

# THE ARCHIVE

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS PERTAINING TO

PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

PAPER N° 5

1926--'27

THE SOUNDS AND SOUND SYMBOLS OF THE  
PANGASINAN LANGUAGE

BY

Felizberto B. Viray

*Seminar of Philippine Linguistics, U. P.*

EDITED BY OTTO SCHEERER

MANILA, P. I.

P. O. BOX 659

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## THE SOUNDS AND SOUND SYMBOLS OF THE PANGASINAN LANGUAGE

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OTTO SCHEERER

In the present paper I wish to present, in the first place, the results of a study made by me of the sound system of my mother language which is spoken in a province of Luzon bordering on the Gulf of Lingayen, and is called after that province the Pangasinán.

From not being given a place in public instruction the writing of our language has fallen into such a state of disorder and confusion that it has become a source of real embarrassment to every intelligent native of our province. To remedy the evil, proposals of reform and standardization have at different times been made by our vernacular writers, most notable among whom has been Mr. Pablo Mejia of Dagupan with his chapter on orthographic rules ("Piga'ran pananuntonan ed pananulat") added to his work "Bilay tan kalkalar nen Rizal" (The life and examples of Rizal, Manila 1923).

When considering the different systems used in writing our language, and the proposals for their unification, it appeared to me that prior to a discussion of letters that have their existence only on paper, a discussion might profitably be had of the sounds of which such letters should, after all, be but the symbols. For much as our orthographic alphabet, to be acceptable to the general public, will have to submit to certain conventionalities, it should not be established in complete disregard of our phonetic alphabet, that is, of the sounds with which the living lan-

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guage speaks and endears itself to us. To what extremes it will lead if the written words of a language are allowed to cease being consonant with the spoken words is shown by English with its frequent divergency of spelling and pronouncing. It was from this consideration that I undertook before all the study of the Pangasinán sound-system, the results of which I here present in scientific arrangement and with such explanations as appeared to me necessary or convenient.

Besides the terms that are idiomatically our own we have, in the course of our contact with the Spaniards, taken over from these a number of words containing sounds that are peculiar to the Spanish language but foreign to ours. Such sounds occur, for instance, in the personal names of Spanish origin which we bear and which we continue passing on to our children. How shall we pronounce the letters representing these sounds? To take one such name, shall we pronounce (and spell) "Juan" in the cultured Castilian manner, that is, with a velar fricative as initial sound, or begin with a simple aspiration as in Tagalog "Hwan", or say "Swan" as in our province? What about the sounds of English terms now creeping into our language?—From a desire to arrive before all at an agreement for the spelling of our own native words, I have excluded from my consideration all foreign sounds and restricted myself to our vernacular. To give, on the other hand, due attention to that traditional element which in conventional orthographies plays such an important part, I follow up the results of my investigation into Pangasinán phonetics with a chapter dedicated to a historical review of Pangasinán sound symbols.

## I

## THE SOUNDS OF THE PANGASINAN LANGUAGE

In the absence at my place of study of any apparatus for recording with the greatest accuracy possible the phenomena that take place upon the formation of speech sounds, I have had to rely for my investigation upon simple observation thru ear and eye. Altho sufficiently familiar with the sounds to be examined thru uttering them daily myself since earliest infancy, I made a point of having a number of provincial countrymen of mine pronounce for me each one of all sounds existing in our language,

at first singly and thereupon in a set of ten selected words containing each sound in initial, medial, and final position. I carefully noted the mechanism of articulation, as also quantity and accentuation, and endeavored to clear up cases of doubt by a discussion with my countrymen. It was indeed but an ordinary experience to find that, the same as in other parts, there exists also in our province a diversity of pronunciation among the different municipalities composing it. In the impossibility to recognize and treat side by side all of such local variations, I had to take in view a certain standard for which I chose the speech of the provincial capital Liñgayen—of which I am a native—and that of the adjoining municipality of San Carlos in which the ancient king Kasikis is reported to have resided at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, and which is popularly held to be the seat of the best Pangasinán. Both towns agree to a great extent in their pronunciation, but both agree also in the circumstance that the pronunciation even of individuals belonging to the same community is not in every instance exactly the same.

The results of my study are embodied in the following table drawn up in accordance with the classification of speech sounds generally adopted in linguistics. The table shows the sounds of the Pangasinán represented by signs which, upon the whole, are those used by the International Phonetic Association, tho with two exceptions. For a better comprehension of my table I have substituted the two symbols  $\gamma$  and  $\tilde{\eta}$  for those used in their place by the Association just named. With this adoption of two popularly better known signs I do not yet wish, however, to make the table representative of an alphabet whose adoption I would, in its entirety, advocate for Pangasinán orthography. I use the signs contained in the table in the first place merely to demonstrate with their help the physiological constitution of our system of sounds. In the following chapter I shall consider the question in how far these signs should serve for our conventional alphabet.

A PHYSIOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE IDIOMATIC SPEECH  
SOUNDS OF THE PANGASINAN.

		Labials	Dentals	Palatals	Velars	Laryng- geals
CONSONANTS						
With closure	Stops	voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>
		unvoiced	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>
	Nasals	voiced	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>
With narrowing	Liquids	Lateral	voiced		<i>l</i>	
		Trilled	voiced		<i>r</i>	
	Fricatives	voiced	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	
		unvoiced		<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
VOWELS						
Position of tongue:						
		highest	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	
		halfway	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>æ</i>	
		lowest	<i>æ</i>		<i>o</i>	
			<i>a</i>			

## EXPLANATION.

The synopsis here given classifies the sounds thru a cross-reference: at the head of the columns the sounds are designated according to their place of articulation at the lips, the teeth, palate (Pang. *tiláo*), velum or soft palate, and larynx. At the left side they are classified according to their mode of production. Vowels are produced with breath that has caused the vocal chords to vibrate, thus produc-

ing what is technically known as 'voice', and then passes out thru the mouth, without encountering any obstruction or check. The different vowels are formed thru the different configuration we give to the cavity of the mouth which acts as a resonance chamber and is modified in shape mainly by the position of the tongue, but also with the help of the lips and the soft palate. With the tongue moving forward, we obtain a series of "front-vowels", the highest of which is *i*; a backward movement gives the "back-vowels" with the tongue in highest position for *u*; in *a* the position of the tongue is lowest.

If the current of air, with or without having first set the vocal chords to vibrate, does not find a free passage thru the mouth but has to make its way either thru an absolute stoppage or thru a narrowing, we produce ("voiced" or "unvoiced") consonants. When the current of air explodes the closure in the mouth, we obtain the explosive sounds or so-called "stops"; when it passes thru the nose without breaking thru the closure, we have "nasals". Consonants produced with only a narrowing in some part of the mouth may allow the breath to find its way between the side of the tongue and the side teeth (in the "lateral" *l*), or between the raised tongue point and the upper gums, causing the former to vibrate more or less distinctly (in the "trilled" *r*), in both of which cases the friction is very slight. Consonants likewise produced thru a narrowing, but with more distinct friction, are called "fricatives" or "spirants", also "continuants", because, in contradistinction to the momentary explosion of the stops, the breath may be allowed to continue passing thru the narrowing as long as it can possibly be exhaled. (Compare the first sound of the word *Bisayas*, which sound is a voiced explosive or stop, with that of *Visayas*, which is a voiced fricative or continuant.) Especially interesting among the fricatives are for us the labial *w*, and the palatal *y*; since these combine the frictional element with the vowel element of *u* and *i* respectively, they are also designated as "semi-vowels" or "non-syllabic (not syllable-forming) vowels". (1)

## CONSONANTS

Voiced Stops. With an exception noted hereafter under *g*, these are not essentially different from the corresponding English sounds. *b*, as in *balotó*, native boat, *labay*, wish, like, *masilíb*, artful, shows a closure more slowly formed and more quickly released than the corresponding unvoiced sound *p*. *d*, as in *dayat*, sea, *adyá*, chastity, prudence, *bokod*, single, altho con-

(1) Readers desiring more detailed information on the principles of phonetics are referred to "Elements of phonetics, English, French, and German", translated and adapted by Walter Rippmann from Prof. Viëtor's "Kleine Phonetik". London 1905, on which the above notes are in part based. The phonetics of Spanish will be found treated in the spirit of modern science, in the excellent work by T. Navarro Tomás "Manual de pronunciación española, Segunda edición, corregida." Madrid 1924.

stant as an initial sound of radical words, often changes to *r* if such words receive a prefix like *ma-*, *ka-*. E. g. *diká*, herb of any kind: *mariká*; *duksá*, cruelty: *maruksa*; *dakal*, much, many: *kurakaldn*; but *darak*, prodigality: *madarak*; *damay* sympathy: *midamay*, beside *miraramay*; *duma*, differ: *niduma*, beside *nidumaruma*. Final *d* is often changed to *r* by the people in the towns, and by the younger generation; e. g. *patanir* for *patanid*, good-by; such change is, however, not favored by the older people and by the country-folk who consider final *r* for *d* an undesirable innovation. The change of final *d* to *r* in case of suffixion is, however, regular: e. g. *bokod*, single: *kabokoran*, solitude.

