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

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Abstract

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

Keywords

paawitán, pasyón, dialogism, ethnomusicology, cultural studies
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Poetics of *Paawitán*

in a Tagalog Community

in the Province of Quezon, Philippines

**SUNG POETIC JOUSTING**

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

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

In the traverses and extensive touring around Tayábas, you will see cacao plants and hear the plaintive guitar, and you will direct your steps in search of thatched houses; if in getting near the fence of the house you will be driven slowly by chords and noting inside a gathering of people with great silence listening to a local girl lazily singing and dancing to the sound of that
guitar, you will follow with great care the undulations of her body while balancing a cup on her head; from time to time, the silence of those who listen to her is replaced by the characteristic shouts of joy, and sometimes the local girl will clap to accompany her Andalucian songs.

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

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

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

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

Áwit, like *cumintan*, is passed down orally by parents to children through constant repetition. In Tayabas, its poetic lyrics are written down and compiled in a notebook called *kalipíno*. The *áwit* is accompanied by a guitar and is danced when performed in an event called *paawitán*. *Paawitán* happens during drinking sessions locally called *tagayán* or *inúman* or *barekán*; it is a celebration with singing and dancing wherein the singer holding the
commonly shared drinking glass or cup (tágay), which is at times balanced on the head while being danced, is passed onto the next drinker. The recipient of the drinking glass becomes the next singer commonly referred to as mamamaawít. The gathering is filled with laughter, shouts, and clapping. The áwit features a melody that is repeated and variated. According to the locals, it uses one tune and for elders only (‘iisang tóno at pangmatanda lamang’) (Understanding the Present-Day 64). Its poetry, which is rendered extemporaneously, may be written down by a singer or even a listener for future use. A paawítán performance may last for many hours.

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

**PAAWITÁN**

*Paawítán* comes from the root word áwit. In the Tagalog community of Tayábas, áwit refers to the rhymed poetic songs in alexandrines (dodecasyllabic lines) with a specific characteristic tune or melody. Today, it is performed by mostly senior citizens who are adept at áwit’s poetic and musical language. Paawítán, therefore, is an event where sung exchanges in rhymed and measured repartees are expressed, often with dancing and drinking. It continues to be practiced today although bearers of the tradition are now on the decline. Understanding the expressive power of Tayábas Tagalog paawítán through the analysis of its particulars as recalled by the paawítán singers is connected to various local customs and practices. Such interrelation allows for an ethnographic overview of current Tayábas singing traditions, including pasyón chanting during Holy Week, dalít singing on the feast day of San Isidro Labrador, and the indispensable association of kántáhan and paawítán to social drinking (inúman/tagayán/barékan).
Of particular interest in this study are concepts of dialogism, vocality, and Mikhail M. Bakhtin (1895-1975), who defines dialogism as “the interaction or intersection of unique properties, voices, or horizons of social and political expression in communication” (Becker-Leckrone 155). Because paawitán is a poetic form of communication, the processes of jousting, its parts and meanings, and how the singers send communications through their actions while the event is on-going are of particular interest. In the context of this study dialogism refers to a system of “double voicing” of language, where dialogues of different views and interpretations are exchanged (Linell 280). Paawitán’s sung poetry is interactive and reactionary. As may be noted, there is an indefinite number of possibilities of communicative directions, depending upon the singer’s lead as informed by other works and voices. An ensuing singer is entitled to continue or divert any topic as every rendered poetry is sung in response to the presented statements and in anticipation of future ones, like in everyday communication.

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

The analysis of the paawitán singers’ performances owes to the philosophical elaborations of Julia Kristeva (b. 1941) and Roland Barthes (1915-1980) on vocality, as expounded in Embodied Voices by Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones. Vocality refers to “a very broad spectrum of utterances that encompasses all the manifestations of the voice in speaking, singing, crying, and laughing, . . . all of which are invested with social meanings.
With Kristeva, vocality provides meaning at the convergence of voice and language in context (Linell 114-15). It essentially comes into play with the concept of embodiment (or materiality of the body) and Roland Barthes’s “grain of the voice.” (Barthes, *Image* 185). Moreover, vocality, like the “grain of the voice,” is roughly equivalent to expressivity, personality, intelligibility, subjectivity, and dramaticism, combined and rolled into one, its significance (182). The conflation of music and lyrics in a wedded performance and the importance of social drinking contribute to meanings in *paawitán*. Still, this study is informed by Poetics, viewed as a multi-leveled term which encompasses literature and literary discourse, including orality and intertextuality. It is a systematic theory of poetry that defines “its nature, kinds and forms, resources of device and structure, and the principles governing it, its functions as distinguished from those of the other arts, the conditions under which it can exist, and its effects on readers or auditors.” (Preminger and Borgan 929-38). The aesthetics of *áwit* elaborates on poetry in three groupings, namely debates or jousting, solo “private” listening, and solo singing with audience.

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

**E. ARSENIO MANUEL AND THE TAYÁBAS TAGALOG ÁWIT**

Various studies related to Tagalog *áwit* include historical accounts, folklore, anthropology, and literature. Folklore, which speaks of widely circulated traditional customs, dances, beliefs, stories, tales, and sayings, is incorpo-
rated in all of these fields of studies. Historical accounts consist of early writings of travelers such as the *Viajes por Filipinos* of Juan Alvarez Guerra, which I include in my Introduction. Anthropology, on the other hand, is exemplified by the pioneering work of Esperidion Arsenio Manuel (1909-2008), which I consider a major related writing.

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

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

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

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

TAYÁBAS, QUEZON, AND THE PAAWITÁN

Tayábas is a landlocked town in Quezon Province, southeast of the fabled Mt. Banahaw. On the north are the towns of Lucban and Sampaloc, while Mauban is at the eastern boundary. Southeast of Tayábas are the towns of Atimónan and Pagbilaó, and on the west is Sariáya. On the south is the capital of the province, Lucéna City (see Photograph 1). Tayábas is 150 kilometers from Manila and ten kilometers from the provincial capital. It was declared a city on March 21, 2007 via Republic Act No. 9398. The now City of Tayábas is known in the food and drinks department for its lambanóg (coconut vodka or arrack) and sweet delicacies, most especially cassava cake, known locally as budín. Aside from beautiful resorts, heritage houses, and 11 Spanish
bridges, Tayábas boasts of having the longest church in the country: Basilica Menor de San Miguel Arcangel. Tayábas comprises sixty-six (66) barangays (see Photograph 2), 19 of which are in the Poblacion or city proper. Three of these barangays are my research areas, namely Barangay Gibánga on the western section, Barangay Ibabáng Palále on the eastern part, and the still rustic city proper Poblacion. In the two barangays, most inhabitants are engaged in farming and small entrepreneurships like domestic trading and tending convenience stores. The average number of persons per household is four (4) in Barangay Gibánga and five (5) in Barangay Ibabáng Palále. Most elders are functionally literate, keeping dog-eared, yellowing copies of áwit, dalít, and novenas.
TAYÁBAS TAGALOG SINGING TRADITIONS

This section expounds on four (4) Tagalog vocal genres, namely pasyón, dalít, kantáhan, and paawitán in their own contexts as practiced today in Tayábas. Pasyón and dalít are two ritual complexes whereby pasyón is a sung narrative during the Lenten season while dalít is a sung prayer praising the Virgin Mary or a patron saint (usually for nine (9) consecutive days (or nobena) culminating on the patron saint’s feast day). I elaborate on the dalít for San Isidro Labrador whose feast day is held every 15th day of May. Two secular song genres are likewise discussed, namely kantáhan and paawitán. Kantáhan is a generic term for a singing event usually performed during celebratory occasions such as birthdays, graduations, baptisms, and other social gatherings with accompaniment of live instruments, karaoke, or any electronic
sound system with microphones and amplifiers. Paawitán is the singing of a specific song called áwit. The two ritual complexes (pasyón and dalít) are para-liturgical celebrations connected to the Roman Catholic faith while the other two genres (kantáhan and paawitán) are secular, involving social drinking (tagayán, inúman, or barekán) of alcoholic beverages (tágay).

**PASYÓN**

**A GENERAL DESCRIPTION**

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

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

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

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

We don’t have any meditation
not even a bit every night and day
sa kay Kristong pagkamatay, of Christ’s death,
at ang hinaharap lâmang we are only after
layaw ng ating katawan. the pleasures of our body.

Huwag kang magpakaniig Do not indulge yourself
sa gawa mong di matuwid in your crooked ways
daya ng demonyong ganid, which are deceptions of the greedy demon,
nilayin ng iyong isip think meditatively
ang kamatayang sasapit. of impending death.

Kayâ hanggang búhay ka pa So that while you are still alive
ikaw ay magsamantala you grab the opportunity
magtipon at maghanda ka, to collect and prepare yourself,
ng mga gawang maganda of good deeds
nang may datnin kang ginhawa. so you will reap wellness.

(Pasiong Mahal 174-75) (my trans.)

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Doon sa paglakad nila} & \quad \text{While they were walking} \\
\text{sa daan ay may nakita} & \quad \text{they saw along the way} \\
\text{na isang punong higera,} & \quad \text{one fig tree} \\
\text{na ang dahoy kaaya-aya} & \quad \text{with pleasant leaves} \\
\text{ngunit wala namang bunga.} & \quad \text{but without any fruit.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pagtataka'y mago't mago} & \quad \text{Greatly wondering} \\
\text{niyong mga disipulo} & \quad \text{the disciples} \\
\text{doon nila napagsino} & \quad \text{realized there and there} \\
\text{na ang higera ngang ito} & \quad \text{that this fig tree} \\
\text{ang katulad ay ang tao} & \quad \text{looks like a human being.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Matunaw na nga't madurog} & \quad \text{Melt and turn into small pieces} \\
\text{ang tigas ng iyong loob} & \quad \text{your hardened heart} \\
\text{gunitain mong tibobos} & \quad \text{remember fully well} \\
\text{ang mga hirap ni Jesus} & \quad \text{the sufferings of Jesus} \\
\text{nang sa iyo ay pagsakop.} & \quad \text{that is your salvation.}
\end{align*}
\]
Because it naturally took place
the prophecy of Jeremiah
and those of all the prophets
realized also and happened
all of their pronouncements.

(71) (my trans.)

PERFORMING “PASIONG MAHAL”

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

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

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

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

1. O Diyos sa ka-lang-itan, He-ning Sang ka-lu-pa-an,

   Diyos na wa-lang ka-pa-tay, ma-ba-it, lub-hang ma-a-lam

   at pu-no ng ka-ru-nu-ru-ung an. 2. I-kaw ang A-mang ti-bo-bos

   Na na-ngu-ngu li-lang lu-bos A-mang ‘di ma-te-pus-ta-pos,

   ma-a-wa-it ma-pag-kup-kop sa ta-ong lu-pa’t a-a-la-bok

3. I-yong i-tu-lo t sa a-min Diyos A-mang ma-a-wa-in,

   mang-yar-ing a-ming da-li-tin hi-rap, sa-kit at hi-la-hil

   ng A-nak Mong gi-ni-gi-ni-gi liw,
Music Example 4.2. *Pasyón Sampáy-bákod* from Barangay Ibabáng Palále.

**PASYÓN SAMPÁY-BÁKOD 2. Panalangin sa Diyos**
Rendered by Elpidia “Elvie” C. Palayan. Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afable

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

2. I-kaw ang A-mang ti-bo-bos Ng na-ngu-
   lu-bos A-mang ‘di ma-ta-pus-ta-pos, ma-
   a-wa-it
   ma-pag-kup-kop sa ta-ong lu-
   pàt a-la-bok.

3. Li-yong i-tu-lot sa a-mín
   Diyos A-mang ma-a-wa-in, mang-yar-
   hí-rap, sa-kt át hí-lá
   Mong gi-ni-gi-lu.
The second style of rendering “Pasión Mahal” is through the use of various tunes, of which six (6) are commonly rendered in Tayábas (see Music Example No. 5 (I-VI)).

Music Example 5. Six Commonly Used Pasyón Tunes.

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

Mga Talata mula sa Huling Aral ng Pasyóng Mahal
IV. Dm

O Dyos sa ka-langigan, Haring Sang-kalu-paan,

A7 Dm

Dyos na walang kapantay, ma-ba-it, lubhang ma-a-lam at pu-no ng ka-runu-ngan.

V. Dm A7

O Dyos sa, O Dyos sa ka-langitan, Haring song.

Dm Gm

Haring sang-kalu-paan, Dyos na wa, Dyos na walang kapantay,

Dm A7 Dm

ma-ba-it, lubhang ma-a-lam at pu-no ng ka-runu-ngan.

