

The *Tropa's* Tropes: An Ear for the Language (Recovering History and Identity from the Vernacular)

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Introduction

The use of idiom as a trope in an historic instance of local history is what this article would like to explore, especially an instance of use focusing on unlikely metonymic and metaphoric functions: the ear as trope for identity. Such a valuation could only be made possible, however, by first literally recovering the original vernacular function of language, from an existing English translation of a local history account, and then examining such a recovered text for the nuances of meaning it might have had for the natives users of a specific historical context. The approach to translation, especially because it was engaged in as an act that did not constitute an extended practice on an equally extended text, but as an instance of translation of very limited but special parts of the discourse, is the pragmatic approach of one who has an ear for both languages in question, and a knowledge of how the historical context affects the linguistic interpretation of elements in the text of either language (Fromkin and Rodman 165). In the act of recovering such a meaning, this author as reader of the historical account takes the position of a native speaker of the Tagalog language who, based as well on immersion as a native of the locale and with some academic grounding on Tagalog as a language, has a proficiency to read, write and speak Tagalog including the Silang variant thereof. Likewise, given academic and professional credentials attesting to proficiency in English, the reader asserts the capability to function as a translator of the account from its English translation, back to its Tagalog text. In so acting as mediator between the English and Tagalog language and culture, the reader does not merely engage in the act of reading and plumbing the

meanings that the original participants in the historical account reappropriated through their play on language; this reader also becomes an active meaning maker in the act of reasserting, for both past and present, a recovered sense of history and a sense of identity as the native.

The setting is Silang, Cavite; the historic moment, the signal for the outbreak of the 1896 revolt of the native troops against Spanish authorities in the locale. Little is known of the incident except for transcripts from personal and family records of residents, and what had spread as local oral history, which the historical account—presented for the first time in a publication¹—describes. Although it may appear unfortunate that in the course of research, the original holographs—in Tagalog—of the account were not made available to researchers for the family's own reasons that should be respected, this very fact ironically, yet fortuitously became the point of access of this paper: what could the original Tagalog text have asserted, especially at a key moment in the discourse, beyond what the current, circulated and 'scholarly' English version states, but somehow elides or loses in translation? The inability to physically recover such a text in the original thus served to spur this writer to engage in an act of linguistic and psychic recovery, this being the act of reversing the language of translation as the target language to the perceived original wording of what was the source language. Such an exercise, which, as coined by this writing may be called 'analytic translation', is the act of relay translation, but in a manner different from linear, progressive relay that follows the basic formula of transitivity 'language A (source) to language B to language C (target)', 'ergo, 'the text in language A being the same as that of the text in language C.' In this exercise of 'analytic reading,' 'analytic' is used in both its philosophical sense of 'turning back on itself'² and, in a play on words based on derivation, 'analytic' to mean 'looking critically at'. As an analytic reading that 'turns the elements back in on themselves,' roles of source, intermediary and target language become shifted around, to occupy at times concurrent functions, at times, the opposite function. What began as a Tagalog text was the original source language. When it was translated into English, the English text became the target language. In this analysis, the aim is to turn the English text back to Tagalog, making the English text not a new source language but an intermediary language and the ensuing text in Tagalog as the new target language, which nevertheless happens to be the source language in the first place. In this manner, meaning is supposed to be recovered since the erstwhile source language and the new target

language are identical, restored the language to its full function in a framing that attempts to indeed make the Tagalog language both the alpha and the omega points of referencing. Through the act of making language come full circle, a full recuperation of the original structuration of and value for meanings in their original historical context is achieved. In so doing, this reading attempts to restore the meaning of a 'lost' text in the vernacular, given the suppression of such text from our consciousness and literal view, with the greater aim of restoring to readers at large a new appreciation of the native's pivotal role in making a local history as seen from his perspective.

The transcript quoted in part below is based on the personal *talas* (as it is known in the vernacular) or notes compiled by the Ambalada and Kiamzon clans of Silang, locally known as the Elisea K. Belamide (EKB) file. Copies of the EKB as an eleven-page typescript are in the keeping of Eileen Belamide-Sison, Silang Historical Society member and descendant of these clans, as well as of Dominador Kiamzon, an uncle of Sison, whose copy, although bearing the exact text as Sison's, contains editorial annotations in his own hand. The latter is the direct source of the text this analysis shall focus on. The Kiamzon and Sison manuscripts, as identical texts, are locally given the weight of authoritative English translations of the original Ambalada and Kiamzon accounts.

The Site

One of the upland towns of Cavite, Silang is located approximately forty-four kilometers south of Metro Manila, and well within the economically defined CALABARZON area. In the early 1990's the town was already made up of forty *barrios* and five *barangays*; but to date, the town, although it had not grown in size, is now made up of fifty-three *barrios*, because the Poblacion area and Barrio Tubuan were further subdivided into administrative sectors constituted by five and three smaller *barrios*, respectively. (Municipal Development Plan 2000 [CD-ROM disc]) Silang's nearest neighbors are the towns of Dasmarinas and Carmona, in the north; Amadeo in the west; Tagaytay City in the south; and Sta. Rosa and Cabuyao, Laguna in the east.

Time was when Silang made up one third of the whole province of Cavite, making it, at certain periods in local history, the largest town of Cavite.

In 1599, what would become the towns of Amadeo, Yndan (now Indang), Mendez (then a *sitio* of Yndan), Bailen (now General Aguinaldo), and Tagaytay were territories belonging to the town of Silang. Likewise, Rosario, which was then a part of General Trias; Alfonso; Magallanes; and Naic (which was then a part of Maragondon), were all part of Silang. (Baterina 30) The only other towns of Cavite then were Cavite el Viejo (now Kawit), Cavite City, Noveleta and Imus. Dasmaringas was a *sitio* of Imus, and Bacoor was then part of Paranaque. Indang became an independent town seventy years after Silang was founded whereas Amadeo and Carmona were remanded to Silang in 1901 and 1902, respectively, but these towns later regained their autonomy. (30)

Though indisputably one of the oldest towns of the province, Silang nevertheless has four unresolved founding dates, each marking the onset of Spanish administration: 1571 according to municipal records; 1575 according to educational authorities; 1585 according to the Imus Diocese; and 1595 according to the local church authorities. (Saulo and De Ocampo 1985 264) In addition to these, there is the folkloric account of the town's pre-colonial founding by Bornean datus, which the locals give much credence to as historical fact.

The town began as a Franciscan mission established on a portion of the *encomienda* of Diego Jorge de Villalobos, with the permission of Fray Christobal de Salvatierra. When the king of Spain ordered that the Philippines be divided systematically into distinct territories, the town remained under the ministry of the Franciscans From 1585 until 1598. (Riego de Dios 1981 14; Saulo and De Ocampo 266) On May 5, 1599, Silang was transferred to the Jesuits because the Franciscans had resigned the mission. When the Jesuits arrived in 1601, one-third of the total area of the province of Cavite belonged to Silang. (Riego de Dios 24) The Silang church was later built by Fr. Juan Salazar in 1634 and it was in 1640 that the statue of the Nuestra Senora de Candelaria was installed in the church. (Saulo and De Ocampo 266; Riego de Dios 14)

In 1629, the residents of Silang fell into a dispute with the Dominican *hacienda* of Binan over the sale of land. The dispute remained unresolved, culminating in the revolt of 1745. (Roth 1977 102) The people of Silang, led by Joseph de la Vega, who acted as general, forged alliances with fellow Tagalogs from Tondo; Paranaque; Hagonoy; various towns of Cavite,

including Bacoor; and various towns of Pampanga, causing the revolt to spread (102). On May 21, 1745, Pedro Calderon y Enriquez, a Royal Audiencia judge, was given the commission to deal with the rebellion. Ready to use force at first, Calderon adopted a conciliatory stance after reviewing the case. He had the land resurveyed and re-titled. The revolt ended in June 1748. (Blair and Robertson 1973 LXVII 28; 30-32) King Ferdinand IV sold the disputed lands to the people of Silang for two thousand Mexican pesos payable in three installments from 1747 to 1748. The document of sale was signed by Don Calderon and Don Alejo de Avila, both representing the Spanish government, and Don Bernabe Javier Manahan and Don Gervasio de la Cruz, local Silang residents, representing the people.

The Jesuits remained in Silang until 1768. Care of the parish went to the Filipino secular priests who stayed on until 1849, when Silang was remanded to the Augustinian Recollects who stayed on until 1898. (Saulo and De Ocampo 261)

In the early months of 1896, one of Silang's leaders, *Kapitan* Vito Belarmino, received anonymous letters called *cartes volantes*, which intimated a revolt. September 2, 1896 marked the first real battle between the revolutionaries and the civil guards. On the third day of battle, the Civil Guards surrendered. Silang was now under the control of the revolutionary government which looked to Emilio Aguinaldo as its head. The town adopted the revolutionary name of Sumilang and was made part of the second Magdalo Zone of Cavite. (Saulo and De Ocampo 244)

Determined to quell the revolt in Silang, the Spanish government had sent troops to launch an offensive as early as September 7, 1896; but the Silang revolutionaries kept the territory until, unable to withstand the second juggernaut commissioned by Gov. Camilo Polavieja, Silang fell on February 18, 1897. (Sison, ed, Ambalada and Belamide transcripts) Though Emilio Aguinaldo and Andres Bonifacio personally led and launched a counteroffensive, historic for being the first joint attack by the rival Magdalo and Magdiwang factions, the attempt to regain the town failed. It was only in June 1898 that local revolutionaries led by Lazaro Quiamzon were able to retake the town. (Sison)

The Scenario

It was on September 2, 1896, at the juncture between the initial clarion to take up arms and the retaking of Silang that the focal incident takes place.