*g*, as in *giri*, itch, *gagala* purpose, *baog*, skin, is, when in final position, not so clearly stopped as in English, but apt to be continued with a nasal twang: e. g. in *dalág*, a mud-fish.

(Note. No perceptible trace of the glottal stop was found by me in ordinary speech).

Unvoiced Stops. These are generally formed with less energy than in English.

*p*, being less forcefully articulated, lacks the aspiration often given it in English; when final, the almost imperceptible release prevents the closure from leading to a real explosion. E. g. *pilak*, silver, money, *gapó*, origin, *dagoup*, crowding together;

*t* shows, in initial position, the absence of the aspiration frequent in English; if medial, it is more weakly articulated than when initial; when final, it becomes almost inaudible to foreign ears. The tongue position is supradental except in final *t* where the tongue touches the teeth. E. g. *taon*, year; *atap*, presentiment of danger; *kalot*, roast;

*k* is without aspiration; in final position it is not clearly audible except when closing a stressed syllable. E. g. *kalakal*, discernment; *okók*, cough; *alak*, wine.

Nasals call for no special remark;

*m* in *matá*, eye, *lamán*, body, *danúm*, water;

*n* in *niág*, coconut, *nana*, aunt, *sipán*, promise;

*ng* in *ngaran*, name, *oñgol*, noise, *dikiñg*, side.

Liquids.

*l* is as a rule supradental except when preceding *i*, in which case the tongue touches the teeth. E. g. *laylay*, hanging, drooping, a flag, *sulat*, letter, *pili*, select, *pikál*, departure. In the mouth of the common people *l* replaces initial *r* of foreign words, alternating in this, however, with *r*; thus Span. 'regalo', gift, becomes *degalo* or *legalo*; Span. 'retrato', portrait, becomes *detrato* or *letrato*;

*r* does not appear initially; medially it is clearly trilled: *aráp*, front, *marlañg*, bright, *tortor*, glean. For interchange of *r* and *d* see under the latter sound.

Fricatives.

*w* and *y*, the labial and palatal fricatives, agree with the corresponding English sounds; *w* in *wato*, eight, and *y* in *yari*, power, ability, are pronounced as the first sounds in English 'water' and 'yam', 'yard', respectively. The fact that each of these sounds embodies, as already observed above, a vocalic as also a consonantal element, gives them a value that changes to a certain extent with their position in the word. If found intervocalic, they have the character of glides, as in *kawayan*, bamboo, *arawi*, far, *ayam*, dwell. In final position after vowels their consonantal element recedes before the vocalic and they enter, as semi-vowels or non-syllabic vowels, with the preceding sound into the formation of proper diphthongs. (See below under 'Diphthongs')

*s*, the hissing dental fricative, is always unvoiced; e. g. *sagud*, west, *lasus*, hundred, *gisgis*, strip, slice. Before *i* the tongue is raised more to the palate, so in *isip*, meditate.

*h*, the laryngeal fricative, is found in Pangasinán only in a few exclamations, such as *he!*, *ehe!*

## VOWELS

*a* is sounded as in English 'father', so in *ama*, father.

*æ* is an open sound similar to that contained in Engl. 'fur'. If preceding *d*, this latter never changes to *r* in case of a suffix being appended: *apigad*; *apigaden*, what is to be put in perfect order; *tañg-æd*; *tañgaden*, one before whom the head is to be bowed.

*e* occurs only in exclamations as mentioned under *h*.

*ø* is used by me to represent in the synopsis certain sounds the articulation of which leaves no definite impression on the ear and which can only be described as being intermediate either between *e* and *o*, or between *e* and *i*; examples of the former kind are *arman*, sorrow, *lappot*, maintenance (of somebody); of the latter: *salø*, foot. *bulasø*, a certain fish.

*i* is not essentially different from the corresponding English high vowel; e. g. *isip*, meditate, think, *bilay*, life, *andí* no.

