the one who sells toys I will go  
I will walk fast, combined with running.

This *balbarosa* is a beautiful plant  
Though unspeaking, it is conversant  
Its fragrance and scent are the ones relating  
That you know how to dance.

This standing up of mine, if I am a salt  
Should have melted from your intent gaze  
Your eyes that look like sharp weapons  
Will be the ones to kill me.

*At ditong sa aking ganabiglaanan  
Ang galang ko't puri'y aking nalimutan  
Pero gayunman po'y kung aking pagbalkan  
Magandang oras po sa inyong lahat d'yan.*

And at this hesitance of mine  
My self-respect and esteem, I forgot  
But, even though, if I might return  
Good time for all of you there.

*Kung sa ganáng aki'y walang mahihitâ  
Kung бага sa nangka'y pinitas ay múra  
Manipis ang kálong, patda'y parang sutlá  
Nilabon mang but-o'y/Ka'nin pa kung 'maga'y  
nakakasikmurâ.*

As for me, you will not profit any  
Compared to a jackfruit, picked so young  
The flesh is thin, the sap is like silk  
Even the boiled seeds/When eaten in the  
morning will upset the stomach.

*Birheng masaklolo, ano kayâ ito  
Ako'y naliligid ng maraming tao  
Kung ako'y umurong, mga kapatid ko  
Kahihiy-an natin sa táong narito.*

Helpful Virgin, what is this then  
I am surrounded by a lot of people  
If I backtract, my siblings,  
Our embarrassment to the people here.

*Magpautang ka na't ikaw ang mayroon  
Magbabayad akong hindi maglalaon  
Hintayin mo lamang mamunga ang santol  
Magbabayad akong sakay sa kariton.*

Please lend us; you are the one who have  
I will pay, it will not take long  
Just wait for the santol tree to bear fruits  
I will pay carried on a cart.

*Kung kaya ang aking pag-asa ay lubos  
Na lilingapin mo akong napapagod  
Yamang ang dalisay ng aking pag-irog  
Magpakailanma'y di ko malilimot.*

The reason why I am full of hope  
That you will care for me who is weary  
Because the pureness of my love  
Forever I won't forget.

*Dini sa puso ko ay nakalimbag na  
Na lingkod mo ako, panginoon kita  
At sa bandang oras ikaw ay magpita  
At ako ay laan sa pananalima.*

Here in my heart is already imprinted  
That I am your servant, you are my lord  
And at a desired time whenever you wish  
I am willingly resigned to obey.

*Marabilya ka pong kahoy ko sa parang  
Dahon mo'y mayabong, sanga mo'y maruklay  
Sinumán daw taong dito'y maparaan  
Pilit manganganlong kung naiinitan.*

You are my marvelous tree in the field  
Your leaves are lush, your branches wide  
Whoever passes by your way, 'tis said,  
Will surely take cover from the sun.

*Puso ko'y nanlumô at napagulantang  
Sa sagot mong hálos kumitil sa búhay  
Tunod na mahayap ang siyang kabagay  
Na sa aking puso ay halos magwaray.*

My heart was aggrieved and aghast  
On your answer that almost killed the life  
Likened to an arrow shot into a bow  
That in my heart almost got amuck.

*Nguni at sa udyok ng inang pag-ibig  
Di mayag na hindi muli pang ibalik  
Sa iyo ang aking dusang tinitii  
Ang iyong pasiya'y tila nalilihis.*

But in the urge of mother love  
Will not permit not to return again  
To you my suffering I'm painfully bearing  
Your decision seems not to tread the way.

*Ang isang sa loob ng bayang narapà  
Sa bundok magbangon, mangyayari kayâ?  
Sino mang banta ko'y di makapaggawâ  
Ng payo mong yaon, tila balintunâ.*

For one who fell in town  
To rise up in the mountain, will it happen?  
Whoever, I suppose, cannot do that  
Advice of yours, it seems the opposite.

*At sa isa namang may malubhang damdam  
Mas nâsa kamay mo yaong kasagutan  
Sakâ ituro mo sa di kailangan  
Ang payo mong yaon kayâ'y karampatan?*

And for one who has a grave ailment  
The remedy is more in your hand  
Then point out to one who doesn't need  
Will that advice of yours be justly right?

*Marahil ay kahit pangulo ng bansâ  
Puso'y yayakagin, habag mo'y ilâwit  
At sino pa kayâ ang hindi mahapis  
Sa palad kong pinagtipunan ng sâkit?*

Maybe even the president of the country  
Will entice the heart, to grant your mercy  
And who else will not feel the sorrow  
On my palm (fate) that added up suffering?

### 11.2 *Paawitán* Text From Barangay Gibanga

From Barangay Gibánga recorded collections on June 19, 2011 at the house porch of Anita "Inang Anitang Laki" Rabina-Ragudo. Participant-contributors were Anita "Inang Anitang Pinong" Labitigan-Ragudo, house-owner Anita Rabina- Ragudo, Marta "Inang Maring" Trinidad-Zeta, Claudia "Lola Alud" Jaspio- Caagbay, +Suela "Inang Suela" Pabulayan-Lacorte, Paulita "Inang Payta" Pabulayan-Querubin, Trinidad "Inang Trining" Deduyo-Pabulayan, and Purificacion "Cacion" Labitigan-Pabilonia. *Tanggera* was Cornelia "Inang Orne" de Torres; dancers were Elisa "Inang Elisa" Galapate, +Genoveva "Inang Gening" Pabulayan, Inang Anita L. Ragudo and Inang Maring T. Zeta. Subsequent contributions to this collection were made on November 13, 2011 by Inang Maring Trinidad-Zeta and Lola Alud Jaspio-Caagbay, and on November 2, 2011 and January 2, 2012 from husband and wife team of Ernesto "Tio Erning/ Nesto" Abas and Corita "Tia Unta" Jaspeo-Abas.

#### Upon entry to the house:

*Pagparito namin (ay) dili sa kung ano  
Ay di man kumbisi, dili kumbidado  
Kayâ lámang bilang kami'y naparito  
Maganda raw loob ang maybahay dito.*

Our coming over is not for whatever reason  
We were not so busy, though uninvited  
We came over just because 'tis said that  
The dweller here has a beautiful heart.

*Ang maybahay dito’y maiging panhikin*

The dweller/wife here is good when you ascend to her house

*Ang loob ay leyal/riyal, ang katawa’y hayin*

The *loob* is true, the body is an offering

*Paloob-palabas, dala-dala’y mam-in*

Going in and out, carrying food

*Ipinamamama/Isinasalubong sa táong nadating.*

Being offered/fed to incoming people.

#### Inside the house:

*Tindig, katawan ko, at panuntunan mo*

Rise up, my body, and make a lead

*Ang gawang komedya, nása entablado*

Of the comedy chore, up on a stage.

*Anuman daw sayá, pag walang lakayo*

However joyous, if there is no clown,

*Ay pagtatawanan ng maraming tao.*

Will be laughed at/jeered by many people.

*Tabi-tabi ako, mga kamahalan*

Excuse me, your excellencies,

*At sa bumabásang may dunong na taglay*

And for the knowledgeable reading ones

*Ang sasabihin ko’y kung magkamali man*

For whatever I’ll say, if I commit mistakes

*Inyong ipatawad, tuloy na pagpun-an.*

Pardon me and consequently fill it up.

*Ako’y nahihiyang umáwit kung tikis*

I am embarrassed to sing if forced

*Sapagkat masama yaring aking boses*

Because my voice is bad

*Maraming tatawa, maraming iismid*

Many will laugh, many will sneer

*Magkukuhitan pa ang magkakaratig.*

Seatmates will tickle each other.

*Ako’y inutusan, hindi makatanggi*

I was commanded, I cannot resist

*Tumanggi man ako’y walang mangyayari*

Even if I resist, nothing will happen

*Subalit kung sundin, pagpipitang yari*

But if I obey the wished thing to do

*Kapurihan ko rin sa táong marami.*

Praise will also be mine from many people.

*Ako’y susunod na, madaling-madali*

I will obey now, in a hurry/haste

*(Ay) Para ng pagsunod sa mahal na hari*

Like obeying a beloved king

*Yaring katawan ko’y tindig sa delante*

This body of mine, stand up in front

*Tanghalin ka ngay-o’y sa táong marami.*

To be displayed now to many people.

*Kung binibigay na yaong hinihiling*

If whateven is requested is now given

*Ay siguro’y di na muli pang dadaing*

Maybe, he/she will not request again.

*Kung ibinibigay yaong hinihingi*

If whatever is asked is now given

*Siguro’y hindi na hihingi pa uli.*

Maybe, he/she will not ask again.

*Wag mong paghanapan ang ‘di pa bihasa*

Don’t find lack from a neophyte

*(Ay) Mauuna kayong tunay na tumawa*

You will be the the first to really laugh

Walang magagawâ at ang magdadala  
(Ay) Bagong nag-aaral sa primera letra.

Nothing could be done since the bearer  
Is a new learner in first letters.

Utos ng matanda, mahalay di sundin  
Kinabubusungan batang paris natin  
Ang bait ng bata (ay) saan manggagaling  
Kundi sa matanda, nakuhanang tanong din.

Orders from elders, obscene not to follow  
Bad labeling for children like us  
The character of a child, whence it come  
But from the elders, gotten also from asking.

Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay  
Ang nakakaparis ay ipang bualaw  
Di magserbeng gatong, di magserbeng tanglaw  
(Ay) Itapon mo na po't hahanipin lamang.

My standing at the center of the house  
Am comparable to rice hull  
Can't serve as fuel, can't serve as light  
Throw me, I'll only accumulate bugs.<sup>\*2</sup>

<sup>\*2</sup> *hanip* are very tiny itch-causing insects.

Sa nakakarinig ng huni ng punay  
Sa isang malagong kahoy na maruklay  
Ng dalawang lalaking laging nakabantay  
Huhulihin lámang ay kung magkakaway.

Those who hear the *punay* bird chirp  
On one of the lush wide-branched trees  
Of two men who are always watching  
Will catch only if it flaps its wings.

Ang mabuting puno'y mabuti ang sanga  
Magpahanggang dulo'y mabuti ang bunga  
Dito na po lámang at wala nang iba  
At ako'y wala nang maidaragdag pa.

A good tree trunk has good branches  
Until the top end, has good fruits  
Until here and nothing follows  
And I have nothing more to add.

Inom na'y inom na'y nása tasang tagay  
Pag naubos ninyo ang laman ng tagay  
Pupula ang pisngi, mata ay pupungay  
Gagandang lalaki, parang artista ay.

Drink now, drink now, *tágay* in the cup  
When you finish the contents of the *tágay*  
Your cheeks will redden, eyes will flicker  
Will be good-looking, like a movie actor.

Naari na nga po, sa inyo'y narating  
Ang pinangalanang mahal na inumin  
Ngay-on ko titingnan at panonoorin  
Ay ang ibubundol at palalayawin.

Here it is now, coming your way  
The named or branded dear drink  
Now I will look and watch  
What will be forwarded and foregone.

Sinusulyap-sulyap, nililingon-lingon  
Itinuturo pa, ang wika ay 'doon'  
Pagdating sa gitna, ay pabiling-biling  
Mamá'y kunin mo na't 'pakita sa akin.

Being gazed at, head being turned,  
Still finger-pointed, said 'there'  
Upon reaching the center, head a-turning,  
Man, get it now and let me see.

*Naari na nga po, narating sa inyo  
Ang pinangalanang mahal na tágay mo  
Kung di mo damputin ay ilalagay ko  
Kukunin ang iba, ano pang sa iyo?*

*Inom na'y inom na, sa kamay ko gáling  
Sukdang ito'y lason, di ka tatalabin  
Kung magkasakit ka, sa akin ang dahil  
Malayo man ako'y iyong ipagbilin.*

*Ang tagay na ito'y di ko iinum  
Ang timtiman lamang, di ako titimtim  
Intana isayaw at sakâ sunungin  
Intana biro man, tayo ay hafi rin.*

*Yaring pagtindig ko'y itatasi ko man  
Ipinakiusap ang tasang may laman  
Ay kung aayaw mo'y ibigay sa akin  
Ipagagawa kong kuwintas at karmen.*

*Ang tágay na ito'y di ko iinum  
Ang timtiman lámang, di ako titimtim  
Intana isayaw at sakâ sunungin  
Intana biro man, iinum ko rin.*

*Ituloy mo na po ang iyong pag-inom  
Darayukdukin ka pag iyong in'urong.  
Ako'y iinom na ng parating akin  
Ay mamaya-maya'y ako'y siyang lasing.*

*Ako'y naari na't napapagitna na  
Nasasakupan na ng inyong bandera  
Ang ibig pa yata'y humiyaw ng biba!  
Anong magagawa'y di na makakaya?*

*Magpautang ka na't ikaw ang mayroon  
Magbabayad kami, hindi maglalaon  
Maghintay-hintay kang bumunga ang katmon  
Magbabayad kami, sunò sa kariton.*

Here it is now, coming your way  
The named/branded dear tágay of yours  
If you'll not pick it up, I'll put it down  
Somebody will get it, what else will be yours?

Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand  
Even if this is poison, you'll not be harmed  
If ever you get sick, I am the reason  
Even if I am far away, call for me.

This tágay I wil not drink  
Even just to taste, I will not try  
Unless it be danced and placed on the head  
Even if it is just a joke, we drink in halves.

In this when I stand, even if I may hold  
Just requested, the cup with its content  
If you do not like it, then give it to me  
I'll make of it a necklace and a scapular.

This tágay I wil not drink  
Even just to taste, I will not dare  
Unless it be danced and placed on the head  
If it is a joke, I will just the same drink.

Go on with your drinking  
You will be starved if you postpone.  
I will now drink this which is always mine  
In a little while, I will be the one drunk.

Here I am now and at the center  
Your flag already conquering me  
Still wishing me to shout Viva! (Long live!)  
What can be done when I can't anymore?

Lend us, because you are the one who have  
We will repay, it will not take long  
Wait a while for the catmon\*<sup>3</sup> to bear fruits  
We will repay, carried on a cart.

\*<sup>3</sup> Catmon and santol (cotton fruit) currently have no market value.

*Mataas na langit, paanhin ko kayâ  
Ang mga pagsunod sa may dalang tuwâ?  
Di pa nabibigkas ng labi ko't dilâ  
Ang nangunguna na'y ang malaking hiyâ.*

High heavens, how will I do  
The many obeyings to the joy-bearer?  
My lips and tongue haven't uttered yet  
Big embarrassment in me precedes.

*Mayroon ka ngay-on, búkas ay wala na  
Sa binúkas-búkas, tinuwing makalawa  
Sunod, kapatid ko't sa usapang pita  
(Ay) Di ka sisiguro, di maiimporta.*

You have it now, none for tomorrow  
From morrow to morrow, in every other day  
Obey, my sibling, in talked-about desire  
You can't be sure to be given importance.

*Labas na'y labas na kung sino'ng lalabas  
Tugtog ng gitara ay bakâ lumipas  
Ang nakikita ko'y gila-gila lámang  
Ituloy mo na po yaong karamihan.*

Come out, come out whoever wants to  
The music of the guitar may pass away  
What am seeing are just bits and snatches  
Please go on with the many others.

*Pagdating sa gitna magbibiling-biling  
Ang maidudugtong, makita'y sa akin  
Ngay-on ko titingnan at panonoorin  
Bangkang ibubunsod at palalayawin.*

Upon reaching the center, head a-turning  
Whatever continuation seen will be mine  
I will now look and watch  
A boat to be directed and sent.

*Yaring kapatid ko, masyadong malambing  
(Ay) Masiya-siyado kang madaraingin  
Siya'y naari na, sa akin kapiling  
Ang ibig pa yata'y damputin, kalungin.*

This sibling of mine, is very sweet  
You are very whining-complaining  
It is here now, with me  
Still wishing I pick it up, put it on my lap.

*Salamat sa Diyos at ako'y pinálad  
Pinalad man ako'y di sariling hanap.*

Thanks be to God that I was made lucky  
Though my luck is not of my own searching.

*Itataas ko na ang tangan kong tasa  
At sa aking ulo ay nakakorona  
Ang laman pa nito'y Agua de Kolonya  
Sa atay ko't puso, doon ko kinuha.*

I will now raise the cup I am holding  
And on my head it is crowned  
It is containing Cologne Water  
From my liver and heart I got.

*Ikaw na sahig ka'y aking yayapakan  
Ng maruming paa na kahalay-halay.*

You, floor, I will now step on  
Of dirty feet, obscene.

*Yaring pagtindig ko, bilóg na kung bilóg  
Tagulaylay mandin, ganda ng 'yong loob  
Ang nangangatuwa'y sa aki'y manood  
At ang hindi nama'y mukha'y italikod.*

In my standing, round if it is round,  
Your benevolence is so poetic  
Those who are amused, watch me  
Otherwise, make an about face.

Ganda ng loob n'yo'y 'pakita sa akin  
Sinasalubong ko, magandang loob din.  
Ang loob na iya'y atin nang baguhin  
Ang loob ko'y lalong hindi magmamaliw.

Show me your good heart (*loob*)  
I am welcoming it with good *loob* also  
This *loob*, let us now change  
My *loob* will not even falter.

Sulong aking tandang, sulong aking manok  
At sa dumalaga ay mangurukutok  
Sa oras na ito't di ka tumaraok  
Sayang ang tinukâ, sa baluyot dukot.

Forward, my rooster, forward, my chicken  
And to the young hen, make a cackle  
At this very hour if you don't cock-a-doodle  
What wasted feeds, drawn from the huge sack.

Yaring pagtindig ko'y nanlulumo halos  
Ang paa't kamay ko'y parang ginagapos  
Ipinanlulumo ng puso ko't loob  
Daming mata ninyong nagsisipanood.

In my standing, am almost so weary  
My feet and hands are like being tied  
My heart and *loob*'s weariness is due to  
So-many eyes of yours watching me.

Ang gayak at nasâ n'yaring aking puso  
Ay manood lāmang ng inyong palaro  
Akala ko mandin, táyo ang nag-utos  
Sino ang haharap? Ako'y namamaos.

The plan and wish of this heart of mine  
Is just to watch your games  
I just thought, we made the orders  
Who will face them? My voice is hoarse.

Maniniwala ka, prinsesang marikit  
Nang kita'y sintahin, hamak kang maliit  
Nâsa tiyan ka pa ng ina mong ibig  
(Ay) Natatanim ka na sa puso ko't dibdib.

You have to believe, pretty princess  
When I loved you, you were lowly small  
You were still in your mother's womb  
You're already planted in my heart.

Kung mangyayari nga at mangyari lamang  
(Ay) Luha n'yaring mata'y aking pinansulan  
At pinapatak ko sa iyong hihig-an  
Upang matanto mo yaring kahirapan.

If ever it will happen and wish it will  
I will make an aqueduct for my tears  
And I let them fall on your bed  
For you to realize my suffering.

Ang minamahal ko saan man magsuot  
(Ay) Kahit na magtago sa likod ng bundok  
Di ako titigil nang sinunod-sunod  
Hangga't di magbigay ng magandang loob.

My beloved wherever she goes  
Even if she hides at the back of the mountain  
I'll not cease to pursue her  
Until she gives a good *loob*.

Kung ika'y pumaris, sa ibon pumaris  
At nahahayon mo ay ang himpapawid  
Ako ay gagawa, panang maliliit  
Pagtama sa iyo'y sa akin ang bulid.

If you imitate a bird  
And you can reach the sky  
I will make small arrows  
When they hit you, to me you will fall.



*At kung ikaw nama'y pumaris sa isda  
Pupunta sa dagat na pipitlag-pitlag  
Ako ay gagawa ng maraming baklad  
Sakâ isampukot na sakop ng dagat.*

And if you imitate a fish  
Will go to the sea a-jumping  
I will make many fish weirs  
Then catch all over the sea-covered area.

*Kung ikaw naman ay dayap na malagô  
Ang sanga't dahon mo'y lagaylay sa punò  
Ang alinmang ibong sa iyo'y dumapò  
Mailap-ilap ma'y pilit ding aamò.*

If you are, meanwhile, a lush lemon tree  
Your branches and leaves cover your trunk  
Any bird that perches on you  
However wild, will turn meek and mild.

*Mahal na prinsipe, wag kang magpumilit  
Sa kapunong dayap na lipos ng tinik  
Ang baro mo't sâya'y diyan mapupunit  
Ang hari mong sinta'y walang masasapit.*

Dear prince, do not persevere  
With the lemon tree surrounded by thorns  
Your clothing and drapes will be there torn  
Your conquering love will go to waste.

*Nagi nga ba mahal ang mahinang isip  
Ay salat sa alam, may susi ang bibig  
Alalayan ninyo, santos, kerubines,  
Sampu kayong lahat na dominasyones.*

Isn't it, beloved, that the weak mind  
Lacks knowledge, the mouth is locked  
Please assist, saints, cherubims,  
As well as you, all dominations.

*Yaring sasabihin, kulang man sa regla  
Sakaling kulang man sa punto at bunga  
Walang magagawa at ang nagdadala  
Bagong nag-aaral sa primera letra.*

What I will say, though wanting in rules  
In case it lacks points and produce  
Nothing can be done as the bearer is  
A new learner in first letters.

*Mahal na prinsipe, kung totoo't ibig  
Hayo na't manulay sa hiblang sinulid  
Pagdating sa gitna at hindi napatid  
(Ay) Totoo nga palang kayo'y umiibig.*

Dear prince, if it is true and you really like  
Go on and walk on a fiber thread  
Upon reaching the middle and it doesn't break  
It is really true that you are in love.

*Mahal na prinsipe, kung totoo't gusto  
Hayo na't magtanim ng niyog sa bato  
Ngayon din bubunga, ngayon din bubuko  
Ngayon di'y kukunan ng igagatâ ko.*

Dear prince, if 'tis true and you really want  
Go on and plant a coconut tree on a rock  
Today it'll bear fruits, today it'll have nuts  
On this very day I'll get from it my cocomilk.

*Ako ay nagtanim ng kapunong santol  
Namunga kanina, nahinog kahapon  
Nang pipitasin ko'y natukâ ng ibon  
Nahulog sa lupa, sa dulo gumulong.*

I planted a cotton fruit (santol) tree  
It fruited a while ago, ripened yesterday  
About to pick it up, 'twas pecked by a bird  
It fell on the ground, rolled onto the top.

*Ako'y inutus'y hindi makatanggi  
Ang tumanggi nama'y hindi mangyayari  
Subali, sundin ko'y pagpipitang yari  
Kapurihan ko rin sa táong marami.*

I was commanded, I cannot resist  
Resisting on one hand will never happen  
But, if I follow their wishes  
Praise from the people will be also mine.

*Kundangan ang aking pagpapakundangan  
(Ay) Di ko ikinibo ang aking katawan  
Labi ko'y may susi, seradura'y siyam  
Kahiyaan lámang kayâ ko binuksan.*

Hesitant, that in my hesitation  
I did not move my body  
My lips have lock, padlocks are nine  
Only because of shame that I opened it.

*Biling katawan ko, iyong paglabanin  
Ang gilingang batong pinalad ng hangin  
Magdali-dali ka't bakâ di abutin  
Nakabit sa lawa at pabitin-bitin.*

Turn my body, you let them fight  
The stone grinder blown by the wind  
Make haste, you may not catch it  
Caught by a cobweb and there left hanging.

*Ako'y paalam na, palapa ng saging  
Kung anong gaw-in mo'y s'ya ko ring gagawin  
Kung ika'y sumayaw, ako'y sasayaw rin  
Kung ika'y umupo, ako'y uupo rin.*

I am bidding goodbye, banana stalk  
Whatever you do, I will also do  
If you dance, I will also dance  
If you sit down, I will also sit down.

*Kung ika'y tumágay, ako'y tatágay rin  
Kung ika'y kumanta, ako'y kakanta rin.  
Ilabas mo na po yaong karamihan  
At kaming narito'y susunod na lámang.*

If you drink, I will also drink  
If you sing, I will also sing.  
Bring out please all the many others  
And all of us here will just follow.

*Ako'y huwag mo nang pagpari-paringgan  
Tungkol hangong sulat, di ako maalam  
Ang kinagisnan ko sa aking magulang  
Ang pluma ko'y dulos, ang papel ko'y  
parang.*

Do not insinuate me anymore  
Regarding the digged letter, I know not  
What I was accustomed from my parents  
My pen has been the garden bolo, my paper  
has been the farm field.

*Yaong sinisinta n'yaong pirmamento  
Solong kapisanan ng Pastor Dibino  
Ginawa't nilalang ng Paring Eterno  
Amang Pontipise nitong uniberso.*

The beloved of the firmament  
Lone association of the Divine Pastor  
Made and created by the Eternal Priest  
Pontifical Father of this universe.

*Sa aming probins'ya ng Diyos na kasi  
Nayaring di kulang pahiyas sa gab-i  
Ito ay nilagyan tamang palamuti  
Na bituing tampok sa dilim ng gab-i.*

In our province of the beloved God  
Made, not wanting, the nightly adornments  
It was laden with proper embellishments  
Of choice stars in the darkness of night.

*Dito ay may palma, malabay ang dahon  
Humirang ng lilim, sila'y nakisilong  
Ang wika ng Birhen kay Hosep ay gay-on  
Kikita ng tubig upang makainom.*

Here was a palm plant, with wide leaves  
Chose a shade, they took shelter  
The Virgin told Joseph to  
Look for water to be able to drink.

*Sagot ni San Hosep, "dito'y walang tubig,  
Bukal man ay walâ, ni makitang batis  
Pagkakitang gay-on ng Birheng Maria  
(Ay) Yumuko't kumuha ng dahon ng palma.*

Saint Joseph answered, "no water here,  
Not even a spring, can't even see a brook."  
Thereupon seeing, the Virgin Mary  
Stooped down and got a palm leaf.

*At doo'y dumaloy tubig kapagdaka  
(At) Uminom agad ang Birheng Maria  
Magpahanggang ngay-o'y nadaloy ang tubig  
Sa dulo ng palma, hindi napapapid.*

And there flowed water at once  
The Virgin Mary drank at once  
Until now the water is flowing  
At the top of the palm, without ceasing.

*Sabihin ang tuwang walang kahulilip  
Sa lugar ng dusa, pusong Pontipeles.*

Talk about the unending joy  
In the place of suffering, heart of Pontipeles.

*Tabi po sa inyong karikitang bantog  
Maybahay na amang aming iniirong  
Magandang gab-i po, una naming handog  
Pagkat sumasa'yo yaring abang lingkod.*

Excuses to your famed beauty  
Beloved father of the house  
Good evening, our first offering  
Because we are yours, your lowly servant.

*Di akin ang sabi, ang may isang hain  
Ang nag-aalaga, dito nakahimpil  
Ang sinta ng hari na nakakaaliw.*

'Tis not from me, the one with an offering  
The caretaker, hereby staying  
The beloved of the king, source of his joy.

*Tuloy po kung kami dito'y naglalakbay  
(Ay) Dito'y may balita, rosas na halaman  
Ang rosas na iyon ay nabalitaan  
At ako'y pipitas kung pahintulutan.*

Go on if we here are travelling  
The news is there is a rose planted here  
And that said rose is known  
And I am going to pick if permitted.

*Kung kayâ po ako, ginoong maybahay  
Dito'y ang katulad, ang magkasintahan  
Dito'y nakatulad at kabagay tayo  
Sa mahal na poon, santa't santo, Kristo.*

That is why I, master of the house  
Herewith are compared to lovers  
In comparison, and we are compatible  
To the blessed image, saints all, Christ.

*Ang winika niya, Diyos na Poon ko  
Sana'y akin Ka po, at ako'y sa Iyo.*

He uttered, God my Lord  
I wish that You are mine, and I am Yours.

Ang sinisinta ko ay punò at ugat  
 Ang sinasamyo ko'y mabangong bulaklak  
 Kayâ sa bulaklak ako nakiusap  
 (Ay) Sa bulaklak naman ako nararapat.