The portion of interest to us in the Kiamzon copy of the extant Sison translation of the EKB account, reads thus:

Silang and the Revolution of 1896

By the end of August 1896 the rumor of war was already the talk of the town. Kapitan Vito Belarmino received four letters; one for him, one for the Kapitan Municipal (Mayor then) Isidro Montoya, one for Kapitan Lazaro Kiamson [spelled as is] and one for Judge or Juez Hipolito Giron. The letterhead was 'MAGDALO' and signed by Baldomero Aguinaldo and was an appointment for Vito Belarmino with the rank of Colonel of the Philippine Revolution. The message was clear[ly to liquidate: this being D. Kiamzon's annotation] the parish priest and the lieutenant of the Civil Guards as soon as possible and [should: D. Kiamzon] they fail the four of them will be killed.

On September 1st, the parish priest, Fr. Toribio Moreno, escaped and went into hiding at Sitio Tatyaw in the farm of Benito Loyola in Sitio Tatyaw, then a part of Barrio Munting Ilog. He was reported to have gone to a certain Benito Loyola who owns a farm in Tatyaw.

The following day, September 2nd, Don Jose Briseno, the lieutenant of the Civil Guards, together with his soldiers ransacked the municipal hall (tribunal) and took all the weapons and important belongings to the convent where they stationed themselves because of the certain conditions and in preparation for any eventuality.

That same day, as all the men were assembled in front of the municipal hall, awaiting for important announcements, Teniente Municipal Martin Medina made an almost comical mistake, declaring that everyone of them have to unite to defend Santa Fe with their lives. Vicente Giron immediately corrected him to clarify

that it is Santa Fe that must be topples [as is – annotation of this analysis] down for it symbolizes Spanish rule.

Upon instructions of Kapitan Vito Belarmino, Tininting Martin Medina then announced that the revolution to free the country from Spanish domination has started and that everyone must unite in the defense of their country. He further explained that may [many: D. Kiamzon] of the civil guards in Malabon, Noveleta, Imus and Dasmarinas³ have surrendered.

That same morning, civil guard Jose Briseno became curious of the men gathered at the plaza and sent a civil guard to investigate. The explanation was that 'the men were gathered because there are news that big men with wide ears are coming—and the men of Silang are to depend [in toto—annotation of this analysis] the town.' Don Jose Briseno readily requested for some brave men to help him defend the convent.

Kapitan Vito Belarmino appointed fourteen of his men and gave them specific instructions. The group who Lt. Jose Briseno thought would help him defend the convent, were: Jose Sangria, Hermogenes Ame, Valeriano Loyola, Baldomero Reyes, Romualdo Pau, Matias Poblete, Calixto Costa, Anacleto Campo-Sagrado, Catalino Ambon, Tomas Bayacal, Manuel Set, Fructuoso Canuel, Juan Ordones and Luis Laki.

War having been declared by the people of Silang, Kapitan Vito Belarmino immediately gave orders to search for the parish priest who fled to Tatyaw. When they reached the place, Vicente Giron saw Roman Espinelli, a 'sacristan' of the priest who pointed to them the exact place where the priest was hiding. Kapitan Vito Belarmino appointed Vicente Giron, Esteban Handog, Francisco Gallardo and Modesto Ambon to capture the priest.

As they approached, Vicente Giron gave greetings and Esteban Handog even kissed the hands of the priest saying that they people in the town are missing him for he was looked upon as the father of their soul. Father Toribio Moreno grumbled that he already knew that the war is going on and that the Tagalogs are up in arms

to down the Spaniards. Vicente Giron grabbed the rifle of Fr. Moreno a cal. .12 and told him to rise up and face the true head of the revolution.

On their way going to Kaong, Modesto Ambon, Esteban Handog and Francisco Gallardo separated from the group. Vicente Giron proceeded together with Leon Amulong and Pedrong Benigna, with instructions from Kapitan Vito Belarmino on what to do with Fr. Moreno. They passed the hut of one Jose Gana whom owned a 'tarapiche' or mini-sugar mill and Fr. Moreno told him that he was afraid his life was in danger. Fr. Moreno pleaded for his life and asked that he be allowed to go to Calamba. The trio answered that his request is impossible because it will mean their life in exchange.

When the rain subsided, the group proceeded towards Kaong and on the bank of the river Munting Ilog, Leon Amulong shot Fr. Toribio Moreno dead leaving the body at the river.

At two o'clock of the same day, Kapitan Vito Belarmino gave the announcement that at exactly three o'clock, shots will be fired in the air and this is the signal that all men in town are to attack the convent and drive away all the civil guards. The fourteen men who were requested by Lt. Jose Briseno to defend the convent were instructed to lead the attacking group.

Unfortunately, Lt. Briseno was forewarned by a civil guard who escaped from the battle in Paliparan⁴ that the revolution is going on and that the people of Silang are going to take the convent. The civil guards locked the doors of the convent and started firing at the first group of attackers who were taken in complete surprise by the untimely attack on them. At the same time the signal was sounded and the revolutionist of Silang led by Modesto Ambon, Marcelo Madlangsakay and Hipolito Giron attacked the church. As the defense was already set, the attackers were repelled and they retreated upon sensing their precarious position. Modesto Ambon was wounded.

September 2 thus marked the first day of encounter between the revolutionaries of Silang and the Spanish civil guards. It lasted up to midnight and the revolutionists were underarmed. They were limited to using big firecrackers. Occasional gun fires, and lots of shoutings from the multitude of men and women surrounding the convent. The only firearms were: the licensed gun of Kapitan Vito Belarmino, the rifle confiscated by Vicente Giron from Fr. Toribio Moreno, and or belonging to a civil guard which was entrusted to a certain Juan Bosquez but who ran away and joined the revolution. The firearms that should have been used were earlier confiscated by the civil guards from the municipal hall.

On September 3, 1896, the revolutionist cordoned the convent to plush [as is—annotation of this analysis] out the civil guards and their wives and children who were outside were taken hostages. Vicente Giron tied together the hands of the children of First Guard Bibiano San Miguel and warned that if they will not surrender and join the revolutionists or brother Tagalogs, the hostages will be executed. The same afternoon, Bibiano San Miguel and the other Filipino civil guards escaped from the convent and joined the revolutionists bringing with them their firearms. Those left in the convent were Lt. Jose Briseno and his wife, and the two of Mariano Carramanzana and Luciong Paila who were not civil guards but residents of Silang who are in cahoots with the Spaniards against their townmates.

September 4, 1896, at eight o'clock in the morning of the third day of battle in Silang, the rest of the civil guards surrendered. Vicente Giron led the group who attacked the convent only to find the couple of Lt. Jose Briseno who are both wounded. As the wife Vicenta Gonzales pleaded for their lives, the two were brought alive to the proper authorities. Kapitan Vito Belarmino ordered the search of the convent and to recover the collections of the priest amounting to P5,100.00 and a 'green list' supposedly a record of suspected revolutionists, naming: Vito Belarmino, Lazaro Kiamzon, Hipolito Giron, Victor Belardo, Martin Medina, Marcelo Madlansacay, Jose Bayacal and Vicente Giron. The confiscated money was to serve as the initial fund of the revolutionists.

During the three days of battle, the casualties were Julian Castro alias Tinurik who was found dead near the house of Kapitan Vito Belarmino; Jose Sangria, Valeriano Loyola and Hermogenes Ame who were among the first attackers and were found dead near the convent, and a score of others who were wounded.

Their efforts were not in vain as the people of Silang had won their first battle against the Spaniards. (Sison, collator, translator editor, 'History of Silang,' Unpublished history from the ancient times to 1897, based on the memoirs of the Ambalada and Kiamzon clans. 6-8 [Typescript]; Cf Moya 1991 UP Thesis' version, Appendix B 139ff, especially on points of grammatical and stylistic variation)

Situating Speech

In the form and in the language that it was accessed, the accuracy of the original account, as well as the accuracy of its English translation may indeed be subject to question. One of the considerations in the way of the recovery of oral history, in both the physical/material sense (obtaining actual plastic and other archaeological evidence such as holographs), and in the sense of psychic recovery (in the sense of being able to give history its true value or meaning to a people) is the fact that for so long, the hegemonic academic position was to give an imprimatur to texts written or rewritten in English as the 'more scholarly' hence the 'more valid', or 'more credible' accounts.⁵ However, the folkloric position is one that also takes as credible the contents of the oral history account, especially when validated by a three generation test, or when especially widespread in the locale, and as in this case, more so that the documentation of such an historical account took place within the context of its immediate present, recorded as the memoirs of eyewitnesses who had firsthand account of what was happening as participants in the battle. The EKB file is a record of the first generation memoirs as handed down to the second generation as represented by Dominador Kiamzon, and eventually institutionalized as printed history by the third generation, as represented by Eileen Belamide Sison. By virtue of the foregoing, this analysis thus lends the benefit of the doubt to the issue of the Sison manuscript's authenticity, and considers instead not so much the material historicity or truth alone, but the function of truth that the account in Tagalog, in so presenting itself as authentic, non-fiction narrative, fulfils. By extension, this analysis considers the linguistic elements

found within the English account referred to as likewise given the function of truth, acting as exact, faithful translations equal to the authentic, and therefore as functional elements of the real within the given contexts of reading, writing and rereading. In rereading the English manuscript, however, certain elements like words, glosses or phrases appear to a native Tagalog speaker (such as this reader is) as in fact *not being quite accurate* because to the native Tagalog speaker reading the text, there somehow seems to be something amiss when, in mentally translating the text from English to Tagalog as the reader reads, the ensuing Tagalog phraseology does not come out with an authentic sound. Therefore, in order to fully give value to the historical account, a recovery of its original language, and the nuances thereof, is attempted, to arrive at the original import of the Tagalog, especially the phraseology of a specific portion that serves as the logos of the text, that shall give the event described in history its definite context. Especially because the Sison translation in English puts in quotes a special, focal portion in question, it is assumed by virtue of scholarship and speech conventions that what was actually said in the original Tagalog was reported by the text, *in toto*, but in its English medium.