VI. Dm A Dm Gm

O Dyos sa ka-langitan, Haring sang-kalu-paan, Dyos na wa-lang

Dm Gm A7 Dm

kapantay, ma-ba-it, lubhang ma-a-lam at pu-no ng ka-runu-ngan.
The first tune is in minor tonality with triple meter. It has a melodic range of an eleventh. Entering on the second beat with the tonic note, phrasial lines end either on the fifth or seventh of the corresponding chordal accompaniment. Its melody is characterized by scalar upward direction of thirds and fourths as well as leaps of third, fourth, and ninth intervals. The third beat is tied over eighth note downbeats for the first four (4) lines while the last line slows down the syllabication with the use of half and quarter notes. The second tune is also in minor tonality with common time signature. Its melodic range covers an interval of a ninth. The melody of the second tune is characterized by downward scalar movement to the third of the tonic or the fifth of the dominant. There are melodic leaps of third, fourth, fifth, octave, and ninth intervals. With entry on the downbeat, phrasial lines end either on the third of the tonic or fifth of the dominant. The third tune is in major tonality with common time signature. It has a melodic range of a ninth, characterized by downward chordal arpeggiation and upward scalar sequences of fourths in eighth notes. This tune is usually rendered the fastest of the six (6) tunes. The fourth to the sixth tunes are in minor tonality and in triple meter. The melody of the fourth tune has a range of a ninth and is characterized by scalar direction. Another feature of the fourth tune is its dotted half notes tied to another half note at the end of the first, second, and last lines. The fifth tune has a melodic range of an octave. The first four (4) lines start on the second half of the second beat in a downward scalar direction to the third. Lineal endings have dotted half notes tied to dotted quarter notes while the last two (2) lines utilize eighth notes. The first two lines of the sixth tune has eighth, quarter, dotted quarter, and half notes while the last three (3) lines are mostly eighth notes. With a melodic range of a ninth, intervallic directions are mostly scalar with some leaps of third, fourth, fifth, and sixth intervals. A tabulation of the descriptions of the six (6) commonly used pasyón tunes is provided below. In singing, a selected tune is used for a long duration, usually until the sermonette (ARAL). Sometimes, but infrequently, tune changes occur when there are subtopic changes or when the singers encounter an illustration on the page.
CELEBRATING HOLY WEDNESDAY WITH PASYÓN

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

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TUNE NO.</th>
<th>TONALITY</th>
<th>METER</th>
<th>MELODIC RANGE</th>
<th>SALIENT FEATURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>minor</td>
<td>triple</td>
<td>eleventh</td>
<td>8(^{th}) note downbeats tied over third beats of previous measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>minor</td>
<td>quadruple</td>
<td>ninth</td>
<td>Dotted quarter notes and eighth notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>quadruple</td>
<td>ninth</td>
<td>Arpeggiated downward melodies, melodic leaps of 6ths and 7ths, repeated notes on high registers (octaves and ninths)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>minor</td>
<td>triple</td>
<td>ninth</td>
<td>Scalar melodies, tied dotted half notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>minor</td>
<td>triple</td>
<td>octave</td>
<td>Arpeggiated upward melodies, tied dotted half and quarter notes, eighth notes in the last two (2) lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>minor</td>
<td>triple</td>
<td>ninth</td>
<td>Mostly eighth notes, esp. in the last three (3) lines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
intoned a different tune for *Pasíong Mahal*, page 113, a page with illustration. This is the section when Lord Jesus Christ was brought by the Jews to the Roman Procurator Pontius Pilate. This time the groups’ antiphonal a-cappella singing used Tune IV (see Music Example 5.IV. of the Six (6) Commonly Used *Pasyón* Tunes). The recited prayer set of Our Father, Hail Mary, and Glory Be before each sermonette (*ARAL*) was very conspicuous too. It was followed by the singing of each letter of the *ARAL* which stands for Asuncion, Resurreccion, Adoracion, and Lamentacion, concluding with *Aral ng Diyos na Poon* as the fifth line completing the quintilla (see Music Example 6. Stretto in *Pasyón*). On page 162 of “*Pasíong Mahal*,” the singers changed to a more variated Tune I in *ARAL* (see Music Example 5.I. of the Six (6) Commonly Used *Pasyón* Tunes). With this newly used *pasyón* tune, a stanza took about sixteen (16) to eighteen (18) seconds as compared to the previous Tune IV’s seventeen (17) to nineteen (19) seconds. Blending second voices could be heard. The group’s responsorial reading became more *strettic* by mid-afternoon as dusk approached. Partaking of meals, which occurs before or after the *ARAL*, was done in alternation for uninterrupted reading.

Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afable

First stanza of penultimate ARAL on page 200
Photograph 3: Holy Wednesday *Pabása* in Barangay Kalumpang.

At dawn with Lola Tacing (b. 1931), host Tita Opel (b. 1956), and daughter Maia (b. 1994); at mid-morning to afternoon with as many as 15 singers. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 23 March 2014.
Photograph 4: “Pasiong Mahal” cover and Panalangin sa Diyos. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 08 September 2014.
Initially, there were only three (3) readers who went to the dining area. They were followed by five (5) more persons while the remaining five (5) left at the sala continued with the reading at the same pace. After eating, four (4) readers re-entered the living room to join the group again. Meanwhile, those readers who were yet to eat finished eleven (11) stanzas. The remaining five (5) persons stood up and took their lunch after two (2) minutes. After lunch, grandmother and another elderly lady took a nap while the pabása was going on. Most singers drank a glass of water and took some sweets provided on the table every once in a while, and similarly, everybody was free to go to the comfort room whenever one felt like doing so. At merienda time before the ARAL, in between the sections on Jesus’s Burial and Resurrection, two (2) pairs followed by three (3) more singers went ahead to the kitchen while the other seven (7) continued reading. Eating usually took about ten (10) to fifteen (15) minutes. The 22-stanza sermonette was still on its second page when everybody was reading altogether again. Five (5) singers took their snacks on the third stanza of the Resurrection section, taking about eleven (11) minutes. By the time of the ARAL before the section on the Three Marias’ visit at the Tomb of Jesus Christ, a singer discreetly bid farewell to her seatmates and grandmother. The rest finished the pabása before dusk.

**DALÍT**

**GENERAL DESCRIPTION**

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

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

### 7.1. Couplets from *Dalît kay San Isidro Labrador*

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

Kayâ ampunan ang tawag  
Sa iyo ng mahihirap

### 7.2. Quatrains from *Dalît kay San Antonio de Padua*

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

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

### 7.3 Sestets from *Dalît ni San Rafael*

Katawan mo’y natitigib  
Ng págod at madlang sakit  
Binilanggo ka’t piniit  
Sa bintang at maling isip  
Limang taon mong sinayod  
Hirap na kalunos-lunos.
Ngunit ang Diyos ay nuli
Pakanang bala-balaki
Pagtikim sa iyong budhi
Lakas kayang di ugali
Sa bilanggo ay ang bantog
Namatay kang isang santos.

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

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

THE “DALÎT SA POONG SAN ISIDRO LABRADOR”
The “Dalît sa Poong San Isidro Labrador” consists of twenty nine (29) verses of rhymed octosyllabic couplets. The rhyming scheme is assonantal similar to that of the “Pasiong Mahal.” Likewise, rendering of the “Dalît sa Poong San Isidro Labrador” is verbatim. This is the reason why in Barangay Gibanga a plastic-covered cardboard is used on which the verses and prayers are written (see Photograph 5). A 1948 printed version by Aklatang Lunas, entitled “Pagsisiyam kay San Isidro,” also exists (see Photograph 6). Textual variances are found upon comparison of the two versions, though they give related or connected meanings. Reproduced below are two (2) versions of the first four (4) verses and the response to said dalît.20 On the left side are the texts of “Dalît sa Poong San Isidro Labrador” of Barangay Gibanga dated May
15, 1945 (according to senior singers). On the right is the printed version of Aklatang Luna’s June 12, 1948 edition (see Appendix A.1. for complete lyrics comparing the two (2) versions).

Music Example 8:

Excerpt of Typewritten “Dalit sa Poong San Isidro Labrador” Barangay Gibanga, dated May 15, 1945 Aklatang Luna’s “Dalit sa Pagsisiyam kay San Isidro” dated June 12, 1948

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

   Sagót/Púga:
   San Isidro ay ihibik
   Kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.

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

   Sagót/Púga:
   San Isidro ay ihibik
   Kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.

2. Madla mong kababalaghan
   Nagbabantog, nagsasaysay.

   Sagót/Púga:
   San Isidro ay ihibik
   Kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.

2. Madla mong kababalaghan
   Nagbabantog, nagsasaysay.

   Sagót/Púga:
   San Isidro ay ihibik
   Kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.

3. Na ikaw ay pinagyaman
   Ng Diyos sa kalangitan.

   Sagót/Púga:
   San Isidro ay ihibik
   Kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.

3. Na ikaw ay pinagyaman
   Ng Diyos sa kabanalan.

   Sagót/Púga:
   San Isidro ay ihibik
   Kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.
4. Palibhasa’y sa pag-ibig
Nagningas ang iyong dibdib.

Sagót/Púga
San Isidro ay ihibik
Kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.

Isidro’y iyong ihibik
Kaming ampon mo’t tangkilik.

37. Mizay y maza alot pagad.
38. Ang mga kandila ay naglalim sa tinta.
39. Likey na pahasaan,
Sa at na kalya pagtay.
40. Ang mga bangiay ay naglalim sa tinta.
41. Sa mga sumit na pagsakit.
42. Sa mga sumit na pagsakit.
43. Sa mga pagsasalita na sumibut sa mukha.
44. Sa mga pagsasalita na sumibut sa mukha.
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100. Sa mga pagsasalita na sumibut sa mukha.
The music used in “Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador” is in moderately slow tempo (andante) and in duple time. It is in a major key progression of tonic-dominant-tonic. Slurred notes and turns (mordents) are employed on syllables that fall on the words’ accent (underlined), as exemplified in the response (sagót or púga) that vocal embellishments and syllabic accents makes the texts readily comprehensible. In the past, dalít singing in Barangay Gibanga was accompanied by a string band (cumparsa or rondalla), see Endnote 122). An excerpt of “Dalít sa Poong San Isidro Labrador” is provided in Music Example 9.
HONORING SAN ISIDRO LABRADOR FOR GOOD HARVEST

I participated in and observed the culminating activity (selebrá) on May 15, 2014 in honor of San Isidro Labrador, Patron Saint of Farmers and Married Couples, in the northernmost part of Barangay Gibánga, Tayábas City. The sign of the Cross and the recitation of the set prayers of one Our Father, one Hail Mary, and one Glory Be marked the start of the procession (libot) at 9:00 in the morning. The procession (see Photograph 8) was led by the image of San Isidro held by the assigned carrier and the prayer leaders (cabesillas). They made the rounds of all the houses in the barangay. House owners were advised so that they could prepare a bagákay or two. Bagákay is a cut bamboo pole with branches and leaves left intact. It is decorated with agricultural produce, the commonest of which is cooked sticky rice wrapped in coconut leaves with tails that serve as tie (súmang pang-San Isidro, see Photograph 7). Other household things like water dipper (tabô), slippers, children’s toys, and kitchen utensils are tied to the bagákay fixed standing on a fence or a tree fronting the house. These bagákay/pahiyás/pabítin preparations were brought down by the house owner after the image of San Isidro passed by his
house as signaled on the hand drum (tamból or bómbo) by its male carrier. All procession participants, who were mostly male, went scampering (agawán) for the products and accumulated their grabbed produce (inágaw) in sacks and backpacks prepared specifically for this activity. At the third house, the owner scattered candies and chocolates instead of the goods hanging from the bamboo pole (bagákay). Every house owner gave súman pang-San Isidro to the sack carrier of the Poong San Isidro. This súman collection is allotted for visitors’ snacks and take home goods (pasalúbong). After the procession, the men and boys who participated in agawán dispersed. The two (2) chosen dalít lead singers holding white lanterns (paról) then welcomed the San Isidro image (salúbong) back to the ceilingless, iron-roofed barangay hall-turned-chapel (kapílya). Dalít singing ensued inside the chapel. The lead singers who used a typewritten copy entitled “Dalít sa Poong San Isidro” (see Music Example 9) intoned the response and the community repeated it. Responsorial singing continued through the twenty nine (29) verses in couplets sung by the lead dalít singers, Inang Maring Zeta and Monalisa V. Pabilonia, to which the community answered in harmonized response, “San Isidro ay ihibik, kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.” The recitation of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary followed, with a special petition to San Isidro at the end of each mystery for the community’s welfare and for rain and good harvest. Good amount of rain poured during the rosary recitation. A Holy Mass followed the rosary. The Mass ended at half past 11:00. By that time, the sun was brightly shining again and comments, if not complaints, about the hot summer weather were heard when lunch was served.
Photograph 7: Súmang pang-San Isidro. Taken from Mayohán sa Tayábas website accessed on 9 August 2016.