I am loving the tree and the root  
 I am smelling the fragrant flower  
 I conversed with the flower because  
 I must be with the flower.

Ang sinisinta ko saan man magsuot  
 Kahima't matakpan pitong susóng bundok  
 Di ako titigil nang sinunod-sunod  
 Hanggang di magbigay ng magandang loob.

My beloved, wherever she goes  
 Even if she's covered by a sevenfold mountain  
 I will not stop pursuing  
 Until she gives a good heart (*loob*).

O Aling Polana, sumayaw ka lámang  
 Ang mabaling sahig aking babayaran  
 Doon po sa amin mahal ang kawayan  
 Sambias ay piso, wala pang makunan.

O Madame Polana, if you will just dance  
 Any floor that breaks I will pay  
 In our place, bamboos are expensive  
 One peso apiece, can't even acquire any.

Ang igi-igi ta't ako'y nakaupo  
 At sa isang sulok ako'y nakatago  
 Ang talagang nasà n'yaring aking puso  
 Ay manonood lang ng inyong palaro.

It has been well that I am just seated  
 And at one corner I am hidden  
 The real wish of this heart of mine  
 Is just to watch your games.

Ang inang binyag ko kaya pala walâ  
 Nagbibikang-bikang sa tabi ng sapa  
 Nang ako'y pumar-o't aking inusisâ  
 Pinaglahok-lahok suman at marhuya.

My baptismal godmother, she's not here  
 She is making *bikang* along the brookside  
 When I went there and inquired  
 She is mixing *suman* and *marhuya*.

Si Aling Polana'y hindi maghihirap  
 Pinaghahanapa'y lupang gagapalad.

Madame Polana will not be poor  
 Getting her income from a palm-sized land.

Si Aling Polana'y may bahay sa labak  
 Ang bubong ay yunot, ang dingding ay balât  
 May bintanang munti sa tapat ng papag  
 Dungawan ng kanyang minamarisapsap.

Madame Polana has a house in the valley  
 The roof is *yunot*, the wall is skin  
 With a small window across the bed  
 Where her *minamarisapsap* looks out.

Si Aling Polana'y may but-o ng kasoy  
 Ako namang ari'y may kamoteng kahoy  
 Puwede kayâ pong ako'y makilabon  
 Sa inyong palayok, tabi'y harimuy moy?

Madame Polana has a cashew nut  
 I on the other hand have a cassava  
 May I then please boil  
 In your pot, surrounded by lace?

Mahirap nga pala ang búhay ng duling  
 Pagkatanghalia'y sa langit ang tingin!

It is really difficult, the life of a cross-eyed  
 After lunch time, always looking at the sky!

No'ng unang mauso ang gitarang bunga  
Tugtog ni Bayutbot, sayaw ni Tigrina  
Lantaki Putakte, natatalawan ka  
Bakit bagâ Negrong nagpapabayâ ka?

Di ko sana násang katalo'y patulan  
Sa kalbo'y wala raw masasabunutan  
Subalit sa kanyang mga kayabangan  
Bakâ maniwala ang mutya kong hirang.

Kayâ alang-alang sa katotohanan  
Ay lilisanin ko ang madlang tinuran  
Siya raw po'y merong isang maharpilak  
Sa may Dagat Sulung katimugang dagat.

Sa dami ng silid, wala raw katulad  
At ang tuktok nito'y lampas daw sa ulap  
Sa gusaling guhit ay aking nahagap  
Ang Bilibid pala'y doon ililipat.

Ano kaya itong narating ng palad?  
Na sa laot mandin sa gitna ng dagat  
Ako'y lumulubog, 'di naman mabigat  
Wala namang hangin ako'y napapadpad.

Ang bait-isip ko ay natitigilan  
At ako'y wala nang masabi't maturan  
Ganoon pa man ay aking aatuhan  
Kung ako'y mamali, tawad ang pakamtan.

May kapunong kahoy na ipinagturing  
Na sa buong mundo'y walang makahambing  
Ito'y talaga na't kaloob sa atin  
Nagdahon ng puti at ang punò'y itim.

Maliit na dampa ang aking tahanan  
Walang palamuti't mga kasangkapan  
Di tulad ng ibang magagarang bahay  
Nagtataka ako nang gay-on na lámang  
Kung bakit lagi kong pinagpipilitang  
Doon din magbalik sa kinahapunan.

When the fruit guitar was then in fashion  
Bayutbot will play, Tigrina will dance  
Eat Putakte, you are missing something  
Why are you a neglecting Nigger?

It was not my desire to fight my opponent  
There's nothing to hair-fight in a bald man  
But to his many boastings  
My dear beloved might believe.

So for the sake of truth  
I will leave all what I planned  
'Tis said that he has a noble-silver  
At the southern Sulu Sea.

In good number of rooms, nothing compares  
And its top is said to be beyond the clouds  
In the drawn building it dawned on me  
The Bilibid Prison will be there transferred.

What is this that fate brings  
That at sea in the middle of the sea  
I am sinking, although not heavy  
There's no wind even, but I am blown.

My lucidity seems to stop  
And I can neither say nor speak anymore  
However, I will try  
If I commit mistakes, grant me forgiveness.

There is a named tree  
That in the whole world nothing compares  
It is intended for and given to us  
Bearing white leaves with black trunk.

A little shack is my home  
With no adornments and furniture  
Unlike the other opulent houses  
I am wondering not just a bit  
Why I am always forcing myself  
There to return in the afternoons.

*Pag ako'y nalayô kahit ilang saglit  
Nais ko'y sa dampâ'y kaagad magbalik  
Kapag nawawalay, ako'y nananabik  
At kung naghihintay, ako'y naiinip.*

Whenever I get far from it even for a while  
I wish to return at once to my shanty  
When apart, I feel so eager  
And when waiting, I become impatient.

*Natutuwa ako kapag namamasid  
Ang aking magulang at mga kapatid  
Maligaya ako kung nakakapiling  
Ang lahat ng aking kaisang damdamin.*

I am joyful when I am able to see  
My parents and my siblings  
I am happy when I am with  
All of those who share my feelings.

*Nalilimutan ko ang mga hilahil  
Ang sumasapuso'y banal na hangarin  
Kayâ't sa tuwa ko'y malimit sabihing  
Ang Diyos ay sadyang malápit sa akin.*

I forget the anxieties  
What fills my heart are holy intentions  
That in my happiness, I frequently say  
That God is really near me.

*Ang aking tahanan'y isang munting pugad  
Na nahihiyasan ng mga pangarap  
Doon ko nakita ang unang liwanag  
Ang pagkatao ko'y doon din namulat.*

My home is a little nest  
That is adorned with dreams  
There I saw the first light  
My being is also there eye-opened.

*Ang aking tahanan ay walang katulad  
Tanging kayamanang sa langit nagbuhat  
Nagbabalik mandin, parang hinahanap  
Dito ang panahong nasayang, lumipas.*

My home is beyond compare  
A special wealth that came from heaven  
'Tis hereby returning, as though searching  
Here the wasted time that passed.

*Mga binibini at mga ginoo  
Matanda at batang ngayon ay narito  
Malugod ang bati, ang tanging handog ko  
Sa pagsisimula nitong pag-áwit ko.*

Ladies and gentlemen  
Elders and children now here  
Joyful greeting, my only offering  
In beginning of this singing of mine.

*Hari palibhasa'y makapangyarihan  
Ang atas mo'y sundin at iyong igalang  
Haring mahal namin ika'y naririto  
May lugod at aliw ang lahat ng tao.*

The King, as he is powerful  
Your order to obey and respect  
Our beloved King, you are here  
There is joy and happiness in all the people.

*Nang ako'y umalis sa sariling amin  
Si Ama at Ina'y may katagang bilin  
Sinuman daw táong mag-utos sa akin  
Sundin ko pong tunay bago ko suwayin.*

When I left our very own place  
Father and Mother left an order  
Whoever commands me  
I should truly follow before I disobey.

*Ang táong kumibo nang kulang sa gayak  
Nagmamagatanong sa mga paglakad  
Ang taong patay man maganda ang asal  
Para rin ngang buhay kung pinag-usapan.*

Any man who moves lacking in planning  
Always asks things along his ways  
A dead man with good character  
Is like a living man when talked about.

*Ako mandí'y walang maisip-isipan  
Hiyang-hiya mandin ang aking kataw-an  
Ang naisipan ko'y manghiram na lámang  
Sa isip ng ibang may pinag-aralan.*

I cannot think of anything  
My body is so embarrassed  
I thought of just borrowing  
From the minds of those who have studied.

*At kung maliligo'y sa tubig aagap  
Nang hindi abutin ng tabsing ng dagat.*

And when bathing, to be early in the water  
So that the saltiness of the sea will not catch up on you.

*Ngayong natanto mong sa iyong pagdating  
Isinalubong mo'y ang ngiti at lambing  
Di na yata káya akin pang sabihin  
Ang pag-ibig sa 'kin ay iyong banggitin.*

Now that you realize upon your arrival  
You welcomed with a smile and sweetness,  
I cannot take it to say anymore  
Your love for me you should mention.

*Ay h'wag mo na akong igaya sa luya  
Gagayat-gayatin, gagawing atsara  
Hangga't bago-bago'y lagay sa lamesa  
Kapag nalumà na'y sa linò kasama.*

Do not compare me to ginger anymore  
Will be minced and made into pickles  
While still new is placed atop the table,  
Will be included in the hogfood when old.

*Mahal na prinsipe, kung totoo't gusto  
Magbahay ka muna sa gitna ng bato . . .*

Dear prince, if it is true and you want  
Build your house first at the rock center...

*Abot, abot, kuha, mahal na bituin  
Ang nagreregalo'y huwag mong hiyain.*

Reach out, reach out and take it, dear star  
Do not embarrass the gift-giver.

*Susundin ko na po, mahirap-hirap man  
Kung siya po ninyong ibig mapalayaw  
Ang táong patay ma't mabuti ang asal  
Para rin ngang buháy kung pagsubihanan.*

I will now obey though it is difficult  
If that is the favor you so desire  
A dead man, if he had good character  
Is like a living person when assessed.

*Kagagawang ito'y aking inaangkin  
Ay kawalang-bait kung iyong banggitin*

This work, I am treating as mine  
Is a loss of mind if you will say it

*Aanhin ko pa ang makinang na ginto  
Higit pang makinang sa maraming tanso?  
Inom na'y inom na, n'yaring damasino  
Hamog ng Aurora, gáling sa puso ko.*

What else will I do with glittering gold  
Far shinier than a lot of silver?  
Drink now, drink now, this damascene  
Aurora dew, coming from my heart.

*Mahirap din naman sa dilang mahirap  
Umutang ng loob sa di kamag-anak  
Maigi-igi pang utangin ang pera  
Pagdating ng oras ay makakabayad.*

It is also difficult, as to difficulty  
To ask for favors from non-relatives  
'Tis better to borrow money  
When the time comes, we can repay.

*Sa isang maliit at ulilang bayan  
Na pinagtampuhan ng kaligayahan  
Ito po ay mga sabi ng matanda  
Kapanahunan no'n ng mga Kastila.*

In a small and lonely town  
Where happiness was utterly lacking  
This are what the old folks were saying  
'Twas then the era of the Spaniards.

*Nang ito'y tugtugin dahilan sa digma  
Lakas pa ng tugtog, bumagsak sa lupa  
Ano kaya бага't ako ang dumampot?  
Batang alanganin, kulang pa sa loob.  
Kung sa kakanin ay di ikabubusog  
Kulang sa linamnam, di gaya ng hinog.*

When it was played because of war  
In its loudness, it fell on the ground  
Why then it was I who picked it up?  
A doubtful child, lacking in will/volition  
Compared to a snack, won't make one full  
Lacking in flavor, unlike the ripe one.

*Susundin ko na po, sapagkat utos mo  
Sapagkat ikaw po'y hindi nagbabago  
Bakâ ang masabi ng alin ma't sino  
Nagbabago-bago'y di ko naman kaso.*

I will now obey because it's your order  
Because you are not changing  
Some might say am everchanging  
Yet this is not even my case.

*Tila naiiba ang tanging layunin  
Nitong mga taong dito'y dumarating  
Kayâ ako ngay-on sa aking pagdating  
Ang magandang bati aking sasabihin.*

The only purpose seems different  
Of these people who are coming  
So that I now in my arrival  
The good greetings I will state.

*Yamang itong áwit ngay-o'y itinanghal  
Sa dagling panaho'y matatapos dapat  
At ang aking áwit, ngay-o'y magwawakas  
Sa inyo pong lahat, maraming salamat!*

Since this *áwit* that is now performed  
In a short while must end  
And my *áwit* will now end  
To all of you, many thanks!

### 11.3. *Paawitán* Text From Barangay Kalumpang

Barangay Kalumpáng contributors are Julita "Tia Juling" Valle Apurado, Fredeswinda "Ate Fresing" Contreras Avila-Carillo, my mother Monica E. Cagahastian-Afable, my maternal aunt the late Hospicia "Tia Picia" Eclavea Cagahastian, and Herminia Sandoval.

*Gitara kong munti, Intsik ang may panday  
Aayaw tumunog kapag walang tágay*

My little guitar, made by a Chinaman  
Doesn't like to sound sans *tágay*



*Aking sinabitan, tingting na kawayan  
Aayaw tumunog pag walang pulutan.*

I put on it a bamboo stick  
Doesn't like to sound sans *pulutan*.

*Ako'y magbibiro sa kadalagahan  
Huwa magagalit pagkat biro lámang  
Karamihan ngayon ay lubhang magaslaw  
Binti ng dalaga ay pinalilitaw.*

I am going to make jokes to the ladies  
Don't get mad because 'tis just a joke  
Mostly nowadays, are so rough/vulgar  
Legs of the ladies are being displayed.

*Binti ng dalaga ay may limang klase:  
May binting ulalo, may binting kamote,  
May binting kawayan, may binting garrote,  
May binting labanos, tadtad pa ng buni.*

Ladies' legs are of five kinds:  
There are legs like worms, legs like camote,  
Legs like bamboos, legs like garrote,  
Legs like radishes, full of ringworms.

*Binti ng dalaga, kung mahaba't payat  
Bukod pa sa payat, p'wedeng pambalibag,  
Yaon kung tawagin ng taga-Mabitac  
Yaon daw ay binti, binting alimasag.*

Ladies' legs, if long and thin  
Aside from being thin, can be thrown,  
That kind as named by those from Mabitac  
Those are the legs, legs of crabs.

*Binti ng dalaga, kung sobra ang laki  
Bukod sa malaki, p'wedeng panghaligi  
Yaon kung tawagin ng taga-Cavite  
Yaon daw ay binti, binting elepante.*

Ladies' legs, if they are too big  
Aside from being big, can be used as post  
That kind as named by those from Cavite  
Those are the legs, legs of elephants.

*Binti ng dalaga, kung malaki't sukóng  
Bukod pa sa sukóng, maaring igatong  
Kung tawagin yaon ng taga-Malabon  
Yaon daw ay binti, binting kinamagong.*

Ladies' legs, if big and bowed  
Aside from being bowed, can be used as fuel  
That kind as named by those from Malabon  
Those are the legs of the kamagong tree.

*May tigas na galit si Aling Kuranggi  
Anak na dalaga'y isinasauli  
Hindi naman pilay, hindi naman bungì,  
Ang pintas mo lámang, pilipit ang binti.*

Madame Kuranggi was very angry  
Lady daughter was being returned  
She is neither limp nor lacking in teeth,  
The only fault is her legs are crooked.

*Kayâ nga dalaga, kung kayo'y lalakad  
Ay magsuot kayo kahit sirang medyas  
Kahit na sekonhan, kahit na may bútas,  
Wag lámang makita binting puro peklat.*

So therefore, ladies, when you walk  
Wear stockings/socks even if worn out  
Even if second hand or have holes,  
So as not to be seen legs full of scars.

*Doon po sa amin, nasyon ng Bikuyô  
May nagpapaskuhang Paite at Susô  
Wika ng Paite, kumuha ng pakô  
At ating gagat-an ng pito kabuô.*

*Ang sumagot naman ang Haring Kayuran  
Na kung walang niyog ay huwag nang gat-an  
Ang kutsara't sandok nagpapanabakan,  
Ang apoy at tubig ay nagpatatayan.*

*Ako'y si Butiki, anak ni Bangkalang,  
Pamangkin ng Tuko, apo ng Layagan.  
Kung itatanong mo ang aming pulangan,  
Doon ka magpunta sa Kabayawakan.*

*Tiririt ng Maya, tiririt ng ibon,  
Huni ng Kulyawan, walang ipalamon.  
Tiririt ng Maya, tiririt ng matsin  
Ibig mag-asawa'y walang ipakain.  
Tiririt ng Maya ang under de saya  
Tiririt ng ibon ang under de carson.*

*Kili-kili tatis, kili-kili tasyon  
Bendita tu eres, Sabado ng hapon  
Binabati kita'y di ka man nalingon  
Nagmamadali ka't may panyo kang asul.*

*Ang panyo mong asul dinagit ng lawin  
Dinala sa kahoy, bantang pupugarin  
Sa Linggong sa Linggo, ako'y bibili rin  
Luma na ang iyo, bago pa ang akin.  
Kili-kili tasyon, kili-kili tatis,  
Ang batang maulit, nahingi ng panglís.*

*Ako'y si Sebuyas, ng angkang mataas  
Pag nakapag-alak, ay kukurap-kurap.  
Kung may pera ka man, ibili ng alak  
Malilimutan mo, asawa mo't anak.*

There in our place, barrio of *Bikuyô*<sup>24</sup>  
There were *Paite* and *Susô* Christmas-partying  
The *Paite* instructed to get some edible ferns  
And we will cook with coconut milk from  
seven-whole nuts.

The King Grater answered then  
That if there is no coconut, then don't proceed  
The spoon and ladle quarrel  
The fire and water are killing each other.

I am House Lizard, son of Salamander,  
Nephew of Gecko, grandson of Skink.  
If you will inquire about our clan,  
You go to the area of the Monitor Lizards.

Chirp of the field sparrow, chirp of the bird,  
Sound of the oriole, nothing to feed.  
Chirp of the field sparrow, monkey's sound,  
Would like to get married; has nothing to feed.  
Chirp of the field sparrow, the henpecked husband,  
Chirp of the bird, the unspeaking wife.

Onomatopoeic phrase  
Bless you, a Saturday afternoon  
Was greeting you, you didn't even look back  
You're hurrying up, you got a blue hanky.

Your blue hanky was swooped by a crow,  
Flown into a tree, to be made into a nest  
This very Sunday, I will also buy one,  
Yours will already be old, mine is still new.  
Onomatopoeic phrase  
An unruly child is asking for a spanking.

I am Onion, scion of a noble clan  
When I am drunk, my eyes flicker.  
If ever you have money, buy liquor  
You will forget your wife and children.

*Ayaw ko, ayaw kong umibig sa iyo  
Sapagkat ikaw raw ay maraming nobyo  
May pang-araw-araw, may pang-linggo-linggo  
Bukod ang pangp'yesta, bukod ang pamasko.*

I really do not like to fall in love with you  
Because you got so many boyfriends  
You have the dailies, the weeklies  
Aside from those for feasts and Christmas.

*Ayaw ko, ayaw ko sa lalaking tamad  
Susugal, sasabong, iinom ng alak  
Pagdating sa bahay, pabali-baliktad  
Ang pobreng asawa, siyang binababag.*

I really do not like lazy men  
Who gamble, cockfight, drink liquor  
When they reach home a-tumbling  
The poor wife, she is given a beating.

*Ang aking manugang ang asawa'y sampu*

My son-in-law has ten wives

---

*----- ang buntis ay siyam,  
Mga pusod nito'y ga-ulo ng bawang.*

---

*----- nine are pregnant,  
Their navels are as big as garlic cloves.*

*No'ng unang panahon, sa reynong Borgonya<sup>\*5</sup>  
May magkaibigang dalawang dalaga  
Mula pagkabata hanggang mag-asawa  
Di naghihiwalay ay ang isa't isa.*

Long time ago in the kingdom of Borgonia  
There were two ladies who are friends  
Since childhood until they got married  
They have not separated from each other.

<sup>\*5</sup> from the book *Magcarayap*, ca. 1940's as recalled by my mother in October, 2010.

*Ang laki sa layaw, karaniwa'y hubad  
Mabuti pa si Og, may kaunting bahag.*

Those who are bred in wealth and ease are  
usually without clothing, Og is better off,  
he has a scanty g-string.

*Kami ay bulaklak, kayâ naparito  
Ay sa bulaklak din kami patutungo.  
Naparito kami, 'di man kumbidado  
Makikipag-aluw sa isang tulad mo.*

We are flowers, we came here because  
We're likewise going to the other flowers.  
We came over, despite being uninvited  
For entertainment by someone like you.

*Ihahabilin ko'y bulaklak na rosál  
Birtud na bulaklak ang aking habilin.  
Ang kaparis nito'y ang mga bituin  
Sa araw at gabi'y laging magningning.*

I am leaving with you a *rosal* flower  
A virtuous flower I am with you leaving.  
This is comparable to the stars  
Will always shine day and night.

*Ay kalmen, ay kalmen, magkabila'y bitin  
Ay k'wintas, ay k'wintas, magkabila'y butás  
Ang isa'y sa noo, ang isa'y sa kalmen,  
Ang isa pa nito'y sa mag-Inang Birhen.*

Scapulars, scapulars, side by side a-hanging  
Necklace, necklace, with holes on both sides  
One for the forehead, one for the scapular  
Another for the Madonna and Her Child.

*Ako ay nagtanim kapisasong luya  
Tumubo ay gábi, namunga ay mangga  
Nang pipitasin ko'y hinog na papaya  
Nalaglag sa lupa: magandang dalaga!*

*Ako ay nagtanim, saging na but-ohan  
Ang pikarong uwak ay tatan-aw-tan-aw.  
Wika ng paniki, wag ka ngang maingay,  
Ako ang sa gab-i, ikaw ang sa araw.  
Maghintay-hintay ka, ay ibong kanugtog  
Hintay, anang tikling, na payungkog-yungkog.*

*No'ng panahong una, si Sidro ay mahal  
Di pa siya santo, si Sidro nga lámang  
Naglabon ng tugí, hindi ginatungan,  
Magpahanggang ngay-on, tugí ay banlugan.*

*Minsan ay tanghali, ako'y naiidlip  
Sa aming libanan, may lagi-lagitik  
Nang ako'y magbangon at aking sinilip  
Isang baboy-damong tangay ng kuwitiib.*

*No'ng unang panahong ako ay bata pa  
Ang masalubong mo'y di ko alintana  
Nang ako'y lumaki at naging dalaga  
Pinag-aralan mong hainan ng sinta.*

*May nais ka palang pumitas ng rosál  
Di ka naparito nang kapanahunan  
Nang pumarito ka'y lagas na sa tangkay  
Buko ma'y walá na't nása ibang kamay.*

*Ako'y nagtataka sa panahon ngay-on  
Di pa nagsisilbi'y nakuha nang tuloy  
Ang nakakatulad, isang punongkahoy  
Ibig nang pas-ani'y di pa napuputol.*

*Ako'y paalam na, di na paririto  
upunta sa bundok, mag-eermitanyo  
Ang napasukan ko'y mababang opisyo  
Magkutkot ng buni sa buong sanlinggo.*

I planted a piece of ginger  
It sprouted as yam, fruited a mango  
When I picked it up, 'twas a ripe pawpaw  
It fell on the ground: a beautiful lady!

I planted a seedy banana stalk  
The damn crow was watching  
The bat said, keep quiet  
I'll be for the night, you'll be for the day.  
Wait for a while, woodpecker  
Wait, said the hunchback-walking egret.

In the olden time, Isidro was so loved  
He was not yet a saint, just plain Isidro  
He boiled a *tugi* yam without fire  
Until now, the yam is undone.

One noon, I was asleep  
In our yard boundary was a creaking sound  
When I got up and peeped  
A wild boar carried by the mouth of an ant.

In the olden times when I was young,  
Anybody who came across wasn't a concern  
Now that I am grown up, a lady  
You studied to offer me your love.

All the while you wished to pick a *rosal*  
You did not come during the season  
You came when 'twas separated from the branch  
Even the buds are gone and in another's hands.

I wonder in these days  
Service is n'yet done, everything is gotten  
Comparable to a tree  
Would like to carry away but uncut still.

'Tis goodbye now, will not come back *P*  
Will go up the mountain, live like a hermit  
I entered a very lowly chore  
Scratching ringworms the whole week.

#### 11.4 *Paawitán* Text From Munting Bayan Senior Citizens Board of

**Directors and Council of Presidents.** The Tayábas Senior Citizens Federation *mama-maawits* were Federation President Aristeo Palad, Board Director Ret. Col. +Luis O. Araya of Angustias Zone 1, Treasurer Zenaida “Lola Nida” Jabola of San Diego Zone 2, director and wife Lolo Marcial and Esperanza “Lola Asang” Tabi of Barangay Ibabáng Palále, director and wife Maximó “Lolo Memong” and Lola Mely Naynes of Barangay Mateuna, director Eliminita “Tia Ely” Llaneras- Bajal of Barangay Isabang, Barangay Kalumpang president +Iluminada “Inang Luming-Temio” Abril and companion Nelly “Tia Nelly” de Torres, and director Lazaro Quesea of San Isidro Zone 3. Additional stanzas were provided by Emma Flores of Barangay Masin from her handwritten *kalipino*.

*Labas na’y labas na, kung sinong lalabas  
Tugtog ng gitara ay bakâ lumipas.*

Come out, come out, whoever will come out  
The music of the guitar may pass away.

*Inom na’y inom na, sa kamay ko gáling  
Sukdang ito’y lason, hindi ka tatalbin.  
Kung magkasakit ka, sa akin ang dahil  
Malayo man ako’y iyong ipagbilin.*

Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand  
Even if it is poison, you will not be affected.  
If you become sick, I am the reason  
Though I am far away, call upon me.

*Ako ay nautusan, hindi makatanggi  
Ang tumanggi nama’y hindi mangyayari  
Subalit kung sundin pagpipitang yari  
Ay kapurihan din sa táong marami.*

I was ordered, I cannot resist  
Resistance, meantime, will not happen  
But if I obey their desires/wishes,  
Praise from the people will be mine.

*Ang tagay na iya’y di ko iinumín  
Ang timtiman lámang, di ako titimtim  
Kung tana isayaw at sakâ sunungin  
Kung tana ikunday, ako’y iinumín din.*

That *tagay* I will not drink,  
Just to taste it, I will not taste  
Unless it is danced and placed on the head  
Unless it is hand-swayed, I will then drink.

*Ano kayáng aking naging kasalanan  
At ako ay inyong pinarurusahan?  
Hindi naman bato, hindi naman bakal  
Kung tatayahin ko’y di ko makayanan.  
Pasok sa karsel, aking bilangguan  
Narito na nga po at sunud-sunuran.*

What fault have I done  
That I am being punished by you?  
It is neither stonerock nor metal,  
If I estimate it, I cannot seem to take it.  
Enter the carcel, my jail  
Am here and following.

*Yaring katawan ko’y kung ako ay asin  
(Ay) natunaw na lamang sa inyong paningin  
Mga mukha ninyo’y kamukha’y patalim  
Na siya na nga yatang papatay sa akin.*

This, my body, if I am a mound of salt  
I could have melted from your looks  
Your faces are like sharp objects  
That would kill me.