In our revisiting of history, the logos of reading is identified as the act antedating the coup de etat later to be pulled off by the local revolutionary troops, this being the act signaled by the natives' response that the town, the church and the detachment of Spanish soldiers and clergy were to be purportedly defended by the natives from 'big men with wide ears' who were coming with the intent to harm the Spaniards. This response, couched in local idiom in the *tala* (original text), apparently disarmed the Spanish detachment into lowering its guard, thus facilitating the initial infiltration by the revolutionaries of the socio-political center—the convent. Never before in the local Silang experience, it can be said, that idiom had such power to move people toward a collective apprehension of and enactment of meaning.

An idiom, as defined is a 'fixed phrase, consisting of more than one word, with meanings that cannot be inferred from the meanings of the individual words.' The usual semantic rules for combining meanings do not apply to such expressions. (Fromkin and Rodman 152-153). 'Knowing what a language means includes knowing the morphemes, simple words, compound words and their meanings. In addition, it means knowing fixed phrases,' called idioms, which, because occurring as anomalies in the operant

language and which perform a metaphorical function, are 'similar in structure to ordinary phrases, except that they tend to be frozen in form and do not readily enter into other combinations or allow word order to change;' although it is to be noted that there are also idioms that allow for some restructuring without affecting the idiomatic sense. (152-153) Idioms which have the function of breaking the rules on combining semantic properties have special grammatical and semantic properties. Nonetheless, idioms have 'entered the lexicon or mental dictionary as single 'items' with their meanings specified, and speakers must learn the special restrictions on their use in sentences.... Many idioms may have originated as metaphorical expressions that 'took hold' in the language and became frozen form and meaning.' To be able to use and understand the idioms of a given language thus means to be well-versed in the language; idioms in one's speech marking one to be using the language in a most authentic manner, in a manner reflective of the nuances of the common speech. (152-153)

A careful reading of the local history text above which was faithfully reproduced here from the source would indicate the lapses in the use of the English language, from the level of spelling, diction, collocation, grammar, to the use of coherence and cohesion devices, thus marking the text to be one produced by a speaker for whom English is not the native language, but a learned—at best, a second—language. Hence, the account styles itself to be writing that, although it demonstrates an adequate use of English as its medium of expression, still quite lacks the finer distinctions that would mark it to be a sustained, proficient, fully native English — hence idiomatic—usage.⁶ Such lapses that are still manifest, especially heightened by the fact that the manuscript went through two local editorial agents, underscore that in the original source text's (Tagalog) being translated the way it appears in English now, and considering the nuances of the source language (Tagalog), idiom—and hence the illocutionary force of such—was lost in translation. (165)

In translating, the issues are, first, the ability of the translator/editor to master the lexis and mechanics of both languages, without necessarily presupposing their having to be understood or used comparatively; second, the ability to appreciate and manipulate language and meaning according to the dynamics between source and language of translation, this time emphasizing the very need to range back and forth from one language domain to the other in a comparative activity such as translation; and

ultimately, in translating, to express much of the language of the original according to the intended meaning in its context, without losing, in the process, those elements of language subject to semantic variation and flexion, as well being able to place which among these in turn, have already acquired a frozen function, such as idiom. (472-473) It is unfortunate that the existing account simply misses on, among other things, precisely this third but ultimate requisite, as illustrated by the fact that the English translation overlooked what to this writer is a key turn of phrase like '*malalapad ang tainga,*' along with attendant items like '*Santa Fe,*' '*up in arms to down the Spaniards,*' '*to depend the town,*' '*they people in the town are missing him for he was looked upon as the father of their soul,*' etc.

By implication, such smaller losses in the act of translating may redound to the greater sense of loss arising from both the whole translation activity and from the very result of this, which is the English version of the text. The more telling loss, however, is one that could result in a more grievous collective historical amnesia based on a reading of an unrecuperated text that paints a gap-riddled picture of truth, only for such picture to be reinstalled in a distillation of and the writing of another version of this selfsame history by another reader, even if the version attempts to be more 'local', 'native' or purportedly 'nationalist', because using the vernacular.

This is the bigger case in point in the historiography itself of Silang history, as based on one of its records the EKB file. Despite the fact that there is the latest publication on Silang Local History by Teresita Unabia, an academic from the De La Salle, Cavite, and an officer of the Silang Historical Society who also used the EKB file and the Sison texts, a detailed account of the historical event presented above, despite its apparent local importance—if not larger significance to the nation—is not presented. A glossing over, if not actual redaction of details seems to have been made of this incident in Silang history, much as it serves as the very connection of the locale to its larger national geography and history. In the analysis of this paper, it is inferred that this elision was made because a reading of the Unabia local history shows it to be one that is a Catholic church-centered history, asserting that the very center of the town's being, meaning and power emanated from the Catholic church, and as a presupposition the town's parochial history being the town's history itself. The title alone, '*Silang, Kasaysayan at Pananampalataya*' (2000), implicates the work. Because in the Sison account, local church authority and the attached

political authority of the Guardia Civil are seen to have lost their hegemony by way of a collective 'betrayal' and reappropriation, the Unabia text, despite the availability of the data from the very same source used by this analysis (Sison), downplays the very telling details in an act of editorial license. In an interview conducted by Rex Moya, of Antolin Gemanil, a retired professor and secretary of the Silang Historical Society, the view that the Unabia rendition of Silang local history is too church-centered, is likewise expressed. This however, for want of verification from the rest of the Society's constituents, is not to be taken as the view shared by the rest of the Society. Nonetheless the Gemanil position underscores an emergent position especially valuable because it is an insider or local position, indicative of the opposing positions of subjects who had been identified by the townsfolk themselves as subjects who have the power to influence the rendition of local history. (May 1, 2004)

The interpretation made by this paper, of the underlying authorial/editorial position as well as other motivations in the Unabia reading and rewriting of local history from such a position, therefore has implications on the discipline of historiography and to the greater discipline of scholarship, as well as on the construction of identity of both writer and reader of history. In contrast, for instance, in a much earlier reading presented by the author of this analysis, through the Masters Thesis, 'A Structural Analysis of Selected Tales from Silang, Cavite (UP 1991),'⁷ the Sison account is likewise presented in 'Appendix B: The Local History of Silang' in pages 136ff. However, though the thesis does assert the centrality of authority as a function of the Silang mind, a reading using the structural method creates no contradiction between the concept of authority as locus and the constant shifting of such locus from church to the secular/indigenous, from state to the revolutionary and hence, from Spanish to native; thus was there no need to so redact history and so reframe identity arbitrarily.⁸

Now, let us go back to the more particular case of the EKB file and the Sison translation with its gaps in translation as a smaller illustration—if not as among the traceable roots—of the larger phenomenon of loss of meaning *via* the act of redaction in historiography. Although it is admitted that in instances, mere mechanical correction of the English text can already afford a more faithful rendition of this bit of local history, such as those done in part by the D. Kiamzon manuscript,⁹ or such as those that are

patently a matter of typographical rectification for any reader to infer from the text, such correction to an implied form being warranted by the act of 'reading/writing this in' by means of the comparative use of terms within the text itself,¹⁰ there are clearly gaps in the translation that cannot be breached unless a recovery of these meanings be undertaken by a reader reading the English translation. The reader of the English translation, especially one whose native language is Tagalog must, in the same instance, 'hear' in her head the actual 'sound' of the language as it was used in the vernacular. In the English translation for instance, 'Santa Fe' as it was presented appears to have the function of a locative, when such a place did not exist within and without the immediate environment of Silang or Cavite. 'Santa Fe,' from Spanish, that may have had worked its way as a direct loan word eventually naturalized in the vernacular (Fromkin and Rodman 332), most likely referred to 'the Holy Faith,' i.e., the Catholic Church or faith as it represented Spanish rule. Such a function can especially be inferred in the context of its use:

Teniente Municipal Martin Medina made an almost comical mistake, declaring that everyone of them have to unite to defend Santa Fe with their lives. Vicente Giron immediately corrected him to clarify that it is **Santa Fe that must be topples down for it symbolizes Spanish rule** (Sison 7) [*boldface made by this writing*].

Clearly, an obscure town alone cannot symbolize the whole of Spanish rule, and as such, Sta. Fe had to refer to something more logocentric such as the faith itself, the former Spanish word being a gloss for this in both English (Holy Faith) and Filipino (Banal na Pananampalataya).

Likewise,

'they people in the town are missing him for he was looked upon as the father of their soul,(7)'

is hard to decipher to fully draw out its intended meaning, because a recovery of the original meaning in the vernacular may lead to a twofold meaning arising from two structures derived from 'missing him', the English translation being mute as regards what the original really could have meant:

- 1) 'hinahanap na siya ng mga Taga-Silang sapagkat siya ang ama ng kanilang kaluluwa';
- 2) 'Nangungulila na ang mga Taga-Silang sapagkat siya ang ama ng kanilang kaluluwa'

Even then, such a recovery may be said to be just a recovery that touches but part of the full import of the text, simply because the latter part, '*sapagkat siya ang ama ng kanilang kaluluwa*' to a Tagalog user does not sound quite right, because unidiomatic. Perhaps, a more faithful, because idiomatic, rephrasing in Tagalog—one that does not follow an assignment of literal meaning to lexis—is '*sapagkat siya ang ama* [father] *ng kanilang pananampalataya* [faith as metaphorically associated with soul, because soul is metonymically associated with spirit/spirituality]; 'or '*sapagkat siya ang ama* [father] *ng kanilang paniniwala*' [faith as metaphorically associated with soul, because soul is metonymically associated with spirit/spirituality]; or even '*siya ang tagapangalaga* [father metaphorically and metonymically associated with the caregiver/provider] *ng kanilang kaluluwa* [soul/spirit].¹¹