*o* and

*u* are of very irregular occurrence and no other general statement can be made but that in some localities and in certain words they are clearly distinguished, while elsewhere they are either used one for the other, that is, interchanged, or are replaced by a sound standing midway between the two. This latter sound I have represented in the synopsis by *ou*, while for typographical reasons it appears in some examples here given as: *ou*. Much depends on the position of these sounds in the word. In initial position in some words a true *o*, in others a true *u* is clearly heard and is fairly constant, that is, not interchanged. Liñgayen, San Carlos, and a majority of the towns have, for instance, always a clear *o* in *obák*, bark of tree, *oloup* ac-

company, *on-*(*om-*), a prefix, and a clear *u* in *urán*, rain, *utañg*, debt, *ugaw child*. In final position the articulation of these back vowels is, as a rule, less clear, so in *napnou*, full, *maganou*, quick, altho in this position too a number of words is always heard with a clear *o*, e. g. *bató*, stone, *aro*, love, etc. while clear *u* as final sound is rare. Between consonants many words have the intermediate sound, so *oloup*, accompany, *dagoup*, crowding, while others are sometimes pronounced with *o*, sometimes with *u* without any discernible reason for such change; we thus hear *tonuñg*, *tonoñg*, *tunuñg*, or *tunoñg*, just, reasonable, *dalus* or *dalos*, cleaning the field, etc. As an exception may be mentioned the town of Alaminos, situated some 40 km. NW from Lingayen and not far from the Bolinaw-Sambali speech territory, where in interconsonantal position preference is given to *o*. Another exception to the general confusion between interconsonantal *o* and *u* can be made in the case when the back vowel stands before final *m*, when the use of clear *u* is constant: *danim*, water, *sirúm*, shade, *agum*, covetousness.

#### DIPHTHONGS

Diphthongs are generally defined as arising from the combination of two vowels in one syllable.

By syllable the grammatical doctrine formerly prevalent in the islands understood "la letra o reunión de letras que se pronuncian en una sola emisión de la voz". Modern linguistic science has placed beside, or rather instead, of this definition another which is based upon the varying audibility (loudness, sonority) of the sounds composing the words. The most sonorous sounds are those formed with 'voice', that is, with the musical sound produced by the vibration of the vocal chords, and among these 'voiced' sounds the most sonorous again are the vowels, of which already one is sufficient to constitute a syllable. The least audible sounds, on the other hand, are the consonants and among these especially the unvoiced ones. Since the generality of words, now, consist of a combination of vowels with consonants, it is clear that a succession of sounds in which vowels alternate with consonants must result in a constant rising and falling of the sonority of speech, comparable in a way, with the undulation on the surface of water. The highest points—the crests of the waves, as it were—are ordinarily occupied by the vowels; the lowest—the hollow of the waves—by the (unvoiced) consonants. The complex of sounds from one lowest point over the highest to the next lowest is the syllable.

The relation, now, taken by two vowels meeting in one syllable in regard to audibility may be one of three kinds.

Theoretically speaking, both vowels can be pronounced so as to be heard with equal sonority, as for instance those in the words *diad*, in, *iz*, small shark. In this case the two words quoted present exam-

ples of what are called "level diphthongs". The character of such level diphthongs is liable to change with the tempo at which they are uttered. With a slow, drawling mode of speaking the diphthong may become distended until, with the glide that in such case naturally arises between the vowels, there come into existence two syllables (*di-yad*, *iyu*), while a rapid utterance may, on the contrary, reduce the sonority of one of the vowels (*dyad*, *yu*) and give it consonantal character. It is such lesser sonority of the one or the other of two contiguous vowels in a syllable what constitutes the natural character of two other classes of diphthongs, the so-called "rising" and "falling" diphthongs.

In rising diphthongs the first vowel is the less sonorous one. In combinations of vowels of this class in Pangasinán the first vowel assumes to some extent the character of a consonant. The following occur;

<i>ya</i>	as in	<i>yakál</i> , a kind of hard wood, ( <i>Hopea plagata</i> )
<i>ya</i>	" "	<i>yasyas</i> , twist
<i>yo</i>	" "	<i>yoro</i> , knife
<i>yu</i>	" "	<i>yu-yu</i> , an exclamation to scare away animals such as pigs, etc.
<i>wa</i>	" "	<i>wacañg</i> vertigo
<i>wi</i>	" "	<i>wiñg-wiñg</i> , inclined in position

Falling diphthongs, which constitute the diphthongs in the proper sense of the word, have the first vowel as the most audible, while the second is a rather incompletely articulated vocalic appendix. Pangasinán has the following:

<i>ay</i>	as in	<i>paypay</i> , fan
<i>ay</i>	" "	<i>pagay</i> , unhusked rice, 'palay'
<i>oy</i>	" "	<i>pitoy</i> , worn out, frazzled
<i>uy</i>	" "	<i>taruy</i> , conduit for water
<i>aw</i>	" "	<i>panaw</i> , pale, wan
<i>aw</i>	" "	<i>agaw</i> , sun, day
<i>iw</i>	" "	<i>baluw</i> , crossing a water

#### II

#### THE SOUND SYMBOLS OF THE PANGASINAN LANGUAGE

The graphic representation of the sounds of the Pangasinán has followed a similar development as that of all other Philippine languages whose speakers were christianized by the Spaniards.