*Sinusulyap-sulyap, nililingon-lingon  
Itinuturo pa, ang wika ay 'doon'  
Pagdating sa gitna ay pabiling-biling  
Mamá'y kunin mo na't 'pakita sa akin.*

*Ako ay si Dusa, kakambal ni Hapis,  
Pinsan ni Dalita, anak ni Hinagpis.  
Kayâ naparito'y aking kinikita  
Ang nawawala kong sintang si Ligaya.*

*Si Ligaya na nga, walâ at nagtagò,  
Ako ay pupunta, pinsang si Tumurò.  
Nahipan ng hangin ang nagsusumamò,  
Ay bakâ maagnas ang pita sa pusò.*

*Si Ligaya na mga, wala't di makita  
Ako ay pupunta, pinsang si Suminta  
Sa tulong ng aking pinsang si Magtiis  
Ay bakâ maagnas ang tigas ng dibdib.  
Pagdating ko roon, tatawagan kita  
Nasaan ka, Neneng? Kay tamis suminta!*

*Tilaok manok, huni ng kulyawan  
(Ay) Kung aking wari'y ako'y tinatawag  
Ang aking pangaral kung nais mabatid  
(Ay) Inyong ipagtanong kay bunsong magiliw.*

*No'ng unang panahong ako'y batang munti  
Ang aking panata, ako'y magpapañ.  
Nang makakita na ng magandang binñ  
Ay nalimutan na itong pagpapañ.*

*Ako ay bulaklak na iisa-isa  
Pinakamamahal ng ama ko't ina  
Kung pipitasin mo't dadalhin sa dusa  
Mahanga'y sa punò, malaglag, malanta.*

*May isang tanghali, ako'y naiidlip  
Sa aming bakuran, may umalagit-it  
Ako ay nagbangon at aking sinilip  
Isang baboy-damong natangay ng ipis.*

Being gazed, head being turned, (Ay)  
Still finger-pointed, said 'there'  
Upon reaching the center, head a-turning (Ay)  
Man, get it now and let me see.

I am Suffering, twin of Sorrow,  
Cousin of Poverty, son of Grief.  
I came here because I am meeting  
My lost love, Joy.

This Joy, who is lost and in hiding,  
I am going to my cousin To-Point-Out.  
Windblown, the one who pleads,  
The desire in his heart may melt.

This Joy, who is lost and cannot be found  
I am going to my cousin To-Fall-In-Love  
With the help of my cousin To-Bear  
The hardness of the heart may melt.  
Upon reaching there, I will call upon you  
Where are you, Neneng? How sweet to love!

Cock-a-doodle of the rooster, chirp of the oriole  
I perceived I am being called upon  
If you want to learn my admonitions  
You have to ask my beloved youngest.

In the olden days, when I was a little kid  
I promised myself that I'll become a priest.  
When I saw some beautiful legs  
This becoming a priest was forgotten.

I am an only flower  
Dearest beloved of my father and mother  
If you'll pick me and bring me to suffering  
Better for me from my tree to fall, wither.

One noontime, I was asleep  
In our yard was creaking sound  
I got up and I peeped:  
A wild boar carried on the mouth by a roach.

*Magpahanggang-ngay-on, nanguros-nanguros*  
*Magpahanggang-ngay-on, suno sa paragos.*

Up to now, signs of the cross  
Up to now, carried on a sledge.

*Ang pagparito ko'y walang naghahatid*  
*Tila may kung anong inihip ng hangin.*  
*Kung itatanong mo kung saan nanggaling*  
*Kay Aling Polanang si kun-ay ang titser.*

My coming over here has no guide  
As if there is something blown by the wind.  
If you will ask where I came from  
From Madame Polana whose teacher is this  
unnamed one.

*Ang huni ng ibon sa gitna ng gubat*  
*Kung aking isipi'y ako'y tinatawag.*  
*Sinulid na iya'y itali sa hangin*  
*Ang áwit nang áwit ang papagpigilin.*

The bird's sound in the middle of the forest  
If I may think, I am being called upon.  
That piece of thread, tie it on a wind  
Let the one who sings without let-up hold it.

*Magpautang ka na, ikaw ang mayroon*  
*Magbabayad kami, hindi maglalaon.*

Please lend, you are the one who have  
We will repay, it will not take long.

*Ano bagá ale pakay mo sa akin*  
*Ang pautangin ka'y di ako sisingil*  
*Pagdating ng búkas, bubukás-bukásin*  
*Pagdating ng Linggo'y sa Linggo pa mandin.*

What, lady, can I do for you  
To lend you, I will not demand payment  
When tomorrow comes, still the next days  
When Sunday comes, this very Sunday still.

*May karunungan ma'y saká natatago*  
*Hindi nakikita sa manggas ng baro.*  
*Ang karunungan nga, kung ito'y totoo*  
*Di rin nakikita sa mga sanggano.*

Knowledge even if it is hidden  
Cannot be seen from the clothes' sleeves.  
Knowledge if it is true  
Cannot be seen from the rogues.

*Si Aling Polana ay pagay-on-gay-on,*  
*Nag-aanyong bata, hindi laang sanggol.*  
*Marunong umáwit, marunong magsunong,*  
*Ano't ang reklamo ngay-o'y patung-patong?*

Madame Polana does this and that  
Acting like a child, not an infant.  
Knows how to sing, to carry on the head  
Why now complaining one on top of another?

*Si Aling Polana, magandang babae*  
*Ang tae'y pandesal, ihi'y tsokolate*  
\_\_\_\_\_ biskotso, \_\_\_\_\_  
*Ang kanyang tutuli, ay puting merengge.*

Madame Polana is a beautiful woman  
Eating pandesal, drinking chocolate,  
\_\_\_\_\_ biscocho, \_\_\_\_\_  
Her earwax is white meringue.

*Mahal na prinsipe, ay h'wag kang kalulong*  
*Sa pamamangka mo, dagat ay maalon*  
*Di kaloob ng D'yos, mabasá ang timon*  
*Ang mapalibing ka'y walá ni kabaong.*

Beloved prince, do not be too absorbed  
In your boat-sailing, the sea has big waves  
Not by God's will, the sail may get wet  
To be buried, not even a coffin you'll have.

*Tindig na po, ale, at nang di malaon  
Ang sunong mong tagay ay ibigay doon.  
Abot, abot, kuha, mahal na bituin  
Ang nagreregalo h'wag pakahiyain.*

Stand up now, lady please, so you won't delay  
The *tagay* on your head, give it there.  
Reach out, get it, dear star,  
Do not embarrass the gift-giver.

*Dito natitingnan at nasusubukan  
Ang galing ng tao sa pag-aawitan.*

It is herein tried and tested  
The mettle of a man in singing.

*Meron pa po akong ibang karunungan  
Di naitatanong, ay ang palasayaw.*

I still have some talent reserves  
Though not asked, I dance.

*Itong aking tandang, láwit na ang palong  
Hindi na po káyang tumuka't sumulong . . .*

This rooster of mine already has fallen crown  
Neither can it peck nor advance anymore . . .

*Ako'y paalam na't magpapailaya,  
Tatawid ng ilog at mangangarsada.  
Pagdating sa bahay, ako'y maglalaba,  
Agos pa ng tubig, kaiga-igaya.*

Goodbye now, am going northbound  
Will cross a river then walk a cemented road.  
Upon reaching home, I will wash clothes,  
More so, the water flow is so delightful.

### *C. ADDITIONAL AWIT STANZAS 2012-2016*

#### Drinking:

*Ako'y kakanta na, kakanta rin lámang  
Ugali ng ako'y napaghihilingan  
Kung ako'y nanghiya sa pagkanta lámang  
Bakâ ako ay din kung ako'y mangutang.*

I will now sing, as to sing I have to  
Because I am requested to  
If I have caused shame only in singing  
May boomerang to me if I will borrow.

*Ako'y kakanta na ang sabi mo'y utang  
Pagkatapos nama'y iyong babayaran  
Pag sinabing hingi ay walang anuman  
Pag sinabing utang, pilit babayaran.*

I will now sing, you said 'tis a debt  
Thereafter you have to pay  
When 'tis named a request, that's nothing  
When 'tis named a debt, it must be paid.

#### On humility:

*Tunay, ang kawayan habang tumutubo  
Mataas na langit ang itinuturo  
Ngunit pag tumanda at sakâ lumago  
Sa mababang lupa doon din yuyuko.*

Truly, the bamboo while it grows  
Points to the high heavens  
But when it grows old and abundantly  
To the lowly land too will it bow down.



### Parangal (Homage):

*Sa kapangyarihan ng Amang Bathala  
Nayari ang langit at sakà ang lupa  
Ang naging batayan nitong Manlilikha  
Ay isang pag-ibig na kahanga-hanga.*

By the power of God the Father  
Heaven and earth were created  
The basis of the Creator  
Is one love that is awe-inspiring.

*Mag-ibigan tayo ang wika ng Diyos  
Mula nang lalangin itong sansinukob  
Ang batas na iyan ay banal na utos  
At pinatibayan nitong Mananakop.*

Let us love one another God said  
From the creation of this whole universe  
That law is a holy rule  
And was confirmed by the Creator.

*Ang dakilang Kristo ang kakristyanuhan  
Ang nakop sa ating mga kasalanan  
Ang siyang sumaksi sa katotohanan  
Lahat-lahat táyo'y dapat magmahalan.*

The great Christ, the Christendom  
Who saved us from our sins  
Who testified to the truth  
All of us should love each other.

### From Nanay Sedeng's late father:

*Ibabang Palále no'ng unang panahon  
May tatlong bulaklak na doo'y sumibol  
Isa'y inihain sa Diyos na Poon  
At ang dal'wa nama'y tinuka ng ibon.*

*Ibabang Palale* in the olden times  
Three flowers there a-bloom  
One was offered to the Lord God  
And the other two were pecked by the bird.

*Yaon namang isa kahit tinuka man  
Ay nagseserbe rin sa punò't tangkayan  
Yaon namang isa kahina-hinayang  
Nalaglag sa lupa, sa tubig lumutang.*

The other one even when pecked  
Is still serving the tree and its branches  
The other one is so pitiful  
Fell on the ground, floated on the water.

### Oyayi (Lullaby):

*Tulog na, tulog na, aking umispako  
At kita sa Linggo dadalhan ng bago  
H'wag ka na lámang sa iba pahipo  
Sa isang Sabado'y sáya nama't baro.*

Sleep now, sleep now, my baby  
And I will bring you on Sunday a new one  
Just don't let yourself be touched by others  
On next Saturday, will be *saya't baro*.

*Hoyo-hoyo rine, hoyo-hoyo riyan  
Parang nag-iiwi bata sa aluyan.*

*Hoyo-hoyo* here, *hoyo-hoyo* there  
Like weaning a baby on hammock.

*Tulog na, tulog na, ako ay gigising  
Gigisingin kita kumbaga't kakain*

Sleep now, sleep now, I will get up  
I will wake you up when 'tis time to eat

*Gising ko sa iyo, bangon na si Neneng  
Parine na Bunso, lalamig ang kanin.*

Am waking you up, get up Neneng  
Come here Youngest, rice will turn cold.

*Nalutang ang bato, nalubog ang yangit  
Araw na malamig at buwang mainit.*

The stone floats, dried leaves sink  
Cold sun and hot moon.

*Kung ako ay iyong sinisintang tunay  
Bakit iniwan mo sa gitna ng parang?*

If you really love me  
Why leave me at the center of the field?

### *Kortes/Kurtisiya (Courtesy):*

*Sa pagkakahimlay sa gitna ng dilim  
May mahinhing bango sa aki'y gumising  
Nang ako'y magbangon at aking hanapin  
Di na matagpuan kung saan nanggaling.*

*Aking tinalunton ang mahinhing bango  
Na mapanghalina, bulaklak ng liryo  
Liryong mahiwaga, saan ka naroon?  
Kita'y tinatawag, bakit di tumugon?*

*Di mo ba narinig ang aking panaghoy  
Sa laot ng dusa ay luluyong-luyong?*

*Dumalagang manok na nása ruweda  
Ang pamumutak mo'y di naming importa  
Pagaspas ng bagwis, pilantik ng paa  
Ang siya po naming gahinahanap pa.*

### On catching wild boar (*baboy-damo*) in the olden days:

*No'ng unang panahon gawang pamamanting  
Sa madaling araw kami'y dumarating.*

*Pagsikat ng araw ay nakahanda na  
Kaming tatalayba ay sama-sama na  
Pagsikat ng araw ay nakahanda na  
Sa kaniyang tayô, kami ay handa na.*

*Pagbatok ng aso ay pupunuan na  
Ang paghihiyawan ng mga talayba.*

*Ang sabi ng bugaw dali't malapit na  
Mga baboy-damo mauunahan ka.*

*Ang sagot ng bugaw kayo'y umakyat na  
Sa dulo ng kahoy doon mamahinga.  
Ngunit nang mahimbing nakapagtataka  
Ang Elena'y buntis, ang kaparte'y dal'wa!*

### *Áwit sa Kasálan (Wedding)*

From Barangay Ibabáng Palále, in the files of Tayábas Senior Citizens Federation, office of the Presidents Mr. & Mrs. Aristeo Palad, Angustias Zone I, Ermita, Tayábas City, on 19 November 2016.

*Kayong dal'wang puso ngayo'y pinaglakip  
Sa harap ni Kristo at ng Birheng ibig.  
Pag-ingatan ninyo na huwag magahis  
Sa hibo ng mundo, lilo at balawis.*

*Yaong sakdal dilag santo matrimonyo  
Sakramentong gáling sa poong si Kristo.  
Sa dibdib umagos, pitong sakramento  
Laan sa lahat na kung tungkol Kristyano.*

*Ang dalawang puso ninyong magsing-ibig  
Ngayo'y pinag-isa, sakdalan sa linis.  
Padrino't madrina ang saksing mahigpit  
Sa pagtatanggapan sintang walang dungis.*

*Idinulog ninyo sa harap ng altar  
Na ang matrimonyo hindi durungisan  
Ang tamis ng sumpa ng nagdaang araw  
Ngayong pinag-isa hanggang sa libingan.*

*Ang singsing na ginto at kadenang pilak  
Ang sa iyong nobyo taming iginawad  
Ng mahal na nobyo sinta mo at liyang  
Sampu pa ng tandang marilag na aras.*

*Ang kadenang pilak ay taling mahigpit  
Ninyong dal'wang pusong ngayo'y pinaglakip.  
At taling matibay magpahanggang langit  
Siyang ihahayin sa Diyos na ibig.*

*Sa harap ng altar ng Poong si Hesus  
Yaong konsagradong belong maalindog  
Ay tinanggap ninyong laging nasasaklob  
Sa ulo ng nobio, esposa mong irog.*

*Kayâ ikaw namang hinirang na nobyo  
Isinabalikat konsagradong belo.  
Sakaling may hîrap na daratnin kayo  
Kahit anong bigat pagtitiisan mo.*

*Kayâ ipinutong ikaw namang nobya  
Konsagradong belo sa ulo mo бага  
Ikaw ang may ingat ng puri at onra  
At dangal ng iyong hirang na asawa.*

*Kayong mag-asawa h'wag maghihiwalay  
At kayong dalawa'y iisang katawan.  
Ibigin mo siya, ibigin ka naman  
Sundin mo ang utos at sundin ka naman.*

*Kung sakali pa nga't iyong kahinatnan  
Ang maging api ka sa kinaragdagan  
Magugunita mo ang pagpapalayaw  
Ng ama't ina mong matamis magmahal.*

*Madlang kasayahan ngayo'y limutin mo  
Itanim sa puso gawang mahistrado.  
Aral at habilin ng poong si Kristo  
Sadyang inilagag ng Pastor Divino.*

*Ngayon ay ligaya iyong tatanggapin  
Kung ika'y matuto sa esposang giliw.  
Kung magkalisya ka't magkulang sa lining  
Kahirapa'y siyang kakaulayawin.*

*Ngayon sasapit ka sa tadhanang oras  
Kung datnin mo, bunso, sasapiting palad.  
Iba na sa dati at di mo talastas  
Ang tatanggapin mo, kung tuwa o hirap.*

*Matrimonyo ninyo'y pakamamahalin  
At sa inyong puso'y tanging na itanim.  
Mga hibo't daya ng demonyo'y al'sin  
At ang pagsasama pakalilinin.*

*Pakaiingatan parang isang rosas  
Na iminasitas sa hardin ng liryo  
Kung ito'y maluoy, masira, malanta  
Sampu ng punò nga'y wala nang halaga.*

*Nguni't kung mabuti ang pangangalaga  
Malago ang punò, ang daho'y sariwa  
Sa ngayo'y malabay, sa lilim sagana  
Sino mang titingi'y tiyak matutuwa.*

*Ito ang katulad at nakakabagay  
Ninyong mag-asawa sa pagsusunuran.  
Kung ang pagsasama malinis, mahusay  
Matrimonyo ninyo magiging uliran.*

*Sukat hanggang dito yamang inyong tanto  
Piliin ang baling magaling sa puso.*

### *Handog sa Kinasalan*

From Victorio C. Naynes, 13 September 1934, Barangay Mateuna, Tayábas. Halaw ni Anselmo “Lolo Memong” Naynes, Tayábas Senior Citizens Federation files, accessed 19 November 2016.

*Pagtitipong ito na may kamahalan  
Ako'y nagbibigay ng puspos na galang  
Pagkat sa ugaling aking kinagisnan  
Gumalang at upang igalang ka naman.*

*Una'y pasintabi sa tanang narito  
Sanáy at bihasa sa larong ganito  
Kung ako'y mamali sa koma at punto  
Kayo ang bahalang magpunò't maghusto.*

*Ang bubuklatin kong munting kasaysayan  
Ay ukol sa ating mga pagdiriwang  
Kung pagwariin ko'y kayong kalahatan  
Masayang-masaya dahil sa kinasal*

*Ngunit ang wika ko'y huwag kalubusin  
Iyang kasayahan sa puso't panimdim  
Ang alalahani'y panahong darating  
Kapag may umaga ay may takipsilim.*

*Wala pang seguro sa iyong paglakad  
Kahit ang hakbang mo'y totoong banayad  
Kung magkaminsan mo'y sa isang palanas  
Tuyo man ang daa'y napapadumpilas.*

*At gayundin naman ang agos ng tubig  
Mayroong panahong lubhang matahimik  
Ngunit kung dumating ang sigwang mabilis  
Ang katahimika'y biglang liligalig.*

*Ang buhay ng tao ay gayundin naman  
Karamihan itong ating namamasdan  
Hanggang bago-bago'y ang pagsasamahan  
Parang pipit puso ang pagmamahalan.*

*Walang likat na di pagsuyo tuwina  
Ang inihahandog sa sintang asawa  
Kahit kapirasong kakaning bala na  
Pinagsasaluhang namnamin ang lasa.*

*Ngunit gunitaing sa lakad ng buhay  
Ang lahat ng sayá ay may katapusan  
Ang pagmamahala'y kapag nasaputan  
Ng ulap ng dilim sa katanghalian.*

*Nariyan ang isang matinding pas-anin  
Kapagka mayroong gumawa ng lihim  
Malilimutan na ang suyo at lambing  
Ang dating masayang mukha'y kukulimlim.*

*Dagling maglalaho ang kaligayahan  
At magugunita ang nagdaang araw  
Tuloy mawiwika sa sarili lamang  
Mabuti pang ako'y mag-isang mabuhay.*

*Kapatid na giliw iyang pagsisisi  
Kapagka huli na'y walang mangyayari  
Anumang gagawi't mauuna'y sisi  
Asahan mo't walang gawang mapeperde.*

## ARAL

*Ang pag-aasawa'y kung pag-iisipin  
Magaang mabigat, masamang magaling  
Kung nagkakasundo'y magaang dadalhin  
Pag hindi sumama'y tunay na magaling.*

*Tikis na nga lámang hindi maiwasan  
Itong matrimonyong pinagpipilitan  
Hindi natatantong ito'y parusahan  
Sa init at lamig ay namamagitan.*

*Lisanin ang ama't inang nagkandili  
At ang sinunod mo'y loob mong sarili  
Ang iiwanan mo'y ginhawang parati  
Gumawa ka't di ma'y di ka sinisisi.*

*Tapos na ang layaw, tapos na ang lahat  
Mga kasayahan at gintong pangarap  
At ngayo'y ang inyong buhay na hinarap  
Ang pakikibaka sa ginhawa't saklap.*

*Anupa't ang inyong nasapit na búhay  
Parang nakukulong sa 'sang hawlang bakal  
Ibig mang lumabas magsayá't magdiwang  
Di na mangyayari, may kadenang pataw.*

*Dáting kaibiga'y lalayo nang lahat  
Di gaya ng dáting lagi mong kausap  
Harana't sayawa'y di na malalasap  
Dahil sa asawang susundin nang tapat.*

*Kayâ ang wika ko'y loob mo tibayan  
Sa pinasukan mong bagong kabuhayan  
Hapis at dalita'y iyong pagtiisan  
Upang maging ganap ang pagmamahalan.*

*Nagsala-salabat sa balát ng lupa  
Ang maraming tukso na lumilipana  
Pakaingatan mong ikaw ay madaya  
Nang di maging daan ng ikasasama.*

*Kung ikaw babae gumawa ng sala  
Pilit magagalit ang sintang asawa  
Ikaw na lalaki gayundin sa kanya  
Kayâ pag-ingatan ang sala tuwina.*

*Kung kayo'y tumanggap masamang balita  
Sinuman sa inyo'y huwag mabibigla  
Bago magparusa'y iisipin muna  
Bakâ di totoo't ang balita'y likha.*

*Kung saka-sakaling ang isa'y magalit  
Ang isa sa inyo'y huwag nang iimik  
At inyong antayin ang gabing tahimik  
Marahang itanong ang ikinagalit.*

*At ang pagtatanong ay huwag gahasa  
Haluan ng lambing sa mga salita  
Ang usapan ninyo'y maraha't mahina  
Kung may natutulog, nang di magambala.*

*At ang pagtatalo'y huwag isisigaw  
At inyong daanin usapang marahan  
Da'nin sa malamig at sa malumanay  
At kahiya-hiya sa kalapit-bahay.*

*Sinuman sa inyong gumawa ng lihis  
Da'nin sa pangusap, salitang malamig  
Huwag nang bibigkas salitang masakit  
Sa kasing esposong kabiyak ng dibdib.*

*Ikaw na babae tungkuli'y sa bahay  
Manulsi ng punit, maglaba't magsimpan  
At ang asawa mong nása hanapbuhay  
Kung basáng dumating, bihisa'y ilaan.*



*Sa pangungusina naman ay gayundin  
Huwag pabayaang walang lutong kanin  
Kung saka-sakaling asawa'y dumating  
Kung may luto ka na'y madaling ihayin.*

*Ang anumang bagay na bawal sa iyo  
Huwag mong gagawi't nang hindi magtalo  
Pangangaperbahay pakailagan mo  
Diyang nagmumula ang masamang tukso.*

*Huwag pagkaalis ng iyong asawa  
Ay aalis ka ri't dadayo ng hunta  
Walang mapapala sa ganiyang hunta  
Kundi pag-usapa'y ang buhay ng iba.*

*Na ang dulo't sundo'y pagdating ng wakas  
Siniraang puri, ngayo'y manunumbat  
Para kang kumuha ng batong matigas  
Na sa ulo mo ri'y siyang ihahampas.*

*Huwag padadala sa tuksong masama  
Alam mo na namang mundo'y magdaraya  
Lingapi't mahalín ang asawang mutya  
Magsalo tuwina sa ligaya't tuwa.*

*Dati mong ugali sa pagkadalaga  
Sa panahong ito'y lilimutin mo na  
Ang pag-aralan mo'y ang pakikisama  
Sa kinaragdaga'y manuyo tuwina.*

*Asal kabil-ani't igaling mahalay  
Huwag mong gagawin sa kinaragdagan  
Kung may ginagawa'y huwag mong titingnan  
Kundi tumulong ka ng makakayanan.*

*Kayâ ang wika ko'y magpakatimbang ka  
Sapagkat mahirap gawang mag-asawa  
At wala na namang tunay na ginhawa  
Kung magkakasundo kayong magsasama.*

*Kahit kani't asin ang pang-araw-araw  
Masarap na ito kung di nag-aaway  
Kahima't sagana sa isda at ulam  
Kung kayo'y magulo'y walang kasaysayan.*

*Kung pagsulitan ka ng iyong asawa  
Ng munting salaping kaniyang kinita  
Anumang bibilhi'y ang iba'y itira  
Na kung may sakuna'y mayroong magasta.*

*Ang batis at ilog hindi laging baha  
Mayroong panahong nagkakating bigla  
Kayâ ang mag-impok ay hindi masama  
Kapag may 'sinuksok, may matitingala.*

*Ang magpakababa't ugaling banayad  
Ay kapuri-puring malasin ng lahat  
Ngunit ang mababang mag-anyong mataas  
Sa mata ng tao'y lason at kamandag.*

*Tungkulin mo naman esposong marangal  
Humanap tuwina ng ikabubuhay  
Agapan ang gising sa madaling-araw  
Nang 'di tanghalii'y gamit ay ilaan.*

*Salaping kinita'y lahat ay isulit  
Sa asawang giliw, huwag maglilingid  
Magtapat na lagi sa esposang ibig  
Nang kayo'y purihin ng Diyos sa langit.*

*At kung malulungkot esposa'y aliwin  
Huwag pagsabihan ng nakakahirin  
Alalahanin mong iya'y bahagi rin  
Ng iyong katawang dapat mong mahalin.*

*Sa minsang pagdaing ng sakit ng ulo  
Ihanap mo agad ng isang mediko  
At bakâ sakaling magkasentimyento  
Kayâ kailangan agad ng remedyo.*

*Matrimonyo ninyo'y kung baga't magbunga  
Inyong tuturuan ugaling maganda  
Nang di maging kargo sa Diyos na Ama  
Ang magandang asal inyong ipamana.*

*Huwag pabayaang lumaki sa layaw  
Turuan ng gawa na makakayanan  
Ang batang lumaki't sa bisyo namuhay  
Kung hindi busabos, ganid at halimaw.*

*Ang dadagdagan mo'y sipag at tiyaga  
Hindi ka na ngayon paris ng binata  
Kawalan sa bahay ikaw ang bahala  
Bago ka umalis iyong ihahanda.*

*Na kung umalis ka at nakahanda na  
Bigas, ulam, tubig, kahoy at lahat na  
Sa iyong tungkuli'y nakakaganap ka  
Walang mawiwika ang kasing esposa.*

*Kung nakahanda na ang mga lutuin  
Nakasiguro kang darating ay hayin  
Ngunit kung wala kang iniwang kakanin  
Ang abang babae, saan pakukunin?*

*May suliranin pang aking nalimutan  
Sasabihin ko ri't nang iyong maal'man  
Na bakâ sakaling sa daraang araw  
Ang bagay na ito'y inyong pagdanasan.*

*Na kung dumating ka't walang lutong kanin  
Ang iyong asawa'y huwag sisisihin  
At bakâ mayroong lagnat na salimsim  
O kung dili kayâ ay may batang munting.*

*Ang bagay na iya'y kung bagâ sumapit  
Walang katuwirang ikaw ay magalit  
Anupang gagawin kundi ang magtiim  
Tawagan na lámang ang Diyos sa langit.*

Ang bagay na ito'y sinalita ko man  
Ay bahala ka na namang makiramdam  
Bakâ kayâ gayon ang kaniyang asal  
Ay naglalaro na ng apoy sa kalan.

Ang pagtitiwala'y huwag kalubusin  
Ang iyong mamasda'y ang kilos na lihim  
Bakâ ang ulo mo'y gawing patubiling  
At parang manika na gagalawanin.

Iya'y suliraning kabig-at-big-atan  
Na dito sa mundo'y wala nang kapantay  
Kayâ ang babae kung mabuti mahal  
Apdo at kamandag kung sumama naman.

Hindi baling ika'y magtiis ng hirap  
Kung ang asawa mo'y tapat sa pagliyang  
Ngunit kung balawis at may asal sukab  
Iyong parusahan ng ukol at dapat.

Karapatan iyang gagampanan mo na  
Mahirâp-hirâp ma'y mag-aaguwanta  
Ang hirap sa iyo ng ama mo't ina  
Sa panahong ito'y magbabayad ka na.

Huwag isusukal ng puso mo't loob  
Anuman ang hirap sa iyong idulot  
Sa tungkuling iya'y walang nag-uutos  
Ang kagustuhan mo'y siyang sinusunod.