The problem of recovery does not so much focus on the latter part, however, but on the first part. The latter part, regardless of the phraseology in Tagalog and into its English translation, will redound to a singular meaning defining the function of the priest. But with reference to the first part, the reader of the English translation finds herself at a loss because an attempt to recover the meaning of such, as it had been or can be expressed in Tagalog, but now is phrased in English, definitely presents a choice of two possible correct meanings, as opposed to what the original *tala* could have unequivocally expressed. Thus, the questions: were the people 'missing' the priest, because they were in search of someone absent, in this case a fugitive and did they express this to the priest plainly? or were they 'pining' for someone whose absence created such an emptiness; and did the men overtly express this to the priest, thereby putting into play other implicit meanings? If the English text equivocates, a privileged and therefore reappropriated meaning in the vernacular and of the vernacular is one that chooses the latter interpretation for the word 'missing'. At the same time, it also assigns the function of a trope to the latter, *should the original text have especially read as, 'hinahanap-hanap na siya...'*, because it is in this instance of use where the play on words could, as intended by the native players, both mean 'in search of the fugitive' as well

as 'pining for the father', but with a little variation in accent when orally expressed. Obviously, in the intentional play on words, one level of meaning would be for the native troops, real players of the game who knew the plan of action; the other level of meaning was meant to disguise such plan of action from the friar, the non-player. Both levels, and therefore the function of trope would be recognized and put in operation by the natives. They had assumed that 1) the use of the literal level (in search of the missing priest) in their discourse would not do as this would instantly give the game away; but that 2) in using tropes to express both literal and hidden meaning, the non-player would not see beyond the singular, surface or nominal level of the latter statement (pining for the missing priest) which was meant to flatter or placate. Unluckily for them, however, the priest was already alerted to the true situation, and his 'grumbling' and forthright admission of what he knew to be the true situation made him see through the trope and the game. The native troops were finding it a harder game to play than expected, and indeed, as later circumstances would prove to them, they would eventually learn that victory does not come cheaply. But through the initial use of trope, as had been done by those who infiltrated the convent, the natives who could have easily been caught unawares by a mutual declaration of enmity and instantaneous open fire between them and the enemy, were nonetheless able to stave off the unexpected and were still able to determine positionality vis -a -vis the priest's schema. Notwithstanding the unfortunate moment of discovery of the native position in both instances, in the convent and at Tatyaw, the use of trope nonetheless afforded the natives a reconnaissance or flanking maneuver at first, a delaying tactic next, and eventually a queen's gambit¹²—a series of military moves, as it were that allowed for both a physical as well as strategic, political recuperation.

The central metaphor of the local history text is identified as 'big men with wide ears' for two reasons. One, in terms of the narrative development, it marks the significant move towards the infiltration of the target when, as a verbal signal, the utterance serves as the mediation between the opposing forces. As a mediation, it performs the dual function of, on the surface, breaching the gap between the two forces through a communicative move meant to be taken as friendly, while at the same time, it serves as the veiled but publicly expressed declaration of enmity. Secondly, as central metaphor, it yields a whole system of meanings structured from the word, '*tainga*' ['ear'], this being in fact, the deeper

structure that the reader must hearken to. The Tagalog utterance that could be recovered from the original English phraseology would have read as: '*mga malalaking taong malalapad ang tainga.*' The English translation, for it to have demonstrated an ear for both its source (Tagalog) and its target (English) languages, should have therefore read either as, '*there are little pitchers with big ears;*' or as the more contextually appropriate '*there are big [or tall] men who are nosing about [or sniffing around]*' [and here, appreciate the idiomatic shift from the aural to the olfactory, from the significance of the ear to one culture and the nose to another]; or even as, '*there are tall men with their ears to the ground,*' to maintain the aurally-grounded metaphor.

Being part of the recognized idioms operant in the local language of Silang, '*malalaking taong malalapad ang tainga*' functioned as an instance of authentic language put in quotations by the English translation. As an authentic expression, it is nonetheless rooted in the originally anomalous, but was eventually legitimized within the system of references as idiom, recognized as a turn of phrase in the Silang vernacular, and we daresay, in the Tagalog language and culture area at large. In its English translation, the phrase is imbued with a singular literal meaning. Literally, it means that (one's) ears are simply oversized or larger than the normal, this being what 'wide' is denotative of. But in the original Tagalog expression, there is the additional figurative level in operation. As in the English expressions 'little pitcher with big ears;' and 'with ear to the ground,' the Tagalog expression works as the former English expressions that are connotative of 'curious, inquisitive, gossipy, on the lookout for news'. In the Tagalog vernacular, therefore, the phrase '*malalapad ang tainga*' yields a different meaning from '*malalaki ang tainga*'; and true to its idiomatic function in Tagalog, but unlike its translation and non-idiomatic function in English, the original Tagalog phrase is thus not to be mistaken to mean only the literal. For the literal meaning to come out, the phraseology must be modified to '*(mga malalaking taong) ang mga tainga ay malalapad [or malalaki]*' (men whose ears are wide [or big]). At the figurative level, the two meanings, independent of each other are: 1) '(having a portent of) long life,' as an equivalent of the expression, '*malalaki ang tainga*'; such a meaning being one that is derived from the body of beliefs locally referred to as *eribiya* in Silang, and in the greater Tagalog culture area, as a *kawikaan*, *paniniwala* or *kasabihan* or *pamahiin*;¹³ and 2) 'curious, inquisitive or gossipy,' for the expression, '*malalapad ang tainga*,' apparently deriving from the

tendency for one to literally spread one's ears in an attempt to catch more sound, thus, as believed, widening the ears as a result of habit; or as a matter of character, for one's ears to be naturally wide, and therefore, for this to earmark one to be naturally gossipy. Clearly, it is the latter idiom, '*malalapad ang tainga*' which aligns itself with the counterpart English 'little pitcher with big ears' or 'ear to the ground', and not the phrase, '*malalaki ang tainga*', which, ironically appears to be on the surface, the more lexical, hence literal equivalent. It should be noted, however that the English idiom is usually used with reference to little children who might unwittingly overhear things not meant for their ears, but who nonetheless, as natural of their *enfant terrible* stage, show a curiosity precisely for such things; and therefore, the more appropriate translation in English should be 'big men with their ear(s) to the ground.' Notwithstanding the apparent parallel in usage between English and Filipino idioms, it should be further noted that historically, a coeval existence, a connection with and use and recognition of the English idiom side by side with the vernacular can not be presupposed, especially if the point of reference is focused on the dates of origin of such turns of phrase. After all, elements of language, their etymology, as well as use and the spread of such use cannot exactly be traced in keeping with a development that is especially linear and therefore predictable. (Fromkin and Rodman 320-356) More so, historically, it is assumed that awareness of the English idiom, nor its use, was not even manifest in what was still Spanish colonial Philippines. As an instance of authentic language use, specifically as an idiom, either of the expressions in the vernacular may therefore be considered to have a patent meaning, i.e., most, if not all of the local users at that given time had heard of either, as either of these refers to an established meaning, and as either expression is used in a prescribed manner to circumscribe a determinate context. Either expression in the vernacular therefore is given the same value as the other, within the local system of meanings that span the linguistic to the cultural; such a value being that both are functions of the known, the familiar, the overt, hence the accessible or understandable. In short, when either idiom is used, an initiated user—that is, one who functions as a native of the locale—will right away know what the referent of the idiom is. It is a matter of having heard or having uttered 'plain Tagalog.'¹⁴

At this point, allow for the legislation of the reader so that the idiom, '*malalapad ang tainga*' shall be the privileged, reappropriated term over the other ('*malalaki ang tainga*') as a matter of having interpreted the former

as being the actual reference of the expression used in the original account, because the English translation (which is now the source language of this analysis) reads and legislates between the use of 'big' versus 'wide', and privileges the latter as the apt word, given both the assigned denotative and connotative value for the English word, 'wide' Likewise, allow for such a legislated privileging as merely temporary, or as a particularization of an analogue in this stage of the analysis, as a recovery of the latter expression as another analogue shall be made, as it shall figure in the discussion much later on.¹⁵

The curious thing about the expression '*malalapad ang tainga*,' is not so much that it is an idiom in its own right, and that it was used by the local troops in a given instance in the history of the town. The question is, why the use of an idiom and not the use of plain language? Further, why did the Filipino troops use this 'usual' idiom in an unusual circumstance? Clearly, we are looking at idiom as a speech act that at the moment of utterance and as recovered in writing, has an illocutionary force (165) enough to set the course of local history. This is the function this reading is recovering from the English translation which has somehow not only diminished the illocutionary force of the historic pronouncement, but perhaps even redirected or lost its import in the very way it eventually found form as text in Sison's target language that is English.

We would normally have expected the Filipinos in that instance, and in their context to speak in as plain a language as the vernacular would have allowed them in communicating with the foreign Others, assuming that the latter were not as well-versed, not proficient users of the vernacular. The instance of use was also unusual, because it was a case of using an idiom in an apparently facetious way, in a circumstance that might not have warranted such levity, and in a manner that it might have aroused the ire or suspicion of the Others, since that which was not plain, such as the expression '*malalapad ang tainga*' would in those uncertain times of impending hostilities, indeed sound suspect to alien ears which could not easily decode such a cipher. The use is all the more unusual because it was using idiom, this time possibly functioning as a frozen form featured in the everyday language of folk speech, in an exceptional circumstance (this being the yet undiscovered revolt). This frozen item utilized in the usual manner but in an exceptional circumstance was thus a signification—the former, i.e., the use of idiom leading to the imminent act of the shifting of

the equilibrium of the Real from the normal, natural state of equipoise into the state of chaos, disruption, or the state of the Fantastic with the idiom as signal phrase performing the function of the literal signal for such a shift. The use then, of *'malalapad ang tainga'* would appear to be a 'fantastic' or unreal shift from the language of everyday discourse to a level of special signification structuring a different 'reality' (Todorov, in Cruz 1984 81-95). Indeed, any reader would notice something 'disruptive', something strange in the narrative account once this point in the discourse is arrived at, and the reaction is nothing short of the reader pricking his ears because alerted to something. A second reading of the part may be warranted as a natural response to the 'fantastic' rearing its head at this moment.