Photograph 8: Procession (Libot) during the feast of San Isidro Labrador. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 15 May 2014.
In Tayábas, being a “coconut vodka (lambanóg) country,” the drink (tágay) completes any celebration. Needless to say, the drinking (tagayán) session ensued at about 1:30 after lunch till late afternoon. By 6:00 in the evening, the youth-managed dancing (bayléhan) inside the prepared bamboo-fenced area (bálag) took place. Dancing lasted till the wee hours (see Photograph 9 and Photograph 10 for Financial Report postings of Barangay Gibanga youth).

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

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Total: ₱3,000.00
KANTÁHAN
A GENERAL DESCRIPTION
Kantáhan is a general term for a singing session that utilizes instrumental accompaniment as well as electronic sound systems for leisure. Moreover, it usually goes with drinking (tagayán) of alcoholic beverages, such as coconut vodka (lambanóg), beer, and liquor. Kantáhan may happen upon the prod-ding of friends and relatives for fun. If a karaoke or videoke machine\textsuperscript{23} is available, a participant takes the microphone and sings his selected songs while the lyrics are displayed on the screen. Songs may range from old standards, country and folk, to the popular repertoire of rock, rap, R&B (rhythm and blues), novelty, jazz, ballad, soul, and other contemporary genres. After singing, the participants anticipate the rating or score that is given, much to everyone’s entertainment (see Photograph 11). Kantáhan may be rendered solo, duet, trio or any combination of voices and instrumentations (see Photograph 12 for kantáhan with live instrumental accompaniment). These singing diversions are found to be “essential aspects of self-representation and self-construction and the practitioner’s link to their social world of politics” (Pertierra 290).
Photograph 11: Kantáhan with videoke. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 25 October 2015.
Photograph 12: Kantáhan with live instrumental accompaniment. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 31 October 2010.
The Fatima Choir Christmas party was held in the house of a member of our church choir in Barangay Kalumpang on December 28, 2014. It was a get-together with kantáhan using a rented videoke system. The party started at around 2:00 o’clock in the afternoon and attended by about twenty (20) people. Some brought food and drinks. Gifts were numbered, raffled, exchanged, and individually opened for all to see. Parlor games were played with prizes given to winners. By 6:00 o’clock in the evening when everybody had eaten, the hard drinks were served, and the kantáhan began. The first singers were children who had priority at the microphone as they cannot stay late at night in the party. Their song choices included teen songs which were mostly fast numbers, with loud volume, and featuring high pitches we commonly call bírit. Meann sang Let It Go from Frozen. Amor followed with her rendition of Dancing Queen and Mister Right, and Enya sang Girl on Fire and Marvin Gaye. After the three (3) young singers, adult choir members who stayed almost until midnight started the singing. Manolo sang Tie a Yellow Ribbon and bade goodbye as he had to attend another get together. Andy sang I Can’t Stop Loving You, Oras Na, and You Raise Me Up. Ogie rendered Marco Sison’s My Love Will See You Through and Paul Anka’s Diana. Jun followed with his rendition of Ang Tangi Kong Pag-ibig and Solitaire, and Osie sang Bette Midler’s God is Watching Us and her favorite The Greatest Love of All. Bernard then rendered a medley of Ariel Rivera hits. Opel followed by singing three songs in a series, namely Janet Basco’s You Made Me Live Again, Till I Met You, and Sharon Cuneta’s Tubig at Langis. Doris sang Bato Sa Buhangin as requested by Mariella. Evelyn rendered Torn Between Two Lovers and You by The Carpenters. As the night got deeper, the alcoholic drinks took effect on the adult members. Their initial shyness vanished and they became more candid and welcoming to more singing, clapping, shouting, telling secrets, and merry making. The Christmas party concluded before midnight.

Another secular genre that involves social drinking is the paawitán. Paawitán, being the focus of this study, is discussed in detail in the next section.
PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND CONTEXT OF PAAWÍTAN

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

Paawítan may be grouped into three (3) types according to addressivity in its performance. The first type may be performed to specific solo addressees like newly married couples (Áwit sa Lalaki o Babaeng Kinakasal) and young children (Áwit sa Pagpapatulog ng Bata o Oyáyi) who are not expected to respond. The second type could also be addressed to a specific person who responds like in paying courtesy calls (Kurtisiya) and courtship (Palasintáhan o Ligawán). The third type of paawítan takes the form of debate or jousting wherein anyone in attendance may participate. It is in this last type that paawítan becomes an exciting interaction where singers may freely criticize anybody or any act that may be highlighted during the jousting process. In this manner, paawítan merges language and music in a wedded performance. In all three types, I apply dialogism and vocality in the interpretation of áwit, following Mikhail M. Bakhtin as he states that
dialogic relations are always present even among profound monologic speech works as long as there are contextual meanings and responsive understanding since responsive understanding of a speech whole is always dialogic by nature. The person who understands inevitably becomes a third party in the dialogue, but the dialogic position of this third party is a quite special one. (Bakhtin, Speech Genres 125-26, 134-35).

Paawítan structure follows a tripartite general format of introduction and greetings, repartee, and farewell. The introduction and greetings include invocation for God’s blessings, respectful salutations, and felicitations. The repartee or main body of paawítan contains the goals of the visiting party in going to the house where paawítan is held. Varied and wide-ranged are the topics that include birthday praises, courting pleas, cautionary reminders, admonitions and advice to newly wed couples, traditional and customary
values, humor of all kinds, native cuisine, importance of social ancestry and
genealogical reckoning, manners of conduct, public as well as private atti-
tudes and actuations, among others. Frequently, wise sayings, myths, and
truisms are incorporated in the repartee as statements of the community’s
ideals. All of these happen with the confluence of drinking and dancing. The
fueling ritual of drinking integrated in paawitán is a wellspring of beliefs
that enable one to have a harmonious living existence with the seen and the
unseen. Leave-taking or farewell is usually done with a one-stanza áwit that
tells of the fulfillment of assigned purposes, expressing gratitude and appre-
ciation, being tired, and a return to the realities of the daily agricultural and
domestic grind.

Poetry

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

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

On the last syllable ending in vowel “a.” Excerpt from Áwit sa Kaarawán (Birthday).

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

On the last syllable ending in vowel “e,” Excerpt from Tagayan in Brgy. Kalumpang.

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

On the last syllable ending in vowel “i.” Excerpt from Tagayan in Brgy. Gibanga and Senior Citizens Paawitán.

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

On the last syllable ending in vowel “o.” Excerpt from Tagayan in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.

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

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

Hard consonants preceded by vowel “a.” Excerpt from Tagayan in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{itemize}
\item *Ikaw nga ang rosas na sadyang bumukad* You really are the rose that intentionally opened
\item *Pinakamamahal na higit sa pilak* Dearly beloved that is more than silver
\item *Sa araw at gabi di ibig malingat* During the day and night, not wanting to slip
\item *Halos patuntugin sa dalawang palad.* Almost asked to step on two palms of the hand.
\end{itemize}

Soft consonants preceded by vowel “a.” Excerpt from Áwit sa Kaarawán (Birthday).\textsuperscript{29}

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

Hard consonants preceded by vowel “i.” Excerpt from Áwit sa Kasálan (Wedding).\textsuperscript{30}

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

Soft consonants preceded by vowel “i.” Excerpt from Áwit sa Kasálan (Wedding).\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{itemize}
\item *Tanang kasayahan, iyong lilisanin* You will leave behind all merriments
\item *Dáting kaibigan, tuloy lilimutin* Eventually forget old friends
\item *Bawat ikikilos, isiping magaling* Every actuations, think of them wisely
\item *Nang hindi masawi sa asawang giliw.* So as not to fail your dear half.
\end{itemize}
Yaring pagtindig ko, bilóg na kung bilóg
Tagulaylay mandin, ganda ng ‘yong loob
Ang nangangatuwa sa aki’y manood
At ang hindi nama’y mukha’y italikod.

In my standing position, round if it is round
Your benevolence is so poetic
Those who are amused, watch me
Otherwise, make an about face.

Halimbawa kayâ’t ang tangan ko’y lason
Na nasa botelyang mabagsik na Lysol
Kung pag-akalaang inumin ko yaon
Tulutan mo kayang aking ipatuloy?

If for example what I am holding is poison
Contained in a bottle, highly toxic Lysol
If I try to drink that
Will you let me go on?

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

Music Example 12: Rhyming Scheme in Áwit Sestets. Excerpts from Senior Citizens Paawitán followed by another excerpt from Tagayan in Brgy. Kalumpang.
Ako ang sa gabi, ikaw ang sa araw.  
I’ll be for the night, you for the day

Maghintay-hintay ka, ay ibong kanugtong  
Wait for a while, woodpecker

Hintay, anang tikling na payungkog-yungkog.  
Wait, said the hunchback-walking egret.

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

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

---

Ano kayang aking / naging kasalanan  
What sin did I commit
At ako ay inyong / pinarurusahan?  
That you are punishing me?
Hindi naman bato, / hindi naman bakal  
Neither stonerock nor metal
Kung tatayahin ko’y / di ko makayanan  
In my estimation, I cannot take it
Pasok na sa karsel, / aking bilangguan  
Enter now the carsel, my jail
Narito na nga po / at sunud-sunuran.  
Am here and compliant.

Abot, abot, kuha, / mahal na bituin  
Reach, reach, get it, dear star
Ang nagreregalo’y / h’wag pakahiyan.  
Don’t awfully displease the gift-giver.

**Figures of speech.** Áwit figures of speech include simile and metaphor, apostrophe and innuendo, allusion and pun, anthropomorphism and zoomorphism, and a lot of aphorisms and truisms. It is through their measured verbalization that trivialities and ordinary things and happenings are transformed into artful sung utterances. “Figures of speech like onomatopoeia, interjections, and exclamations are used to “escape from language itself towards a fullness which would be nothing more than pure presence. . . a community-like nature of Medieval poetic text” (Zumthor and Engelhardt
Figures of speech in the áwit transport the listener to a floating sphere of understanding that brings about a somehow unexplainable bliss as given and explained in the following stanzas. Similes, which are common in the áwit, compare two things or occurrences with the use of ‘like’ or ‘as.’ In the three (3) stanzas below (see Music Example 14. Similes in áwit), the self or the human person is compared to rice hull, jackfruit, and a tree, respectively, in its uselessness. The stanzas put the person in a nonfunctional situation when asked to render áwit lines. Suggested things to do, more comparisons, and expected results complete the quatrains. Moreover, the ironic pronouncements, which are common in áwit, as in the third stanza below are baffling.

Music Example 14. Similes in áwit. Excerpts from Tagayan in Brgy. Gibanga followed by two (2) examples from Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.37

Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay. Whence I stand at the center of the house
Ang nakakaparis ay ipang bualaw. I am like a rice hull
Di magserbeng gatong, di magserbeng tanglaw Can’t serve as fuel, can’t serve as light
Itapon mo na po’t hahanipin lámang. Throw me out, I’ll just collect bedbugs.

Kung sa ganang aki’y walang mahihita As for me, you will not find any worth
Kung bagá sa nangka’y pinitas ay mura Like a jackfruit, picked so young
Manipis ang kalong, patda’y parang sutla The flesh is thin, the sap is silk-like
Nilabon mang but-o’y nakakasikmura. Even the boiled seeds will upset the stomach.

Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay Whence I stand at the center of the house
Nalalantang kahoy ang aking kabagay I am like a withering tree
Ang nakatutuyo’y ang patak ng ulan Rainfall dries me up
Nakasasariwa’y ang sinag ng araw. The rays of the sun refreshes me.

More than similes, Tayabásin áwit abounds with metaphors, which are analogical comparisons of two objects. In the examples given below (Music Example 15), the first and second stanzas compare the lady to a flower. Picking of flowers corresponds to taking a lady for a wife. The second example compares the male person singing (ako) to Suffering who is
a progeny of Grief, the twin of Sorrow, and the cousin of Poverty. Suffering is looking for his lost ladylove named Joy. In the third stanza, a lush lemon tree is associated to a person. Perching birds on the tree refer to persons approaching and befriending that evergreen lemon. Another marvelous tree is metaphorically referred to as the person in the fourth stanza. He who has wide luxuriant leaves will surely be a good shield from the scorching sun.

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

**Excerpt from Senior Citizens Paawitán**

-Ako ay bulaklak na iisa-isa

-Pinakamamahal ng ama ko’t ina

-Kung pipitasin mo’t dadalhin sa dusa

-Mahangâ’y sa punò, malaglag, malanta.

-I am a flower, a lone flower

-Most beloved of my father and mother

-If you’ll pick me and bring me to suffering

-‘Tis more worthy to wither and fall from my tree.