Nang nása piling ka ng iyong magulang  
Husto ang tulog mo gumawa ka't di man  
Sa panahong ito ang tulog mo'y himlay  
Pagkat mayroon kang sagutin sa búhay.

Ang biyanan ninyo'y huwag kalimutan  
Dalawin kahit na minsan sa sambuan  
At doon mahigang magdamag man lámang  
Nang hindi masabing masamang manugang.

*Kung bagá dumating ang kinabukasan  
Ikaw na lalaki mag-ula man lámang  
Maglabit ng kahoy pag-uwi ng bahay  
Parang bigay-loob sa iyong biyanan.*

*At bago umalis usisain muna  
Ang tapaya't galong, bigasa't lahat na.  
At kung walang tubig dumadlo ka muna  
Magbayo kung walang bigas na natira.*

*Kung mayroon naman na magkakaramdam  
Sinuman sa inyo na kinaragdagan  
Dadalawin ninyo't dalhan ng anumang  
Mga makakaing sa sakit ay bagay.*

*Kung may pagpipiging ay huwag aalis  
Kung sa inyo'y walang gawaing mahigpit  
Pangilagan ninyo'y ang maghinanakit  
Na kung ikaw naman sila'y magsilapit.*

*Lalong-lalo na nga'y ang inyong biyanan  
Kung may karamdama'y huwag iiwanan  
Piliting hanapin lunas kagamutan  
Sa magulang ninyo'y nagbigay ng búhay.*

*Ang asahan ninyo'y pag may itinanim  
Darating ang araw na may aanihin  
Ang masamang punla'y hindi pa nasupling  
Ay nag-aabang na uhod na kakain.*

*At bago lisanin ang inyong biyanan  
Magmamano muna't hahalik ng kamay  
Ito'y isang tanda ng buong paggalang  
At sunod sa batas ng magandang asal.*

*Marami pang lubha kung pag-iisipin  
Mga kahirapang pilit dadanasin  
Ang nasabi ko na'y munting bahagi rin  
Kabuhayan ninyong pilit dadanasin.*

*Hanggang dito ako't mahaba na yata  
Mga nakikinig, ay bakâ sumawa  
'Di naman pangaral ang aking ginawa  
Kundi alaalang lubhang masagana.*

*Kung may mali ako sa ipinahayag  
Walang magagawa't dagliang sinulat  
Utang ko nang loob ilihim ang libak  
Ako ngang si Naynes, nahingi ng tawad.*

### *Sa Kinasalan*

From Lola Pitang Bojos, Munting Báyan, Tayábas. Accessed 16 November 2016 at Tayábas Senior Citizens Federation files.

### *Para Sa Lalaki*

*Mga maginoong dito'y napipisan  
Sa lipunang ito'y parang isang aral  
Ako'y bumabati ng puspos na galang  
Tuloy humihingi ng katahimikan.*

*Pagkat sa akin po ay may nag-importa  
Ang magmanukala ng ganitong sayá  
Tutuparin ko po't bibigyang-halaga  
Sa abot ng aking munting makakaya.*

*Pagkat ito'y araw na katangi-tangi  
Ng dalawang pusong ngayo'y pinagtali  
Dapat ipagdiwang tuloy ipagbunyi  
Handugan ng ating maligayang bati.*

*Yamang sa dambana ng pagkakasundo  
Inyong pinagbuhol dal'wa ninyong puso  
Ito'y katuparan ng sumpa't pangako  
Kamatayan lamang ang makakasugpo.*

*Kaya po dahil d'ya'y inyong pagdamutin  
Pakinggan ang aking mga tagubilin  
Tagubiling ito'y kung inyong tuparin  
Maligayang búhay hari nga'y sapitin.*

*Tapos na sa inyo'y ang layaw at tuwa  
At kaligayahang mapagmalik-mata  
Ang lambing at suyo ng asawang mutya  
Siyang tanging tinig na mauunawa.*

*Tantong matrimonyo ay ang iwing dangal  
Magaang pas-anin kung pagtutulungan  
Subalit siya ng kabig-at-big-atan  
Sakali at hindi mag-uunawaan.*

*Pagkat ang tungkulin ang isang lalaki  
Ay pakamahalin ang asawang kasi  
Magsunuran kayo tungkol sa mabuti  
Sa mata ng lahat ipagkakapuri.*

*Kung no'ng unang dako binata pa kayo  
Nawiwili ka man sa barkada't bisyo  
Akala mo ngayon pagbabawahan mo  
At bakâ pagmul-an niyong pagtatalo.*

*Ikaw nga ang bisig ng iyong asawa  
Mga bunso ninyo sa iyo aasa.  
Kung di ka mag-impok at matugagas ka  
Siguro'y hindi ka bibigyan ng iba.*

*Dating sawikain kapag may inimpok  
Kung magigipit ka ay may madadampot  
Igi nang may impok kahit kakarampot  
Kung kailangan mo ay may madudukot.*

*Ikaw man ay bago umalis ng bahay  
Ihanda mo muna mga kailangan  
Iwasang masangkot sa masamang bagay  
Na sa asawa mo'y magbibigay lumbay.*

*Isa pa'y ang gawang pagmamalibangin  
Sa mga sabungan, sugal ay limutin  
Pagkat iyong bisyo kundi lilimutin  
Asawa't anak mo'y tatangis nang lihim.*

*Sa paglilibang mo, iwasan ang sabong,  
Mahjong at babae, tong-it at pangngig-gi  
Huwag kang tutulad sa ibang lalaki  
Ang inaasaha'y sikap ng babae*

*Kung dumating pa'y sa inyong sarili  
Ikaw pa ang siyang mag-aasal tigre.  
Kung marahuyo kang uminom ng alak  
At sakâ may bisyong sumugal magbakrat*

*Mapapabayaan ang asawa't anak  
Na siyang karamay sa dusa at hirap.  
Huwag mong lilimutin ang iyong pagsimba  
Kung araw ng Linggo, pangilin lalo pa.*

*Kung matutupad mo ikaw ay umasa  
Di ka lalayuan ng ating Bathala.*

#### ***Para Sa Babae***

*At ikaw babaeng ilaw ng tahanan  
Dangal ng lalaki sa kapamahayan  
Inang magbibigay ng magandang aral  
Sakali't magbunga ang pagmamahalan.*

*Kung no'ng dalaga kay sunod mo ang tuwa  
Layaw sa magulang mulang pagkabata  
Maging matimpi ka't ang asawang mutya  
Paglilingkuran mong hinaho't payapa.*

*Tapos na sa inyo ang layaw at tuwa  
At kaligayahang mapagmalikmata  
Ang lambing at suyo ang asawang mutya  
Siyang tanging tinig na mauunawa.*

*Ngayo'y iingatan pangangapit-bahay  
Parini-paroon, walang pinapanaw.  
Pag-iingatan mo't ang bagay na yaan  
Marubdob na mitsa ng panibughuan.*



*Kung ang asawa mo'y darating ng bahay  
Gáling sa kaniyang paghahanapbuhay  
Kung may lungkot ka man ay pasalubungan  
Ng masayang mukha na may pagmamahal.*

*Pag-ukulan mo rin ng wastong pagtingin  
Ang kinaragdagan sa asawang giliw  
Mga pagsunod mo'y pakatitimbangin  
Nang hindi masabing ika'y kabil-anin.*

*Kung may kailangan bayaw mo't bianan  
Anumang gawa mo'y sagliting paron-an  
Huwag mo rin namang biglang iiwanan  
Uusisain mo'y kung may kailangan.*

*Sa kinaragdagan bayaw mo't bianan  
Magmasunurin ka nang buong paggalang  
Kung maaapi ka't kakaunting bagay  
Kapurihan mo rin kung mapagtiisan.*

*Ito'y simula ng paglubog ng araw  
Mula sa pagsikat sa kaliwanagan  
Didilim na pilit kusang tatalikdan  
Nagdaang panahon di na pagbabal'kan.*

*Isa-isahing balikan sa isip  
Ang nangakaraang araw na matamis  
Nagsumpaan kayong saksi lupa't langit  
Buhol ng daliri ang saksing ginamit.*

*At ikaw babae siyang maghahawak  
Ng lahat ng iyong ikapapanatag  
Ikaw rin ang siyang susing magbubukás  
Sa mga darating na magandang palad.*

*Sukat dito na po loobin din nawa  
Pagsasama ninyo'y maging mapayapa  
Ilayo sa tukso at mga sakuna  
Hanapbuhay ninyo'y maging masagana.*

*Marapat abutin itong kurtisiya  
Tanda pagtalikod sa pagkadalaga.  
Santo matrimonyo ay ang iwing dangal  
Magaang pas-anin kung pagtutulungán*

*Subalit siya ng kabig-at-big-atan  
Sakali at hindi mag-uunawaan.  
Kayâ dahil dito'y inyong pagdamutin  
Pakinggan ang aking mga tagubilin.*

*Tagubiling ito'y kung inyong tuparin  
Maligayang búhay hari nga't sapitin.*

### ***Sa Kinasalan***

*Dudulugin ko na ang aking bianan  
At itatanong ko kung ako'y manugang  
Dudulugin ko na ang aking kapatid  
At itatanong ko kung ako ay ibig.*

*Dudulugin ko na't aking lalapitan  
Ang bagong partido sa kinaragdagan  
Akong naparagdag mahirap ang búhay  
Huwag naman ninyong kapapahirapan.*

*Ako'y paalam na inang nagpalaki  
Mga kapatid kong sa aki'y nag-iwi  
At sa iyo naman amang nagpalaki  
Nag-aruruga sa araw at gabi.*

*Ako'y paalam na mga kaibigan  
Amai't inain, kapatid ko't pinsan  
Ating samaha'y huwag lilimutan  
Tulad din ng dati, tayo'y pisan-pisan.*

*Ako'y paalam na, kapuwa ko bata  
Ito'y simula na ng aking pagtanda  
Tatanda man ako'y bata ang edad ko  
Kayâ lámang gayo'y lalagay sa'stado.*

*Ako'y lalakad na't maghahanap-hanap  
Maghahanap-hanap bagong kamag-anak.*

### ***Sa Umpúkan***

*Sa kagalang-galang nating pag-uumpok  
Nása gitna na ng ligaya at lugod  
Parang kristalinong malinaw na bubog  
Batis ng ligaya ang pinaaanod.*

*Narini na nga po natindig na rini  
Pusong naghihirap ay antabayani  
Bakâ makapara roon sa sinabi  
Katawan ay kahoy, bunga'y lagedarni.*

*Huwag nang magtampo, huwag nang magalit  
Aking pagbibigyan pawang iyong hiling  
Sa ganda mong iyan, di ka bibiguin  
Anumang hiling mo'y pilit kong gagawin.*

### ***Pútong***

Literally, *pútong* means crown. It was customary to celebrate a dear friend's, relative's or a land-lord's birthday with this beautiful ceremonial dance and song. Friends, relatives, and tenants of the honoree gather together, prepare gifts and food, invite or hire musicians, make a crown of flowers for the honoree and prepared other things for the celebration. When everything is ready, the people go to the honoree's house and perform this dance and song. This is called *asálto*. The first two stanzas of the song are sung while the people are going up the stairs. The honoree is requested to sit on a chair between two small girls dressed as angels and each holding a lighted candle. The crowning and dancing are done in front of the honoree who is at the center of the room.

*Malaki ang tuwa nang kami'y dumating  
Nang aming makita ang inyong luningning  
Lubos ang pag-asa, kami'y tatanggapin  
Ang lahat ng tao'y inyong aampunin.*

*Nang kami'y dumating sa inyong pintuan  
Itong si San Jorge, aming natan-awan  
Naroon sa trono na namamag-itan  
Sa dalawang anghel na may dalang ilaw.*

*Kami po'y may alay na isang korona  
Sa San Jorge aming dinadala-dala  
Ang kasama rito'y marikit na palma  
Sampung bulaklakan na kaaya-aya.*

*Hayo na't lumabas ang isa sa inyo  
Alay tang korona ipatong sa ulo  
At sakâ ang palma nama'y iabot mo  
Kasabay ang sabog asusena't liryo.*

*Yamang nar'yan ka na katawang mapalad  
Korona sa glorya tinamo mong agad  
Nagputong sa iyo birhenes na lahat  
Ng palma't korona sa ulong marilag.*

*At kayo pong lahat dito ay sumama  
At makiabuloy sa dakilang p'yesta  
Ang mahal na santo ipinagselebra  
Karampatan namang ihiyaw ng "Biba!"*

*Biba, biba, biba! Mabuhay! Mabuhay!  
Mabuhay ang santong aming pinutungan  
Biba ang kapatid, biba ang magulang  
At biba pa mandin ang kamag-anakan.*

# Constitutional Populism in Korea

A Curious Dream Of Realizing  
Democratic and Constitutional Ideal  
through the Military Dictatorship

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## Abstract

This article examines Constitutional populism in Korea focusing on Han Taeyeon's constitutional theory. Han is one of the most eminent constitutional theorists in Korea whose works have dealt with political issues within the boundaries of public law. He also took part in the Park Junghee regime as an ideologue to legally legitimize the regime. His main theme concerned how the people could be established as the protector of sovereignty in undeveloped Korea, which was a critical and urgent agenda for constitutional theory. He criticized the political situation and legal system in the 1950s in this respect, and advocated, by the concepts and languages of public law, the May 16 coup d'état in 1961 as a decisive step to redeem people's sovereignty and the legal system. Since then to the Yushin regime in 1971, Park's populist regime was legitimated under the ideal of people's sovereignty by Han.

## Keywords

Constitutional populism, people's sovereignty, Han Taeyeon, democracy

## The Portrait of a Constitutionalist

There exists a familiar scenario of being born in colonial Korea, receiving college education in Japan, and settling at the center of political, business, or academic circles after liberation. In particular, it is impossible to comprehend without the protagonists of this scenario how Korean society from the 1950s to the 1970s established its national framework. Their importance becomes all the more prominent if the scope is narrowed down to the realm of intellectual history. The influence of those who studied in the Japanese empire on the early period of academia cannot be overemphasized, even if one turns to humanities and social sciences or even natural science. Among them, constitutional scholar Han Taeyeon holds an unrivaled position. This is true in terms of his vigorous writing activities and outstanding achievements from the 1950s to the end of the 1990s, but also true in terms of his deep involvement in the formation of a legal system as an engaged intellectual amid the tumult of modern history. Han participated in the enactment of the Constitution of the Second Republic, the Third Republic, and the Yushin Constitution. He also became a politician during Park Junghee regime, and later served as the chief editor of a newspaper company, exercising vast influence across the society. In this sense, Han's life can be said to provide a unique example of how knowledge and politics are implicated in Korea after its liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945.

Of course, like Han Taeyeon, there are many intellectuals who form close relations with the regime and “engage” in real politics. However, the reason why this article pays close attention to Han Taeyeon, in particular, is to gain a historical view of populism in modern Korea. As will be discussed in the coming pages, populism is a concept that refers to the phenomenon of developing politics or governance through appeals to and mobilization of people by dissolving parliamentary-centered institutional democracy. Populism has appeared in various forms in the political history of the twentieth century at a global level, including Nazism and Italian fascism in the 1930s, the development of popular democracy in Latin America, the recent Trump phenomenon, Brexit, refugee aversion in Europe and the advancement of the extreme right. Korea, of course, is no exception. The establishment of

the Rhee Seungman regime was made possible by a thoroughly populist mass mobilization, and the military regime since Park Junghee formed its governance in a direct combination of the president and the people by neutralizing the power of parliament. From this context, it appears that the governing paradigm of modern Korea has been government-manufactured populism.

Han Taeyeon's intellectual pursuit took place in the middle of a trend towards constitutional populism. He tried to demonstrate the development of government-manufactured populism through the concept and category of Constitutional theory, and also designed a legal system for such a governing paradigm. The following scene, reminisced by Han himself, is an example that dramatically exhibits his intellectual pursuit.

This gentleman [Lieutenant colonel Lee Seokjae: citator] came in his uniform, armed with a pistol. He told me to make a revolutionary Constitution. [When I replied that it wasn't possible: citator] he asked what could be done. So I said I'd study it the next time as an alternative and sent him back. After sending him back, no ideas came to mind. Then, one idea was hitting me, that is, the process Hitler encroached upon the Weimar Constitution after he took power: it was so called "the enabling law" which was to remove the authority of the people and the state. This law, so to speak, is known among scholars as the Weimar Republic having enacted a law by which Nazi demolished the Constitution. With this, Hitler began to complete the dictatorship. That law was my hint, and I started to work alone for a week at a small hotel in Hyewoondong, which is now gone. [ . . . ] The law of emergency for state restoration is what was created from this (Han T., "Retrospect" 34-35)

This scene may be regarded as a shameless retrospection of a government-patronized scholar who collaborated in a coup d'état. However, the scene also stimulates a strong imagination set in the modern and intellectual history of Korea; that is, how populism, constitutionalism, and democracy have been muddled under the military regime, and how Han Taeyon attempted to present the reasons for the making of a Revolutionary constitution. This is beyond an intellectual scandal, rather a desperate effort by the intellectual to establish stable political and social order for his undeveloped country that had suffered under colonial rule. Of course, justifying the

reasons for making a Revolutionary constitution should not be acknowledged. But, at the same time, it could not be simply blamed for collaboration with the dictatorship because Han was participating in the military regime to realize his ideal as a sincere democrat and constitutionalist. The following parts discuss the tangled involvement between populism and constitutional theory in modern Korea by tracking down Han Taeyeon's intellectual pursuit. First of all, let us review Carl Schmitt's discussion on people's sovereignty and populism, which had a profound impact on Han's constitutional theory.

### **People's Sovereignty and Populism**

"All power comes from the people" (Article 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea). Although constitutional expressions vary from country to country, this principle of people's sovereignty is the first principle shared by all democratic countries. The problem is the people. No need to quote Rousseau because it is well known that the people are not a simple sum of individuals. The people must be a single entity with one will, and it must know no division or part. However, people's sovereignty is always institutionalized and functionally divided in spite of its unity. Because the people as unity can never exercise direct power, they must always execute power through persons or institutions. This is why the legal system, as best enshrined in the constitution, is the basis of governance in a democratic system. People's sovereignty is only exercised indirectly through the closely organized division of functions through the legal system.

But the "people" are a "temptation" for a direct intervention in a democratic government system. Even though the protocol of modern political principles stipulates an indirect rule that presupposes the impossibility of direct democracy, history shows that democracy has not quelled the desire for direct rule by the people. The numerous people's uprisings in history have been regarded as the manifestation of direct democracy, and for those who dream of revolution, the directness of a single, unified people have been a strong basis for overthrowing the regime. Those who accept the temptation within themselves depict the presence of people in a way that would be called "political phenomenology." This was true for the general strike of



George Sorell, who tried to prove the people's existence by stopping the world in an instant, and Walter Benjamin, who cited Sorell and configured the directness of the people in the form of the divine violence, and V. I. Lenin, who led a unified revolution by overlaying the last human figure of the proletariat by steel. Similarly, Carl Schmitt also opposed the manifestation of the people to counter the liberal democratic constitutional state. But for Schmitt, this was not for a revolution; rather, it was an attempt to defend the power of the constitution from liberalism:

“People” is a concept that becomes present only in the public sphere. The people appear only in the public, and they first produce the public generally. People and public exist together: no people without public and no public without the people. Only the present, truly assembled people are the people and produce the people. The correct idea that supports Rousseau's famous thesis that the people cannot be represented rests on this truth. They cannot be represented, because they must be present, and only something absent, not something present, may be represented. As a present, genuinely assembled people, they exist in the pure democracy with the greatest possible degree of identity. (*Constitutional Theory* 272)

Schmitt defines the gathering of the people in the public square as the people themselves and the public themselves and states that people who have manifested this way perform their own unique activities. It is called “acclamation.” Through cheers or silence in the public square, people decide for and against the leader or a certain proposal. In other words, ‘people = the public = acclamation’ is the present state in which people's sovereignty, which is the basis of democracy, exists. As a result, “to Schmitt, acclamation is the pure and direct expression of the people as a constituent democratic power” (Agamben 171). Agamben evaluates Schmitt's strategy of reconstructing the genealogy of acclamation as follows:

Schmitt's strategy is clear. He acted as the theorist of pure direct democracy by borrowing from Erik Peterson the constructive function of the liturgical acclamation. Through direct democracy, he aimed to counter the liberal democracy of the Weimar Republic. [ . . . ] The acclamation of the people

who are directly present is the opposition to the liberal practice of secret voting. (172).

To summon the genealogy of acclamation, therefore, is to confront direct democracy to the liberal practice or system of democratic republics. Carl Schmitt tried to overcome the political turmoil of the Weimar Regime through this strategy. For him, the political turmoil of the Weimar Regime was equated to the chaos of the liberal parliament. The incompetence of parliament, marked by “eternal chatter” (*ewigen Gespräche*) rather than political determination, was unlikely to overcome the disintegration from the defeat. Carl Schmitt’s works in the 1920s, ranging from *The Dictatorship* (*Die Diktatur*, 1921) to *Political Theory* (*Politische Theorie*, 1922) to *Constitutional Theory* (*Verfassungslehre*, 1928), were all interventions to this situation. He demanded the president’s dictatorship based on Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution as a way to overcome the parliament’s incompetence; here, dictatorship refers to a provisional state of rule in which the constituent power, from which the constitution originates, remains valid while the constitutional law as a written statement is suspended from effect (Schmitt, *Dictatorship*). The acclamation of the people is requested here. He seeks the justification for the president’s dictatorship from the stark manifestation of people’s sovereignty, or the acclamation of the people.

Recent research overlaps with such context in that populism is not simply an anti-democratic pathological phenomenon, but a challenge or an appropriation to democracy in the form of a shadow/periphery/ghost (Canovan; Akkerman; Arditì, “Populism, or Politics”; Arditì, “Populism as a Spectre”; Taggart; Mudde). From the standpoint of institutional democracy with the constitution as its highest standard, populism is clearly a pathological phenomenon that destroys democracy. This is because populism radicalizes and disintegrates norm/debate/compromise/agreement as the political process of determination/shouts/antagonism/confrontation. However, recent research deviates from this structure and regards populism as a “constant” of democracy. Although normative positions vary, most recent research places populism at the critical point of democracy; this suggests that

the situation in which direct governance/movement appears at the forefront by bypassing various institutions of democracy, including parliament, is a conventional mechanism rather than a pathology. In other words, the temptation of the people mentioned above is already embedded in democracy in the wake of populism.<sup>1</sup>

If we move this back into the context of Schmitt's constitutional theory, democracy and populism can be understood as the relationship between the constitutional system and constituent power. This relationship is one of "the state of exception" in which the "people's acclamation" appears naked and the "normal state" under the legal system based on the Constitution is suspended. Of course, not all populism results in exceptions such as revolution, unrest, and war. The important fact, however, is that populism's phenomenal feature always emphasizes the crisis of the current system, abhors external enemies, and asserts the unity of the people. Populism also crystalizes all of this as a single personality, manifesting the people's acclamation with the charisma of the leader. As such, populism always uses the rhetoric of exception and dictatorship and accuses the current system of serving the interests of certain groups and not the people. Thus, the people's acclamation, which makes the Constitution and the system possible, is summoned in populism. In this context, Carl Schmitt had theorized the dynamic relationship between populism and public law.

Since the enactment of the Constitution in 1948, the constitutional history of Korea experienced several constitutional revisions. In this process, especially in the process of amending the Constitution in the 1950s and 1970s, populism has always been at the center of political dynamics over revisions. This was the case with so-called the Busan political turmoil in 1951 and the discussions around April 19, 1960 and May 16, 1961), and this paradigm reached its peak with the Yushin Constitution of 1972. It was typically entered into public law mainly through discussions on the executive power system, namely over the cabinet system or presidential system. In this context, Korea's populism from the 1950s to the 1970s can be seen to have developed in a way that exceeded the governing method, hegemony strategy, rhetoric, and political movements. As will be discussed below, the

rulers of the time have attempted to reshape the power structure through constitutional revision, and showed a typical aspect of government-manufactured populism that summoned the people as sovereigns. In this sense, what is characteristic in modern Korea is that populism develops in line with the discussion of constitutional amendment. In that process, a prominent constitutional scholar named Han Taeyeon always made an appearance. Perhaps it is no coincidence. Han Taeyeon, who had repeatedly made intellectual reflections under Carl Schmitt's great influence, captured Korea's situation at the time in the frame of Schmitt's theory of sovereignty.<sup>2</sup> It is now time to turn to Han Taeyeon's intellectual pursuit.

### **People's Sovereignty Without the People**

"There was one formula in our country in the era of the Liberal Party government. The presidential system was dictatorship, and the cabinet system was liberal. That was the formula. Regardless of whether the parliamentary system was suitable for the nation's reality, the free political system was common practice in Korea at that time." (Han T., "Retrospect" 26). That was how Han recalled the situation around April 19, 1960. It was not a mere arbitrary judgment. For example, another public law scholar said the following shortly after May 16, 1961, one year after April 19, 1960. "Of course, the logic cannot be established that the presidential system must flow to dictatorship and that only the cabinet system is democratic, but it was an undeniable fact that the presidential system had helped the dictatorship of the Rhee Seungman regime in Korea's reality, so it was a fact that anyone could predict that the presidential system would be subjected to change along with the end of the Rhee Seungman regime." (Kim N. 204). It was, thus, a matter of course that the transition from the presidential system to the cabinet system was the natural consequence of democratization after April 19. That is why the constitutional amendment after April 19 naturally adopted a parliamentary cabinet system, the process of which Han Taeyeon deeply intervened in. Let us entertain the recollection of the time.

After the April 19 Revolution, the National Assembly Constitution Establishment Committee was formed, and Professor Park In-hwan and I went out as expert members. I worked on the constitution for weeks in a quiet villa over at Mapo, and the parliamentary cabinet system was one of the opposition party's party policies at that time. What surprised me, however, was that, although these people have a great opportunity, they don't know what the party policy of a parliamentary system is. [ . . . ] I did it, but I felt it didn't fit our reality. [ . . . ] The Constitutional Court system of the Second Republic was something we insisted on. It is no exaggeration to say that the expert members were in control of the parliamentary cabinet system at that time because members of the National Assembly were not familiar with it. The result was a failure. We faced failure because it didn't fit our reality. (Han T., "Retrospect" 26)

According to Han Taeyeon, the parliamentary system at that time was a fancy dress that did not fit the Korean people. This is not simple consequentialism. Han Taeyeon had already repeatedly stated in his writings in the 1950s that the parliamentary-politics-centered parliamentary system does not fit the situation in Korea, raising issues of democracy, parliament, and political power in Korea. To begin with, he said the following about parliamentary politics: the reason why parliamentary politics "is regarded as an indispensable system in the democracy of reality is that the owner of a conflicting intent forms a social agenda in a public place in the course of a compromise through discussion and refutation. Therefore, there is no doubt that it is an institutional expression of relativism, which is the basis of democracy. This is especially true when the politics of reality, especially in the context of this parliamentary system, are dominated by the majority party of the parliament." (Han T., "Democracy" 15)

Parliamentary politics with openness and relativism as physical and spiritual principles embody the will of the people through debate, refutation, and compromise. Therefore, Han Taeyeon had already asserted at the time that "deliberate democracy" was the key to parliamentary politics. However, in the article cited above, he is pessimistic about the possibility of parliamentary politics settling in Korea. This was very natural. At the time, even ordinary rule, let alone parliamentary politics, was incomplete amid the ravages

of war in the Korean Peninsula. In particular, the series of disturbances, referred to as the “Busan political turmoil,” was enough to imprint that a deliberative democracy consisting of openness, relativism, and debate-refutation-compromise was an illusion that Korea could not even imagine. Han must have witnessed this chaos and observed the collapse of institutional democracy, which has the constitution at its peak, even before it was settled. The experience of the “Busan political turmoil” in 1951 made him sure that parliamentary politics was a fancy dress for Korean People.