That plain language was not used could be a subtle, if subconscious, acknowledgment on the part of the Filipino revolutionaries of the opposition, the 'Otherness' posed by the Spanish subjects, who belonged to the 'other side' in the war about to break out. The use of the idiom was meant to delineate the role of the participant-initiate from the outsider-uninitiated. Filipinos who were part of the communicative situation at that time were all supposed to know and understand what *'malalapad ang tainga'* meant. Others who didn't speak the language as natives would not exactly be able to access the turn of phrase, and therefore would play the role as non-participants in this language game.

However, was it not earlier affirmed that *'malalapad ang tainga'* was already, as idiom, straight talk, 'plain speak'? It took no incantation, no spell, no imprecation to signal the entry of the fantastic element (the act of 'betrayal', carnage, secession). It took only words, which though on the surface functioned as figurative, were actually words that, having passed on into common usage and frozen as idiom, even bordered on the trite. The reader's assumption then is that at a deeper level in this game of subterfuge, the Filipino revolutionaries must have spoken to the Spaniards in a manner that they, the former, should have been able to allay the suspicions of the latter, not giving the enemy an inkling as regards the locals' revolutionary plans, by putting up the pretense of being communicative to the point of speaking in a colloquial fashion to the Spaniards as equals, either to apparently allay apprehensions of the Spaniards with a trite answer that meant that nothing of the ordinary was happening; or to appear to be speaking in confidence about the supposed

'plan of action'. At this instance in the discourse, the natives had to play the role of interlocutors from whom a response was expected by the Spanish interrogators, such response being that which would complete the communicative transaction as a mutual exchange. The requisite response having been promptly, freely given as a gift in a ritual of exchange, the natives had demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Spanish interrogators that the former, had *lent an ear* and had responded without fail to the latter. In Silang parlance, such a treatment given to the Spaniards by the local troops may be said to be, on the surface, one that signaled to the Spaniards that they, the foreigners, were in that instance of the discourse, those among the troops, a virtual *katropa*. In Silang, *katropa*, literally means members of the same troop; or more idiomatically, it refers to members of the same family, the same clan, friends or at least, fellows from the same town¹⁶ acting in support of each other. It was but natural that the native *tropa* would pretend to show that they were on speaking terms with the Spaniards who were, as part of the pretense, designated as '*katropa*,' in that historic instance. In so assigning the Spaniards the function of '*katropa*,' the native troops spoke to them, and expected them (the Spaniards) to be able to carry on a verbal exchange replete with all the nuances of the language—including idioms—befitting of native habits. The natives therefore, played the game in a manner that the Spaniards were made to believe that, addressing one another in the common tongue, that they (Spaniards and Filipinos) were in concord. The equilibrium or status quo that was asserted, as the natives would have the foreign occupiers assume it to be, was one of assimilation. In the use of a figurative idiom in their shared discourse, the natives would have had the Spaniards presuppose that they, the natives somehow expected that the Spaniards, as *katropa* had already acquired *an ear for the Tagalog language* in their long stay within the locale as part of the social formation, and therefore understood perfectly what the verbal exchange signified. This notion of being perceived as 'being part of those in the know' because 'they were in the know' when it came to the mode of communication was what gave the Spaniards a false sense of security, as was intended by the native troops.

Taking, however, for the sake of argument that establishing the sense of assimilation of the Spaniards was not the intention of the natives, and presupposing instead that the use of '*malalapad ang tainga*' was intended as an outright declaration of the opposition between *tropa*/enemy, and was therefore to keep the Spaniards trapped in obfuscation and feeling

alienated, then, what had caused the enemy to be so placated by the meaning presented by '*malalapad ang tainga*'?

It was also possible that the Spaniards' own political and cultural frames of reference had, just the same, lulled them into complacency. Politically, the Spaniards could have seen themselves as the 'rightful residents' of the 'home' they had co-opted as colonizers from the natives. Culturally, the possibly more cosmopolitan view of the foreigners who had traveled halfway round the globe either from Spain or Mexico to the Philippines, had given them the likely recognition of a familiar function in much older myths as well as political and cultural realities of their European-oriented motherland, as depicted in ancient maps, of lands beyond the known, where among the other strange inhabitants of the world, 'at the extremes of [our] planet, strange people with big ears and cloven feet inhabit[ed] isolated islands (Amrine 283).'¹⁷ '*Malalapad ang tainga*' or 'big eared' was therefore but a familiar periphrasis for 'stranger', and, because of the spirit of those times, was also paraphrased as 'the enemy.' The Spaniards could not have appropriated for themselves the label '*malalapad ang tainga*' for in their view, they could not be the 'strangers' in a town and in a country they had occupied for a little more than three hundred years. '*Malalapad ang tainga*' had to refer to some Other(s). However, also having lived within the Silang community, the Spaniards in all probability identified the function of the natives who actually co-existed with them and with whom they facilely communicated with, as persons who could not be perceived as the 'Other(s)', 'the enemy' or 'strangers', since an open declaration of revolt had not been made yet. Although indeed their old world knowledge of maps had shown islanders living far from Europe as having big ears and cloven feet, their actual contact with such islanders had proven that the natives were not physiologically any different from the way they themselves were essentially constructed, and therefore, not 'strange' or 'strangers'. Thus, as cued to them by the locals, they (the Spaniards, along with the 'friendly' native troops) had to be on the lookout for some 'Others' as the enemy. And look out far beyond themselves and the native troops the Spaniards did for the imagined foes in the distance, drawing their sights away from their enemy right within the gates, who were employing right within their midst what would eventually be known to the world as guerrilla¹⁸ warfare, a tactical style of fighting characteristic of the Filipino art of war.

The third level to be mined in this play on words happens to be the most complex as well, for it necessitates the examination of the idiom, the appreciation of its original figurative meaning that went down and was frozen in common usage as idiom, only to bring it back to the function of the figurative, the function of trope. The process whereby idiom recovers the function of trope may be structured as follows:

1. An aggroupment of words initially possesses a literal, denotative meaning;
2. Used for the first few instances within the linguistic practice of a context, and in a manner deviating from its original lexical denotations, the expression now acquires the originality and freshness of figure of speech;
3. As figure of speech so often used, however, and whose linguistically anomalous form and function nonetheless passes on into common usage, this becomes idiom;
4. As common usage or idiom, the expression does not function as figurative any longer. Virtually every linguistic practitioner in the context (a local of Silang using Tagalog as native tongue) knows the expression to have a self-evident, frozen meaning, notwithstanding the lexical value of its component lexis. The idiom acquires the value of a 'regular' item of everyday speech;
5. However, reappropriated by the native troops as a trope, the expression now works not as everyday speech, not even as the ordinary turn of phrase or formulaic utterance that idiom is, but as the figurative once more, yet at the level of the figurative that transcends its original functioning (as that in stage 1). The expression now acquires the function of a higher trope.

'*Malalapad ang tainga*' as an expression, exploits the opposition between the 'extraordinary' or 'revolutionary' or 'fresh' (as trope) and the 'ordinary' or 'commonplace' or 'frozen' (as idiom) in order to mediate a meaning significant and disclosed only to the native troops. As the surface, literal value that has been given to the expression now operates to linguistically assume the very function of idiom itself, a transformative shift in meaning

must occur to likewise make the deeper structure come into play. The shift in meaning in turn allows the users of the expression to reappropriate the function of the 'extraordinary' or the privileged for the expression. In such a recovery of function, however, the initial figurative value of the expression is no longer assigned (i.e., to mean 'gossipy' or 'inquisitive'). The expression now assuming the function of idiom itself, idiom being the commonplace, asserts that the native troops has used a linguistic 'cover' or 'camouflage', one that appeared to naturally blend with the linguistic landscape or schema. As such, the 'cover' did not cause dissonance in the ears of any of the hearers, when uttered within plain hearing of everyone. The idiom, now made to function as a carrier of a more 'covert' meaning that is not the same as, nor reverts to its etymological referent, assumes as trope a meaning far greater than itself, so that it becomes a carrier of a core value within the locals' system of meanings, to become a function ultimately enabling the assertion of local identity itself. The idiom as trope articulates that as a figurative expression which uses as its very device the guise of the commonplace, that the trope functions as a means of definition of home versus the outside, of native versus stranger, of freedom versus colonization, of life versus death, of survival and prevalence versus subjugation—functions leading to the schematization of an identity (collective Self) which, at the tenuous moment of its assertion must not yet be disclosed to the enemy (as Other) until the opportune moment signals such.

How now does '*malalapad ang tainga*' become an expression of identity and the very values identified above as those that structure such a function?

In so using the expression as trope, the native troops were in fact employing a type of argot or secret slang that they alone had the privilege to use and appreciate¹⁹. If any of the Spaniards present had had some initiation in the use of and understanding of the vernacular, he would have just paraphrased what the native troops meant as 'there are enemies nosing about in the area from whom we must protect you.' In opposition, to the practitioner *katropa*, the meaning generated was 'You are the nosy enemy from whom we must protect ourselves, but not that you know this yet.' In actuality, the operant idiomatic meaning of '*malalapad ang tainga*' had at this point in the discourse a singular referent in so far as both the native troops and the Spaniards knew: the enemy (strangers from abroad with wide ears), as opposed to the 'homeboys'. However, in this act of self-definition, with the Spaniards still left unawares, the Spaniards were the

enemy, in the literal, historical, political and cultural sense of being *the* strangers from abroad. The Spaniards thought of themselves as among the troops entrenched 'at home'. The natives knew otherwise. As part of the play on meaning of the trope, it is interesting to note at this point that another idiom from the domain of the aural domain operated in the vernacular, and could be among the functions at play: *nagtaingang kawali* means 'played deaf' or 'was deaf'. The Spaniards were not let in on the secret, treated as good as deaf, because not that they had the capacity to correctly 'hear' the 'meaning' of the utterance. The natives also played deaf (*nagtaingang kawali*) to the true import of the Spaniards' discourse. It goes without saying that in this play on words, the deaf did become the dumb, as well. According to the native game plan, they would ignore the Spaniards' questions (play deaf), and in so giving a 'worthless' answer, would as well not have spoken at all (played dumb). In turn, the Spaniards were made dumb in the inability to fully participate in the verbal exchange operating at a deeper level, the level expected of the real players of the game who had the ability to display native wit²⁰ at this moment; dumb, in the literal sense of being rendered 'stupid' in the whole exchange. Since the reference to the Spaniards as 'the enemy' was lost to themselves, especially in translation, the fact that the full meaning simply went over their [Spaniards'] heads, made the natives enjoy a moment of levity through wordplay, a practical joke, as it were, pulled on the unsuspecting non-participant as victim. As victimizer of the victim, subsequent developments in the local history narrative notwithstanding, here was an early victory, an assertion of superiority to the erstwhile betters.