Of the primitive native Pangasinán writing the only generally known record is the alphabet given by Sinibaldo de Más

in his "Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas en 1842" (Madrid 1843). On the origin and authenticity of this record some light is thrown by Dr. Pardo de Tavera who, in his "Biblioteca filipina" (Washington 1903), says of Más' work that it is cleverly and interestingly written, but that the author stayed only a very short time in these islands, and that, being moreover sick most of that time, he had to take his historical and ethnical data from the chronicles of the friars, tho without citing his sources.

Interesting as it would be for the research into the older forms of our language if other records of ancient Pangasinán writing could yet be brought to light, the well-established evidence as to the primitive alphabet once in use in the provinces bordering on ours, taken together with the signs published for Pangasinán by Más, leaves no doubt that our ancestors had in use the same type of alphabet which the Spaniards, on their arrival, found in existence all over the more civilized parts of the archipelago, an alphabet sprung from, or related to, that of the Old Javanese, and whose recorded variations are for a good part evidently either secondary local developments or similar peculiarities of individual writers as those that differentiate also the 'hands' of modern scribes.

According to the transcription given by Pardo de Tavera to Más' list of ancient Pangasinán characters we had in use a syllabic alphabet consisting of signs for the following three vowel sounds and thirteen consonants: *a, e-i, o-u, ka, ga, ta, da, na, pa, ba, ma, ya, la, wa, sa, ha*. The vowel sound *a* with which the thirteen consonantal signs were ordinarily to be read could be changed either to *e-i* by placing a dot above the sign, or to *o-u* by a dot below. A characteristic feature, then, of the Pangasinán, as of other Philippine alphabets, was that they possessed only three vowel signs, namely one for *a*, one for the front vowels, and one for the back vowels, so that any difference made by a speaker between *e* and *i*, and between *o* and *u* was not reflected by special signs in writing.

Another remark I would make in connection with Más' Pangasinán alphabet is this: while he gives an *h* sign for Tagalog—which sign, by the way, is exactly the same as the one elsewhere recorded for the Bisayas—he leaves for it a blank in both his Pampanga and Iloko alphabets, a blank which he

probably found also in his sources (1) and which coincides logically with the fact that Pampanga as well as Iloko—at all events in their modern form—have no use for such sign since they idiomatically lack the sound for which it stands. It is now a noteworthy circumstance that, while Pangasinán, with the exception recorded in my phonetic alphabet previously given, belongs to the same group of *h-less* languages just mentioned, it is nevertheless given in Más' record a sign for *h* in this form: . If I compare this sign with other similar ones for the sound *ng* in a number of Philippine languages to be found in Tavera's "Contribución para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos" (Losana 1884), especially with that for *ng* in Iloko, which is , and observe, on the other hand, that Más assigns to our language no sign for this same sound *ng* which is so common with us, I am inclined to believe that either this author, or his source for Pangasinán, is in error, and that our alphabet, the same as that of Iloko and Pampanga, did, as a matter of fact, not have in use the sign for *h*, which sound—with the exception just mentioned—we lack certainly to-day, and that the one recorded for this sound by Más really corresponds to *ng*.

The imperfections inherent in the ancient system of syllabic writing had for a consequence that it went out of use not long after the Spaniards had begun to establish their culture in our country, and had introduced the Roman alphabet. The latter, tho superior as a means of graphic representation of speech sounds in general, brought with it certain peculiarities some of which, characteristic of Spanish orthography, were later felt as undesirable by leading Filipinos who endeavored to reform the orthography practiced for Philippine languages by the Spaniards, and to introduce certain European letters more in harmony both with the ancient and the phonetic writing of the vernacular. Well considered and plausible as were these endeavors to establish what might be termed a national Filipino orthography, we must admit to our confusion that they have so far had only a limited acceptance.

It is interesting to review the consequences which the in-

(1) Compare: "Alfabeto pampango" del Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. Alvaro de Benavente, manuscrito de 1899" and "Alfabeto (Ilokano) del Padre Carro" in Marcilla "Antiguos alfabetos filipinos" (Malabon 1895).

roduction of the Roman alphabet has had especially with regard to the adequacy of its letters to Pangasinán sounds.