On February 9, 1951, Rhee Seungman mentioned the amendment of the direct presidential election system at a press conference. He expressed his willingness to push for a revision of the Constitution that prescribed the president election in parliament. To that end, Rhee Seungman and the “Jokcheong (Korean National Youth Association)” faction launched operations and campaigns to promote the constitutional amendment in and outside the parliament. At this time, Rhee mobilized young people from the Jokcheong to organize a government-inspired demonstration for the constitutional revision of the direct presidential election system. Their slogans included “Let’s overthrow members of the National Assembly who are scheming for a dictatorship of the parliament,” “Sovereignty lies not in the National Assembly but in the people,” and “Direct presidential election is the people’s right.” Based on such anti-parliamentarism, Rhee launched a campaign to summon members of the National Assembly, which was not in the law. He confidently justified the suspension of the National Assembly by stating that “There is no condition in the Constitution to summon members of the National Assembly, but there is no condition not to summon them, so there is no one to stop voters, who are the owners of a democratic state, both theoretically and legally from summoning their representatives. In a democratic country, the country is created by the people and the Constitution is created by the people, so if the people want it, they can correct anything, be it the Constitution, government, or National Assembly.” The National Assembly responded by saying that “There is a fear of tilting in the direction of dictatorship,” and that they are “denying the current Constitution and current laws, which are the basic conditions of a democratic constitu-

tional state.” This confrontation was the primary cause of the Busan political turmoil (Fujii 335–46).

Later, the National Assembly passed a constitutional amendment bill with the parliamentary system as the framework, which led Rhee to mobilize organizations from below to stage anti-parliamentary demonstrations and declare martial law to arrest a number of members of the National Assembly. This is the so-called Busan political turmoil. It goes without saying that this Busan political turmoil was the epitome of populist political terrorism. This was the case behind Han Taeyeon’s claim that the parliamentary system was a fancy dress that did not fit the Korean people. In his view, parliamentary politics was the product of bourgeois liberalism born in Western historical experience. “Parliamentarism has been a political stage of the citizen class with sophistication and property in terms of intellectual history” and it has been established “to ensure the political freedom of citizens who are at odds with state power” and developed into a political norm, namely the constitution, that “sets the limits of power execution by the basic rights” of citizens (Han T., “Protection” 6). However, among the discussion of the Korean Constitution, the discussion on the executive power structure (namely the discussion between the cabinet system and the presidential system) was not made in this context. That was because it had been “degenerated” as a discussion for the reinforcement of the president and administrative power.

It should be noted that the principle of separation of powers in our Constitution is not for the “political freedom” of the individual, as in the U.S. Constitution, but for the strengthening of the presidential system and administrative power. Needless to point out, the principle of the separation of power in modern constitutional law does not work as a principle of power structure, but rather it has an institutional mission to serve the basic right to guarantee an individual’s “political freedom.” On the contrary, the principle of the separation of power in our Constitution does not act as a “principle of freedom” serving the basic rights of individuals, but rather as a “principle of power” to strengthen the presidential system and administrative power. This is the spiritual distinctiveness of our Constitution. (Han T., *Law* 18)

Since the enactment of the 1948 Constitution, including the Busan political turmoil, the Korean Constitution experiences five proposals of constitutional amendment and two major constitutional amendments. In the process, the power structure changed in a way that reinforced the executive power of the president: “The Constitution does not mean an objective ideology or value that can sum up the people as the greatest common factor, but rather it means a mere personal tool for the political convenience of the real-life politicians.” As a result, this led to “a consequence in which the president of our constitution possessed more authority than a monarch of a constitutional monarchy,” and thereby created an “an unimaginable concentration of power in the modern liberal democratic constitution” (Han T., *Law* 19). As such, he strongly criticizes the ‘process of constitutional degeneration’ that weakens the parliament and maximizes the president’s power. What should be noted here is where Han Taeyeon is looking for the cause of such degeneration: it is the “absence of the people”:

In this way, the Constitution means “promised ideology.” In spite of that, in order for it to be enhanced as the highest norm that governs the order of state in reality, it needs the existence of a political force behind it, one that guarantees the value and normality of the Constitution. It goes without saying that in a modern nation, such political force is the general public with a democratic consciousness. [ . . . ] However, in a politically backward country like Korea, even though the Constitution is a civil constitution enacted by the people, it in fact lacks a democratic people who can guarantee the value and normality of the constitution. So it is an immovable fact that the process of constitutional alteration is not slowly created according to the people’s democratic sentiment, but rather arbitrarily transformed according to the convenience of politicians at that time. (*Law* 16)

This diagnosis should not be understood as the elite’s crude public hatred since Han Taeyeon, in all respects, is writing as a constitutional scholar. The “general public” or “democratic people,” therefore, do not consist of individuals who walk the streets of reality. Instead, as mentioned in the opening remarks, it is people as a single unity: that is, the presence of people as the public itself. Han Taeyeon defines it as “the people as an ideal unity”: “It is



considered that people who can never exist in reality exist only when the concept of people in people's sovereignty is understood as an ideal unity, and people who can never be unified in reality are defined as unified" (Han T., "Myth" 10) The reason why the Constitution was degenerated to concentrating power to the president was that the people as the protector of sovereignty were absent. In other words, Han Taeyeon developed a radical criticism that although the Korean Constitution at the time bears the appearance of modern liberal democracy, it cannot be regarded as a constitution because it lacks the people as an ideal unity.

However, Han Taeyeon's criticism does not stop here. While Han standardizes people as an ideal unity that is a single entity that holds sovereignty, he points out that it also functions as a "mythology" that justifies the ruling power:

There is no doubt that the theory of people's sovereignty, which veils parties that pursue profit in each part with totality, is a fiction that plays a magic-like role. In that sense, the modern theory of people's sovereignty [...] conceals a kind of mystique that is theoretically inexplicable. Therefore, although the social governing process is always dominated by minorities and is about the majority, the principle of people's sovereignty in modern democratic ideologies will always remain as a "mask of totem" that symbolizes the fate of political men, unless the falsehood and superficiality of people that assert the ideology of totality as a pretext is dispelled. (Han T., "Myth" 11).

This is why the ideal unity of the people can serve not only for democracy but also for dictatorship. As long as the actual rule, whether it is democracy or dictatorship, is by a minority of people for the majority, the constitution will be willing to side with the ruler as long as it acquires the justification that the interests of a majority equate the people on the whole. In Han's view, this was the situation that the Korean Constitution was placed in during the 1950s. As was evident in the process of the Busan political turmoil, the people were both a strong ground for the expansion of Rhee's authority and also an ornament. The people were a kind of floating sign that the National Assembly and the president fought for, and it was degraded to an ideology that demonstrated the transformation into dictatorship through the presi-

dent's mobilization of the people and political terrorism. Through the political turmoil, which can be evaluated as typical populism, Han Taeyeon saw the people as the sidekick of governing power and did not see the people as an ideal unity. This is what he meant by the absence of the people.

As such, Han Taeyeon questioned the populism of the Rhee Seungman regime in the context of constitutional theory. As a constitutional researcher, he captured the political situation of the 1950s as when the sovereignty of modern liberal democracy faced a crisis, rather than as a confrontation between democracy and dictatorship. Rhee Seungman's populism and terrorism did not simply devalue democracy. It was because it exploited the myth of the people's sovereignty, which could make democracy exist. When the myth of the people's sovereignty is rooted in reality in a way that justifies the various systems of democracy, all matters of the state, including governing power, are determined through discussion-confrontation-agreement in open places and takes the guarantee of people's basic rights and freedom as the final goal. However, when the myth of the people's sovereignty remains a mere justification for dictatorship, the dictator exercises power in the name of the people according to his own arbitrary judgment and interests. To quote Schmitt, the acclamation of the people is not a manifestation of the people, but rather a decoration for the dictator. Therefore, the task of Han Taeyeon was not to make the people's acclamation a decoration but to turn it into a true manifestation of the people. For him, the May 16 coup was an event that created an opportunity for that.

### **Small Peoples' Fancy Clothes**

Han Taeyeon took it as a given fact that there were no real "people" in Korea, which was essential to the survival of democracy at the time. This is why the debate on the constitutional amendment was biased toward the reorganization of the power structure, which is why the basic right to guarantee the freedom of the people itself was not even a subject of discussion. The Liberal Party led by Rhee Seungman submitted a revision to the National Security Law to the National Assembly in August 1958, which strengthened civilian inspections and media control, and Han Taeyeon expressed a concern that

it could excessively control the people's right to freedom. It is reasonable to legislate a national policy such as anti-communism as the National Security Law, which is a quasi-constitutional law, but it cannot be abused in a way that violates daily freedom (Han T., "Freedom"). However, his analysis here suggests the root cause of this situation is Korea's immature freedom, not the abuse of administrative power.

This national liberation movement called the March 1st Independence Movement had a groundbreaking meaning in the history of our society in many ways. [ . . . ] In the wake of the March 1st Movement, nationalism in the modern sense of self-determination began to dominate our society as the main trend. [ . . . ] But the March 1st Movement was aimed only at the liberation of the people as a whole and their self-determination, not at the liberation of the individual who had lost his or her autonomy thus far (Han Taeyeon 1958, 342).

For Han Taeyeon, the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919 was the self-determination and liberation of the people, not of individuals. In this context, the 'Declaration of Independence' was criticized for having a "pre-democratic nature." However, if Han Taeyeon considered his own theory of people's sovereignty, such judgment could be seen as self-contradictory. He argued that the theory of people's sovereignty, which "controlled the spirit of modern people at will in political life, does not regard the subject of sovereignty as an individual, but rather as the 'people as a whole'" (Han T., "Freedom"). Given that the spirit of the March 1st Independence Movement was written in the preamble of the 1948 Constitution and established as a symbol of constituent power, it was a logical conclusion that the "people as a whole," that achieved self-determination through the March 1st Movement, was the protector of sovereignty. Therefore, Han Taeyeon's logic, that Korea's democracy was flawed because only national liberation and self-determination were the goals and that individual freedom was flawed, could be seen as a judgment that betrays his own theory of sovereignty.

But to understand his judgment, one should not only pay attention to the dimensions of constitutional, as his judgment was based on the context of the so-called "Asian stagnation." Let us cite a passage from his paper

that reflects this: “There is something called the Jokcheong faction which is different from the Korea Independence Party<sup>3</sup> that is the most influential conservative force in the liberated Korea. [ . . . ] In fact, any member of the Jokcheong reminds us of terrifying slogans on nationalism and national supremacy [ . . . ] The conservatives connote the possibility of one-party dictatorship like the Nazis and fascists” (Han Taeyeon 1961, 94). The Jokcheong (Korean National Youth Association) is a large movement organization that was organized by Lee Beomseok as a leader just after the liberation and during the early Rhee Seungman regime. Under the slogan of nationalism and national supremacy, they developed radical populism modeled after the People’s Party of China (Fujii). For Han Taeyeon, they were a political organization that was at the opposite point of liberal democracy, just like the Korea Independent Party of the provisional government genealogy. This was because unlike the ideology of liberal democracy that advocated people’s sovereignty for the sake of the guarantee and expansion of individual freedom, the Jokcheong, and the Korea Independence Party were determined to move towards dictatorship by asserting the superiority of the whole (people/state) over individual freedom.

In Han Taeyeon’s view, such property implied the possibility of easily combining with communism, no matter how much they asserted anti-Communism. “In the June 25 Incident in 1950, part of the Jokcheong faction blindly followed the North Korean puppet” (Han T., “Genealogy” 95). What matters here is that, to Han, communism meant the totalitarian regime of a one-party dictatorship. He identified the Stalinist ruling system that exists in reality as the inner workings of communism, rather than a revolutionary theory or ideology based on the Marxist theory of historical materialism. He could, therefore, claim that the vague expectations of communism in South Korean society during the liberation years were shattered by North Korea’s occupation of Seoul in the early days of the Korean War. “In fact, for the people of underdeveloped countries, direct experiences were more effective than wisdoms in judging objects” (Han T., “Intellectual Class” 310). Thus, the lack of individual freedom is defined as the manifestation of Asian back-

wardness under the situation of national division and anti-Communitic campaigns:

For Koreans who have no concious awareness of freedom, the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel itself represents not only a material division of the land but also a spiritual division of minds, and even in the acceptance of communism, our people are already becoming Soviets before they become Koreans. [ . . . ] In fact, for an Asian society without the conscious awareness of freedom, the nationalistic sentiment gained so far from its experience as a European colony and the universalization of poverty resulting from its primitive agricultural economy are the biggest hotbeds for the propaganda of Communists who promise innovation in economic conditions. In fact, in an Asian society that has not lived for individual freedom but only for the maintenance of its animal life, the Communists' promise of the distribution of bread is a little more specific and attractive than the concept of democratic individual freedom and equality (Han T., "Freedom" 343).

Considering such awareness in the background, the self-determination of the March 1st Independence Movement is a target of criticism. The spirit of the March 1st Movement, which was written in the preamble of the constitution as a symbol of constituent power, was the foundation of the formation of a modern state centered on people's sovereignty, and at the same time, it was also evidence that they were still caught in Asian backwardness due to the omission of individual liberation and self-determination. Thus, for Han, independence of the people as a whole declared in March 1<sup>st</sup> movement was evidence of people's sovereignty in terms of constitutional theory, but, at the same time, a proof of Asian backwardness which made it impossible for Korean nation to accomplish liberal democratic regime that was the ultimate end of the people's sovereignty.

The political turmoil before April 19, 1960, led Han Taeyeon to grasp the premodern authoritarianism of Rhee Seungman's regime as the imperfections of the "people." This was enough to add to the agony of constitutional scholars as it meant that liberal democracy based on people's sovereignty could not take root in the legal system and governance. It was in this context that the April 19 uprising was bound to be a major turnaround for Han Taeyeon because the constitutional amendment of the parliamen-

tary system after the uprising was carried out in an atmosphere in which democracy could settle down only by a parliamentary cabinet system which could alter the dictatorship based on the presidential system. In other words, whether the constitution of the parliamentary system led by him after the uprising would work smoothly in reality would be a watershed on whether liberal democracy would settle in Korea. So, Han Taeyeon regarded the Chang Myon cabinet with concern:

The parliamentary system in our society is a task for the Second Republic, and is definitely not a reality (...) In fact, although the modern state's parliamentary system is considered as an ideal form of democratic politics in the sense that it enables collective leadership and accountability, its successful operation requires the same complex and expert techniques as those required by the craftsmen of precise machinery. Therefore, for politicians in our country who do not even know the concept of politics, the parliamentary system in this sense is an excessive burden on their operation ("Theory" 155).

As he later recalled, Han Taeyeon saw the politicians of the time as immature individuals who were not even aware of what politics was, let alone the cabinet system. Shortly after April 19, the conditions were such that they were expected "complex and skilled skills required by the craftsmen of precise machinery." The reality, as expected, fell short of expectations. The political strife and confusion in the ruling Democratic Party was not only unable to establish liberal democratic rule through debate-confrontation-agreement, but it also revealed the incompetence of parliamentarism that was unable to determine anything and that only added to confusion (as Carl Schmitt said): "It seems that Dr. Chang only repeated failure in less than half a month since he organized the cabinet. A series of incidents began to take place: there were various opinions in a cabinet meeting, opinions from the prime minister and the minister clashed, there were no principles in the personnel administration that should be swift and effective, and the younger faction protested against the new faction." (Han T., "Theory" 160).

Han Taeyeon's judgment was not unique. In 1961, Yu Jinoh, one of the founders of the Constitution and one of the most prominent intellectuals

since the colonial period, identified the situation as one in which “both left and right sides expect dictatorship due to the desperation that democracy is impossible” (qtd. in Heo 15). In addition, Yoo Dalyeong, who served as the second chief of the state restoration movement following Yu Jinoh, criticized the Chang Myon administration in a more radical language in 1963. He described it as “a feud between rotten politicians” and a regime in which “the extreme selfishness of the insensible people and the abuse of freedom made the sparks of revolution disappear” (Yoo 236 qtd. in Heo 15). It was the judgment of the intellectuals of the time that the post-April 19 cabinet system betrayed what philosopher Park Jonghong called “absolute determination” and “creative intelligence” (188) of the uprising. In their view, the cabinet system, which was established through April 19, was a fancy dress that did not suit the small people. The May 16 coup took place under these circumstances. Now it is time to look at Han Taeyeon’s acrobatic intellectual practice that rationalizes the May 16 coup with consistent logic.

### **People’s Acclamation and the Glory of the Leader**

Intellectuals such as Yu Jinoh, Yoo Dalyeong, and Park Jonghong, who led the state restoration movement under the banner of enlightenment and defeating communism since before the April 19 uprising, immediately welcomed the coup and participated in the Central Committee of the State Restoration Movement, which became an organization under the Supreme Council for State Restoration following the coup. As can be seen from the fact that figures like Ham Seokhun and Jang Junha, who later became fierce critics of the Park Junghee regime, are listed,<sup>4</sup> this committee included intellectuals from almost all fields in academy and journalism (Heo 49). In other words, intellectuals in all fields had high hopes for the May 16 coup. In fact, right after the coup, most professors in Seoul were appointed as advisors to the planning committee and chairman of the Supreme Council for State Restoration (Han Y. 267) and Han Taeyeon was no exception. As we saw in the beginning, he participated as a main player who created the base of the law of emergency for state restoration.

As revealed in his own memoir, Han Taeyeon was involved in the military coup by adopting a law in the Nazi regime for the legitimization of an exceptional governmental system after the coup. The law from which he took hints is the Enabling Act (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*), which Hitler used to encroach on the Weimar Constitution, in enacting the law of emergency for state restoration. The core of the Enabling Act is to delegate the legislative power of parliament to the administration. Through this, the Nazis suspended the Weimar Constitution and legally monopolized the ruling power. In other words, the Nazis took the nation legally by suspending the constitution through constitutional legislative procedures. He referred to this in legalizing the coup power's seizing of the regime. Thus, the Supreme Council for State Restoration, with Vice-Chairman Park Junghee as the de facto commander-in-chief, was legally formed through the law of emergency for state restoration:

#### Article 1 Establishment of the Supreme Council for State Restoration

The Supreme Council for State Restoration will be established as an emergency measure to protect the Republic of Korea from communist aggression and to help the nation and people overcome the crisis and rebuild it as a true democratic republic.

#### Article 2 Status of the Supreme Council for State Restoration

The Supreme Council for State Restoration shall hold its position as the highest governing body of the Republic of Korea until the National Assembly is formed and the government is established by a general election to be implemented after the completion of the task of the May 16th Military Revolution.

#### Article 3 Basic Rights of the People

The fundamental rights of the people as stipulated in the Constitution are guaranteed to the extent that they do not violate the performance of their revolutionary work.

As can be seen in Article 1, the law of emergency for state restoration already mobilized rhetoric of “the state of exception” from its basis of existence, including “enemy,” “crisis,” “resurrection,” and “emergency measures,”



etc. Generally, martial law, according to the Constitution, is a temporary measure to deal with an emergency, and it can be legalized only with the consent of declaration from the National Assembly, and it must quickly return to normalcy after the situation has terminated. However, the law, similar to martial law, created a “permanent exception” by not setting a deadline for the Supreme Council for State Restoration. In addition, it stipulated the following to legally neutralize the separation of powers: Article 9 stipulates that “the power of the National Assembly as stipulated in the Constitution shall be executed by the Supreme Council for State Restoration,” Article 17 stipulates that “the substance of administrative power concerning jurisdiction shall be directed and controlled by the Supreme Council for State Restoration,” and Article 18 states that “the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court judge shall be appointed by the president at the recommendation of the Supreme Council for State Restoration.” Han Taeyeon’s long-cherished plan for liberal democracy met with such extreme self-betrayal. However, he does not see it as a so-called “conversion.” That is because for him, the crossroads between liberal democracy and dictatorship always depended on how “people’s acclamation” manifested itself.

In the guide of this law, Han Taeyeon criticizes that “the poverty of the people has become more and more average while the Constitution is violated, fraudulent elections become formalized, foreign aid becomes used as political funds, and the number of illegal funders increase” as a result of the Rhee Seungman administration’s “corruption, injustice and toxicity of dictatorship.” He reproaches that the April 19 uprising, which was an inevitable means of healing the pathology, gave birth to the Second Republic but it was helpless against the “end-of-the-term phenomenon,” such as being “powerless and corrupt” and having “deterioration of economic conditions” and the spread of “pro-communist tendencies.” Thus the “May 16 Revolution” took place and the “law of emergency was enacted” and “the effects of some provisions of the Constitution were suspended.” But the May 16 coup was never about destroying the Constitution, as “the May 16 revolution was a revolution that was aimed at maintaining the constitutional order from communist aggression from the beginning” (Han T., *Law*).

This logic is strictly dependent on Carl Schmitt's constitutional theory. On the premise of the 'absolute constitution' which is the basic framework of the Constitution and on which the 'relative constitution' is established as in concrete sentences (Han T., "Retrospect" 24), Han Taeyeon could claim that the May 16 coup upheld the absolute constitution by suspending the relative constitution. At this time, the absolute constitution must be the "sovereignty" itself: namely 'the manifestation of the people.' On this basis, he expounds the law of emergency, referring to the coup forces as "the last guardian."

For any country, when the existence of the nation or its people is in question, emergency measures to overcome the crisis are called forth. Thus, the theory to legally explain the emergency measures in these cases is the theory of the national emergency right (*Staatsnotrecht*). [ . . . ] In a narrow sense, national emergency rights refers to extreme emergency situations that are completely unpredictable, where a competent state agency comes to the rescue of the nation beyond constitutional provisions or in violation of constitutional regulations, only when it is impossible to overcome by all legal means under the constitutional order. [ . . . ] The May 16 Military Revolution has its theoretical basis on the combination of the right to revolution and national emergency right: revolutionary national emergency rights, so to speak (Han T., *Law* 35–37).

This is the logic of Han Taeyeon in providing legal grounds for the May 16 coup. In particular, he said that the May 16 coup could be seen as the invocation of the right to revolution (*Recht zur Revolution*) as it was not the invocation of the presidential emergency power. However, it can be also understood as the issuance of the national emergency right because it was an act to protect the constitutional order.<sup>5</sup> In this way, Han Taeyeon stressed that the coup was aimed at protecting the sovereignty rather than extorting it. He therefore argued that "the power of the revolutionary government is constitutionally and directly based on the principle of people's sovereignty, and therefore the absolutist of that power invokes the so-called commissarial dictatorship (*Kommissarische Diktatur*) of Carl Schmitt" (Han T., *Law* 40). Schmitt's concept of constitutional submission (*Verfassungsbeittigung*)

can be seen as a compressed version of this argument because for him “the submission of the constitution refers to the case where the power to enact the constitution remains intact and the basic political decision based on it is replaced by a new political decision replaces” (45). Through this logic, the military coup was ultimately interpreted as a situation in which state power was delegated to protect sovereignty, not to take over sovereignty.

From a historical perspective, this may seem like sophistry. However, Han Taeyeon’s intellectual pursuit, ranging from Rhee Seungman’s regime to the May 16 coup, remained unshakable. What mattered most to him was not the question of the presidential or cabinet system, liberal democracy or dictatorship, revolution or coup d’état. The question was superficial. What really mattered was the idea of the people as the protector of sovereignty. A system built without the people’s sovereign determination is all the same as anarchy, regardless of whether it is a democracy or dictatorship. As a constitutional scholar, Han Taeyeon’s key point was whether the constitution could be established as a fundamental norm for realizing the basic freedom of the people.

In his eyes, however, the Korean people were never determined for sovereign freedom. This was due to the Asian backwardness that was marked by the colonial experience and poverty. Both Rhee Seungman’s populist dictatorship and the chaos right after April 19, 1960, originated from just that, and the May 16 coup d’état broke out in a crisis in which the people without decision were about to be swallowed up by waves of communism. In this sense, the May 16, 1961, coup and the subsequent military regime were not populist dictatorships like the Rhee Seungman regime to Han Taeyeon. They were the people’s “guardians” that allowed for the manifestation of true acclamation, rather than a usurpation of the people’s acclamation. It was also because many welcomed the coup. Most of all, it was because he considered the coup itself as an uprising from below. That is why he was able to “legalize” the coup, all by himself. Han Taeyeon’s intellectual pursuit thus proved that the military coup was a concept and category of constitutional theory, which led to the “difficult” practice of the constitution maintained throughout Park Junghee’s reign in the 1960s. During this period, he served the Park Junghee

regime as a scholar and politician and sought out the true acclamation of the people. His attitude toward the Yushin Constitution can also be understood in this context. The true manifestation of the people's sovereignty came to be identified entirely with the character of the president:

In a society like ours that is always dominated by the notion of crisis, the characterization of that power means the only form of government in times of crisis. That's why the concentration of power in the Yushin Constitution to the president, who is the head of state, is shaping the characterization of the leader in charge of it, as well as the characterization of power in our Constitution. As a result, the president possesses legitimacy of power according to the principle of people's sovereignty that represents the entire people, and performs his duties by trust from the people in his political leadership and determination and by his responsibility to the people. In addition, the characterization of power in our constitution is also asking for direct links with the president and the people. (Han T., *Constitutional Theory* 58)

The Yushin Constitution was enacted in a referendum on November 21, 1972 with a turnout of 91.9 percent and an approval rating of 91.5 percent (Gal 9). According to Gal Bonggeun, who was involved in the enactment of the Yushin Constitution with Han Taeyeon, "the essence of the Yushin Constitution" is none other than "seeing state power as a principle of political life" (10). In addition, as long as "the president can order or control other agencies as the advocate of national interests" (11), the Yushin Constitution is a constitution that implies the president's authority can be exercised indefinitely. What is important here is that the president's enormous authority is explained by the "direct realization of the people's sovereignty:

In the traditional Korean constitution, there was no clear representative body of people's sovereignty. Rather, the president elected by the people and also members of the National Assembly elected by the people asserted to be the people's representatives. It's the so-called dual representation theory. [ . . . ] Even so, the "people" in this case are the aggregate of individual profits that exercise the right to vote through political parties and other social groups as the medium. The president and members of the National Assembly also started as members of political parties and were elected with

a political party background. It was not the embodiment of the indivisible will of the people.

However, this Yushin Constitution “realized” the concept of people’s sovereignty, which was sublimated into the overall general interest by excluding individual interests, thereby establishing a de-party organization. It organized the National Council for Unification so that the president could be elected solely by the “inseparable will of the people.” (15)

Here we can see that the indivisibility and totality of people’s sovereignty clearly overlap with the president. In other words, the people are understood to be exercising direct rule through the assumed fusion of the president and the people in which the president’s power is itself an embodiment of the people’s rule. This is clearly different from the Rhee Seungman regime. If the Rhee Seungman regime was a dictatorship that took the name of the people, the Yushin system was the reality of direct democracy in which the people and the leader became one. Now the acclamation of the people is indistinguishably united with the glory of the leader. At this point, populism no longer appears as a pathology or shadow of democracy, but as the most ideal reality of democracy. Just as Schmitt argued that dictatorship is a manifestation of the fundamental normalization of the Constitution (Schmitt 2003), Han Taeyeon claimed that the Yushin Constitution is an ideal realization rather than a destruction of democracy. Thus, the indirect rule of modern democracy, characterized by the division of power in legislation, administration, and justice, disappears off-stage. But there is no problem. There is no need for an indirect rule that corrupts or gives the enemy a chance when the people’s acclamation is wrapped up in the glory of the leader without a single error. The Yushin Constitution was thus proven to be an ideal system in which the national composition based on individual liberation and self-determination, namely the acclamation of true people, that Han Taeyeon so longingly desired for was realized.