This trope that is used in the context of a jest also works as metaphor for the function of the veiled reference; the riddle or conundrum; the double entendre; the sarcastic or the ironic in language. As veiled reference, it is similarly a veiled imprecation, the spell or curse uttered under one's breath; the verbal equivalent of the disguised hand gesture which is the *mano cornuta*,²¹ as this operates according to the laws of exchange in superstition and magic. Symbolically put, the trope is the verbalization of the ability to take on the superior position of the practitioner of magic who, according to the rules of engagement of magic and ritual, is able to do so because he has been able to name the enemy by calling the enemy by his secret name. The enemy takes on the inferior position inasmuch as the enemy lies identified, vulnerable, while the former, the practitioner, remains invincible because the enemy in turn does not know the former's name, i.e., the native

troops have labeled the Spaniards as 'the enemy' whereas the Spaniards have not yet been able to call the natives by the name that shall serve to define and seal the relationship. The native, in his undisclosed but powerful stage, remains someone whom the Spaniards could not yet quite 'place'. In turn, the native, in so being able 'to place' the Spaniard had succeeded in indeed 'putting the Spaniard in his proper place', by usurping his very place through the act of infiltration, keeping him unaware for as long as possible and thus eventually defeating him. In what appears as a more complex level of play in this local situation, the Spaniards' ultimate defeat comes when they realize the natives have called them by their erstwhile secret name (stranger or enemy), when such a name was hitherto even unknown to them in this case—a most destabilizing moment of cognitive dissonance when they have been labeled in a manner the Spaniards' collective Self had not conceived of before, and is being made to accept now, in a manner it knows it could not stomach, and therefore has to deny. The situation is no different from one who, lacking self-awareness, is told by another what the former really is, but which the former denies as it unhinges his whole concept of self. This occurs when, in the use of the trope, the natives made fun of the Spaniards without the Spaniards getting the point of the jab made at them: the Spaniards took the message seriously and relayed its literal meaning to the rest of the Spanish troops. The native as wielder and appointer of the name thus becomes a wielder of power. The secret name for the Spaniard so given to the Spaniard by the native power broker is in this case another trope, because of its play between the literal—the Spaniard being physically bigger and expectedly, having bigger ears than the common local—and a figurative, ironic denial of the original meaning, which is 'long life'. In the Spaniards' case, bigger ears did not guarantee their long life, as having 'big ears' would guarantee long life to the native who bases his self-definition on the value the local belief system appoints. This trope therefore signifies the non-participant/othered treatment of the Spaniard, who, not being native and thus not seen as a subject covered by the beliefs, nor as a subject who finds meaning in such native beliefs, is therefore a subject to whom will not accrue the benefits that belief system grants, particularly, longevity. As trope, it disenfranchises the meaning of the literal (physiologically, having big ears) and instead, as the idiomatic reappropriates the meaning that the Spaniards were indeed gossipy or inquisitive, but not that they had the self-awareness to realize this. Such lack of realization indicates the truly uninitiated status of Spaniards who, left without a sense of epiphany still, seem to miss that the statement must be viewed as

having an idiomatic intent that must be made to operate if true meaning were to be inferred from such an idiom, and therefore, if true significance were to be understood from the context of the exchange and the event.

The other curious thing about the Silang historical account appears to be its use of the ear as a trope as against all other available tropes in the vernacular. Why not any other trope or parole for the Spaniards, such as 'ahas' or 'hudas', for example, as in, '*May mga ahas na paparating*' or any such word to express otherness and enmity? It appears that these two words are too implicative, too familiar to Spanish ears in the Catholic associations to be made between snake, Judas and betrayal.

Why did idiom form around the word, 'ear' and why did the choice of idiom to use in that historical instance latch on to one having to do with the ear? Of course, as historical instance goes, the role of the happenstance, the serendipitous, the capacity for free, random expression cannot be ruled out. However, a pragmatic look at the historical context would indicate that the choice was not so much as free as it appears to be. To begin with, the phraseology was not a coinage of the moment, not parole, as the form and meaning had already been fixed by idiom. Second, it was stated that the people of Silang had long received communications from the revolution leaders, and had somehow hatched a plan to launch a local mobilization towards these revolutionary goals. Third, in that instance alone, on September 2, it was likewise stated by the account that the people of Silang had already gathered in the town square, and that a speech had been delivered by Medina to the townsfolk, serving as an open declaration of revolt before a strictly native, audience,²² as well as a call to collective native participation in the revolt. This was delivered to those who were encompassed as the privileged listeners. Ultimately, therefore, a reading of the context dictates that the movement has to be perceived as having some underlying blueprint, a plan that participants had been informed of, and have put into execution. An immediate concern, of course, had to be 'what do we tell the enemy should they get suspicious?' After all, the mobilization in the town plaza was literally '*la bajo la toca campana*', right under the shadow of the church and its convent, the plaza being practically an extension of the churchyard. Obviously, people massing in the churchyard, right under the careful eye of the Guardia Civil entrenched in the convent could not go unnoticed, and could not hope to go about without having any proper explanation as regards what they were doing. More so, it was

unlikely that people were left to their own devices as regards how to handle the situation, given the unifying function and effect of the Medina speech. It would not do to have people in the same place give different explanations regarding their business at the *plaza*. It was most likely that a collective, frozen response to the equally anticipated Guardia civil inquiry was prepared and agreed on. In fact, it may be inferred that an apparently jocular response was settled on, considering the similarly jocular start of the Medina speech whereby, as the English account states, the municipal head 'made an almost comical mistake' of announcing that the people had to defend the faith. This may be rationalized as a lexical and semantic slip of the tongue defensible given the exigent nature of the situation. Then again, it may be rationalized as a cunning rhetorical move to catch attention through humor that *viva voce*, openly announces the purported aim of the mobilization, within plain hearing of the agents of the state, and not having aroused the enemy from their complacency through such an announcement, eventually moved to the more sub-rosa in *sotto* voice, the laughter, the general rhubarb of the reactions creating enough cover against the Spaniards who were within hearing distance.

Indeed, the ear as a center of signification resounds throughout the account. A cursory look at the text already lends to a sense of stylistics having some grounding in the aural, and this aural predisposition is presumed to be one that merely echoes the true sound of the original Tagalog text. Consider for example elements like 'assembled... for important announcements... declaring; (par. 4); announced (par 5); declared (par 8); grumbled, told (par. 9); told, asked, answered (par. 10); reported (par. 11); gave the announcement, shots will be fired in the air and this is the signal, requested, instructed (par. 12); forewarned (par 13); signal was sounded (par 14); using big firecrackers... occasional gun fires... and lots of shoutings (in toto from text) from the multitude of men and women (par. 15); warned (par. 16); and pleaded (par 17). All the words cited were used in the context of oral reportage and oral communication in the account. Indeed, the predisposition towards the aural in language was but a reflection of how the mode of expression given the actual historical conditions, and given the expectedly premodern context was one that necessitated, and thus privileged oral discourse, and hence the aural as the necessary if not privileged mode of reception. Such an oral-aural mode is in fact the mode expected in the discourse of oral history and folklore, and such was the supposed mode of discourse at this time in history.

Beyond the grounding in the aural of the words in the text, however, the ear can be seen to play a role as a central symbol around which the discourse revolves, one that is symbolic of life in an analogical manner: physiologically it is a tool for apprehending the world. The aural capacity enables access to one of the forms of experiencing the world through the use of an essential sensory tool. The ear enables the completion of communicative transactions according to a fully working circuitry that links and enables the functioning of the aural and the oral and vice versa, not only as people hear what others say and are able to speak in turn, but also in that people can facilitate either speaking and hearing through the physiological linkup in the anatomy of the two sense organs in an individual. In a further appreciation of the oral-aural linkup in physiology, it is believed that the many things people encounter as sensory experience, from life to death, provide a definition of who people are as individuals, what a person's identity is. The ears, as established by medical science, is the most proximate to the area identified for the storage of memory, which is approximately right above and slightly forward from the location of the ears. The hippocampus, in what is roughly the area beneath the temples is the brain part responsible for generating, storing and reproducing the sensate experiences—including sound—as memories; (Amrine 144,149) thus, the physiological as well as symbolic link among the ear, memory and identity. To have an ear for the language, is therefore to be able to express and re-express experience through language that is heard and spoken, and this reproduction of experience through sound therefore establishes a sense of memory, a sense of identity.²³

The ear is also something valued in local lore as something that supposedly enables the smooth passage of the living into death. As ears are believed to be the last sense to lose their functioning in a dying person, then according to Silang erihya—'*bulungan ang namatay*' [whisper to the dead that he must go in peace] to help the dead cross over. The trope '*malalapad ang tainga*' may then be seen as a symbolic transformation at the metonymic level that served as both the symbolic as well as the verbalized way to send off the Spaniards to their impending death, being that, as earlier discussed as the ironic twist in the expression, they were not entitled to longevity. At the same time, the expression signaling the start of subversive action could have been a metaphoric function that meant having to send off their own townsfolk to the other side (the convent to be infiltrated) who could lose their lives—as they eventually did—in battle.