**Excerpt from Tagayan in Brgy. Ib. Palâle**

-Aba masanghayang bulaklak ng aliw

-Lingap ng awa mo’y siyang hintay namin

-Kung ipagkaloob ikaw ng may hardin

-Pakaasahan mong ika’y pipitasin.

-Ah delightful flower of joy

-Your caring mercy we are awaiting

-If you will be given by the garden owner

-Surely hope that you will be picked.

**Excerpt from Senior Citizens Paawitán**

-Ako ay si Dusa, kakambal ni Hapis,

-Pinsan ni Dalita, anak ni Hinagpis,

-Kaya naparito’y aking kinikita

-Ang nawawala kong sintang si Ligaya

-I am Suffering, twin of Sorrow,

-Cousin of Poverty, son of Grief,

-I came over because I am looking

-For my lost love, Joy.
Excerpt from Tagayan in Brgy. Gibánga

Kung ikaw naman ay dayap na malago
Ang sanga’t dahon mo’y lagaylay sa punò
Ang alinmang ibong sa iyo’y dumapo
Mailap-ilap ma’y pilit ding aamo.

If you are a lush lemon tree
Your branches and leaves cover your trunk
Any bird that perches upon you
However wild, will eventually be meek and mild.

Excerpt from Tagayan in Brgy. Ib. Palále

Marabilya ka pong kahoy ko sa parang
Dahon mo’y mayabong, sanga mo’y maruklay
Sino man daw táong dito’y maparaan
Tiyak manganganlong kung naiinitan.

You are my marvelous tree on the field
Your leaves are lush, branches are wide
Whosoever passes by your site
Will surely take cover from the sun.

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

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

Excerpt from Senior Citizens Paawitán

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

Excerpt from Tagayan in Barangay Gibánga

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

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

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

Music Example 17: Zoomorphism in áwit.

Excerpt from paawitán of Senior Citizens, Brgy. Gibánga, and Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.

Sulong aking tandang, sulong aking manok
Forward, my rooster, forward, my chicken
At sa dumalaga ay mangurukutok
To the young hen, make a cackle
Sa oras na ito’t di ka tumaraok
At this very hour if you don’t cock-a-doodle
Sayang ang tinuka, sa balayot dukot.
What wasted feeds, drawn from the granary.
Excerpt from *Tagayan* in Brgy. Kalumpang.

*Ako’y si Butiki, anak ni Bangkalang,*  
*Pamangkin ng Tuko, apo ng Layagan.*  
*Kung itatanong mo ang aming pulungan,*  
*Doon ka magpunta sa Kabayawakan.*  

I am House Lizard, son of Salamander,  
Nephew of Gecko, grandson of Skink.  
If you will inquire about our clan,  
You proceed to the area of the Monitor Lizards.

Excerpt from *Senior Citizens paawitán*

*Itong aking tandang, láwit na ang palong*  
*Hindi na po kayang tumuka’t sumulong.*

This rooster of mine already has fallen crown  
Neither can it peck nor advance anymore.

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

**Music Example 18. Paradoxical Innuendos in áwit.**

Excerpt from *Senior Citizens paawitán*

*Sinulid na iya’y itali sa hangin*  
*Ang áwit nang áwit ang papapigilin.*

That piece of thread, tie it on the wind  
Let the one who sings without let-up hold it.

Excerpt from *Tagayán* in Brgy. Gibánga

*Ano kayá itong narating ng palad*  
*Na sa laot mandin, sa gitna ng dagat*  
*Ako’y lumulubog, di naman mabigat*  
*Wala namang hangin, ako’y napapadpad.*

What is this that fate brings  
That in the middle of the sea  
I am sinking, although am not heavy  
I am blown, but there is no wind.
The figure of speech referred to as pun or asteismus that plays on a word and its different meanings is also used in áwit. In the first quatrain of Music Example 19 below, the word galá is used in the trick, first, to mean a gift to the newly married couples on their wedding date, and second, as a long pole with a cutter and/or basket at its end for picking fruits. The second stanza plays on the word bágo (adj. new or n. change) to refer to one’s inner disposition.

**Music Example 19: Puns in áwit.**

**Excerpt from Áwit sa Galahán**

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

**Excerpt from Tagayán in Brgy. Gibánga**

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

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

Excerpt from Áwit-Áral sa Lalaking Kinakasañ

*Old saying goes, if there’s nothing tucked aside*

*Dáting kasabiha’y pag walang ′sinuksok*

*There’s also nothing to be drawn out.*

*Ay wala rin namang sukat madudukot.*

*‘Tis good to have even a little savings*

*Galing ng may simpang kahit kakarampot*

*There’ll be something to spend during bad times.*

*At may gugugulin pagdating ng signos.*

Excerpt from Tagayán in Brgy. Gibánga

*A good tree has a good branch*

*Ang mabuting punò’y mabuti ang sanga*

*Until the topmost has good fruits.*

*Magpahanggang dulo’y mabuti ang bunga.*

Excerpt from Tagayán in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále

*Whence I came as Seneca said*

*Pinagparon-an ko’y wika ni Seneca*

*A daring attempt is the fruit of hope.” or*

*“Ang kapangahasa’y bunga ng pag-asa.”*

*‘Courage springs from hope.”*

Excerpt from Kurtisiya

*Even in plants and in human life*

*Maging sa halaman at sa táong buháy*

*If there’s nothing to wait for, no need to search*

*Pag walang hihintin, di dapat hanapan*

*As in lemons, no matter how much you squeeze*

*Kung sana sa dayap, pig-in man ng pig-in*

*If there’s no more juice, nothing will come out.*

*Pag wala nang katas, wala nang lalabas.*

Other figures of speech in áwit are appropriations or borrowings from familiar statements followed by a surprisingly unexpected ending, also known as snowclones (see Music Example 21) or paraprosdokian,60 anthropomorphism,61 which ascribes human characteristics to something non-human; catachresis62 which uses a forced or wrong word for contextually paradoxical phrasing; and parables or anecdotes that teach moral lessons, among others.
Music Example 21: Snowclones or paraprosdokian in áwit.

Excerpt from Tagayán in Barangay Kalumpáng

Ang laki sa layaw karaniwa’y hubad
Mabuti pa si Og, may kaunting bahag.

Those who are bred in ease are usually naked
Og is better off -- he has a scanty g-string.

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

Music Example 22: Parables in áwit.

Oyáyi 22.1.

Ako’y magsasabi ng kabulaanan
Siguro’y di ninyo paniniwalaan.

A will relate a story of lie
Maybe you will not believe it.

Ako ay pumana ng usang sungayan
Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay tinamaan.

I arrow-shot a horned deer
The ear and the nail were hit together.

Akin pong lalagyan ng hustong trasunta
Siguro po’y kayo’y maniniwala na.

I will put a correct perspective
Maybe you will now believe it.

Nagkataon noong usa’y nangangamot
Ang kaniyang taynga ay kinakahalikan.

It was a chance, the deer was scratching,
Was assiduously nitpicking its ear.

Siya kong pagbiguwas, nahayap kong tunod
Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay na natuhog!

That very moment I released my aimed arrow
The ear and the nail were apiece hit together!
Mayroon daw anwang na nanginginain
Sa tabi ng tubog at mga pampangin.
Sa binilog-bilog at tinaba-taban
May nakakamalas na isang palaka.
Wika ng palaka, “Makatulad kayâ
Sa binilog-bilog at tinaba-taban.”
Ang wika ng anwang, “Ay baliw ka pala
At nag-iimbot ka na lumaki ka pa.
Uminom ng tubig buhat sa umaga,
Masdan mo kung hapon, at malaki ka na.”
Naniwala naman ang palakang uslak
Uminom ng tubig hangga’t hindi singkag.
Ang nasapit niya ay dalita’t hirap:
Pumutok ang tiyan, paa’y iniunat!

Humor. Humor is central to paawitán. It may be outwardly expressed in laughter and its various forms like giggles, guffaws, and it is one of the reasons why áwit singers and the community attend the event. In paaw-ítán, the humorous verses come out spontaneously when the singers are already charged by alcoholic spirits. These intoxicating spirits are variedly termed tongue-loosener (pampadulás ng dilà), remover of nervous feelings (pampawalà ng kabá), bravery or courage inducer (pampatá pang or yapalakás ng loób), and source of strength (hugután ng lakás). These spirited drinks are also called “battery” in colloquial English, denoting its power or capacity to activate the drinkers and be more open to humor-laden áwit renditions. The alcohol “serves to further heighten the flow of the paawitán, since it eliminates the inhibitions and shyness of the drinkers, thereby becoming more creative and able to make more delightful songs, thus adding more pleasure.
to the *paawitán* (Aldovino and Rodas 89). In the following elaborations on humor and laughter, vocality becomes more evident in the *paawitán* jousting. In the words of Bakhtin,

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tagayán in Barangay Gibánga</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mahal na prinsipe, kung totoo’t gusto</strong></td>
<td>Beloved prince, if’tis true and wished for,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hayo na’t magtanim ng niyog sa bato:</strong></td>
<td>Go on and plant a coconut tree on a rock:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ngayon din bubunga, ngayon din bubuko</strong></td>
<td>At once’twill bear fruits, at once with young nuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ngayon di’y kukuha ng igagata ko.</strong></td>
<td>At once I can get some for my coconut milk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ako ay nagtanim ng kapunong santol</strong></td>
<td>I planted a cotton fruit tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Namunga kanina, nahinog kahapon</strong></td>
<td>It bore fruit a while ago, it ripened yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nang pipitasin ko’y natuka ng ibon</strong></td>
<td>When I had to pick it, a bird got it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nahulog sa lupa, sa dulo gumulong.</strong></td>
<td>It fell on the ground, and rolled onto the top.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Humor is also generated by áwit allusions to sexual topics. Sexual themes, being taboo and held in secrecy among the Tagalogs, evoke tittering, titillating (tickling), and giggling laughters. These are sometimes accompanied by shrieks and shouts and the repetitions of the metaphoric words (underlined) which refer either to the male or female genitalia (see Photographs 13-14) and the sexual act itself. The lyrics of áwit stanzas are poetic and not obscene (malaswâ or mahálay) on the surface. However, listeners knowledgeable of these symbols cannot control their laughter because of their sexual connotations. Five stanzas are given in Music Example 24 on the next page. The first four (4) stanzas are from Barangay Gibanga, while the last couplet is from Barangay Ibabáng Palále.

Music Example 24: Humor as sexual innuendos.

Excerpts from Tagayán in Barangay Gibánga

My baptismal godmother, why she’s absent
Concocting bikang²² along the brookside
When I went there and inquired
She is mixing súman²³ and marhuyà.²⁴

---

²² bikang is the Tagalog word for ‘cECTOR’ or groundnut which is used as a condiment to flavor any dish.

²³ súman is a rice dish that is made by boiling rice in coconut milk and water. It is usually served as a dessert.

²⁴ marhuyà is a Filipino dessert made from pandan-flavored rice flour, grated coconut, brown sugar, and coconut milk. It is usually served as an after-dinner treat.
Si Aling Polana’y hindi maghihirap
*Pinaghahanapa’y lupang gagapalad.*
Madame Polana will not live in poverty
She is earning from a palm-sized land.

Si Aling Polana’y may bahay sa labak
*Ang bubong ay yunot, ang dingding ay balát*
Madame Polana has a house in the valley
The roof is *yunot,* the wall is *balát*

*May bintanang munti sa tapat ng papag*
*Dungawan ng kanyang minamarisapsap.*
Has a small window across the bamboo bed
From where her *minamarisapsap* looks out.

Si Aling Polana’y may but-o ng kasuy
*Ako namang ari’y may kamoteng kahoy*
*P’wede kayâ pong ako’y makilabon*
*Sa inyong palayok, tabi’y harimuymoy?*
Madame Polana has a cashew nut
I, on the other hand, has a cassava
Is it possible that I may boil
In your pot surrounded by lace?

Si Aling Polana’y nag-akyat sa bunga
*Nalaglag ang tapis, nakita ang letra!*
Madame Polana climbed a *hitso* palm tree
Her skirt fell, her letter was exposed!
Photograph 13: Native snacks locally called bikang made of sweet potatoes (top) as symbol of female genitalia and suman made of glutinous rice (bottom) as phallic symbols mentioned in áwit stanzas. Both pictures are taken from a personal Facebook message, accessed 23 August 2016.
Photograph 14: Native snacks locally called marhuyà made of glutinous rice (top) symbolic of the female genitalia, and cassava (kamoteng kahoy, bottom) a phallic symbol mentioned in áwit stanzas in Music Example 24. Top picture was taken from a personal Facebook message accessed 23 August 2016; bottom picture taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 20 October 2016.
Paawitán poetry has an arresting effect (supalpál) in its narrative when it comes to sarcastic boasting. Stanzas of this kind elicit guffaws, sniggers, and boisterous laughters. Examples below (Music Example 25) are from the drinking session (tagayán) in Barangay Gibánga.