The distinction made by the Roman alphabet between the front vowels *e* and *i*, and between the back vowels *o* and *u*, which two groups had had with us, as stated above, only one sign each, compelled an unwont distinction and ushered in for Pangasinán that unstable use of the corresponding letters, especially of *o* and *u*, which we have not been able to put an end to till to-day. As to the employment of both groups of letters in Tagalog I refer the reader to Rizal's remarks in his "La nueva ortografía de la lengua tagalog" and in his "Estudios sobre la lengua tagala."

The transcription of the old native sign for the rising diphthong *ya* made no difficulty, since both sounds are adequately represented in the Spanish alphabet. Not so with the diphthong which in Tavera's transcription appears as *wa*; since the first sound of this combination lacked in Spanish an adequate semi-consonantal letter, it was variously represented by *o* or *u* (*v*), until the efforts of Tavera and Rizal in reforming the Tagalog orthography had for a consequence to induce part of their countrymen also in other provinces to substitute for these vocalic signs the symbol *w* which is not recognized by the Spanish alphabet. Acting upon the principle that, in so far as the sounds of Philippine languages are uniform, also their writing should be uniform, we write also in Pangasinán to-day *walá* ('there is'), where our Spanish tutors wrote *oalá*, and likewise in all other similar cases.

A special transcription had to be adopted by the Spaniards for our ancient native sign for the velar nasal. Altho this sound is not entirely foreign to the Spanish where, thru assimilation of an *n* closing a syllable to a following velar consonant, it arises often enough—as for instance in such words as "cinco, banco, lengua, pongo" which in ordinary conversation are pronounced in a way that might be represented here for the purpose of phonetic demonstration, by "*ciñg-ko, banñg-ko, lenñg-gwa, ponñg-go*"—yet is a sound pronounced unconsciously in such cases, and is not recognized by any special sign in the alphabet (Navarro Tomás, loc. cit. § 133). The Spanish friars, whose merit it is to have been the first to reduce Philippine languages to Roman script, point out in their grammars this sound, which with us is self-dependent and of frequent occurrence, as a "sonido gangoso

de difícil pronunciación", referring, in so doing, probably especially to cases where it is initial, as for instance in our *ñgaw-ñgáw* (a certain disease affecting the nose). (1) It was represented by them (perhaps under the influence of its occurrence in such words as 'pongo' etc. above mentioned?) by the combination *ñg*, with the curved stroke variously placed over one or both letters. This symbol, which Rizal for a time wished to change to the simpler *g̃*, has remained in use until to-day in the greater part of our provinces, and so in Pangasinán. True that, thru an unfortunate subservience of ours, we have become reconciled to that outlandish and corrupt pronunciation of our intervocalic *ñg* which, similar to that of 'ng' in 'pongo', adds a *g* after the simple nasal sound *ñg*, and thus gives to this symbol the value of *ñg + g = ñgg*. This has led to such incorrect pronunciations as, for instance, 'Pañg-ga-si-nán' instead of correct 'Pa-ñga-si-nán', i. e. 'Place where salt (*asin*) is made', 'Liñg-ga-yen' or 'Lin-ga-yen' instead of correct 'Li-ñgay-en', i. e. 'Object (-en) to which the eyes turn back (*linñgay*)' (2). Wherever, on the other hand, correct native pronunciation justifies the placing of a *g* after *ñg*, there it must not be omitted; thus the dictionary of the Spanish friars Cosgaya and Vilanova spells quite correctly *añg-gó*, 'words and signs of endearment bestowed by mothers on their babes', etc. The importance, again, of not omitting the stroke of junction on top of the symbol *ñg* becomes clear from the existence in Pangasinán of such words as *angalés*, said of a fruit unable to develop to full maturity, where the letters *n* and *g* represent separate sounds each pronounced independently of the other: *an-ga-lés*.

A transcription against which the opposition on the part of the Filipinos was most decided, which affected all Philippine languages, and was criticized even by one or the other of the Spanish authors of Philippine grammars, was that which in the place of the ancient two simple and constant signs for the voiced and unvoiced velar stops, *g* and *k* respectively, put, for the first, *g* before *a*, *o*, and *u*, but *gu* before *e* and *i*, the *u* of *gu* remaining silent and serving only to prevent *g* from becoming a fricative (the *x* of the Int. Phon. Ass.), as it always does before *e* and *i* in Spanish orthography; for the ancient sign of the unvoiced ve-

(1) Cosgaya spells *ñgañgdu*, and calls the sound in question "la *n* gangosa".  
 (2) An especially large and prominent tree which in olden times adorned the plaza of Lingayen, attracting the gaze of all passers-by, is said to have given rise to the name of the provincial capital.