With such use also comes a metaphoric recognition that the declaration signaled a crossing over from an old and known reality, into a new, uncertain one in which death prefigured as a looming shadow.

There are several other turns of phrase, all tropes, in Silang Tagalog and which may also belong to the Tagalog language at large, endowing the ear with a signifying function beyond the literal.

'May pakpak ang balita, may tainga ang lupa' refers to the spread of news and the inevitable delivery of such to the sometimes unintended recipient. In such a use, the role of the Spaniards is the unintended low-level recipient (*lupa*), the base enemy to be wary of, lest they get wind of the real facts.

'Puting tainga' in Silang Tagalog refers to a person predisposed to anger, or one who is angry at the moment, explained away by the fact that his ears are 'white' because anger has so drained the blood of the person; or that his anger has caused his blood to grow white-hot, as molten metal. This is akin to *'nagpantig ang tainga'* meaning to grow angry, such that the ears pulsate, presumably because of rising blood pressure. These two expressions are to be aligned with other Tagalogs' use of a parallel term, *'namula ang tainga'*. In Silang Tagalog, *'namula ang tainga'* may also mean suffering from sheer embarrassment. The ears are presumably a barometer of emotion, because of their being sensitive to temperature changes (a change in bodily temperature meant to be symptomatic of a change in temperament), as well as being of skin so thin (translucent) as to practically be a means to see through to determine internal conditions.

'Pumalampak ang tainga' indicates extreme elation, especially from feeling extremely flattered.

The examples above seem to provide a sense of identity as indicated by the temporal state of being of a person, which can be considered in contrast to a person's more predictable or static character traits.

In addition to the expressions *'malapad ang tainga,'* *'taingang kawali,'* and *'malaki ang tainga,'* which were earlier discussed, there are other Silang beliefs which seem to indicate, just like the foregoing three expressions in this set, a sense of characterization that seems to be more personality based,

thus, more inherent but stable, and such personality traits may be in turn, the basis from which identity or status is attributed. For instance, '*sahod ang tainga*' is a physical trait that would indicate an identifying mark from which future status is implied: the person is going to get rich, presumably because such ears 'catch' blessings because of their shape, unlike those whose ears are not so cupped that blessings simply fall through. Of course there is also the belief that those who are identified to have '*kuntil sa tainga*' are likewise going to end up rich because the inborn skin tags on the ears indicate a 'fruitful life' or a life with 'extras' for the owner. Such beliefs, in using the ear to determine both temporal as well as static traits and status of individuals show the reader how the ear eventually has gained the very significant function of omen or portent that bespeaks of a person's destiny, as decreed by the system of beliefs. Thus, to assume one has an ear for the local language is to ensure not only that one is a fully functional participant within the social construction, but that one's place in the social formation as circumscribed by language, has already been preordained and that the native has but to heed the call of destiny, because possibly, such destiny leads to a hallowed place in society.

Summation and Suggestions

The native troops, especially as they appropriated the term *tropa* for themselves to signify solidarity as members of the clan and by extension, the Silang's collective identity as natives, were actually asserting their identity and destiny through language, by using the idiom as trope as only they, the privileged users, could use it; and expectedly, in the ways the Spaniards as outsiders could not. The Spaniards who could not access the tropes of the vernacular, could only access the intended subterfuges or outward forms fed to them by the natives, but not the deep meanings, and thus they missed out on the very essential function that the expression, '*malalapad ang tainga*' and other tropes like this in the text and in the vernacular, were supposed to play. The use of '*malalapad ang tainga*' and other such tropes on the Spaniards was the act of talking over their heads, a process of inclusion through the identification of the speakers and interlocutors who were part of the discourse because they had the true ear for the language, resulting in the exclusion and eventual detriment of those who did not belong. Such a reappropriation of the function of superiority of the Spaniard to make it the position of the native instead may be seen to have a greater implication. As the Spaniards had sought to

keep the native out of their circle of speakers and interlocutors, thereby marginalizing the native by purposely withholding the knowledge and skill in the use of Spanish from the natives, in this historic instance in Silang, what occurred was a turning of the tables so much so that it was the natives who appropriated power for themselves by playing a language game according to the rules that they themselves have decreed, and using the very language as a tool in a manner that effectively excluded, and thereby wrested the hegemonic position, from the erstwhile superior caste. Although it is argued that the primacy of the native in the game they played was tenuous and proved temporary only, as the account recalls in its first part, it can however be justified that the use by the native troops of tropes had already provided the initial but necessary opportunity for the natives to eventually win the war—as proven by history itself. The opportunity that such play afforded was composed of a series of objectives, the attainment of each being a victory in itself: to be able to publicly verbalize emancipatory sentiments that likewise alert the native troops to the game afoot; to reinforce morale through such verbalization accompanied by a reinforcing defiant attitude expressed through brash double entendre; to overtly determine and set into motion the dynamics of positionality in public, under the scrutiny of the enemy without alerting them; to subvert the hegemonic structure by infiltrating the enemy and attacking from within. These can be seen as the physical reenactment of the ideological acts of recovery, recuperation, reappropriation. The reader can just imagine how the battle would have turned out in the end, had not the troops taken such ready, natural resort to the use of tropes. What of the moment when the Civil Guard dispatched by Briseno asked what the public ado was all about—and what if there had been no ready, unanimous answer? Had the answer been less cryptic or more discernible, if not factual, a preemptive defensive move on the part of Briseno and his men would have surely swung the balance in a manner that could have effectively preempted the mobilization and in the end affected the balance of forces in the revolt, the outcome of history.

Thus the foregoing reading is the reading of one who likewise engages in the language play of the native, with similar ideological goals. This time, the goal being to recuperate meaning from a text that, couched in English, somehow left the reader with an adumbrate sense of the truth, keeping the reader in umbrage.²⁴ In recovering symbol, meaning and function from a text through the act of rereading this as couched in the language of

the vernacular and as guided by the native reader's ear for language, the true function within the text of what it means to 'have an ear' for the language surfaces, giving the reader a renewed sense of valuation and appreciation of history as seen from a native perspective, leading to a recovered sense of identity.

In mapping the path taken by this study and for the purposes of setting the direction of subsequent studies, it is of course acknowledged that efforts to physically recover the original text on which the English translation of Sison was based, should be made, and from this original document examine the use of tropes in the vernacular. It is to be reiterated, though that the intention of the analysis was not so much to 'restore' the text by 'translating' or inscribing it back to what the supposed original or actual wording of text is, but that, in an attempt to 're-translate' into Tagalog an existing English text, it was inevitable for the reader to read and therefore 'write in' what was perceived to be the original wording, this act being an act not primarily aimed at replicating by deduction the original, but the act being an act that wrote in meaning for the reader in a manner that gave the history as rendered once more a new liberative function. This liberative function is the perceived function that the original text supposedly performed, and this was the function that the contemporary reader's valuation likewise sought to recover and replicate in revisiting local history. It is the very function that the reader wants to reappropriate for its value in the reader's current reality. It is this liberative function that endows the reader with the recuperative power to eschew readings such as those of the more colonial-centered ilk which, though couched in the vernacular, nonetheless do not allow for the reappropriation of meanings by the native for the purpose of empowering herself. It is a kind of reading that advocates the reexamination of English and other such western-identified tools for reading and inscribing, such as Levi-Strauss' Structuralism as recuperative tools that could be used in the recovering of native or nationalist sentiments,²⁵ and in so doing, likewise emancipate the concepts of the 'indigenous' and the 'native' from the abased connotations assigned to these in past usage. It is a reading that encourages alternative positions such as Gemanil's as having the power to wrest a hegemonic place in both history and in his present existence. Thus in sum, the aim of this paper, deemed as having been met in this instance of reading, was not merely a recovery of words per se, but a recovery of significance that illuminates the reader's purpose of existing in the present.

Notes

- ¹ The historical account, according to the records of the Silang Historical Society has a 'latest edition' issued by the same editor, Eileen Belamide Sison. The History's issue is dated November 28, 1997; nonetheless it remains as an unpublished manuscript. No substantial addenda/embellishments to the core account, especially the one being examined above, has been made. The version used in this writing is the undated, unpublished earlier version circulated ca. 1980s-early 1990s, which is a copy of the Sison text. This typewritten manuscript was personally handed to this author by Dominador Kiamzon, an uncle of Sison, in a face-to-face interview conducted on June 12, 1990. Likewise, in an earlier personal interview of Eileen Belamide Sison on May 26, 1990, the former did acknowledge to this author that Mr. Kiamzon possessed a manuscript that was indeed an exact copy of the manuscript she had.
- ² But rejecting the negative connotation of the word, meaning 'tautological'
- ³ All are neighboring towns of Cavite.
- ⁴ A *barrio* of nearby Imus
- ⁵ In so saying this, however, and in so using English as the medium of its own discourse, this writing likewise implicates itself, and thus begins the initial recognition of the writer's de-localized or deracinated function as reader and meaning maker/rewriter of history, who must then reappropriate the text in order to give space to the native as a subject in the historical account. In lending an ear to the meaning intended by the native as subject, this writer as reader, becomes another meaning maker who reappropriates for the native his own tongue, allowing in turn this reader to regain both the voice and identity of the local. The use of English as medium of this scholarship in this manner becomes another act of reappropriation by the author of this text, who interrogates the very medium and then uses it in a manner that it allows for a recovered, alternative voice to come out in the related acts of reading and inscribing. For a related discussion on the role of English in literacy/education, see Gabriel (January 2002).
- ⁶ Such an evaluation is based on the schema of rating English language proficiency of users, according to international English language use standards, as propounded on by the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate's IELTS System, the IELTS test being its instrument for assessment. Such instrument is a current standard alongside other existing instruments such as the TOEFL and TOEIC. See disseminated 'Candidate Information Brochures' for a summation of the IELTS System's workings.
- ⁷ In the interest of local literary history and scholarship, it should also be noted that a draft copy of the thesis, as well as a bound copy of the thesis, which antedates

Unabia by almost a decade, was submitted for the Local Municipal Government and Historical Society's use upon the request of then Municipal Secretary Florendo Bejosano, as well as upon the verbal request made a little before 2000 by Edgardo P. Mercado, now president of the Society, to the late Baltazar P. Moya, Silang resident and father of this author. Such requests to the author were made upon the directive of then provincial governor Jose Remulla to then Municipal Mayor Clarito Poblete for the joint provincial and municipal funding of the publication of the text. It is unfortunate that in the course of financial deliberations that lasted to the end of the political terms of both, publication was preempted. No acknowledgment has been made of the fact that the copies remain in the possession of such bodies. The disputable gap in the Unabia history, notwithstanding its avowed first hand access to the EKB data, could have been remedied by the Master's thesis duly presented to the University of the Philippines, that has somehow ensured that copies as open sources would have been available through the Main Library, the Dean's Office and as required by procedure duly complied with, the National Library itself, thereby assuring scholars at large of full access to available material. The Unabia text, however, does not include in its bibliography entries the Moya thesis.