Music Example 25: Humor as sarcasm.

Excerpts from Tagayán in Barangay Gibánga.

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

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

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

Laughter is similarly brought forth by truths that expose hidden and delicate matters, untouched characters, and other unexpected realizations. Reactions sometimes include embarrassment but are celebratory most of the time. Examples are given in five (5) stanzas (see Music Example 26 below) from various sources.
Music Example 26. Humor elicited by unexpected realizations. Excerpt from Tagayán in Barangay Gibánga.78

Mahirap nga pala ang bûhay ng duling
Pagkatanghalia’y sa langit ang tingin!

The life of a cross-eyed is really difficult
Always looking at the sky every after lunch.

Excerpt from Senior Citizens Paawitán.79

No’ng unang panahong ako’y batang munti
Ang aking panatà ako’y magpapari
Nang makakita na ng magandang binti
Ay nalimutan na itong pagpapari.

In the olden days when I was a little kid
I promise myself that I will become a priest
When I saw some beautiful legs
This priesthood was already forgotten.

Excerpts from Tagayan in Barangay Ibabáng Palále.80

Ako’y magsasabi ng kabulaanan
Siguro’y di ninyo paniniwalaan—
Ako ay pumana ng using sungayan
Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay tinamaan.

I will relate a story of lies
You might not believe this
I arrow-shot a horned deer
Its ear and the nail were hit simultaneously.

Akin pong lalagyan ng hustong trasunta
Siguro po’y kayo’y maniniwala na
Nagkataon noong usa’y nangangamot
Ang kaniyang taynga ay kinakalikot.

I will put it in a full perspective
Maybe you will believe me now
It happened when the deer was scratching,
Assiduously nitpicking its ear.

Siya kong pagbigwas, nahayap kong tunod
Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay na natuhog.

That very moment I released my arrow
The ear and the nail were hit a-piece.

Áwit humor entails reframing and play of words to aptly complete syllabic counts and rhyme. The good timing of sallies brings smiles, chuckles, laughter, and even applause and shouts of praise (ang galíng!) during the repartee. The efficient timing in the response, regardless of inconsistencies, reverse truths, or simply the ironic non-truths which are delivered intentionally, are given from various sources in Music Example 27 below. The
first stanza is a response sung when the vodka glass is just handed to the singer. The second stanza is used to delay the drinking, whereas the third and fourth quatrains are inducements to drink the glass contents.

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

**Excerpt from Senior Citizens Paawitán.**

*Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay*  
In my standing at the center of the house  

*Nalalantang kahoy ang aking kabagay*  
I am like a withering tree  

*Ang nakatutuyo’y ang patak ng ulan*  
Rainfall makes me dry  

*Nakakasariwa’y ang sinag ng araw.*  
Sunrays make me fresh.

**Excerpts from Tagayán in Barangay Ibabáng Palále.**

*Kung gusto mo, Neneng, táyo’y mag-áwitan*  
If you desire, Neneng, we will sing  

*Tibagin ang bundok, dagat ay tabunan*  
Level the mountain, fill the sea  

*Dakipin ang alon, ilagay sa pinggan*  
Catch the waves, put them on a plate  

*At siya po nating gagawing laruan.*  
And we will make them our toys.

*Inom na’y inom na ng dilakonesa*  
Drink now, drink now this wine  

*Palamig sa dibdib nang di mamaos ka*  
Breast-cooler so your voice will not be hoarse  

*At pagkainom mo’y ikaw ay gaganda*  
After drinking, you will be beautiful  

*Pupula ang labi, pupungay ang mata.*  
Your lips will redden and your eyes, dreamy.

*Inom na’y inom na’y nása tasang tagay*  
Drink now, drink now your tagay  

*Pag naubos ninyo ang laman ng tagay*  
When you finish its contents  

*Pupula ang pisngi, mata ay pupungay*  
Your cheeks will redden, your eyes, dreamy  

*Gagandang lalaki, parang artista ay!*  
You’ll be a gorgeous man, like a movie actor.

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

Excerpts from Tagayán in Barangay Gibánga

Anuman daw sayá pag walang lakayo  However happy, ‘tis said, if there’s no clown
Ay pagtatawanan ng maraming tao. Many people will make fun of that occasion.

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

Excerpt from Senior Citizens Paawitán

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

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

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

This is the sense of communitas as described by Victor Turner (1969). Pertierra then proceeds with his definition of alterity: “Alterity is a reciprocal and necessary aspect of the self” (291).
The above discussion of the *paawitán* from the vista of poetry needs to be informed by what has been learned about Tagalog poetry or *tula*. As seen above, *paawitán* can be analyzed as poetry as has been learned from the study of literary genres in order to facilitate greater understanding by a broader audience.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Áwit practitioners I met and talked with have a baffling description of the áwit melody. They often say that it has only one tune and is rendered only by the elderly (iisang tóno at pangmatanda lámang). Following is a simultaneous melody-harmony description of a typical áwit stanza (see Music Example 29) to elucidate their point of view. A two-note preparatory passage to the fourth note of the minor scale brings the third syllable of the first line in the dominant (V). The sixth syllable is in the tonic (i), its fifth note. A rest or breath mark follows, corresponding to the poetic caesura in the first line. The seventh syllable starts with the seventh note of the scale in dominant chord (V). It resolves to the tonic (i), both note and chord, on the twelfth syllable that ends the first line. The second line of the stanza starts in the dominant (V), moving down in an arpeggiated fashion to the next tonic (i), its fifth note on the sixth syllable. The melody goes further down to the tonic root for the eleventh syllable. The second line ends with the second note
of the scale in the dominant chord (V). Given on the next page is a tabulation (Figure 2) of the Tayabásin áwit simple melodic-harmonic analysis. A summarized chordal sequence by hemistiches (phrasial endings every six syllables) has a tonic (i) – tonic (i) – tonic (i) – dominant (V) order for every couplet. The third and fourth lines in quatrains follow the same sequence as the first and second lines of the couplet, similar to the fifth and sixth lines in sestets. This chordal series always applies in áwit renditions whether the singer has a low or a high voice. The difference between the low and high voices lies in the individual note endings of the second and third hemistiches of the couplet and the other notes that usher in going thereto.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable No.</th>
<th>Melody Note of the scale</th>
<th>Chord</th>
<th>Additional Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Dominant (V)</td>
<td>Passing tone on second syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>Dominant (V)</td>
<td>Fifth note on fifth syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>Tonic (i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>Dominant (V)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>Dominant (V)</td>
<td>Changing tone embellishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tonic</td>
<td>Tonic (i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Áwit rhythm is lilting, encouraging singers as well as listeners to dance. It approximates a moderately fast tempo (allegretto) with three-four time signature or a waltz. Tayabásin practitioners refer to the áwit dance as sayáw (Rivera-Mirano 65). Nanay Sedeng Caagbay (b. 1945) from Barangay Ibabáng Palále commented that a singer has to fit the movements to the message of the áwit (Afable, Understanding the Present-Day 68n44). Clapping and stomping of feet accompany the áwit, which coincides with the second and third beats of the rhythm. An áwit singer (mamamaáwit) may not take the normal rest after every couplet, similar to pasyón rendition when the readers have that urge to finish the book before sundown. Whenever the singer takes the rest after a couplet that has a complete thought, the guitarist continues with improvisatory instrumental passages in the same tonic-dominant progression (see Music Example 29). The poetic break may be a short or a long pause. The guitar improvisations use mostly scalar solo passages with some arpeggiations that end in the dominant chord to let the singer enter. The singer, in the meantime, while thinking of the next poetic lines, dances and acknowledges claps, shouts, and laughter from the attendees.
Music Example 29: Tayabásin áwit sung by Crisanta "Lola Santa" Naynes with guitar instrumental interlude rendered by Mang Biloy Cabuyao, recorded in a drinking session (tagayán) in Barangay Ibabáng Palále.

TAYABÁSIN ÁWIT. Rendered by Lola Santa Naynes of Brgy. Ibabáng Palále with guitar instrumental interlude performed by Mang Biloy Cabuyao. Transcribed by Cynthia C. Afable
Tayabásin musicians often perform in triadic harmony whether accompanying instrumentally or singing in chorale fashion (bosesan). That áwit refers to “only one tune” (iisang tóno) is an indication of harmonic reference where melodic variants are described as “the same.” Their reference of áwit as having ‘only one tune’ underscores their understanding of melody as part and parcel of triadic harmony.

**Structure**

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

I. INTRODUCTION

Two tables were set for the tagayán after lunch. Mr. Palad called everybody to go to their respective places saying, “p’westo-p’westo!” All the men went to one table while all the women went to the other, including myself. One of the two available microphones was used so that when one is singing (nama-maawít), another rises up “at bat,” while still another waits “on deck.” Musical continuity was provided by Mang Biloy at the electric guitar, who played dominant-tonic instrumental interludes on the spot ending in dominant chord E Major that facilitated the entry of the next stanza. The guitarist rendered longer passages when the next singer took the microphone. Those who knew how to sing áwit sang voluntarily one after another especially when they learned that I came specifically to listen to their paawitán. One grandmother told me earlier, and I quote, “Ay hala, at ako rin ay aáwit ng
tumbas kaunti” (Understanding the Present-Day 20). The following guitar introduction ushered the start of the paawitán (see Music Example 30).

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

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

Music Example 31: Introductory sally as rendered by Mrs. Nelly de Torres.
Translation: Come out, come out, whoever will come out
The guitar music may pass away
On this day, we are awaiting . . .

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

Music Example 32: Lolo Memong Naynes’ drinking offer.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Music Example 35: Lolo Marcial Tabi's response.
Translation: Being looked at and looked back
Pointing still, says ‘there.’
Upon reaching the center, head a-turning
Man, get it and let me see.

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

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

Translation: Being looked at and looked back
Pointing still, says ‘there.’
Upon reaching the center, head a-turning
Man, get it and let me see.
Translation: I am Suffering, twin of Sorrow
Cousin of Poverty, Son of Grief.
I came here because I am meeting
My lost love, Joy.
This Joy, who is lost and in hiding
I am going to my cousin To-Point-Out.
Windblown, the one who pleads,
The desire in his heart may melt.

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

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

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

Music Example 37: Ret. Col. Luis Araya’s fauna and other lessons.
One noontime, I was asleep
In our yard was creaking sound
I got up and I peeped:
A wild boar carried on the mouth by a roach.
Up to now, signs of the cross
Up to now, carried on a sledge.

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

Music Example 38: Lolo Memong Naynes’ aborted priestly plan.
Translation: In the olden days, when I was a little kid  
I promised myself that I will become a priest.  
When I see some beautiful legs  
I forgot all about becoming a priest.

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

Music Example 39: Lola Nida Jabola’s story.

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

At this juncture, Mr. Aristeo Palad called on those who were not singing áwit, saying and I quote, “Kantáhan naman para sa mga hindi umaáwit!” The
federation secretary, Mrs. Nita Reyes, took her turn with an old love song that starts with the line I translated as ‘Is it a sin?’ The first line’s transcription follows.

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

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

Music Example 41: Excerpts of Ibig Kong Magtapat (I Would Like to Confide), Hinahanap Kita (I Am Searching For You) and Inday ng Buhay Ko (Inday of My Life) as rendered by Federation President Mr. Palad.
Paawitán resumed thereafter with Ret. Col. Luis Araya (see Music Example 43 on the next page) restarting the repartee after the guitar's introduction in Music Example 42 below.

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

Music Example 43: Ret. Col. Luis Araya's stories to re-usher the paawitán jousting.
Translation:  One noontime, I was asleep
In our yard was a creaking sound
I got up and saw when I peeped:
A wild boar carried on the mouth by a cockroach.
Up to now, doing signs of the cross
Up to now, carried on a wooden sledge.

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

Music Example 44: Mr. Aristeo Palad’s arrival.
Translation: My coming over was not guided at all
It is as if there is something blown by the wind.
If you will ask where I come from,
Ask Madame Polana whose teacher is this unnamed one.

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

Music Example 45: Mrs. Nelly de Torres’ warning:
Translation: Beloved prince, do not be too absorbed
In your boat-sailing, the seas has huge waves
Not by God’s will, your sail may get wet,
If you will be buried, you will not even have a coffin.

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

Music Example 46: On monetary lending.

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

With laughters and shouts of “Laban po!” in the background, surrender from the men’s side was hinted by the federation president Mr. Palad as he sang thus:
Music Example 47: Mr. Aristeo Palad’s surrender.

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

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

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

Music Example 48: Mrs. Nelly de Torres farewell stanza.
Translation: It is farewell now, am going northbound
Will cross a river, then walk a cemented road.
Upon reaching the house, I will still wash clothes
More so, the flow of water is so delightful.