lar stop (*k*) the Spaniards wrote, again in accordance with their own orthography, *c* before *a*, *o*, and *u*, but *qu* (*u* not sounded, contrary to most English words having initial 'qu') before *e* and *i*, since *c* before these latter two sounds becomes in Spanish a lisping dental fricative similar to English unvoiced 'th'. Against the former simpler and more consistent native writing of the two consonants concerned, the introduction of these complex principles of Spanish orthography meant not only a disfigurement of the phonetic image of radical words beginning with *ga*, *go gu*, or *ka*, *ko*, *ku*, in case of being given the infix *-in-*, when they appeared as beginning with *guina*, *guino*, *guinu*, and *quina*, *quino*, *quinu*, but the inculcation upon youthful minds of the not easily mastered principles in question led to such pitiful scenes in the school-room as are depicted to us by Rizal in his "La nueva ortografía de la lengua tagalog". Modern Pangasinán orthography has, like Tagalog, given to the two symbols *g* and *k* one constant value and writes, irrespective of the change in vowels: *ga*, *ge*, *gi*, *go*, *gu*, and *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, *ko*, *ku*.

Another point clearly recognized by the Tagalog reformers as requiring attention and regulation, and which is worth being incidentally dwelt upon here, is the fact that *h*, which in Castilian is quiescent, has in Tagalog the value of a breath, and is thus a different sound from Spanish 'j'. The latter, called 'jota', is, tho relaxed in some regions of Spain, and then a mere aspiration, in cultured Castilian pronunciation most frequently a velar fricative, as in 'rojo, cojer, jarro', and is identical with 'g' before 'e' and 'i':, as in 'gemir', 'girar'. In final position the jota is more weakly articulated and in a word like 'reloj' it is even currently lost in ordinary conversation (Navarro Tomás, § 134). It is thus neither doing justice to the best Castilian pronunciation, nor to the facts of Tagalog phonology, if the symbols *h* and *j* are given one and the same value. The sound of Spanish jota, properly pronounced, is foreign as well to the Tagalog as to the Pangasinán idiom, tho it occurs distinctly in certain other Philippine languages. (1)

(1) As an example of the divergent opinion held by some in this regard I transcribe from P. Mejia's paper "Tonung", August 7, 1926: "There are (in Pangasinán) fifteen consonants: b, d, g, h, or j, k, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, t, w, and y. They are to be pronounced thus: ha, da, pa, ka or ja, ku, etc. The j in Spanish and k in Tagalog or in English are the same in sound articulation. I am putting these two letters because writers in Pangasinán have not agreed upon a definite one. There are many writers using j when, in fact, it would be proper to use k of Tagalog or English and give up the Spanish j because we don't think that Pangasinán orthography should differ from Tagalog."

In view of the little regard popularly given to a correct use of our language in speech and writing, it is not to be wondered at that our often fluctuating pronunciation, the adherence by some to the old Spanish orthography, the adoption by others of the principles of reformed spelling introduced by Tavera and Rizal, and, again, the wrong or incomplete application of these principles by those who have their personal ideas about what our orthography ought to be, or who leave their manuscripts to the tender care of the printer, should have led to a great confusion in the present written use of our mother tongue.

Most active in the standardization of our writing has been, as stated at the beginning, Pablo Mejia, and this not only in his already quoted work on Rizal, but also in his periodical 'Tonung'. Another vernacular paper, published in Manaoag and dedicated to the maintenance of the Catholic faith, is upholding the venerable Spanish tradition also in orthography; this is seen already in its title 'Lioaoa' containing an accumulation of vowel signs that is certainly not so easily read as in the modern form *Liawaw*. A curious mixture of old and new spelling, typical of the confusion reigning in our orthography, is encountered in "Grammar and dictionary of the Pangasinan language by Ernest A. Rayner, Ph. D., (New York)" (Manila 1923):

To a radical word spelled 'cabil' on page 80 (for modern *kabil*) a modernized past tense *kinabil* is found on page 34, tho this is put back again into the old orthography with the affixed form 'kina-bilco' instead of *kinabilko*. The two symbols for the unvoiced yelar stop relieve each other frequently without any apparent discrimination, as for instance on page 95 "tapok-en, tomboc-en, tipac-an, temek-en, toroc-en, tipsok-en", and similarly alternate even within one and the same word, as in "cakieoan, carakel, carukey" etc. on page 80; in which cases one might perhaps think of an effort made to avoid, before *e* and *i*, the old Spanish "qu", tho the equally antiquated Spanish "gu" before the same vowels is retained, on page 83, in "guetma, guisiguis-en" where it alternates, it is true, with the modern writing in "gendat, gisgis-en", etc.