## Modern Democracy and Populism

In the 1950s and the 1960s, when most countries were within the sphere of influence of either United States and the Soviet Union, the so-called developmental dictatorship had become a leading ruling paradigm of the “third world,” regardless of capitalism or communism. Given that paradigm, the leaders of many countries that incorporated themselves into the West ruled by suspending liberal democracy as a system in the name of the people. This is what Han Taeyeon saw in Korea from the 1950s to the 1970s. He looked critically at the ruling system at that time from the perspective of liberal democracy, and as a constitutional scholar, he tried to thoroughly maintain people’s sovereignty as the basis for the legitimacy of the system. However, he eventually chose the emergency situation over the ideology of liberal democracy. What was important is that this “decision” was never a conversion. By mobilizing the logic of constitutional theory, he was single-minded in his intellectual pursuit. In this way, he justified the May 16 coup and the Yushin Constitution in the context of emergency without any self-contradiction (Han T., “Retrospect” 28–29).

The intellectual pursuit of Han Taeyeon offers great implications for how modern democracy is viewed. “Modern democracy is a democracy based entirely on glory,” and “it is a democracy based on the power of acclamation amplified and spread beyond all imagination through media” (Agamben 256). In other words, if one acknowledges that democracy is based on populism, populism is no longer a pathology of democracy, an extreme, ghost, or shadow, but a ‘rule.’ It is rather a powerful grammar of modern democracy that emerged amid institutionalization of the developmental dictatorship during the 1950s–70s. Thus, it is an urgent task in the future to rewrite the history of democracy in the twentieth century in this respect to see precisely what will happen in the name of democracy in the twenty-first century.

## Notes

1. This is why Mouffe's "left-wing populism" based on Laclau's argument could be a hegemony strategy for post-democracy, which is centered on de-politicization (redification) (Laclau; Mouffe). Mouffe's populist theory with Schmitt clearly in mind was an attempt to revive the momentum of politics in the ruling paradigm of the neo-liberalistic era dominated by de-politicization and consensus. This is in line with Carl Schmitt's liberal criticism that attempted to confront the antagonistic paradigm with the liberal rule dominated by compromise and consensus, as Mouffe herself admits (Mouffe).
2. Han Taeyeon was greatly influenced by Japanese Constitutional scholar Kuroda Satoru when he studied in Japan in the 1930s (Han T., "Retrospect" 21). In particular, Han confessed in post-liberation lectures to have relied heavily on the the constitutional textbooks of Kuroda, who had created his own constitutional theory by being baptized by Carl Schmitt's decisionist law after commencing with Hans Kelsen's legal positivism.
3. The party, led by the leaders of independence movements in 1930s Shanghai, is one of the most influential conservative forces in the nation-building process just after liberation.
4. There is a difference in the positions of Jang Junha and Ham Seokhun right after the May 16, 1961, coup. While Jang Junha regarded the coup as a revolution and expressed full, positive expectations, Ham Seokhun emphasized the transitionality of the coup and insisted on the swift transfer of power to civil government for the true revolution in which the people become the main entity.
5. This was not only the position of Han Taeyeon, but it was an established theory of the interpretation of the law of emergency for state restoration by constitutional scholars at the time (Moon).

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# In Language and in Health

## Expectations and Realities Regarding the JPEPA/JLPT-Passer Nurses' Integration into the Japanese Healthcare Community

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### Abstract

From 2009 to 2014, Filipino nurses who dreamed of entering Japan and passing the required minimum level of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) were given up to six months of language training, through the implementation of the Japan Philippine Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA). This training, however, had proven not to be enough if one's aim was to pass the National Board Exam (NBE) as it needed a more rigorous language training in order to sufficiently acquire the required level of proficiency. Similarly, in the case of Vietnam, 12 months of language training had been deemed to be more beneficial than six months JPEPA nurses language training to meet the language proficiency requirement; thus, the JPEPA has increased the period for language training for nurses.

However, despite the improvement in the NBE results, a recent trend shows that JPEPA nurses, even the NBE passers, eventually quit their job to return to the Philippines because of their difficulty in fully integrating into the Japanese health community. Two reasons have been cited for the difficulty: (1) only 40% of the JLPT word list is actually used in the NBE, and (2) language used in daily conversations with patients and the medical jargon used among the medical staff are different from those used during the NBE. With this, the

research aims to address the gaps in understanding the difficulty in order to facilitate the integration of JPEPA nurses in Japan. To fill in this research gap, this paper looks into the results of the Japanese language training received by JPEPA nurses. It has been noted that while the JPEPA has already responded to the language-related needs of Filipino nurses in the past, that response has been recently observed to be inadequate in addressing new calls for filling the shortage of nurses in Japan. Thus, this study recommends the following: (1) 18 months of language training and NBE review in the Philippines, and (2) the NBE be taken at the Japan Embassy in Manila.

### **Keywords**

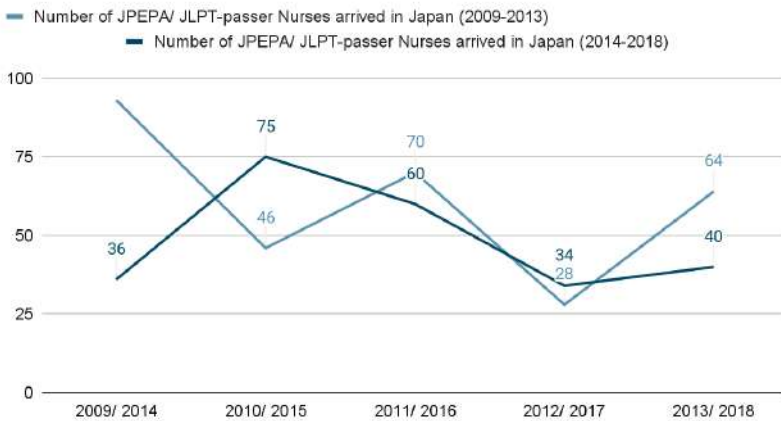
JPEPA, JLPT, Filipino Nurses, Japanese Language, Japanese Healthcare Community

## Introduction

Early on in the meetings of the working group of Japan Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement in 2002, the Japanese side had expressed their concern about the language proficiency of Filipino health workers going to Japan. In response to this, the Philippines suggested the establishment of schools where they could learn the Japanese language (Yu-Jose, 2004: 18).

The JPEPA deployment of Filipino nurses started in 2009 (“Philippines–Japan Economic Partnership Agreement”), and the pre-arrival [Japanese language] training lasted only a few months during its first launch. However, every year since then, the training has been enriched and improved, and in 2012, it was extended to last for six months (“Japanese Language Pre-Training Program” Japan Foundation, 2021). In 2014, the teaching of the Japanese language was extended to 12 months through the signing of another agreement between the Philippines’ Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) and the Japan Foundation. In addition, the first six months of training on the foundations of the Japanese language and culture was arranged to be held in the Philippines prior to deployment (“TESDA Offers Language Training,” TESDA, 2014). Moreover, Filipino nurses had to initially pass at least the N5 level in the Japan Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) after pre-departure studies before entering Japan (Kawaguchi et al., Anonuevo, & Hirano, 2016: 56). Lastly, another six months of comprehensive language training was arranged to be conducted in Japan after completing the initial language training at TESDA (“TESDA Offers Language Training,” TESDA, 2014; Salaverria, 2013). And with the training upgrades made in 2012 (the six months of language training made formal) and in 2014 (extending the language training to 12 months), it was expected that there would be a steady increase in the number of JPEPA nurses arriving in Japan (with better JLPT level than N5). The figure below, however, shows the opposite reality:

## Number of JPEPA/ JLPT-passer Nurses arrived in Japan



**Figure 1. The number of JPEPA/ JLPT-passer nurses who arrived in Japan (2009–18).**  
(Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas”; Bauzon; “238 Filipino Nurses”;  
“13 Pinoy Nurses”; Hosono; *Economic Partnership Agreement*; Vilog et al.)

In figure 1, a fluctuating pattern can be seen in the numbers of JPEPA/ JLPT-passer nurses based on the number of arrivals in Japan from 2009 to 2018. Comparing the 2009–13 and 2014–18 numbers, a decreasing pattern is more observable from 2014–18 when the training was adjusted to twelve months: from 2015 at 75, to 2016 at 60, and 2017 at 34. Also, 2009 remains the year with the highest number of arrivals with 93 JPEPA/JLPT-passer nurses. Although other factors may be considered such as the number of Filipino nurses who wanted to be recruited per year and the actual achievement of the minimum language proficiency requirement in the first six months of training, there should have been no extreme differences between the numbers (or rather a small, steady increase over the years should have been observed) if this nurse recruitment program under JPEPA were to achieve its ultimate goal mutually benefitting the Philippines and Japan.

## Japanese Language Proficiency, and Application to the NBE

Another hurdle for JPEPA nurses is to pass the National Board Exam (NBE), where the knowledge of the Japanese language is important (“TESDA Offers Language Training”). Under the JPEPA, nurses are given a maximum of three opportunities to take the NBE (“Filipino Nurses”); once a year for three years (JICWELS in Ohno et al. 12; Salaverria; POEA in Vilog et al. 45). Therefore, those who arrived in 2009 must take the exam from 2010 to 2012 to comply with the JPEPA rules and maximize the opportunity.

However, the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) takers of the NBE are required to have a JLPT N2 level to take the test (JEES in Ohno et al. 19). What has been acquired in the minimum through the language training under JPEPA, particularly from 2009 to 2013, is the easiest N5 level (the hardest is N1) among the different levels of linguistic competence (“N1–N5”). Therefore, failure can be expected with the first NBE attempts of JPEPA nurses due to the low language proficiency; but to familiarize oneself with the NBE, they would still take the NBE right away. This is reflected in the first three years of their NBE results.

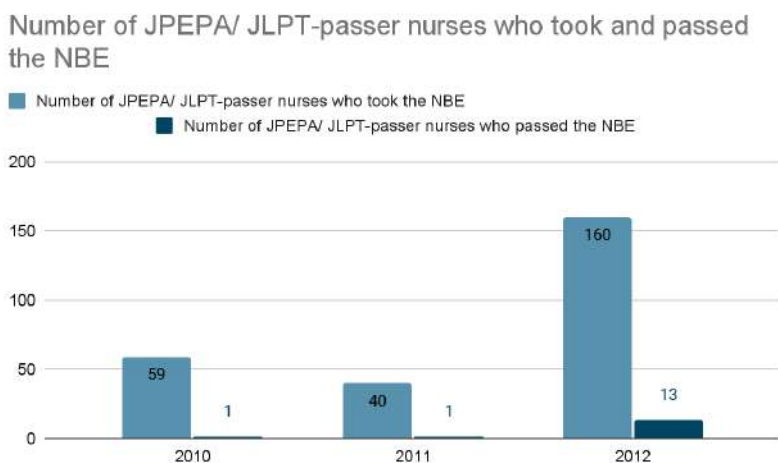


Figure 2. The number of JPEPA/ JLPT-passer nurses who took and passed the NBE (2010-2012). (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas”; “13 Pinoy Nurses”; Hosono; Ohno et al. 13; Tubeza)

In early 2010, when the first batch of JPEPA nurses took the NBE for the first time, only one passed out of 59 (Ohno et al. 13; Hosono 36). The passing rate was extremely low at 1.7% (Ohno et al. 13). The following year 2011, again, only one made it to the NBE out of 40 (Tubeza; Hosono 36). The passing rate increased, yet was still extremely low, at 2.5%. In 2012, 13 passed out of 160, and these are composed of first, second, and third batches (“13 Pinoy Nurses”; Añonuevo, “Prospects” 2). The passing rate is still a single-digit figure at 8.125%.

Figure 2 shows that NBE takers significantly increased in 2012. The year 2012 is the third and last year for the 2009 first batch of JPEPA nurses to take the NBE; thus, the influx was expected. It was reported that as of 2012, there were 63 (out of 93 from the first batch) who took the NBE (with the aforesaid two of the 63 already passing in 2009 and 2010), while 28 (out of the remaining 30) already went home for various reasons (“13 Pinoy Nurses”). And since only 13 passed the 2012 NBE, and if none of these 13 were from the first batch, an additional of no less than 50 JPEPA nurses also returned to the Philippines. The 2010–12 NBE result is the reflection of only a “few months” of language training from 2009–11 and must be the reason why such training was extended to six months since 2012.

The Philippine Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) reported a total of 55 NBE passers from 2010 to 2014. This means that there were 40 passers in 2013 and 2014 combined. Although the number of NBE passers significantly increased after the first training adjustment, Ohno et al. concluded in their study that the six-month language training was not enough for EPA nurses to master Japanese and work in clinical settings; the training was even insufficient to understand the questions in the NBE (13). Thus, in 2014, another adjustment was made to the JPEPA nurses’ language training; six months of training was extended to twelve months.

Apart from the 2010–14 NBE results, another important event that must have considered is the arrival of Vietnamese nurses in Japan under the Japan–Vietnam Economic Partnership Agreement (JVEPA) in 2014. Unlike the JPEPA nurses, JVEPA nurses received a twelve-month pre-departure

Japanese training in Vietnam, and only those who have gained an N3 level of JLPT are eligible to sign a contract with a Japanese employer (Ohno et al. 17–18). The JVEPA nurses are living proof that JLPT N3 level is achievable within twelve months. Translating the JLPT N3 proficiency to the NBE result, since 2015, the JVEPA nurses have had high passing rates in the NBE [among EPA nurses] and it is reasonable to attribute this to the screening system, wherein only JLPT N3 level speakers can work in Japan (Ohno et al. 18).

Meanwhile, one JPEPA nurse passed the 2015 NBE (out of three). This is equivalent to a 33% passing rate (“Filipino Nurses”). Only three took the NBE although 2015 is a crucial year for the 2012 batch. In 2017, *Infonurses* reported that there were already 106 who passed the NBE since 2009 (“Japanese Groups”). This means that the output of three years from 2015 to 2017 with 51 passers, almost doubled the output of the first five years from 2010 to 2014, totaling only 55 passers. Although still not enough, the output from 2015 to 2017 reflects the language training extended to twelve months.

According to a JPEPA nurse, “It’s like taking a nursing course all over again, but this time, in Japanese” (Tubeza). “Learning the [Japanese] language alone is already difficult, and it’s all the more grueling trying to pass the NBE,” another one said (Calunsod). The language barrier is one of the significant hurdles faced. Okuda analyzed the vocabulary used in the NBE by comparing it with the standardized word list for the JLPT. He points out that only 40% of the words in the JLPT word list were used in the NBE. This indicates that the NBE uses highly technical terms compared with the Japanese language of daily use. Language proficiency is the key determinant of the results of NBE (Kawaguchi et al. 58).

The JLPT only uses a marking sheet with multiple choices, and the disadvantage of this test is that it does not and cannot measure speaking and writing skills. When it comes to skills, [any] nurse would be required for their daily duties, good speaking skills with their coworkers, patients, and the patients’ families is essential. Meanwhile, updating patient records requires high-level writing skills. Therefore, it is argued that the use of



JLPT as the benchmark for Japanese language skills in the EPA scheme is inappropriate (Kusunoki 63–64). This is why integration into the Japanese healthcare community, more importantly, is also a part of the scheme’s design.

### **The JPEPA/JLPT-passer Nurses’ Integration into the Japanese Healthcare Community**

Arrival in Japan marks the beginning of JPEPA nurses’ integration into the Japanese healthcare community. Until they pass the NBE, they are considered “nurse candidates.” In this capacity, they are expected to work as apprentices. They continue studying the Japanese language and other nursing practices while reviewing for the NBE (Añonuevo in Ohno et al. 12). Once passed the NBE, however, they will be recognized as registered nurses qualified to work in Japan with a “designated activity visa” and with the same salary as that of a Japanese. This is the strict rule of JPEPA (JICWELS in Ohno et al. 12). Therefore, JPEPA nurses can only be treated and compensated as professional nurses if they pass the NBE (Carlos, “Multiculturalism Policies” 181). At this point, their integration may be categorized into two: (1) pre-NBE integration and (2) post-NBE integration.

#### *1) Pre-NBE integration*

As apprentices, JPEPA nurses do only “noninvasive work” at the Japanese healthcare facilities—arranging the bedside environment, making the bed, organizing medical supplies (Watanabe 295 in Hirano 36), feeding, bathing, and assisting in the toilet needs of elderly patients, distributing tea to the patients, dusting, wheelchair repairing, changing diapers, mopping, and toilet cleaning. Others call these “non-nursing functions.” One confessed that some of them could not keep up with work expectations: “Work here is deadly grueling. Lifting patients is tough enough!” (Añonuevo, “Prospects” 4–5). A JPEPA nurse from batch 7 claimed that they were treated as basically helpers, not even nursing assistants. Meanwhile, one from batch 8, felt that there was no professional growth and that they were not learning anything (Vilog et al. 54). In effect, “it dulls the mind” as others describe it

(Añonuevo, “Transnational Care” 6). Although many of them may have had valuable experience working as registered nurses in their country of origin, the unfortunate reality is that they were not allowed to perform any medical interventions for their patients until they had a national nursing license in Japan (Ohno 560). It is believed, however, that the highly technical terms present in the NBE cannot be learned fast enough, especially by doing noninvasive work/non-nursing functions. But when Añonuevo interrogated why receiving hospitals assigned EPA nurses to the ward and not in departments with potential high-technology exposure, a head nurse said, “it is good to offer [EPA] nurses opportunities to have communication with patients. This is an excellent training for them to pass the NBE” (“Transnational Care” 9). The NBE includes “situational questions” based on conditions of nurse-patient interactions and communications.

Generally, receiving hospitals are required to render additional tasks to support the candidates’ learning for them to pass the examination. A Japanese preceptor to JPEPA nurses said, “We are not Japanese language teachers, but we have to teach [the] Japanese language by spending extra hours aside from our hectic tasks.” EPA nurses in a certain hospital work from 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., from Monday to Friday, and were given four hours in the afternoon to study for the NBE, including two hours of tutorial conducted by the head nurse, staff nurse, or special instructor hired by the hospital (Hirano 43–44). In another hospital week arrangement, JPEPA nurses were given two days of hospital duty and then three days of continuing language courses and self-study modules. With that, they expressed their appreciation for the support and assistance of their Japanese employers and supervisors (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 3, 5). In another account, an EPA nurse kept a dictionary in his pocket to check the words he did not understand. Studying late at night for NBE, he revealed that his coworkers were helping him, too. Another one, meanwhile, was able to secure entry into the hospital’s library to study twice a week; there was also a staff-in-charge that taught her Japanese language and how to write official documents. Some helping coworkers are also EPA nurses who eventually passed the NBE and wished to have a support system for nurse candidates to pass the exam as

soon as possible (“Japan Foreign Nurses”). Despite the effort exerted by different sides—Japanese hospitals and staff, JPEPA nurses, even other EPA nurses—still, there had been a problem with NBE results over the years. This could also mean that the required additional tasks for receiving hospitals are not fully executed across Japan.

As studied by Ford and Kawashima in 2013, the key for the apprentice to pass the NBE during their first year and first take is to have more than twenty hours a week for their study provided by the receiving hospital (based on the experience of those who passed in February 2010 NBE), with a focus both on a progression of tasks along with improvements in Japanese proficiency. However, there are indications of significant variability among the level of commitment of receiving hospitals towards their training obligations. As cited in Okushima, overtime or night shifts occurred at 50–80% of hospitals, making it difficult for the candidates to find time to study. In terms of task distribution, the scheme assumes that the tasks in which they engage will become progressively more complex. In practice, however, this has often not been the case. In the article by Calunsod published in 2016, a JPEPA nurse suggested, in order for them to complete the program, to allow them to shadow their Japanese counterparts as they perform their jobs instead of getting assigned to orderly tasks and janitorial functions.

Without the full implementation of the expected role of the receiving hospitals and consideration of the findings of various research, the EPA nurses’ status as apprentices will definitely be prolonged to three years, without any guarantee of completing the program through passing the NBE. But difficulty in the achievement of full implementation may also be attributed to the pressure coming from the Japanese Nursing Association (JNA) which, according to Ohno et al., is averse to the introduction of EPA nurses unless the job security of Japanese nurses is protected; and from the Japanese Medical Association (JMA) which insisted that Japan must prioritize strengthening nursing education in the country before receiving EPA nurses (3–4).

After work, JPEPA nurses return to their accommodations. These were described as modest, comfortable, and complete with household appliances.

Two people share a room that has a study corner. They also have a stock-room for their supplies and other personal things. In addition, they are provided with free train tickets courtesy of their employer. They are off duty on Saturdays and Sundays, during which they devote their time to house-cleaning and group study. This also allows them to go to places for shopping and recreation. However, they pointed out that salaries and benefits differed according to employers. Some were not given free accommodations at all (Añonuevo, “Transnational Care” 6–7).

With the NBE proper, some JPEPA nurses considered those questions related to Fundamentals of Nursing and Biostatistics easy. The difficult questions consisted of lengthy nursing situations and clinical scenarios written in kanji; and those of Japan’s health care system, nursing system, labor laws, and insurance systems (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 4). What has been made as an adjustment in the 2011 NBE is the English translation of the test’s certain portions. In the 2012 NBE onwards, candidates received extra exam time, along with Japanese characters being presented with a reading aid to indicate pronunciation (Ford and Kawashima; Salaverria). However, these modifications and special considerations applied to the NBE have done little to boost the passing rate. The effectiveness of each modification and the feedback from the candidates regarding the modifications, have not been seen and demonstrated at all (Kusunoki 66).

Since there is a disconnect between the problem and the solution, it can only be expected that passing the NBE is almost impossible. A JPEPA nurse who was deployed in 2011 (and quit after a year) expressed that “the journey to becoming a nurse in Japan was indeed a mission impossible. We were very tired physically, mentally, and emotionally while studying to pass the board exam and working at the same time. All of us were pushed to study even on our rest day” (Calunsod). Other JPEPA nurses [from other batches] also expressed the same exasperation in that working and studying at the same time were both physically and mentally tiring (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 4). As an apprentice, even if receiving PHP 40,000 of net salary in 2011 (and some of them even receiving free lodging and food) (Tubeza), these benefits were not enough to motivate them to stay longer. Therefore,

even the premature return to home countries—particularly of JPEPA nurses back to the Philippines—can be expected so long as the study hours are insufficient, and the hospital tasks are experientially inadequate.

## *2) Post-NBE Integration*

Passing the NBE starts a licensed career, but nothing much would change in terms of language difficulty. One licensed JPEPA nurse said, “daily conversation with patients and medical jargon used among the medical staff are different from the language used in the NBE. I have to keep studying my Japanese even after I have passed the NBE” (Kawaguchi et al. 77). Still coping with his Japanese language skills, another licensed JPEPA nurse said, “whatever I lack in verbal communication, I make up for by being sensitive to the [patients’] needs through feelings and touch;” A licensed JPEPA nurse giving health teachings still had difficulty explaining herself in Japanese: “I’m a bit frustrated because I can’t give the best explanation to my patients. Health teaching is different from everyday conversations because health teaching has to be done in a systematic manner and in a polite form.” Even a licensed JPEPA nurse who passed the NBE on the first try confessed that she continues to experience language difficulty. And because her functions have expanded, command of the language becomes more and more a necessity. This is where her insecurity comes in. “I feel bad when I don’t understand what others say in Japanese; for instance, when I take verbal orders from doctors,” she said (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 5–6).

Another reality is that there are Japanese characters all over the hospital. Medical kanji prevents EPA nurses from getting integrated into the Japanese hospital workforce (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 8). This is why furigana (Japanese reading aid) for kanji (Japanese character) in NBE was viewed as pointless since there are kanji in the workplace that EPA nurses cannot read (Kusunoki 66). The study of Kawaguchi et al. in 2016 recommended that support for EPA nurses after passing the NBE—especially in the Japanese language—be formalized and enhanced to make the program more meaningful. The licensed JPEPA nurses interviewed by Añonuevo in her study in 2019 also stated that hospitals should continue their support,

especially with language education, even after the nurses had passed the NBE (“Prospects and Dilemmas”). They believe that as long as Japanese employers need nurses and the respective governments are serious about the intentions of JPEPA, the program can still have a bright prospect.

One of the good things after passing the NBE, on the flip side, is that there have been major changes in the nursing responsibilities. Licensed JPEPA nurses can now take and carry out doctor’s orders, give medications, and do charting, perform blood extraction, maintain intravenous lines, conduct health teachings, discharge instructions to patients, handle trauma patients, administer emergency drugs, and perform cardio-pulmonary resuscitation. Another good thing is the change in treatment by the social environment. One licensed JPEPA nurse said, “All my Japanese coworkers greet me, unlike before when they regarded me quite inferiorly.” Another one shared that “whereas before, anyone in the ward would tell me what I should do, now I can delegate some of the tasks to a Japanese caregiver.” Change in salary is also a good thing. Licensed JPEPA nurses could now receive an average of PHP 140,000 per month (PHP 90,000 net salary after deductions such as insurance, taxes, house rental, internet, telephone, and utility charges), from the PHP 60,000–115,000 monthly salary of a nurse candidate. On top of this, they are also entitled to a midyear bonus, thirteenth-month pay, a three-day summer leave, and eight to ten days of allowable leave from duty every month (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 4–5).

## **The JPEPA/JLPT-passer Nurses’ Disintegration from the Japanese Healthcare Community**

### *1) Disintegration due to non-passing of NBE*

Failure to pass the NBE within the designated period requires JPEPA nurses to return to the Philippines (Carlos, “Filipino Careworkers” 14) and this marks the beginning of the JPEPA nurses’ physical disintegration from the Japanese healthcare community. With the very low passing rate over the years, it is understandable that most of the nurse candidates have already returned to the Philippines after three years (Carlos and Suzuki 9). In 2015,

around 400 JPEPA nurses and caregivers were reported to have already returned to the Philippines since 2009 (Santos); over 500 in 2016 (Embassy of Japan in the Philippines); and over 700 in 2018 (“Embassy of Japan to Host,” 2018). Based on the pattern from 2015 to 2018, around 100 nurses and caregivers combined become jobless annually as they disintegrate from the Japanese healthcare community. According to Trines in 2018, this added to the number of unemployed nurses in the Philippines with already around 200,000 in 2016.

After the first three NBEs (2010–12) of JPEPA nurses, it can be said that having a backup plan for non-passers would be wonderful. This is why since 2012, the Japanese Embassy in Manila has held an annual job fair with Japanese companies and medical institutes to help the returning JPEPA nurses (and caregivers) to further utilize their skills and experiences acquired in Japan, to strengthen the relationship between Japan and the Philippines (“Embassy of Japan to Host,” 2017), and to provide them with other employment opportunities (“Job Fair and Dinner Reception” 5). This is also a way to contradict the view that the “potential of those who have made an effort to come to Japan is not being utilized (as they go back to their home countries without taking the NBE)” (“Japan Foreign Nurses”). Through job fairs, some returnees were rehired as company nurses, Japanese language teachers, interpreters, and office staff (Embassy of Japan in the Philippines). Those who returned to the Philippines from 2009 to 2011 may have also benefited from the job fairs from 2012 onwards as long as they participated in, and were able to secure a job through, the fair. But, according to Calunsod, other JPEPA nurses who did not take nor pass the NBE already migrated to other countries after returning to the Philippines from Japan.

## *2) Disintegration despite passing the NBE*

Many of those who have passed the NBE have already left Japan (Hirai; Matsukawa and Morimoto in Kusunoki 1). After painstakingly completing the requirements, some nurses and care workers have decided to return to the Philippines. This is a clear drawback on Japan, as they have already invested resources for them yet end up leaving their Japanese health institutions after

completing all the costly training (Vilog et al. 47). The Japan International Corporation of Welfare Services (JICWELS), which directly handles the program on the part of Japan, said that the most common reasons cited by licensed JPEPA nurses who decided not to work in Japan are personal and family issues, particularly nurses' desires to be close to and take care of their parents (Calunsod). One licensed JPEPA nurse said, "I'll stay here for as long as I'm happy. [But] my feelings are unsure." There's a decision to remain in Japan if they have relatives who could provide psychosocial support to them. Another licensed JPEPA nurse added that she could count five more years in Japan if she could bring her family with her as they are her priority (Añonuevo, "Prospects and Dilemmas" 6). There has been a struggle brought by separation anxiety, particularly to those who are married. Some initially believed that the financial rewards outweighed separation from their family. Their families were also optimistic that if they passed the NBE, the former could join them and live with them in Japan (Añonuevo, "Transnational Care" 4–5). For others, working in Japan means reuniting with other family members. A licensed JPEPA nurse from batch 3 decided to migrate because she has a relative working in Japan (Vilog et al. 47).