Music Example 49: Mang Biloy Cabuyo’s instrumental conclusion.

The event finished at 4:20 in the afternoon after three (3) hours of paaw-itán. There were exchanges of thanks, hand shakes, and laughter as everybody prepared to leave the Senior Citizens Building.

Paawitán performance, visuality, and textuality shed light on the orality of áwit as a process, and its dialogism in terms of its addressivity. Tagalog
originality and individuality have their own improvisatory genius, communal memory, and participation during composition-performance. Resonating with the observation of Haruo Shirane (b. 1951) in his study of Japanese poetry, paawitán likewise “is a one time performance whose excitement can never be matched by the final written record of it” (Shirane 223).

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

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

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

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

Inang Maring, being the only girl, is attached to her mother, who is called Inanang Ligô by her grandchildren. For the community in Barangay Gibánga, Inang Maring’s mother is known as Inang Ligong-Bitíng. The young Maring had always tagged along with her mother to all the where-
abouts and motherly chores. It was also from her mother that Inang Maring learned how to sing áwit. Her baptismal godfather, Francisco “Isko” Labitigan, who was also a well-known singer and musician in the locality was another influential factor in Inang Maring’s singing. Her Ninong Isko played the saxophone, accordion, guitar, and bandurria and was a member of a string band or cumparsa, also known as rondalla, a group of musicians playing fretted string instruments using plectra or picks (see Photograph 15). With this musical environment, Inang Maring is very certain that she knew her craft since she was fourteen (14) years old.

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

Standing, left to right: Agustin Flores (bass), Apolinario “Poli” Jaspeo (guitar), Cesario Labitigan, Sofio “Piyong” Jaspeo (bandurria), Paulino Labitigan, Francisco “Isko” Labitigan (bandurria), Norberto “Berto” Jaspeo (bandurria), Gelacio Pabulayan (guitar). Seated, left to right: Tomas Labitigan, manager, lady singers Anita Labitigan (now Ragudo), Corita Jaspeo (now Abas), lady companions Anita Ragudo (now Villalon), Paulita Pabulayan (now Querubin), and Diarita Valle (now Pabulayan), and Modesto “Esto” Pabulayan, manager.
At 18 years old, she got married to Dionisio (Donî) Zeta, a laborer who worked on copra processing⁷ we locally call pagkakalibkíb (see Photograph 16. Inang Maring and Amang Doni’s union of twenty-three (23) years produced six offsprings of two sons and four daughters. They are Juancho (born 1953), Guillermo (born 1956), Julieta (born 1958), Elsa (born 1962), Marlyn (born 1965), and Lilian (born 1968). The hardworking Mang Doni died of pneumonia in 1975. At present, Inang Maring has twenty-one (21) grandchildren and four (4) great grandchildren. Of these twenty-five (25) grandchildren (apò), only five (5) of them, from her eldest daughter Juliet who lives just a stone’s throw away from her house, stay in her birthplace, Barangay Gibánga. Inang Maring’s two sons, the third daughter, Marlyn, and their respective families live in Marikina. The youngest, Lilian, and her family are in Taytay, Rizal. Elsa and her family reside in Mindoro.

Photograph 16: Copra Processing from fresh to dessicated coconut showing the first three of the long process. Taken from a personal message in Facebook accessed 02 June 2015.
Though Inang Maring knows áwit, dalít, and pasyón at age fourteen (14), her shyness and introverted predisposition did not give her the green light to spread her wings fully that early. She confides that she finished only elementary schooling. At her earliest at fifteen (15), she was chosen by the dalít organizers as lead San Isidro dalít singer (magdadálit sa San Isidro). From then on, she was sure to have at least a day to lead during the dalít novena, and sometimes she takes the lead during the May 15 celebrá. Somehow, she holds back and says apologetically that she is not so learned and that their poverty did not permit her to study. She is rather repetitious in stating these personal experiences, almost always saying I must bear with her (“Pasensiya ka na”). In my interviews with her, much prodding was needed for her to talk more, telling me that she is not a gregarious person. She does not talk much. She is also not a sociable person as she does not even attend small gatherings for pounded banana (“hindi ako belyaka, hindi ako maimik, hindi ako paladalo sa kasayahan, ni sa mukmukan ay hindi ako paladalo—” see Photograph 17 minukmok or nilupak). Inherently, she is a silent type of person we locally describe as the one question-one answer type (isang tanong-isang sagot). But what amazes me is the fact that she has an influential command on her barangay mates (kababáryos). When I hinted that I really wanted to see a live paawitán in Barangay Gibánga way back in 2011, she was able to gather the senior citizens of the community who knows how to do áwit for an instant rehearsal and the actual performance in the shortest possible time. Similarly, when I asked her about Barangay Gibanga schedules of pasyón reading last Holy Week’s Palm Sunday after our early morning Holy Mass, she said she is sure there will be one in the coming Holy Wednesday at the barangay chapel at ten o’clock in the morning and that I could record their pabása. It was only later that I learned she was the President of the Catholic Foundation for Children and Aging (CFCA) of our town for a decade (since 1994), and it was only in 2015 when she asked to be replaced. Currently, she is the Vice President of this foundation which now has a new name, “Unbound.” Her convincing power lies on the way she urges her constituents to help those who need help. Right after that Domingo de Ramos church service, she says, “Binaybay at inisa-isa ko sila. Sabi ko’y kung p’wedeng ako’y tulungan.” (“I made
a one by one round of all of them in their houses. I asked them if they could help me.”) The tenacity, the patience, the will, the drive—all of this vividly captures her “semiotic chora,” following Kristeva (25). She avers, “Masaya ako at nagpapasalamat. Nasasayahan ako dahil ako’y nakatulong. Nasasayahan ako dahil napili akong isali sa mga ganitong gawain. Masaya ang makumbida at dumayo sa ibang lugar para magbasá ng pasyon. Lalo na kung Mahal na Araw, naaalaalang puntahan ang mga kamag-anak at magbasá.” (I am happy and thankful. I am happy because I was able to help. I am happy because I was chosen to belong to this kind of work or duty. It brings happiness when one is invited and is able to go to another place to read the pasyon. It is especially so when we remember to visit our relatives during Holy Week, and we read together.)

Lest one knows that Inang Maring, who prefers walking than riding tricycles to and from Barangay Gibánga to the national road, lives alone in her simple semi-concrete house with her cat and a faithful dog, some chickens, and a surrounding of plants. She says her abode is disorderly (magulô), but everyone who comes by her house knows that it is not true.

Photograph 17: Pounded sweetened boiled bananas (minukmók-nilupák na saging.)
Taken from a personal message in Facebook accessed on 23 August 2016.
From Inang Maring I learned that today’s *Dalit sa San Isidro* is an offshoot of the annual May *Santakrúsan* or *Mayohán* in northbound Gibánga. The *Santa Cruz de Mayo* is a month-long celebration of *dalit*. Anyone who has stocks of unhusked rice bundles (*imbak na palay*) puts a lantern (*paról*) in the house within view. Differently colored lanterns were then used, such as red, yellow, white, blue, and pink. Moreover, *dalit* in the past was held in a curtained altar area unlike today where it is held in the barangay multi-purpose hall after the house-to-house procession of San Isidro. Two persons lead the prayers per lantern color. She explains, “There was no procession, no parade of queens. But when the old citizens passed away, so many things perished with them. The next generation, they do not mind the old traditions anymore. But they themselves agreed not to neglect the Patron Saint of Farmers, he who is *San Isidro.*” (“Walang prusisyon, walang reyna-reyna. Pero no’ng nawala na ang mga sinaunang tao, marami na ring nawala. Ang mga sumunod, hindi na nila ito pansin. Pero ang sabi ay huwag nating walaing halaga ang Patron ng mga Magbubukid – si San Isidro na nga.”) Other singers further describe: “*San Isidro*’s lantern is white. You and I could only imagine these complex celebrations were once happening in verdant Gibánga.”93 It is not an understatement that the locals of Barangay Gibánga were then always waiting for the month of May to come to break the grueling life of agricultural grind of rice, sugarcane, vegetable, and fruit cultivation.94 The feast of San Isidro is a time of renewal and a time to heal (Cornelio 17).95

Inang Maring was almost always asking for forbearance (*pasensiyá*) from me, repeatedly telling me that she was not able to study. Because of her lack of formal schooling, the idea that the unschooled is always looked down upon by those who have studied is always at the back of her mind. I had to remind her every now and then that there are so many things that formal schooling cannot provide, that experience is the greatest teacher in life. For all of her skills and ways of doing things, Inang Maring’s life reminds us that popular creativity is a creativity of practice.96 At 82, she fervently prays that she be given a longer life so that she will be able to serve her community more in whatever capacity she can. Inang Maring is content in her simple niche, yet her concern for the community is unswerving. As a socially inter-
ested agent, she looks after her constituents whom she has to link to their benefactors. In such negotiations, she is in turn “negotiating her particular trajectory through the historical conditions into which they were born.”

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

Photograph 18: The white lantern of San Isidro held by Inang Maring while leading *Dalît Kay San Isidro Labrador*. Taken by Cynthia C. Afable on 15 May 2014.
POSTLUDE: TRANSFORMATION OF PÁAWÍTAN

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

Mayohán sa Tayábas is a ten-day festival (see Photograph 20) which was launched in 1988. It was institutionalized by the Tayábas municipal government during the incumbency of Mayor Faustino “Dondi” Alandy-Silang, DMD (b. 1961) with writer and film director Orlando “Dandy” R. Nadres (1938-1991) to bring back the splendor and the glorious atmosphere of the city. The ten-day festivities enlist the full participation of the sixty-six (66) barangays of the 99,779-populated city (2015 Census), known now for its sweet delicacies (most especially cassava cake or budín), coconut vodka or lambanóg, natural resorts, heritage/ancestral houses, historical landmarks like Spanish colonial bridges, and the longest church in the country (the Basilica Menor de San Miguel Arcangel), “the avian chest (pechó).” The activities of Mayohán sa Tayábas center on the agri-cultural (hyphen intended) activities of the town. There are parades of welcome arches or baliskóg using local materials. This parade has become a competition among barangays. A novenario for San Isidro Labrador was added during the incumbency of Mayor Walfredo “Boy” Sumilang (mayoralty 1998-2001), as well as the pa’yas (shortened name of pahiyas, meaning decorations) and Hagisan ng Súman (Suman-throwing) during the San Isidro May 15 feast and procession, various competitions, and pageants. Among these activities is the Senior Citizens Night that featured a paawitán using the wedding-drinking (kasálan-tagayán) theme (see Photograph 21). The program started with four (4) rondalla musical numbers which included “Walay Angay Ang Kamingaw” and “Pandangguhan-Kondansoy- Magtanim Ay ‘Di Biro Medley” among others. This was followed by the solo singing of “Bundok Banahaw” by a female performer. The singing (with dancing) of a paired couple followed as accompanied by the nine-member Kwerdas ng Tayábas, composed of one (1) contrabass, three (3) guitars, three (3) bandurrias, and two (2) octavina players. The program then featured two (2) serenade (harána) numbers, followed by a series of dances of boogie, chacha, and rhumba by a pair of dancing couple. Two (2) more solo love songs ensued, then an introduction on paawitán was given. Paawitán was described in the introduction as “a custom of our forefathers that is buried in oblivion amidst progress.” It happens
“while drinking in one roving glass,” with the singers “reciting in song with stomping, clapping, and dancing.”100 The paawitán performance featured a wedding reception (see Figure 3) that starts with the newly-married couple entering the stage while being showered with flowers and rice. The mothers of the groom and the bride then entered followed by the wedding sponsors. The bride started the singing of áwit to her mother-in-law asking if she is accepted as a daughter-in-law. Dancing and drinking ensued as the string chamber group Kwertas ng Tayábas provided the non-stop accompaniment all throughout the paawitán part. Áwit stanzas were specifically selected from Advices to the Newly Married Couples (Áwit-Áral sa Lalaki at Babaeng Kinakasal) and Giving of Wedding Gifts (Galahán), as well as those from drinking sessions. Illustrated in Music Example 50 are the excerpts from Advices to the Bride included in the paawitán as part of the evening’s program. Four (4) folk dances concluded the program with one group exiting while another enters to perform. An all-dancers cast bow was given at the end of the number before the credits and acknowledgments were read.
Figure 3: **Mayohán sa Tayábas, Handog sa Mayohán ni Inana’t Amama**
(Mayohán Offering of Grandmother and Grandfather, 7:00 p.m.)
Mayohán sa Tayábas website accessed 09 August 2016.
Music Example 50: Excerpts from Advices to the Bride in Staged Paawitán as Senior Citizen’s Part in Mayohán sa Tayábas entitled Handog sa Mayohán ni Inana’t Amama (Mayohán Offering of Grandmother and Grandfather).