In contrast with such unsystematic spelling we find in the Pangasinán translation of Senator Osias' "Popular Reader", prepared by Dr. Cañiza and Mr. A. Ramos, a manifest endeavor to apply to the writing of our language the principles introduced into Philippine orthography by Tavera and Rizal. Instead of the employment of certain dead letters, justified neither by the

phonetics of our language, nor by any tradition handed down from our pre-Spanish ancestors, it shows the consistent use of one sign for each distinct sound actually occurring in the spoken language, making thus the written word as fairly as at all possible representative of the spoken one. Unfortunately a number of typographical errors mar the excellence of the translation, and the alphabet given is evidently not meant to be of special application to Pangasinán idioms.

Rightly judging that neither the personal opinions of individual authors, nor any lengthy discussion in the press of technical points of phonetic writing have a chance to lead to a general acceptance of a standard transcription of our idiom by the writing public; recognizing, perhaps, also that the exclusion of our language from popular instruction leaves us without the only effective means to compel uniformity of script among the rising generation, a number of persons prominent in Pangasinán letters held, on April 11, 1912, a conference at Liñgayen in the house of Mr. Numeriano Flores, the residence of Mr. Julian Macaraeg, initiator of the meeting, in order to agree among themselves upon certain fundamental points of our orthography, and thus to set up a common standard of writing. Among the principal resolutions taken by the assembly, constituted under the name of "Awiran" ("Academy"), was the establishment of the system of letters that were to constitute our alphabet. In order, now, to examine how far this system of letters agrees with the system of sound symbols given in the first chapter of this paper, I place here the two side by side, guiding myself, for the former, by the publication which it has found on page 185 of Mejia's already quoted "Bilay tan kalkalar nen Rizal":

—x—

Alphabet of the Awiran      My system of sound symbols

a	a
e	e
i	i
o	o
u	u
—	ə
—	æ
—	au
b	b
d	d
g	g
k	k
l	l
m	m
n	n
p	p
r	r
s	s
t	t
w	w
y	y
—	ñg
—	h (not Span. j)

A comparison of the two lists shows that I have distinguished, partly by special signs, a number of sounds not to be found similarly represented in the alphabet of the Awiran. They are: ə, æ, au, ñg, and h.

Without pretending to set up new rules, and simply as an expression of my personal opinion regarding the representation which the five sounds recognized by me might conveniently be given in conventional transcription, I submit the following remarks for consideration.

The signs ə and au represent, as stated before, transitional sounds standing, the first, between e and i or between e and æ, the second between o and u. With no special signs to denote these transitional sounds in our orthography, they will naturally be always a source of uncertainty when employing for them

one or the other of the Roman letters just cited which give them a more definite value than they really possess. To remedy this uncertainty, I would suggest that the sign for the clear *e*, which sound occurs only in a few exclamations, be employed also, conventionally, for the sound indicated by me with *e*, while for the *au* sound a similarly conventional use of either *o* or *u* could be established, following in every individual case the popular dictates of euphony.

The sign *æ* has likewise been previously described; its sound is very common in our language for which it may be said to be characteristic in comparison with the sister-languages in the south-east. It is a distinct sound and was already distinguished by Spanish authors who represented it by placing a small arc over an *e*, altho this practice was perhaps not always very consistently adhered to. I would be in favor of assigning to this sound some similar special sign provided it can be easily written and does not go beyond the scope of ordinary fonts.

The symbol *ñg* has been explained by me as but a makeshift of the early Spaniards to represent what is one simple and distinct nasal sound, and one that accordingly was represented in the ancient Philippine alphabet by one single sign. I am not informed of the reasons which led the Awiran to omit the symbol *ñg* in their alphabet in which it should certainly find a place, as it represents one of our most common sounds. From what I stated before regarding the occurrence in our language of words containing *n* followed by *g*, both to be pronounced separately, it becomes clear that writers and printers have to take care not to omit the curved stroke joining the two letters whenever they stand for the nasal sound in question.

The letter *h* has been discussed by me, both as a sound and as a letter, as not to be confounded with Spanish *j*. Tho occurring, like *e*, in only a few exclamations in our language, we can, of course, not dispense with the means to express these in writing.

In concluding, this paper I desire to acknowledge thankfully the courtesy with which the Honorable A. Bengson, Representative of our province in the Philippine Legislature, as well as Dr. H. Cañiza and Mr. A. Ramos already mentioned, have come to my aid by valuable information on several specific points of Pangasinán phonology.