Likewise, a considerable number among those who passed had already quit their job, to work in another destination (Carlos and Suzuki 9). Japan, in this scenario, is not the preferred destination by Filipino nurses. In fact, according to studies, most of them prefer countries such as Saudi Arabia, Singapore, the United Kingdom, and the United States (US) as destination countries. Many nurses want to go to the US, [even if] it is very expensive to apply for the National Council Licensure Exam (NCLEX) (Vilog et al. 47). One licensed JPEPA nurse interviewed by Añonuevo was reviewing for the NCLEX. If she passes, she said that she'd be ready to set off and work in the US ("Prospects and Dilemmas" 7).

### **Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendation**

The JPEPA, as a bilateral agreement, is wished to be seen fulfilling its objectives, particularly in supplying nurses for the aging population of Japan and providing job opportunities to nurses from the Philippines. This is why the



language concern, even the remedy to this, was anticipated years before deploying the first batch of nurses. However, realities regarding the learning of the Japanese language unfold year after year. Extending the language training of JPEPA nurses, from six to twelve months, was the action undertaken by authorities, guided by the idea that the NBE results will improve only when there's a higher level of Japanese language proficiency. This is all the more evident when JVEPA nurses were able to achieve the JLPT N3 within a twelve-month training program and performed significantly better during the NBE among EPA nurses.

However, even if the JPEPA nurses eventually received a twelve-month language training, they didn't seem to reach the JLPT N3 (as reflected in their NBE results). One reality is that JVEPA nurses spent twelve months of training in Vietnam. The expectation that the improvement of JPEPA nurses' language proficiency would happen upon being integrated into the Japanese healthcare community did not happen in the case of the majority. As already revealed in the study of Ford & Kawashima, the key to passing the NBE during the first year and first take is to have more than twenty hours of study a week, with receiving hospitals supporting such study and giving out a progression of tasks. One JPEPA nurse even described his journey to pass the NBE as a mission impossible because (1) the NBE required JLPT N2, and only 40% of the words in the JLPT word list is used in NBE; there's a (2) lack of time to study; (3) lack of support from some host hospitals; and (4) lack of progression of relevant tasks. While the JVEPA's approach to language training can already be a benchmark, no further adjustment was made for JPEPA after 2014.

Instead, what has been done by the Japanese authorities was to give the NBE an English translation, along with giving candidates extra exam time and a reading aid to indicate the pronunciation of Japanese characters. If such remedies are not the answer to the problem, what improvement these can contribute to the number of licensed EPA nurses. Another proof that there must be a focus on the improvement of language training is that the licensed JPEPA nurses still have difficulty with Japanese, as they find the words in actual daily conversations with patients and medical staff different

from the words used in NBE. With this, the study of Kawaguchi et al. recommended further Japanese language support for licensed EPA nurses.

With regards to the pre-NBE integration into the Japanese healthcare community, particularly performing non-nursing functions, it can be said that it did not help to improve the language proficiency of JPEPA nurses nor to enrich their knowledge of nursing in Japan. Worse, it made JPEPA nurses feel deskilled and demotivated. If highly technical terms used in NBE cannot be learned during the apprenticeship, the by-the-book NBE review might be better. It is suggested, therefore, to start the integration after passing the NBE so that JPEPA nurses will no longer experience the disenfranchising apprenticeship episode; and as licensed, the responsibilities, as well as the social treatment, salaries, and benefits to be given to them, are the same with their Japanese counterpart right from the beginning. This may help limit the disintegration of the JPEPA nurses from the Japanese healthcare community.

On the other hand, it was mentioned that the necessary integration should have also entailed cultural learning aside from language (Vilog et al. 50, 62). If there will be cultural learning, it is suggested by this research to be two-way; for example, since Filipinos study the Japanese cultural practices, the Japanese may also study the Filipino culture (e.g., about family). Japan might not be one of the preferred destinations, but if the JPEPA nurses can bring their family members to Japan it could be something worth considering. As has been mentioned more than a decade ago, learning the Japanese language might prove a waste in terms of time, effort, and money invested if JPEPA nurses do not eventually work in Japan (Yu-Jose 20), especially because proficiency in the Japanese language achieved while in Japan will not be useful in the next preferred destination (Carlos, "Multiculturalism Policies" 182). But Japan can still be a preferred destination, provided that JPEPA nurses can bring their families with them.

To learn the Japanese language more quickly, most of the JPEPA nurses have suggested that the basics of the course be conducted in the Philippines before they are sent out to their respective employers (Añonuevo, "Transnational Care" 2011: 8). Specifically, this research recommends that Filipino nurses have JLPT N2 before taking the NBE. Similar to the JPEPA

approach, the complete language training for JLPT N2 [intermediate level or B2 in the CEPR or JF Standard for the Japanese Language Education] (Saitama University, 2018) should be conducted in the Philippines in eighteen months. The Japan Foundation's (2019) decision to hire Filipino Japanese-language lecturers (together with Japanese lecturers in a team) to handle an intensive Japanese-Language Course for JPEPA nurses (and care-workers) at TESDA is also seen as beneficial for licensed JPEPA nurses who already returned in the Philippines to get reunited with their families. It was mentioned in the hiring requirement that "the lecturer must have the ability to respond accordingly to the learners' actual need and readiness" (Japan Foundation, 2019) thus it is believed that licensed JPEPA nurses are the most fit for the job.

If the ideal number of hours to reach the JLPT N2 level is 1,000 hours ("Course Information" Akita Japanese Language Institute, 2021), and the ideal number of study hours for JPEPA nurses per week is more than twenty hours (say, 24 twenty-four hours), according to Ford & Kawashima (2013), then the proficiency required for NBE can be achieved in twelve months. Thus, starting the thirteenth month, language training should be accompanied by an NBE review for which test-based review classes may be helpful. The NBE is recommended to be taken at the Japanese Embassy in Manila, and only after passing the NBE should the Filipino nurses be deployed to Japan. Eighteen months after deployment, it would be even be a good idea if licensed JPEPA nurses could bring their families to Japan. The recommended 18 months of language training and NBE review in the Philippines, plus eighteen months of work as a licensed nurse in Japan, are also equivalent to the three years (thirty-six months) of the nursing contract currently given by JPEPA. With these, JPEPA nurses will only be away from their family for only eighteen 18 months, before making Japan, finally, their preferred destination.

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# Carlos Bulosan and Filipino Collective Memory

Teaching, Transgression, and Transformation

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## **Abstract**

Who is Carlos Bulosan? Why is he significant? Why teach Bulosan in our classrooms? These questions function as points of departure for this lecture delivered in Summer 2021 for the *UNITAS* International Lecture Series cosponsored by *CLASS* and *Kritika Kultura*. By reviewing the significance of Carlos Bulosan, this talk provides an opportunity to examine the continued relevance of Bulosan and his works for the twenty-first century. A pioneering Filipino writer of the twentieth century, Bulosan developed a unique transgressive aesthetic that travels across national and literary boundaries and, in the process, reimagines the boundaries of Filipino identity and literary categorization. Emphasis is placed on approaches to teaching Bulosan within the Asian American studies classroom at Bryant University. Within Bulosan's literary imagination, transgression is inextricably interconnected with transformation.

## **Keywords**

Carlos Bulosan, pedagogy and interdisciplinarity, Asian American studies, US–Philippines colonial relations, Filipino self-determination and Filipino American labor activism



## Introduction

The following is the text of my lecture delivered in the summer of 2021 for the *UNITAS* International Lecture Series cosponsored by CLASS (Cultural, Literary, and Art Studies Society, Inc.) and *Kritika Kultura*. This presentation focuses on pedagogical approaches to teaching Carlos Bulosan's classic text *America Is in the Heart* (1946) in my Asian American studies course at Bryant University in Smithfield, Rhode Island.

I assign Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* during the first part of the course, which emphasizes the historical emergence of the field of Asian American studies as inextricably interconnected with the Asian American movement of the late 1960s which historians trace to the Third World Liberation Front student strike at San Francisco State College (1968–69). The retrieval of Bulosan's text by Asian American and Filipino/Filipino American activists and scholars in the late 1960s and early 1970s speaks to the early stage of Asian American studies which, according to Asian American historian Yuji Ichioka, is characterized as “uncovering a buried past”—which includes reclaiming the histories of various groups within the Asian American community such as detained Chinese immigrants at Angel Island, Filipino migrant workers on the plantations and in the canneries of the US West Coast, and incarcerated Japanese Americans in concentration camps. For Filipino/Filipino American activists and scholars from the 1960s to the 1980s, Bulosan helped to uncover a “buried past” of working-class resistance in the United States and anticolonial subaltern agency in the Philippines.

When teaching Bulosan's text, I assign E. San Juan, Jr.'s “In Search of Filipino Writing” which provides a useful theoretical framework for students—one that advances earlier concepts introduced in the course by Ronald Takaki and Gary Okihiro. San Juan's emphasis on the historical specificity of the Filipino experience enables students to return to Okihiro's rearticulation of orientalism for the field of Asian American studies. American orientalist discourse cannot be separated from US–Philippine colonial relations and the racial-national subordination of the Filipino people. While San Juan advances Wallerstein's world system perspective in historicizing the international scope of Bulosan's writing, he simultaneously emphasizes what

lies at the heart of Bulosan's literary imagination—the concept of Filipinos as subjects-in-revolt. This concept speaks to Ronald Takaki's insistence that Asian American/ethnic studies should examine how peoples of color are not only victims of history but also actors in history—subjects with minds, wills, and voices.<sup>1</sup> Filipinos as subjects-in-revolt speak to Bulosan's narrative strategies of transgression/transformation—specifically, the ways in which a long memory of anticolonial subaltern resistance in the Philippines provides the foundation for the Filipino American labor movement during the 1930s in *America Is in the Heart*.

### **Teaching Asian American Studies at Bryant University**

I'd like to begin by talking a little bit about my upper-division course in Asian American studies which I teach for the Department of English and Cultural Studies at Bryant University in Rhode Island. Bryant University is a small private college that has a predominately white student body (83.2% as of 2019).<sup>2</sup> The majority of the students are business majors given the institution's long history as a business college founded in 1863 in Providence, Rhode Island as a branch of the Bryant and Stratton National Business College which sought enrollment among Civil War veterans and members of the working class.<sup>3</sup> Bryant was a business college until 2004 when its College of Arts and Sciences was established; as a result, Bryant College became Bryant University (located in Smithfield, Rhode Island since 1971).

My Asian American studies course contributes to the expansion of the university's curriculum and to our new ethnic studies program. In spite of the racially homogenous student body at Bryant, my Asian American studies course has become one of our more racially diverse courses with student enrollment drawing from US students of color and international students. The course has been attractive to students of color and white students interested in theoretical perspectives on local and global forms of difference. Over the years, the course has attracted a wide range of students across the university—from international business majors to students working in Residential

Life and Services interested in issues of diversity within education (from PreK to the university level).

In my course, I encourage students to reflect upon three interconnected strands which are in conversation with the broader field of literary/cultural studies:

- *Field Formation*

Demonstrate knowledge of the interconnectedness of the history of Asian American Studies and the history of US social movements during the 1960s–70s. Students will be able to articulate how this historical connection (between field formation and social movements) situates the study of Asian Americans within a global context.

- *Canon Formation*

Demonstrate knowledge of the historical development of an Asian American literary canon. Students will be able to articulate the possibilities and limitations of developing an Asian American literary canon. Students will examine the following questions: What constitutes Asian America according to this canon? Who defines the canon? For whom? How does the idea of a canon shift and change at different historical moments in the development of Asian America?

- *Racial Formations*

Use the theory of “racial formation” to examine the processes by which Asian groups have been historically racialized within the United States as well as the ways in which “Asian America” has been defined and redefined by its various communities. Students will be able to articulate the significance of the theory of racial formation to the field of Asian American Studies. We will examine new frontiers for this theory. For example, we will discuss how Asian American feminisms (including studies of sexuality) can enrich our understanding of Asian American racial formations.

The course provides an opportunity for students to learn about pioneering Filipino writer Carlos Bulosan (1911–56) and his significance to the Asian American movement and Asian American literature. Born of the Filipino peasantry in Binalonan, Pangasinan in 1911, Bulosan arrived in Seattle, Washington in 1930 and joined 150,000 Filipino migrant workers—in the canneries of Alaska and on the plantations of the US West coast and Hawaii. Bulosan’s racialized diasporic class consciousness informed his development as a prolific author of novels, short stories, essays, and poems.

### Teaching Carlos Bulosan and *America Is in the Heart*

I assign Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart*, which was published in 1946. It was recovered by the Asian American movement and republished in 1973 by the University of Washington Press with a reissue in 2014. It was recently released as a Penguin Classic in 2019. This text is very useful for me in the classroom because it helps my students make connections between the three strands of the course—field formation, canon formation, and racial formation. *America Is in the Heart* introduces students to the Filipino American experience and to a canonical text within Asian American studies. Its canonical status speaks to the field’s liberatory vision informed by the Asian American movement of the late 1960s.

*America Is in the Heart* chronicles the experiences of Filipino migrant workers on the US west coast during the Great Depression. I assign “In Search of Filipino Writing” by E. San Juan Jr. to accompany our reading of Bulosan’s text. San Juan’s essay is an invaluable resource for my students because it provides a historical context for understanding Bulosan’s literary craft. San Juan distinguishes the ethico-political framework of Bulosan’s writing from the immigrant-assimilationist paradigm that has dominated Asian American literary criticism at its inception (see Elaine Kim) and has informed the work of contemporary Filipino American writers/critics who yearn for recognition from the US literary establishment. San Juan discusses Bulosan’s writing as a literature of revolt (not just a literature of exile) that draws sustenance from a durable tradition of anticolonial subaltern struggle in the Philippines.

I ask students to consider how this is dramatized in Bulosan's text—specifically through its form and the development of the narrator.

Categorized as a literature of revolt, *America Is in the Heart* dramatizes a diasporic Filipino protest consciousness. Part novel, part autobiography, and part collective memory, *America Is in the Heart* is an ethnobiography that transgresses the literary conventions of various forms of writing such as the bildungsroman, naturalism, and proletarian literature. Our protagonist Allos is a composite of many stories. He embodies the collective experiences of the Filipino peasantry under American colonial occupation and Filipino migrant farmworkers in the United States during the Great Depression.

The structure of the ethnobiography (divided into four parts) traces the development of Allos's awareness of marginalization within Philippine colonial society and the United States. This awareness of marginalization enables Allos to craft modes of resistance as a writer-activist of the Filipino American labor movement which includes the formation of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA union). Bulosan's text allows us to focus on working-class experiences in the Philippines and the United States. I begin our discussion by asking students to identify how Allos develops a racialized class consciousness in the Philippines (part one). I emphasize how this particular development within part one is significant because it anticipates the emergence of new forms of consciousness in parts two, three, and four.

### **On Racial/National Subordination:**

#### **Carlos Bulosan and the Filipino American Experience**

When I teach Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart*, I ask students to situate the Filipino experience within US-Philippine colonial relations (beginning with the Philippine–American War 1899–1902). I emphasize that American colonization is key to understanding the historical context of the narrative, its conflicts, and the development of its characters. I ask students to reflect upon how Bulosan's text begins in the Philippines under American colonial occupation. Our central character and narrator Allos develops his understanding

of self and the world he inhabits within this colonial context. Part one of *America Is in the Heart* dramatizes how the dissolution of Allos's family and their dispossession of land in the Philippines is due to absentee landlordism under American colonial occupation:

One summer day, when the rice lay golden in the sun, startling rumors came to Mangusmana: the peasants in a province to the south of us had revolted against their landlords. There the peasants had been the victims of ruthless exploitation for years, dating back to the eighteenth century when Spanish colonizers instituted severe restrictive measures in order to impoverish the natives. So from then on the peasants became poorer each year and the landlords became richer at every harvest time. And the better part of it was that the landlord was always away, sometimes merely a name on a piece of paper. (Bulosan 25)

Asian American historian Erika Lee reminds us that “U.S. rule transformed the Philippine economy in ways that benefited American investors but not Filipinos [by] expand[ing] the Philippines’s export-oriented economy first established by the Spanish” (176).

To help students understand the impact of US colonization on the Filipino experience, I introduce the concept of racial/national subordination. Within Bulosan’s text, the racism encountered by Filipinos in the Philippines and by Filipinos in the United States cannot be separated from the colonial status of the Philippines. According to Filipino scholar-activist Bruce Occena, “Filipinos have been integrated into US society on the basis of inequality and subjected to discrimination due both to their race and nationality” (qtd. in San Juan 450–51). This condition of racial/national subordination informs how Filipinos are positioned within US society and constructed within the US colonial imaginary. According to Erika Lee, Filipinos were classified as “U.S. nationals” ineligible for citizenship and “described in racial terms as uncivilized savages, brutal rapists, and even dogs and monkeys . . . [or] children in need of US guidance” (175).

I ask students to identify passages from the text that illustrate the racial/national subordination that Filipinos encountered. One moment that is useful for this exercise appears at the start of part two with Allos’s passage

to America as a steerage passenger. A traumatic encounter with a young white girl on the boat's deck foreshadows Allos's life of displacement and exploitation as a migrant worker in the United States where he eventually reconnects with his brothers Macario and Amado and learns to reconstitute family, community, and belonging through labor activism and interracial working-class solidarity:

"Look at those half-naked savages from the Philippines. . . Haven't they any decency?"

I was to hear that girl's voice in many ways afterward in the United States. It became no longer her voice, but an angry chorus shouting: "Why don't they ship those monkeys back where they came from?" (Bulosan 100–01)

I also ask students to consider how racial/national subordination exacerbates the hostile working conditions of Filipino migrant workers who are positioned in the United States as racialized colonial subjects ineligible for citizenship. Bulosan dramatizes life as a Filipino migrant worker during the Great Depression through our protagonist Allos. In part two, Allos experiences a "life of fear and flight" from racialized violence (from the pitting of Filipino workers against other workers of color to indiscriminate acts of police brutality) and inhumane working conditions in the environment—on plantations of the West Coast and the canneries of Alaska. Here's one vivid example of the hostile working conditions of Filipino migrant workers:

In those days labor unions were still unheard of in the canneries, so the contractors rapaciously exploited their workers. They had henchmen in every cannery who saw to it that every attempt at unionization was frustrated and the instigators of the idea punished. The companies also had their share in the exploitation; our bunkhouses were unfit for human habitation. The lighting system was bad and dangerous to our eyes, and those working in the semi-darkness were severely affected by the strong ammonia from the machinery.

I was working in a section called "wash lye." One afternoon a cutter above me, working in the poor light, slashed off his right arm with the cutting machine. It happened so swiftly he did not cry out. I saw his arm floating down the water among the fish heads. (Bulosan 103–04)

## **Filipino Diasporic Protest Consciousness: Carlos Bulosan and the Asian American Movement**

*America Is in the Heart* was recuperated by the Asian American movement of the late 1960s and the revitalized Philippine national sovereignty movement of the 1970s. An essay assigned to students prior to their reading *America Is in the Heart* is Glenn Omatsu's "The 'Four Prisons' and the Movements of Liberation." This essay introduces students to the history of the Asian American movement which emerged from the 1968 San Francisco State Strike for ethnic studies. Students learn that the Asian American movement critiqued the racist violence of US imperialist adventures in Asia—specifically Vietnam and the Philippines. Bulosan's text resonated with the liberatory visions of the Asian American movement and the Philippine national sovereignty movement by achieving two goals simultaneously. *America Is in the Heart* documents the exploitation and oppression of Filipinos within racial capitalism. At the same time, *America Is in the Heart* documents Filipino collective agency in the Philippines and the United States.

Bulosan's text eloquently captures the emergence of a diasporic Filipino protest consciousness. I ask students to take notice of how the openings of parts three and four are vastly different from the opening of part two which frames Allos as victimized by the hostile racist and exploitative forces of his environment. The openings of parts three and four push against victimization by emphasizing the development of the Filipino organic intellectual—the development Allos's agency as a writer-activist.

Part three opens with the publication of *The New Tide*, a Filipino workers' magazine that is an actual journal that Bulosan edited in 1934 while working closely with Filipino labor organizers.<sup>4</sup> Part four opens with Allos's reflecting upon American models of the writer-activist such as Carey McWilliams, Louis Adamic, and others. The narrative as a whole, however, reveals that Allos's ideal model of the writer-activist is deeply informed by a diasporic form of Filipino insurgency—a concept embodied by the character of Felix Razon (a young peasant organizer) whom Allos first encounters during his childhood in the Philippines. Felix Razon later reemerges within the narrative as an active participant in the Filipino labor movement in the



United States. In fact, Felix Razon is involved in the publication of *The New Tide* (Bulosan 189). As a child, Allos encounters Felix Razon in part one in the Philippines:

My mother and I went to the town of Tayug, a rich rice land, and helped in the harvest. Tayug and two other neighboring towns belonged to one family.

In the middle of the season strange men began coming to the rice fields. A rugged peasant boy made impassioned speeches to the harvesters . . . I remember this fanatical peasant boy because years afterward I met him again in America. His name was Felix Razon. (Bulosan 60–61; pt. 1)

Years later, Allos reunites with Felix Razon in the United States.

. . . I took a bus for Los Angeles. I found that my brother Macario and Nick, Jose's brother, were living together. They had started a literary magazine with a man named Felix Razon. To my amazement, he was the same peasant boy who had warned me to leave the rice fields in Tayug, before the Colorum revolted against the landlords. (Bulosan 189; pt. 2)

The character of Felix Razon represents the global movement of anticolonial Filipino class consciousness by referencing labor organizer Pedro Calosa.

The development of Felix Razon's character resonates with the life of Pedro Calosa who is the central organizer of the colorum groups of the 1931 Tayug revolt. Filipino historian Renato Constantino reminds us of the significance of Pedro Calosa and the Tayug revolt:

Calosa had spent many years as a laborer in the sugar fields of Hawaii, but plantation authorities dismissed him when they discovered he was attempting to organize his co-workers. Sent back to the Philippines, he finally settled in Pangasinan where he worked in the rice fields. (353)

The Tayug revolt was supposed to be the spark that would ignite the whole of Central Luzon in a peasant revolution that would achieve independence for the country and reward all participants with equal shares in lands confiscated from caciques. (354)

Felix Razon and the Tayug uprising of 1931 speak to a diasporic Filipino insurgency—or anticolonial protest consciousness—which undergirds the narrative of *America Is in the Heart*. Felix Razon’s embodying the history of Pedro Calosa and the Tayug revolt speaks to the ways in which Filipino American labor activism was informed by a tradition of subaltern struggle for national sovereignty in the Philippines. Bulosan maintained this diasporic connection in his work as a writer-activist until his untimely death in 1956 (see Bulosan’s work as editor of the 1952 *ILWU Yearbook*).<sup>5</sup>

Bulosan’s dramatization of the diasporic continuity of anticolonial Filipino protest consciousness helps to explain why *America Is in the Heart* resonated with activists of the Asian American movement and the Philippine sovereignty movement into the 1980s. We can see how this diasporic continuity is represented in an early attempt by Filipino American filmmaker and activist Linda Mabalot (founder of the Asian Pacific Film and Video Festival) to create a film inspired by Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart*.

In her footage for the unfinished film *Quiet Thunder* (1981), Mabalot portrays Filipino resistance to American colonization of the Philippines as the political unconscious of *America Is in the Heart*. Her opening and closing scenes of anticolonial Filipino resistance (a reference to the Philippine-American War which lasted between 1899 and 1902) frames images of dislocation, community building, survival, and resistance in the United States. An historical memory of anticolonial insurgency informs Filipino American modes of survival and collective resistance (Filipino labor activism and interracial working-class solidarity) within *America Is in the Heart*. Mabalot’s film footage reminds us that this collective memory resonated deeply with Asian American and Filipino American activists of the 1970s and 1980s.



Fig. 1. Photo of filmmaker and activist Linda Mabalot. Courtesy of Visual Communications (VC) blog, post by Abe Ferrer, VC Staff.<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 2. Opening scene from *Quiet Thunder: Philippine-American War (1899-1902)*.



Fig. 3. Scene from *Quiet Thunder*: Interracial working-class solidarity – fleeing from fascist violence in the United States (1930s). Moments of interracial working-class solidarity in Bulosan’s text (with characters such as John Custer and the Odell sisters) are useful for helping students reflect upon the ways in which working-class agency is central to challenging systemic racism in the United States.



Fig. 4. Closing scene from *Quiet Thunder*: Philippine–American War (1899–1902).

## American Orientalist Discourse

As a teacher, I realize that concepts such as US-Philippine colonial history and racial/national subordination might seem, at times, challenging for students to grasp in relation to our reading of Bulosan's text. So I use a theoretical concept central to the field of Asian American studies to help students. Here I'm referring to the rearticulation of orientalist discourse within the field of Asian American studies. The framework of American orientalist discourse helps my students to grasp and visualize concepts specific to the Filipino experience.

In his essay "When and Where I Enter," Asian American studies scholar Gary Okihiro explains the concept of orientalism for my students in the following:

Orientalism . . . composed a system of thought that supported a 'Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over' Asia. Orientalism's purpose was to stir an inert people . . . shape them and give them an identity, and subdue and domesticate them. (7)

To help students visualize the formation of an American orientalist discourse, I use images from *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons* (Ignacio et al.) which is an invaluable classroom resource. The political cartoons within the text simultaneously challenge our historical amnesia in the United States with regard to US colonialization of the Philippines. When filmmaker John Sayles premiered his 2011 film *Amigo* (on the subject of the Philippine-American War), he shed light on the dearth of information on Filipino resistance to US colonial occupation within our American educational system:

I was doing research for my last novel, *Los Gusanos*, and I came — kept coming across this phrase, "the Philippine insurrection," or "the Philippine-American War." And I said, "OK, I'm 30-something years old. How come I've never heard of this?" which got me suspicious. You know, usually when we [Americans] win a war—and we won that war—we celebrate it. And how come, you know, *Amigo* is probably going to be the third movie ever made

in the United States about the Philippine-American War? How come there are no novels about it? How come it's not in our history books? (Sayles)

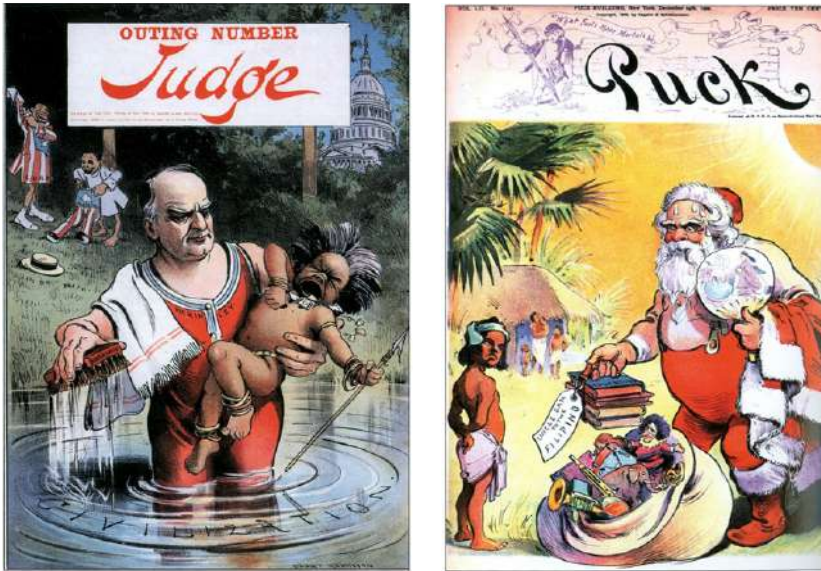
We can perhaps read Gina Apostol's recent novel *Insurrecto* (2018) as a text in conversation with John Sayles's reflection on reconstructing our collective memory of Filipino resistance during the Philippine-American War.