Araw mo’y tapos na sa kadalagahan
At kaharap ka na’y sa katahimikan
Kusang lilisanin ang lahat ng bagay
Dahil sa asawang dapat panimbangan.

Your days are through with maidenhood
And you will now face peacefulness
Voluntarily leaving all things
Because of the husband with whom you will be weighing your actuations.

Sa araw at gabi magsasama kayo
Ang pagmamahala’y walang pagbabago
Ang dáting pagtingin sa ama’t ina mo
Higit sa sarili na daragdagan mo.

Through the days and night you will be together
With unchanging love for each other
The former concern with your father and mother
More than to yourself, you have to augment.

Ubus-ubusin na’y ang mga pag-angal
Sa ama’t ina mong labis kang minahal
At sa kapatid mong iyong maiiwan
At sasama ka na’y sa asawang hirang.

Consume now all your tantrums
To your father and mother who loved you much
And your siblings whom you will leave
And you will live with your chosen man.
Photograph 20: Three in a series from staged paawitán: A wedding sponsor accepts the glass from the bride; bride carries the glass on her head as an áwit requirement; a female wedding sponsor renders the Advices To The Bride.
More Celebrations: Oath-taking, Birthdays

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

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

Ano kayâ baga’t ako ang dinampot
Why on earth was I chosen
Batang alanganin, kulang pa sa loob
An uncertain kid, lacking in inner strength
Maigi-igi pa ang kawayang Anos
An Anos bamboo is a better choice
Kung hipan ng hangi’y umaalinsunod.
It sways wherever the wind blows.

Yaring kawan ko’y kung ako ay asin
This body of mine, if I am a piece of salt
Natunaw na lamang sa inyong paninging
Had just melted because of how you see me
Mga mata ninyo’y kamukha’y patalim
Your eyes look like daggers
Na s’ya na nga yatang papatay sa akin.
That will really kill me.

Di mo ba narining ang aking panaghoy
Did you not hear my lament
Sa laot ng dusa ay luluyong-luyong?
Lingering in the sea of suffering?

Dumalagang manok na nása ruweda
Young hen in the round pit
Ang pamumutak mo’y di naming importa
Your persistent cackling is not expected here
Pagaspas ng bagwis, pilantik ng paa
The beatings of your wings, the flicks of your feet
Ang siya po naming gahinahanap pa.
Are what we are still looking for.
Ano kayâ itong sinapit ng palad
What is this that fate brings
Nása laot mandin, gitna nitong dagat
Am in the deep open sea
Wari’y lumulubog, di naman mabigat
Seemingly drowning, but am not heavy
Wala namang hangin, ako’y napapalad.
Being blown but there is no wind.

Toast Stanzas:

I will now lift up the cup am holding
Na sa aking ulo ay nakakorona
That is now crowning my head
Ang laman pa nito’y Agua de Kolonya
This contains Cologne Water
Sa atay ko’t puso doon ko kinuha.
I got from my liver and heart.

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

Ay ang ibubundol at palalayawin.

This drink, I will not take
Ang tágay na ito’y di ko iinumin
Just to taste, I won’t do either
Ang timtiman lamang, di ako titimtim
Unless you dance and put it on your head
Intana isayaw at sakâ sunungin
Just a joke, I will also drink!
Intana biro man, iinumin ko rin!
In the older and longer version of welcome (salúbong-tágay), courtesy (kortes or kurtisiya) is done first (pamuno). Sample stanzas in kortes are given below as Music Example 52 where male-female jousting contains greetings, begging each other to sing, dance, and drink, enumerating the ‘good’ effects of drinking, resisting each other’s coaxes, and much later on giving in to the entreaties.101

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

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

Na mapanghalina, bulaklak ng liryo
That is so enticing, as a lily flower

Liryong mahiwaga, saan ka naroon?
Mysterious lily, where are you?

Kita’y tinatawag, bakit di tumugon?
I am calling you, why aren’t you responding?

Di mo ba narinig ang aking panaghoy
Did you not hear my lament

Sa laot ng dusa ay lulungoy-lungoy.
Lingering in the sea of suffering?

*In Modern Media: Television and Movie*

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

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

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

Photograph 22: Movie “Fausta” compact disc front and back covers. From a copy given by Maria Judith Masilungan (b. 1985) in October 2010.
Appropriation of a Popular Tune to Áwit Poetry
In Barangay Kalumpang, one person adapted a Yoyoy Villame (Roman Tesorio Villame, 1932-2007) novelty tune\textsuperscript{103} entitled “Buhay at Pag-ibig ni Barok” to an existing paawitán lyrics. There is correspondence between the word and musical accents. The locals though do not recognize this as áwit because of the different tune application. Notated below as Music Example 54 is an excerpt from the rendition of Herminia Sandoval (b. 1964), the origi-
inal of which came from her father, the late Pedro “Pedrong Kuya” Sandoval (1918-1993).

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

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

Tayábas Tagalog áwit now takes the level of danced “one-tune” songs of rhymed two-hemistiched dodecasyllabic narratives in pairs among a gathering of drinking people. It would be recalled that the first distinction between áwit and corridó was credited to Don Epifanio de los Santos Cristobal. He recognized the áwit as secular, chivalric-heroic, dodecasyllabic poems and the corrido as sacred or religious, legendary, and octosyllabic narratives (Lumbera 52). Gabriel A. Bernardo, on the other hand, differen-
tiated the music of the two as slow against hurried time. He further averred that áwit is read mainly for the quality of its thought and the beauty and sweetness of expression, while corrido is read mainly for the plot of the story it tells (52). Currently, the áwit-corrído distinctions of Bernardo are implausible as there are also narratives or stories abounding in the Tayabásin áwit.

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

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

or

Inom na’y inom na sa kamay ko gáling
Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand
Sukdang ito’y lason hindi ka tatal’bin
Even if ’tis poison, you will not be harmed
Kung magkasakit ka sa akin ang dahil
If you get sick, mine is the cause
Malayo man ako’y iyong ipagbilin.
Even if I am far away, call for me.
In the bigger picture, paawitán is seldom seen and heard nowadays, save for some excerpts used in town fiesta celebrations as scripted, directed, and rehearsed, stage performances. One of the explicitly mentioned reasons for its decline is that paawitán's seems out of sync with the current times (“hindî na napapanahón”).

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

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

DIALOGISM OF SUNG VOICES IN THE AGE OF TECHNOLOGY AND COMMODITY

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

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

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

The pasyón is a tool for revolution in Reynaldo Clemeña Ileto’s (b. 1946) benchmarking “history from below” or “knowledge from within.” Pasyon and Revolution, published in 1979, has an incendiary bent. The transformation of the inner self (loób) for the salvation of souls as pasyón-impelled is hitherto practiced but now in a more personal and individual manner as
compared to one that unleashes compassion and unity (dámay) which Ileto said greatly contributed to the struggles of the masses (1840-1910). In these times of peace, pasyón is a tool for individual salvation, as opposed to that of inciting revolutionary consciousness to the collective (Scalice 6). In the absence of struggles, people are more disposed to meditate on personal salvation through the pasyón and its 20 sermonettes (ARAL) during Holy Week. In general though, pasyón's functions in both times of unrest and of peace remains the same, that is, making the inner self purified for salvation.

In so doing, a person becomes capable of withstanding persecution, resisting temptation, enduring trials, and maintaining composure in the face of threats and pressures, and even death, in times of revolution; while in the absence of strife, capable of giving others whatever springs altruistically from the heart (loób), which in turn redounds back to the self. Pabása is still, for one, Tagalog Catholics’ inspired lived experience of power and renewal of faith (“una ay para sa Poon”), an edifying undertaking in addition to the highest sacrifice of the Holy Mass as Tayábas remains largely Roman Catholic. The activity also serves to reestablish and update connections with relatives and friends, a kind of bonding time (“para sa pagsasama-sama at pakikisama o kahit kahiyaan lámang”). Pabása is one of the common practices in the Tayábas area during Holy Week together with processions and church visitations, with recitation of and meditation on the Stations of the Cross, known as Visita Iglesia, now largely facilitated with ready access to transportation. Despite the presence of Jehovah’s Witnesses, Protestants, and Rizalistas, the influence of the Catholic religion in Tayábas is considered wide and deep, providing instructions on morality to improve collective existence. The presence of parishes and community organizations makes most individuals familiar with religious and social expectations. Basic Ecclesial Communities (or mga Munting Sambayanang Kristiyano), the nurturing arm of the Catholic church for evangelization of communities and the preservation and transmission of religious heritage, are prominent even in the barrios (lináng). Alongside the religious hold of the Catholic Church, farmers’ associations in Tayábas, at least in Barangays Gibánga and Alitao, are functional and most active in the annual San Isidrohan (Cornelio 17). As a matter of fact, in
Barangay Gibánga, two sets of *San Isidro* novenas are done every year: one in the central part of the barangay and another in the northernmost section of Gibánga. As expressed by Inang Maring Zeta, the farmers agreed to perform procession (*líbot*) and *dalít* as minimized to its barest from the *Mayohán* (also called *Santakrúsan* and *floresán*) of the olden days which had a bigger, more elaborate celebration (Cornelio 12/n8). Yet, the ritual impact of the procession (*líbot*) in the community cannot be discounted where every Catholic household participates in its performance, as also mutually agreed upon by the farmers of most Tayás barangays including those of Alitao, Camaysa, Dapdap, Ilasan, Ipilan, Lakawan, and Silangang Catigan. In Barangay Gibánga, locals who are staying in other areas of the province and nearby cities and provinces, like Metro Manila, Bataan, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, and Rizal provinces, for reasons of professional practice, gainful work, or college and higher studies, make it a point to come home to celebrate San Isidro (“*mananan-isidro* or *makikipag-San Isidrohan*”), renew ties with family, relatives, and friends, or simply to update themselves with the people and area of their origin. Robert S. Love reminds us about Tagalog peasant society that “when a people are allowed to embrace their own words for things, the result is action” (Love 238).

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

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

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

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

The communicative freedom present in paawitán that directly incorporates indigenous values and community elements cannot be directly
expressed in *kantáhan*, aside from the fact that the latter can be performed without dance. Moreover, *paawitán* involves community living and bonding unlike *kantáhan* concerns which are individualistic and very personal to the singers. *Kantáhan* brings into the forefront American way of living and values.\textsuperscript{119}

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

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

Going back to one’s place of birth and renewing ties is essentially a re-rooting and recouping of the self. In the case of Inang Maring Zeta, for one, who is known to get invited, lead and perform *pasyón, dalít*, and *áwit*, not one of her twenty-five grandchildren is interested in *paawitán*. But very commendable is her grip-and-grasp or power over her fellow barangay mates, which is facilitated by her singing popularity, aside from the authority given her by being a senior citizen community leader. This is the so-called
“ethics of place in a highly person-centered and personalistic sociality,”
where the “mother is the pinnacle of the moral hierarchy” (Mulder, “Filipino Civilisation 13), or it used to be. For Bakhtin, “an utterance is open to modification, transformation, and qualification by the group. Every utterance is oriented towards a response” (Speech Genres 85).

Paawítán is performative (Austin 150, 162) as well as ethical. The event expresses many stanzas that constitute the performance of an action, as well as those value-laden poetic lines that prescribe conduct and regulate human behavior. The structure of SUBJECT plus VERB in simple present plus the word THAT followed by performatives with truth-value also abounds, thus making some examples of áwit expositive or expositional performatives. The widely-known Áwit sa Galahán’s “I will now dance with a foot, I will make it two if you will give a gift . . .” and Áwit sa Tagayán’s “This vodka glass I will not drink, Even just to taste, I will not try . . .” are just two of the many examples of paawítán performatives. Most ethical propositions are found in the tear-shedding Áwit sa Babae at Lalaking Kinakasal, like “And you, woman, light of the home, Of one husband and household . . .” and “But it is truly the duty of the man That he must love his dear wife To follow and take heed the good deeds Worthy of praise in the people’s eyes . . .” Expositives are also present, like in Kurtísya poetry as follows: “I (subject) force (simple verb) myself now that I do not disobey (performative), but it does not happen. . . Even in plants and in human lives, If there is nothing to wait for, There is no need to search for it, As in lemon, no matter how much you squeeze, If there is no more juice, nothing will come out of it . . .” (truth-value). The ample supply of utterances with performative function in paawítán, known in linguistics as speech acts, that directly and indirectly greet, suggest, order, promise, warn, invite, apologize, congratulate, insinuate, etc., with aspects of being either felicitous or emergent or creative, lend itself to greater communication with animated exchanges of news and information, feelings, and intelligences in rhymed áwit. Paawítán performatives mostly work within the context of conversation, interlocution, general exposition, and dialogue (Austin 85).
Paawitán is communicative freedom in a joyous social manner. As ideas and concepts multiply and crisscross in the paawitán jousting, their threads weave themselves into the framework of discourse. One sung speech act is answered by another which in turn engenders another sung response either by equivalencies, complementarities, or oppositions. Sung discourses has its “roots more clearly in the human body and in other narrowly defined areas and lends itself better to the inflections of memory” (Zumthor and Engelhardt 69). Paawitán is dialogism working in a vocality that heightens the listeners’ understanding (68) from the performance that gives due recognition to the qualities of the human voice (67).