- ⁸ In fact, the establishment of the initial structure affirming the hegemonic position of Colonial church and state authority is the gap precisely to be accessed by a recuperative reading that establishes the growing subversive, and then eventually, legitimized position of the native. This reading also somehow points to the possibility of the reapplication of old western-centric ways of reading in a manner as to reassign these theories a new function of the alternative, to enable newer, non-western centric readings to emerge. As concretized in this reading, it is using Structuralism in a deconstructive activity with the ultimate goal of replacing the 'old power structure' with a reinscribed emergent, empowering structure.
- ⁹ See the annotations in braces in quoted text, as attributed to D. Kiamzon's manual editing and the marks thereof.
- ¹⁰ Such as the use of '*depend the town*' the intention of which is to express instead '*defend the town*,' if, in a comparison of elements in the text shows that the author/editor is cognizant of the form and function of 'depend' versus 'defend', the latter being used as '*declaring that everyone of them have to unite to defend Santa Fe with their lives*' earlier in the text, as well as several times later, such as '*The fourteen men who were requested by Lt. Jose Briseno to defend the convent were instructed to lead the attacking group.*'
- ¹¹ If the translation in English was supposed to refer to any of these expressions in Tagalog, it should have read, "...for he was their spiritual father."
- ¹² As is more popularly recognized as a chess move whereby the queen is positioned in a manner that apparently sacrifices her as the strongest player of the game, but only in a manner as to ensure the protected position of the king, in order not to lose

the game, and usually in a manner that ensures that the queen's sacrifice leads to a succeeding move leading to the swift but ultimate victory of the player who made the gambit.

¹³ The *eribiya* as a body of the lore of the folk distinguishing the local culture of Silang from the rest of the Tagalog culture area was more extensively discussed in both the initial and subsequent findings as the public lectures delivered by this author from 1998-2000 as holder of the Betty Go-Belmonte Professorial Chair in Comparative Literature. The two unpublished studies are titled, 'Utol: Kinship Structures and Related Systems of Exchange in the Silang Cavite *Erihiya* (A Preliminary Study)', (1998) and '*Tropa*:: Homologies between the *Erihiya* and the Folktales of Silang, Cavite,' (2000).

¹⁴ By this, we engage in a little wordplay and coinage, the above merely used in keeping with the way we use the expression 'plain English' to mean that which can be understood or does not need elaboration, explanation; that which is simple.

¹⁵ Homology/homologous is an equal valuation arising out of similarity that may be evident in a semblance of form, and/or structure, but more significantly out of function. The similarity in form and/or function may be identified as creating a sense of identity, interchangeability, superimposition. The similarity is perceived as a constant that would be present as a unifying factor, a common denominator, as it were, in a given set. This becomes the basis of drawing out synchronic values.

Analogy/analogous is a similarity by way of parallelism or by way of seeing an extension of the relationship. This refers to a form and/or a function traceable or identifiable in a unit as comparable with the form/function of another unit, without presupposing or asserting an identity or an interchangeability. Analogous relationships or functions may be seen as the metonymic function or relationship. This allows for the assertion of a diachronic value. (after Levi-Strauss, trans. Layton 1976)

¹⁶ In Silang, '*katropa*' is a more strong, positively connotative word for '*barkada*'. Between the two, *tropa* is imbued with more value locally, it being the privileged term See full discussion of the function in '*Tropa*...'

¹⁷ Such an account appears incorporated in the world-famous map, the *Mappa Mundi*, made around 1290, when Europeans still held to the belief that the world was flat; both Australia and America did not exist; the location of Africa and Europe were interchanged, Jerusalem was the center of the known world; and, drawings and captions recounted the history of the inhabited world as well as the marvels of the natural world. The blessed are shown ascending to heaven in the upper portion of the map, while in the lower portion of the map, the damned were shown descending into Hell. Aside from other fantastic inhabitants like the big-eared cloven-foot people, in Norway the population was depicted as living with what appeared to be

a race of monkeys. The *Mappa Mundi*, drawn in black ink, with red, and blue coloring and gold leaf highlights, on a sheet of vellum measuring 64 by 54 inches took the limelight once more in 1988, when the head of the Hereford Cathedral in England announced plans to sell the artifact for US 12 million (7 million pounds) in order to renovate the cathedral which was in a sad state of disrepair. The plans however were thwarted by the people who were alarmed that a part of their heritage might be taken away (though how the map came to be in the possession of the cathedral was not made clear from the start). Other means to raise funds had to be resorted to, and the map stayed in Hereford (Amrine 283).

'Abroad' was truly a strange place for only the brave traveler to venture into, guided merely by largely imaginative and inaccurate maps. In 1493, for instance, Hartman Schedel, a German cartographer populated his illustration of Asia with men with horns, bearded but bald women and birdmen. Another important source of cartographic information, popular during the Renaissance was the *2AD Guide to Geography* of Ptolemy, an 8-volume work which provided not only the traveler with 8000 places of interest, but with instructions on how to prepare maps. Several Latin editions of the tomes were published well into the late 15th century. More fanciful renditions were made by Sebastian Munster, a German cartographer (b 1489), who elaborated on Ptolemy's work, by drawing on the menagerie of the grotesque discoursed on by Pliny the elder in the 1st century AD. In Munster's maps, people who had only one foot that could be used as an umbrella over their heads were supposed to have lived near India. Somewhere else a race of men with dog's heads (and we suppose, attendant long or large ears) and who barked like dogs co-existed with the former in that known world. In China, circa 350 BC, people living beyond its borders were shown to have holes through their stomachs, that they could be carried through a pole borne shoulder-high by bearers. European mapmakers of the 16th to the 17th centuries populated the world with mermaids, dragons, and what would appear to be the rhinoceros we recognize today, albeit drawn in maps as either having two or one central horns, the one-horned species being mistaken for the fabled unicorn. Munster reportedly brushed aside arguments and doubts of skeptical naturalists and those among the general public with the comment that 'God is marvelous in His work. (Amrine 282).' Supposedly however, the public at large was credulous. 'Such was the ignorance of many people that when a cartographer wrote 'here be dragons' on a part of his map, most of his readers believed him (282).'

¹⁸ Alternately spelled as guerilla. Although originating from the Spanish, as a diminutive of 'guerra' meaning war, the term is more identified as a loan word from the Filipino manner of employing unorthodox fighting strategies, especially as noted by the Americans in their interaction with the native irregular troops during the subsequent wars.

- ¹⁹ Note the similar strategy of depending on non-disclosure or secrecy employed by the Katipuneros, in their initial use of secret rituals (such as making a covenant signed in blood), language and symbols (such as their flag; titles like 'Supremo' and aliases like 'Magdiwang'), in their operations, constituting argot. Note as well the tragic disclosure, again by aural means, of the existence of the Katipunan through the [verbal] 'deposition' which reached the ears of the authorities by way of the Confessional.
- ²⁰ And by native wit, here we also engage in wordplay, to mean native, as in 'Filipino'; and native, as in 'natural, innate.'
- ²¹ In European magic and ritual, it is common knowledge that the evil eye can be warded by the horned hand, or the *mano cornuta*, which is formed by the two extended fingers, the forefinger and pinky, with the other fingers folded and clasped by the thumb to form a ball against the palm of the hand. The *mano cornuta* is then given as an overt, defiant gesture to the face of the spellbinder or evil eye. However, for the user of the horned hand to be given protection even when not in the presence of the evil eye, or especially when unaware of the presence of the evil eye, the *mano cornuta* must be displayed surreptitiously. This time the gesture must be made in secret in order to have efficacy over a likewise surreptitious act of spellbinding by the evil eye. In the course of its use as a defensive gesture however, the *mano cornuta* evolved to become no longer the sign to defensively ward off evil, but to become an overt, gesture serving as an offensive, i.e., to actually cast a spell or to preempt a spellbinding by being the first to cast the spell on anyone suspected of being an enemy (especially one suspected of being a witch or warlock) out to harm the person. The *mano cornuta* thus gains the metonymic function of the imprecation itself, for the gesture alone was the spell needed to serve in the stead of the words of the curse or incantation.
- ²² It will be recalled that the disclosure of the natives' plot came from a Guardia Civil who had come all the way from a neighboring town.
- ²³ Clearly, as the chanting of epics functioned as in olden times. In making the connection between hearing/the ear as memory/thought, a similar English idiom, in fact expresses this as 'to have something between the ears,' meaning to have capacity to think and presumably, remember.
- ²⁴ In the use of this word, the multiple meanings are all intentionally implicated
- ²⁵ In cognizance of and in furtherance of Dr. Gemino Abad's ideological position that we have indeed conquered the English language, a position he often expressed in our classes under him—and now a part of both oral history and literary history; oral because of what he had articulated to his class; literary, because embodied in his subsequent writings.

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