Here are a few images that I ask students to examine. I ask them to walk me through how these images, as part of American orientalist discourse, construct Filipino "otherness"—specifically the racial and national subordination of Filipinos.



**Fig. 5.** This image is titled “The White Man’s Burden (Apologies to Kipling)” from *Judge* (Judge Publishing Company, New York, 1899). This political cartoon which illustrates the United States taking on the responsibilities of an imperial power alludes to Kipling’s poem “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands” (1899).<sup>7</sup> Students observe how white supremacy and patriarchal domination are integral to the formation of American orientalist discourse. Image from *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons*, edited by Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio.





**Fig. 6.** The left image is titled “The Filipino’s First Bath” and the caption is as follows: “McKinley – ‘Oh, you dirty boy!’” (*Judge*, Judge Company, New York, June 10, 1899). The right image is titled “Christmas In Our New Possessions” and the caption is as follows: “Santa Claus – Phew! I’m glad to oblige Uncle Sam, of course. But next time I come I’ll wear khaki!” (*Puck*, Keppler & Scharzmann, New York, December 24, 1902). My students observe that the Filipino characters in both images are depicted as children to justify the American colonial representation of the Filipino as incapable of self-rule. Often times students will also point out that a perspiring Santa Clause signifies the “white man’s burden” of imperial responsibility to uplift and civilize. A bundle of books is presented as a Christmas gift on behalf of Uncle Sam. An uncomfortable Santa Clause positions the Philippines as the other of Western civilization—an American orientalist construct of the Philippines as unfamiliar, savage, other. Images from *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons*, edited by Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio.

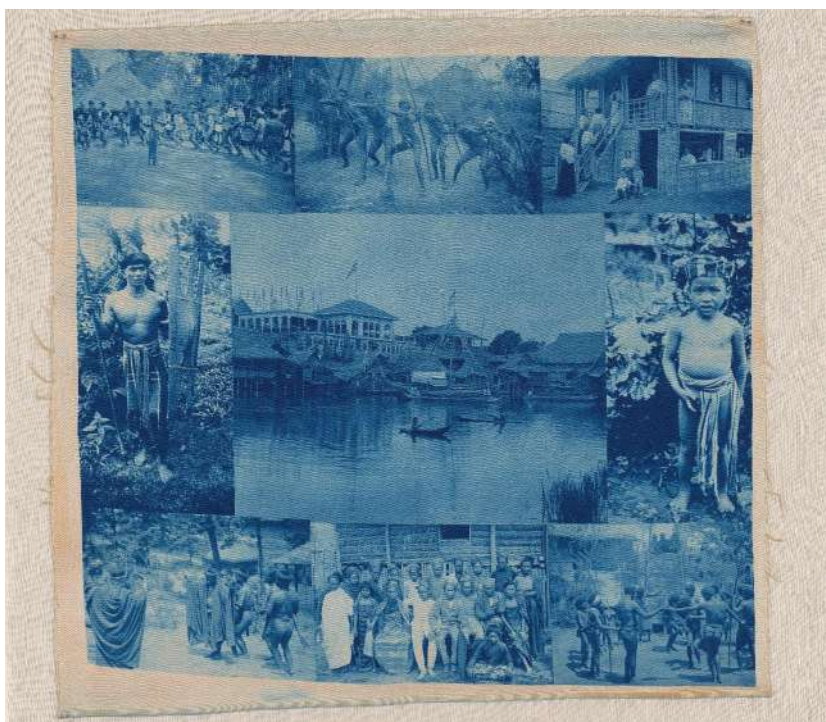
When asking students to reflect upon the formation and function of American orientalist discourse, I also encourage them to consider how Bulosan’s text challenges, interrogates, and destabilizes American orientalism by bringing their attention to a deconstructive moment in part one. Here, in an act of individual survival, Allos reveals Filipino racial otherness as a fiction, as performance. Allos’s performance denaturalizes the American colonial gaze that objectifies, essentializes, and dehumanizes Filipinos:

My clothes began to wear out. I was sick from eating what the traders discarded. One day an American lady tourist asked me to undress before her camera, and gave me ten centavos for doing it. I had found a simple way to make a living. Whenever I saw a white person in the market with a camera, I made myself conspicuously ugly, hoping to earn ten centavos. But what interested the tourists most were the naked Igorot women and their children. They seemed to take a particular delight in photographing young Igorot girls with large breasts and robust mountain men whose genitals were nearly exposed, their G-strings bulging large and alive. (69–70)

On one hand, Allos's performance critiques American orientalist discourse. It denaturalizes white supremacy by revealing the performative nature of racial otherness. On the other hand, Allos's performance reveals the limitations of deconstruction as a mode of individual survival within (rather than a mode of dismantling/transforming) the system of American colonialism. The ineffectiveness of Allos's deconstructive performance of racial otherness (one that pokes fun of while simultaneously reinforces American colonial racism) becomes apparent as the narrative unfolds and explores alternative modes of survival and resistance—specifically the possibility of collective mobilization. In Allos's development as a writer, Bulosan illustrates how new forms of consciousness (writing/cultural production) are interconnected with new forms of collective agency for social transformation.<sup>8</sup>

In the class, when we talk about American orientalist discourse, I remind students that we're talking about a motivated form of knowledge (a system of representation) produced by different types of cultural texts that serves to ideologically justify (naturalize) the US colonial occupation of the Philippines. The different texts include political cartoons as well as a souvenir textile commemorating the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. I came across this textile during a visit to the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) museum a few years ago. This textile is part of the RISD collection.





**Fig. 7.** Louisiana Purchase Exposition Souvenir Textile, after 1904. Printed cotton plain weave. Courtesy of the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) Museum, Providence, Rhode Island. This textile was on display in the *Former Glory* exhibition at the RISD Museum, July 27, 2018–January 20, 2019. The following is a description of the textile from the museum: “This work, possibly a pillow cover, may have been a souvenir from the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair. Its images depict the Bontoc Igorot people from the Philippines. The US military colonized the Philippines in 1898, and in 1904 a group of Igorot was transported to St. Louis for an exhibition at the fair. Showcased as a constructed village, the group was made to enact their ‘exoticness’ in ceremonial dances and other cultural practices for the consumptive gaze of onlookers. In the centermost panel, US flags fly above the site.”<sup>9</sup>

RISD artist fellow Walker Mettling decodes the images in the textile. Not unlike John Sayles a decade ago, Mettling discovers that our memory of American colonization of the Philippines at the turn of the century continues to be repressed. Mettling’s detailed research diagram uncovers an unsettling fact of American colonial history—Filipinos were displayed in human zoos in

the United States. In his research, Mettling notes that the textile documents the following:

This living museum/human zoo treatment of 1,300 Filipinos from 12 ethnic groups in replicas of their various building styles was deliberate propaganda to justify the annexation of the Philippines after the Spanish American War. The spectacle was designed by Lieutenant Governor of Bontoc Province, Truman Hunt.



**Fig. 8.** Research Diagram: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Souvenir Textile. Courtesy of Walker Mettling, cartoonist, printmaker, and director of the Providence Comics Consortium, Rhode Island. From the RISD museum website: "During his tenure as the RISD Museum's 2017 Artist Fellow, Walker Mettling became interested in a mysterious textile identified in museum records as a pillow cover. Through extensive research, Mettling unearthed the work's likely origin as a souvenir of the 1904 World's Fair and its complex history as a celebration of US colonization of the Philippines and the exoticization of Bontoc Igorot people. In this screen-printed graphic, Mettling describes his research process and findings."<sup>10</sup>

## Bulosan and Filipinos as Subjects-In-Revolt

Early in the course, I have students read the work of Asian American historian Ronald Takaki. In *A Different Mirror*, Takaki is interested in viewing Asian Americans as “actors in history, not merely victims of discrimination and exploitation, [who] are entitled to be viewed as subjects—as men and women with minds, wills, and voices” (14). The enduring appeal of *America Is in the Heart* for the field lies in its ability to reveal how Filipinos have survived, collectively resisted, and pushed against victimization mode. The following passage from E. San Juan, Jr. helps students explore the concept of Filipinos as actors in history—as subjects-in-revolt:

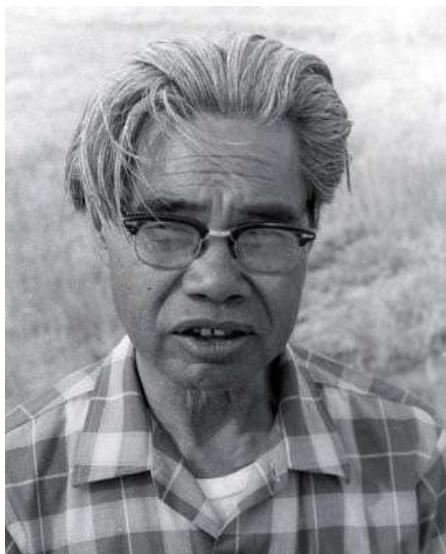
Called “little brown brothers,” barbaric “yellow bellies,” “scarcely more than savages,” and other derogatory epithets, Filipinos as subjects-in-revolt have refused to conform to the totalizing logic of white supremacy and the knowledge of “the Filipino” constructed by the Orientalizing methods of American scholarship. Interpellated within the boundaries of empire, Filipinos continue to bear the marks of three centuries of anticolonial insurgency (443–44).

*America Is in the Heart* is a text that “bears the marks of anticolonial Filipino insurgency” which inform the Filipino American labor movement of the 1930s—a movement that paved the way for Filipino American labor activists of the 1960s such as Philip Vera Cruz and Larry Itliong. Vera Cruz and Itliong are pioneering figures of the Filipino farmworkers movement in California and the Asian American movement.

One of my writing prompts asks students to discuss how *America Is in the Heart* speaks to Philip Vera Cruz’s moral vision of compassion, solidarity, and commitment which is explained by Asian American scholar-activist Glenn Omatsu:

Through his years of toil as a farmworker, [Philip Vera Cruz] recognized the importance of worker solidarity and militancy and the capacity of common people to create alternative institutions of grassroots power. Through his work with Filipino and Mexican immigrants, he saw the necessity of coalition-building and worker unity that crossed ethnic and racial boundaries. Vera Cruz has also promoted a larger moral vision . . . compassion

for all victims of oppression, solidarity with all fighting for liberation, and commitment to the ideals of democracy and social justice (191).



**Fig. 9.** Philip Vera Cruz. Courtesy of *Farmworker Movement Documentation Project*, UC San Diego<sup>11</sup>

One example that inspires my students is Allos's developing a workers' school as part of the labor movement toward the end of the text (an example of compassion, solidarity, and commitment):

I worked with a crew of pea pickers [in Nipomo]. I found a new release. The land had always been important to me. I felt my old peasant heritage returning with fresh nourishment. I knew that my future was linked with these tillers of the soil, from whose common source I had sprung.

I started a little workers' school and invited the pea pickers.

When I pointed out that the advance of democracy was related to the working man's struggle for better wages and living conditions, I felt a warm feeling of humanity growing inside of me.

I left Nipomo [for] Betteravia, a town fifteen miles away. In this little town, nestling like dried mushrooms, were Filipino and Mexican sugar beet workers. I worked with them and started another class. (311–12)

Bulosan's generation of Filipino migrant farmworkers and labor organizers (the *Manongs*) of the 1930s (informed by a diasporic anticolonial Filipino protest consciousness) paved the way for the Filipino American labor movement of the 1960s and the creation of the United Farm Workers movement which developed through interethnic working-class solidarity created by Filipino and Mexican farmworkers.



**Fig. 10.** Larry Itliong. Courtesy of *New York Times* photo gallery.

Larry Itliong, president of the Filipino organization called Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, bridged Bulosan's generation with the interethnic farmworkers movement of the 1960s. A recent PBS documentary on Asian Americans highlights the contributions of Filipino migrant farmworkers in California's central valley by focusing on the historic five-year Delano Grape Strike of 1965 (considered the civil rights movement for people of color on the US West Coast) and the role Larry Itliong played in helping to create the United Farm Workers movement. Delano historian



Alex Edillor states that the Delano Grape Strike of 1965 and the United Farm Workers movement are significant because they're proof that "Filipinos were here, and we made a difference."

Today, Filipinos are everywhere—nearly 12 million around the globe. The memory of Bulosan and the *Manong* generation continues to live in the work of Jose Antonio Vargas (journalist and activist for the rights of undocumented immigrants) and Zenei Triunfo-Cortez (president of the California Nurses Association/National Nurses Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO and labor organizer on the frontline of the COVID pandemic). Can we think of other Filipinos (in the Philippines, the US and throughout the diaspora) who contribute to our unique history of activism and cultural production? Filipinos who build upon Bulosan's diasporic protest consciousness? I invite readers to reflect upon how Bulosan and his writings can help us to continue to make a difference in the twenty-first century.



Fig. 11. *Gintong Kasaysayan, Gintong Pamana* (Filipino Americans: A Glorious History, A Golden Legacy). Mural in historic Filipinotown, Los Angeles, California. Courtesy of Alvin-Christian's blog.<sup>12</sup>

## Final Remarks—Teaching Strategies of Transgression/Transformation.<sup>13</sup>

When I decided to teach Carlos Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* within the context of Asian American studies, I was focused on introducing students to the specificity of the Filipino experience as well as the central concerns of Asian American studies which emerged from the Asian American movement. To be sure, Bulosan's text provides an excellent introduction to Filipino/Filipino American history and to foundational concerns of Asian American studies. I did not anticipate, however, the different ways in which Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* would resonate productively within a predominately white classroom. In other words, in addition to serving as an introductory text to the Filipino experience, Bulosan's ethnobiography opens spaces within which students are able to see our interconnected histories. When I ask students to think about Bulosan's strategies of transgression (crossing boundaries and borders) and transformation (challenging racism and economic exploitation), they're able to see how interracial working-class solidarity functions as the bridge between transgression and transformation.

Over the years, I've discovered one moment (out of many) that enables my white students to see how they're able to enter the text in solidarity. In chapter 35, Allos becomes friends with a white male patient in the hospital—"a young boy named John Custer." Allos discovers their common bond of class when John, who did not have the opportunity to learn how to write, asks Allos to write a letter on his behalf to his mother in Arkansas. Allos comments, "I was not writing to an unknown mother any more. I was writing to my own mother plowing in the muddy fields of Mangusmana . . . I realized that this poor American boy had worked all his life. I could have told him then that I had worked all my life, too" (Bulosan 248–49). Through this expression of interracial working-class solidarity (which enables Allos and John to transgress the boundary of race), my white students realize that Bulosan's text is also about the experiences of the multiracial working class. While Allos's class consciousness details the violence of white supremacy/US imperialism, it also highlights how working-class white Americans are able to challenge the ideology of racism to forge solidarity with Filipinos.

My students of color are able to see their own experiences with racism and marginalization reflected in Allos's journey within the text. I've also noticed that Allos's journey gives my students of color hope. When I ask students to observe how Bulosan's text dramatizes how Filipinos are victimized by hostile forces within the environment (US colonization, economic exploitation, racist violence), I also ask them to highlight how Allos learns to challenge and push against victimization mode by developing strategies of transgression/transformation. One of my Latino students, in a passionately written paper, juxtaposes Allos's bearing witness to the brutal lynching of a Filipino organizer by the name of José (fascist violence against labor) with Allos's intellectual awakening and political development as a writer guided by the Odell sisters. Through interracial working-class solidarity (represented by Alice and Eileen Odell), Allos was "determined to face [life] again but now with an unswerving intellectual weapon" (256). One of my Chinese American students, who was coming to terms with the rise of anti-Asian violence in the age of COVID-19, decided to write about Bulosan's text in light of the keywords that characterize Philip Vera Cruz's activism—compassion, solidarity, and commitment. This approach enabled my Chinese American student to see the continued relevance of Bulosan's text—specifically how collective action and interracial solidarity will be crucial tools for the Asian American community as it confronts and challenges the devastating eruptions of deep-rooted anti-Asian racism unleashed by the Covid pandemic.

Strategies of transgression/transformation within *America Is in the Heart* highlight the significance of working-class consciousness and interracial solidarity which, as Angela Davis reminds us, continue to remain necessary as we navigate pedagogical challenges within the academy (pushing beyond dominant neoliberal academic theories that center on the politics of failure/despair) and confront racial/economic injustices associated with the ongoing pandemic.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, Bulosan's strategies of transgression/transformation stem from our long memory of anticolonial resistance in the Philippines—a reminder of how Filipino self-determination is inextricably interconnected with struggles for social justice everywhere.



## Notes

1. See Takaki's *A Different Mirror*.
2. *Student Demographics and Outcomes Profile*. Bryant University.
3. See Bryant History and Traditions.
4. See *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt*.
5. See *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt*.
6. From Visual Communications blog – post by Abe Ferrer, VC Staff -- <https://fromthevcvault.wordpress.com/tag/philip-vera-cruz/>
7. See also Foster, John Bellamy and Robert W. McChesney, "Kipling, the 'White Man's Burden,' and US Imperialism," *Monthly Review*, November 2003.
8. See Teresa Ebert's *Ludic Feminism* for her detailed discussion on deconstruction as a form of idealist theory.
9. "Louisiana Purchase Exposition Souvenir Textile, after 1904." From the Rhode Island School of Design Textile Collection -- <https://risdmuseum.org/art-design/collection/louisiana-purchase-exposition-souvenir-textile-5816515>
10. "Artist Fellow Walker Mettling on the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition Souvenir Textile." <https://risdmuseum.org/art-design/projects-publications/articles/artist-fellow-walker-mettling>
11. See also *Philip Vera Cruz: a personal history of Filipino immigrants and the farm-worker movement*. Los Angeles: UCLA Labor Center & UCLA Asian American Studies Center.
12. Mural in historic Filipinotown, Los Angeles, California. Courtesy of Alvin-Christian Nuval's blog -- <https://livingglobally.wordpress.com/2012/10/25/gintong-kasaysayan-gintong-pamana/>
13. I'm grateful to all of my students from my Asian American studies course at Bryant University – specifically those enrolled in spring 2020 and 2021 who creatively and thoughtfully engaged Bulosan's literary imagination in the age of Covid-19.
14. See "Planetary Utopias: Angela Davis and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in conversation with Nikita Dhawan" and Rahul Rao's "Neoliberal antiracism and the British University."

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# BOOK REVIEW

*Affect, Narratives and Politics of Southeast Asian Migration*, by Carlos M. Piocos III

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## Abstract

In *Affect, Narratives, and Politics of Southeast Asian Migration* (2021), Carlos Piocos III deploys multidisciplinary approaches to understand contemporary issues surrounding Southeast Asian migration within the framework of what is now generally called Affect Theory. Ethnographic accounts and literary and visual analyses are juxtaposed, interfacing the collective experiences of Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers and migration policies that expose, enable, and mobilize such precarious politics of gendered labor. This book-review essay examines how Piocos advances the various texts, textualities, and contexts that situate affect in narratives, in order to underscore the plight of Filipina and Indonesian women domestic workers and how their struggles characterize women's social movements in the region. This book plays a vital role in exploring affect theory, migrant studies, and Southeast Asia.

## Keywords

## Introduction

What has been referred to as “emotions” is one of the most crucial representations of the cultural aspect of social scientific inquiries, whose visible manifestations “appear [in order] to tell us about our true selves” (Boellstorff and Lindquist 437). Drawing from Affect Theory in the analysis of their representations, contexts are critically mobilized toward cultural discourse by locating and acknowledging where these emotions are located connecting fields and disciplines such as anthropology, social psychology, and political theory as the book attempts to unpack emotions as a cultural lexicon in understanding texts, textualities, and contexts, particularly in the process of investigating contemporary Southeast Asia (Leys 436).

Over the years, Southeast Asia has been a subject worthy of critical inquiries that emanate from its dynamic cultural mobility. For instance, the region’s marked increase in both local and transnational migration offers dialogues on Southeast Asian narratives of movement. Theorists and scholars working on aspects such as globalization have posited that these movements of people, media, economy, and culture are “crucial in theorizing transnational processes” (Boellstorff and Lindquist 439). Hence, it is suitable to look into these ethnographies of affect to reconfigure the cultural mileage of Southeast Asia as this book tries to do.

Indeed, in *Affect, Narratives and Politics of Southeast Asian Migration*, by deploying multidisciplinary approaches, Carlos M. Piosos III in understanding contemporary issues surrounding Southeast Asian migration through a combination of ethnographic narratives and literary and visual analyses, exploring the collective experiences of Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers confronting migration policies that expose, enable, and mobilize the precarious politics of gendered labor. The book aims to unload these experiences to reify women’s portrayal in public discourses and popular. As such, the book asks: how do films, literary works, and performances “represent” the politics of gendered labor migration in Southeast Asia? How important is the articulation of affective states that accord to the rise and development of women’s social movements within the region?

Piocos focusses on affect and its immediate impact on the development of the labor dynamics of women. The chapters highlight conflicting and complementing themes that are structured to carefully guide readers into its immersive track: “belonging and displacement, shame and desire, vulnerability and resistance, sacrifice, and grief” (Piocos 5). These tropes are made manifest by illustrating the experiences of these women labor migrants. It is through their voices that Piocos constructs the involvement of emotions in the tradition of the ethnographies and literatures of women’s migration. These voices, in turn, constitute the experiences of labor migrants, their host countries, their homeland, and eventually, the Southeast Asian region.

How do we manage emotions on a national scale? Piocos opens with the significance of affect and how emotions have the power of influencing our understanding of mere statistics when dealing with labor migration and labor exports. These affective states inform political rhetoric, which is then “deployed toward specific discursive ends” (Piocos 2). Philippine and Indonesia are rooted in political economics as he argues that while host countries or city- states benefit from labor migration of women from the Philippines and Indonesia, their home countries also profit from this transnational exportation of women’s domestic labor. While women’s domestic labor contributes to the economic stability of their home countries, their lived experiences abroad are affected by policies set by the host countries.

His book derives from and contributes to the continuing dialogue on the affective turn of feminist and transnational discourse. In dealing with emotion-work and the global care chain, he operationalizes the concept of intimate labor “to explore how emotions are configured into the experience of border-crossing” (6). Through the analysis of literature, films, and photography, Piocos advances Brooks and Simpson’s position regarding the connection of emotions with gender and migration. Still, while Brooks and Simpson argue that the changes in migrant women’s subjectivity, identity, and belongingness is heavily impacted by their experiences in border-crossing, Piocos extends this argument further to discuss how gender relates to transnational migration, specifically. This adds a layer of representation

that figures into the discursive dialogue of transnationalism, women's labor migration, and the politics of affect.

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It is important to note how Pocos deploys the Deleuzian notion of affect to differentiate it from feelings or emotions. Through the positioning of affect as a Deleuzian concept, it is imperative to consider conditions, structures, and relationships in the conversation. Moreover, Pocos builds upon and expands Ahmed's concept of affective stickiness. While Ahmed suggests how emotions and feelings are made to "congeal" and "cohere in a certain way" (231), Pocos further argues how this stickiness should also include the possibilities of incoherence and disjointedness in dealing with affective viscosity. Hence, these uneven, contradicting, and almost conflicting natures of affect permit scholars to experience the degrees to which we understand emotions and experiences.

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## Conclusion

In her book entitled *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (2015), Butler raises this question: "How is precarity enacted and opposed in sudden assemblies?" (20). I believe that Pocos' book engages with this Butlerian interrogation through his selection and analysis of his texts in an effort to contribute to the expansion of affect discourses in the region. Moreover, the visibility that the book affords to such literary and critical works on the plight of Filipina and Indonesian migrant workers constitutes an "assembled" voice that deploys compelling remarks to boost and sustain such dialogues.

The process of understanding precariousness needs to be accompanied by a thoughtful discourse on the perilous realities experienced by Filipina and Indonesian migrant workers that brings about a transformation in their psyche. As Lauren Berlant advocates in her theory of affect, emotions that are engaged mostly through narratives "imply a heightened sense of expend-

ability or disposability that is differentially distributed throughout society” (29). It is in this regard that Piocos participates in the conversation that the marginalized, often excluded, chronicles of women domestic workers need to be brought to the fore. For instance, these migrant workers confront anxieties that escalate due to the impermanent nature of their jobs, their gendered bodies constantly sexualized and commodified, and the concern for the security of the family they left home. All of these issues overlap, producing a certain kind of apprehension when thinking about their future or the future of those who are directly dependent on them. The experience of anxiety inflicts a structuring of singular accountability on the person suffering from that anxiety. Thus, what it yields is an individualized sense of suffering and apprehension.

This brief assessment of the chapters’ essential aspects and arguments focuses on the contributions that Piocos offers to the complex scholarly dialogues regarding women’s migrant situation in the region. *Affect, Narratives and Politics of Southeast Asian Migration* is definitely a rich source material for affect theory and women’s migration studies. The careful maneuvering of textual strategies of literatures and films work well in depicting the experience and emotions of Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers, opening up possibilities for various endeavors for scholars and critics to engage with. The book shows how powerful it is for different fields and disciplines to converse with one another in order to produce a compelling scholarship on migration, women, and the region.

Piocos engages with scholarly and creative works, and at the same time, expands the field with possibilities for further studies. One of his main contributions to the ongoing debates on migration narratives and affect is the focus on (oftentimes) overlooked aspects when dealing with affect and gendered migrant labor experiences. His engagement with public and private spaces is one of the crucial aspects of the book. This unlocks several considerations when experiences of emotions are spatialized. Moreover, Piocos unpacks creative and critical nodes from which women migrant workers’ agency are exhibited and empowered. While their experiences are almost



always utilized as spectacular narratives, there is a need to engage, question, and challenge these dominant modes of representing their plights.

Although the book presents a wide variety of literary and visual analyses, one of the minor shortcomings is the non-inclusion of performance/performing/performative texts. The cinematic and fictive representations of the experiences of Filipina and Indonesian migrant workers have been scrutinized critically. It would have been interesting to juxtapose the chosen texts of Piocos with performance 'texts' such as festivals and events in Hong Kong or Singapore where these women migrant workers choose to engage themselves in. In a way, this adds a supplementary layer from which readers can see the bigger picture of how emotions eventually play out in the experiences and narratives of women labor migrants abroad. Furthermore, still connected with the point raised above, it would have been interesting if the actual responses or insights from these women migrant workers were considered or included. How do Filipina and Indonesian women migrant workers view their own portrayals and representations in these selected texts? It is curious to hear the actual voices of those who are represented and studied in the book. To look into these materials enhances the critical and creative reach of the frameworks which Piocos has established in his work.

This book is a welcome addition to the scholarly works dealing with affect theory, migrant studies, and Southeast Asia. Piocos opens opportunities, possibilities, and trajectories for scholars and academics who may want to pursue the research on the topic expand his work. There are still several ways for those who are inspired and encouraged by his methods to advance his scholarship. One way is to expand his framework in the analysis of other texts aside from literary, visual, and cinematic. I can think of interesting conversations if performance or theatrical texts are analyzed alongside Piocos' framework. Moreover, further studies may delve into other women migrant workers in other regions such as South Asia, or a transcontinental comparison of the struggles of these domestic workers. For instance, is it possible to look into the tendency of migrant workers coming from Sri Lanka and to be limited to men only in the construction industry? How does this affect the women migrant workers from this region and their oppor-

tunities abroad? Another intersection that can be unpacked is the affective experiences of LGBTQ migrant workers in other regions and how they are represented in media, literature, and other texts. In so doing, scholars may discover other aspects and themes of affect that have not been explored in this book.

Anchoring the narratives of domestic workers and other migrant laborers through their emotive experiences is critical as the politics of gendered labor migration continues to play out across the globe. Piocos constructs a scholarly path where emotions, experiences, and expectations are engaged with contemporary mobilities happening in the region. We, as scholars, are reminded to traverse the wide opening left by Piocos where we can connect, converse, and convene with the questions provided for us.

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