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

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

Agawán act of getting something or scampering for goods by force. In the neighboring western town of Sariaya, Quezon, the feast of San Isidro Labrador incorporates an Agawán Festival.

Arpeggio playing of a chord one note at a time.

Áwit rhymed dodecasyllabic lines sung with a specific tune and danced solo, solo with audience, or in jousting style in an event called paawitán with the confluence of drinking.

Bagákay long bamboo pole with the branches and leaves intact used in San Isidro Labrador festivals.

Bálag bamboo-fenced or enclosed area.

Baliskóg welcome arches.

Báyle dance, also called sayaw.

Bayléhan dancing, also called sayáwan.

Behabitives performatives that have to do with attitudes and social behavior; also known as ethical speech acts/propositions.

Bikang a native snack made of fried banana (saging na saba) or camote (sweet potato) strips with sweetened flour as binder or coagulant.
**Birit** singing style characterized by high pitches and loud volumes.

**Budín** cassava cake.

Commissives performatives that assume an obligation or declare an intention, thus committing the speaker to do or undo something.

**Constative** statements with no referents.

**Dalít** responsorial sung prayers honoring the Blessed Virgin Mary or any patron saint.

**Exercitives** performatives that assert influence, exercise powers and rights by appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, warning, etc.

**Expositives** performatives with truth value following the structure subject plus simple present verb plus ‘that’ followed by performatives. Truth value means provable as true or false. Expositives clarify reasons, arguments, and communications.

**Ethical proposition** value-laden statements with prescribed conduct that regulates human behavior; also known as Behabitives.

**Floresán** flower festivals and celebrations, also called *Mayohán* or *Santakrusan*. 
**Gála** (1) gifts for newly-wed couples; (2) long pole with a knife or sickle and/or basket at its end used to gather high-hanging fruits.

**Galahán** giving of gifts to newly-wed couples during the wedding reception.

**Hitsó** also called nganga or bunga, a kind of palm whose fruit is included in the mastication (maskada) of buyo, a mixture of lime (apog), bunga, fresh ikmo and tobacco leaves.

**Huntáhan** informal social conversations.

**Kaarawán** birth anniversary.

**Kalipíno** handwritten compilation of áwit lyrics; chapbooks.

**Kantá** generic term for songs.

**Kasálan** wedding.

**Kurtisiya** courtesy; also called kortes.

**Lambanóg** local coconut vodka or arrack.

**Mamamaawít** singer of áwit in paawitán.

**Mambabasá** pasyon reader-singer.

**Marhuyá** native snack made of glutinous rice (malagkit) or sweetened grated cassava, unwrapped and fried.
flatted. Sometimes, violet and black rice are used (parirutong).

*Mayohán* month of May celebrations.

*Nobéna o Pagsisiyám* a series of nine-day devotional prayers culminating in the selebrá or selebráhan.

*Oral* any poetic communication “where transmission and reception at least are carried by voice and hearing.” (Zumthor 22)

*Oyáyi* lullaby.

*Paawitán* event where sung exchanges of rhymed and measured repartees or sallies are performed often with dancing.

*Palasintáhan* courtship; also called ligawán or patanúngan.

*Pamamanhíkan* the formal asking for the hand of the lady by the family of the groom-to-be; also called dayuhán or pamamaysan.

*Panatà* devotion or vow.

*Paról* lantern.

*Pasilungán* dancing and/or singing on the night before the wedding day.
Performance the complex action by which a poetic message is simultaneously transmitted and perceived in the here and now (Zumthor 22)

Performative saying of the words constitutes the performing of an action; speech act.

Poblacion town or city proper. In Tayábas, the city proper to the east of Alitao River is called Malaking Bayan while the area to the west of the river is Munting Bayan.

Púga response or answer; also called sagot.

Sampáy-bákod literally, hang on the fence. A type of pasyon chanting.

Santakrúsan celebration of the cross.

Selebrá/Selebráhan culminating activity or feast; also called tapusan (ending).

Speech act an utterance with performative function, directly or indirectly suggesting, ordering, promising, warning, greeting, apologizing, inviting, congratulating, etc.

Súman native snack made from glutinous rice (malagkit) with coconut milk (gata) or lye (lihiya), or sweetened grated cassava with coconut. The mixture is wrapped in banana leaves (súman sa dáhon) or buri leaves (súman sa íbos), or coconut leaves (súmang
pang San Isidro’s hagisán, agawan, or pahiyan/pabitin sa bagákay).

Suwisan formal meetings in the barangay with town officials during the latter’s annual visitation (from the root word juez which means judge).

Tágay local vodka in a common glass, may refer to the glass itself.

Tagayán to give a tágay

Tagayán (1) drinking session, also called inuman or barekan; (2) the common glass into where the coconut vodka (lambanóg) is poured for drinking.

Talinghagà metaphor; matalinghagà means metaphorical.

Talinghágang-báyan local metaphors.

Tóno tune.

Verdictives performatives that exercise judgment or give a verdict.

Yúnot conglomeration of dried palay stalks and leaves.
ENDNOTES

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


2. The original text is as follows:

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

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

Si al recorrer los extensos tubiganes y cocales que rodean a Tayabas ois plañidera guitarra y dirigis vuestros pasos en busca del tañidor; si al llegar al cerco de la casa donde salen los acordes, veis los tapancos y caranes alzados, notando en el interior profusion de gente que con gran silencio escucha a una india que perezosamente canta y baila al son de la guitarra, siguiendo con gran cuidado las ondulaciones de su cuerpo, el equilibrio de una taza que mantiene en la cabeza; si de cuando en cuando el silencio de los que escuchan es sustituido por el caracteristico grito de alegria del indio y a veces con un palmoteo semejante al que acompana las canciones andaluzas; si subis la escala de caña y bejuco y tomais asiento entre aquella reunion, que sin preguntaros quien sois, ni quien os presenta, os acoge con cariño y os da los que tiene; si entendeis el tagalo y llevais algun tiempo en el pais, desde luego compresderies que a vuestra llegada se bailaba y cantaba el *cumintan*. . . El *cumintan* es una mezcla de todos los acordes tristes y melancolicos que se conocen en el pentagrama. El *cumintan* es una balada compuesta de
suspiros. Sus notas son otros tantos ayes arrancados en el silencio de la noche, de la mujer que ama, del corazón que espera, del proscripto que tras la azulada bóveda busca cual otro rey del Oriente la estrella que marca el derrotero de su patria. El cumintan tiene algo de salvaje, algo que hace volver la vista a los agreste bosques en que se escuchan sus acordes. Tiene sus reminiscencias de las antiguas cantigas moriscas, recordando no pocas veces el gemir del polo gitano. El cumintan nació con la primera guitarra que se oyó en estas playas. En esta canción india, todas las razas que han pasado por este suelo han llevado una adición o una nota. Como dejamos dicho, se asemeja a las canciones gitanas, las cuales ni se aprenden, ni se inspiran en la pauta sino en la vivida luz de unos ojos de fuego, en el dolor intenso de una perfidia o en el triste recuerdo que sintetiza un acerbo dolor.

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

3. My initial inquiries into the tradition resulted in many replies which can be summarized into one question, “Why only now when most expert singers are already six feet under the ground?”

4. Being a member of the Tayabás community myself, I have the privilege to intermingle with pááwitan singers, attend social events, and interact with the local people. I formally started fieldwork in 2010 and gathered my data consisting of audio and video recordings. Moreover, I held personal interviews and informal conversations which we call huntáhan. I personally attended various singing events during fiestas and post-church rites, some para-liturgical activities such as the tapusan or selebra/selebrahan (culminating event) of the Santakrusan or floresan in the month of May, and other celebrations in at least three different barangays of Tayabás City, namely Gibanga, Ibabang Palale, Kalumpang, and the Poblacion or Malaking Bayan (city proper). I went to the Tayabás Casa Comunidad Library and the University of Santo Tomas Miguel de Benavides Library for archival work aside from internet searches. I started some musical and textual analyses of áwit which were included in my master’s thesis entitled “Understanding the Present-Day Pááwitan Among Tayabasin Communities in the Province of Quezon, Philippines.”

5. According to Linell, Double- or multi-voicing is the varied interpretations of language as spoken according to the situation, considering the tradition, for interaction and/or about institutions, thus, having different perspectives.

6. Addressivity is defined by Linell this way: (E)very act is addressed to somebody, whether this addressee is individual or collective, real or imaginary,
being another person or group or an aspect of one’s own self. Addressivity in speaking involves the speaker’s anticipation of potential responses by particular addressees or recipients or particular communities of them, and it influences the speaker’s choice of particular linguistic expression topics and perspectives on topics, discourse types or genres, and communicative activity framings. (167)


8. Per Linell, Rethinking Language, Mind, and World Dialogically: Interactional and Contextual Theories of Human Sense-Making. (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2009), p. 114-115. Vocality “involves the material or physical embodiment, personal signature, and perspectives on topics and issues of the speaker in interaction. This deals with prosody (intonation, accents, rhythm, etc.) and voice quality in producing utterance (revealing emotion, social and personal identities, geographical and individual “lect”).

9. Significance is style in layman’s term. Metaphorically, significance lies in the gaps in the meanings of the work; the writer’s suchness dispersed in language.

10. The book title is roughly translated as “Song and Narrative of the Sacred Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ Which Should Inflame the Heart of Anyone Who Reads It.”


12. Pasiong Mahal subtitles roughly translated and enumerated in order and their corresponding lengths in terms of number of stanzas are as follows: Prayer to God (3 stanzas), Prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 stanzas), God’s Creation of the world (47 stanzas), the devil’s temptation of Adam and Eve (60 stanzas), the birth of the Virgin Mary by St. Anne (41 stanzas), first Lesson/Sermonette (ARAL) (6 stanzas), the incarnation (pagkakatawang-tao) of the second person of God in the womb of the Virgin Mary (10 stanzas), the Annunciation (greeting) of Archangel St. Gabriel to the Virgin Mary (23 stanzas), the visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary to St. Elizabeth (24 stanzas), the Nativity (birth) of our Lord Jesus Christ by the Virgin Mary (24 stanzas), the Baptism of Jesus (7 stanzas), the Epiphany (visitation) of the three Magi Kings (40 stanzas), the Purification of the Virgin Mary at the temple of Jerusalem (32 stanzas), the passage to Egypt (10 stanzas), the beheading of all infants by order of King Herod (38 stanzas), the visit to the temple of Jerusalem (10 stanzas), Jesus’ stay at the temple of Jerusalem (15 stanzas), second Lesson (10 stanzas), the death of St. Joseph (14 stanzas), the teaching (pangangaral) of St. John the Baptist in the desert and the baptism of Jesus (8 stanzas), the temptation of Jesus by the devil (46 stanzas), the reasons for Jesus’ going to Galilee (26 stanzas), Jesus’ first miracle made at Cana (22 stanzas), Jesus’ teaching to the Samaritan woman (67 stanzas), Magdalene’s search for Jesus (5 stanzas), Fear of the apostles in the middle of the sea (24 stanzas), the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ to the
multitude (5 stanzas), Jesus' miracle made on five bread loaves and two pieces of fish (18 stanzas), the conference (pakikipanayam) of Moses and Elijah with our Lord Jesus Christ at Mt. Tabor (Transfiguration) (56 stanzas), Lazarus was brought to life by Jesus (88 stanzas), third Lesson (13 stanzas), the prophesy of the Prophets on our Lord Jesus Christ (20 stanzas), When Jesus rode the donkey and entered Jerusalem (Palm Sunday) (26 stanzas), fourth Lesson (21 stanzas), Holy Monday (20 stanzas), the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ to His apostles (Holy Tuesday) (34 stanzas), Holy Wednesday: the story of the tyrant Judas (76 stanzas), fifth Lesson (12 stanzas), Holy Thursday (29 stanzas), the Last Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ together with His apostles (8 stanzas), the Washing of His apostles' feet by our Lord Jesus Christ (59 stanzas), the death of Judas at the Cenacle and the arrest of The Teacher (18 stanzas), sixth Lesson (6 stanzas), the prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ at the garden of Gethsemane (52 stanzas), the capture of Jesus Christ by the Jews (40 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ was brought by the Jews to the court of Annas (27 stanzas), the mockery (pagbibiro) of the Jews to our Lord Jesus Christ (24 stanzas), seventh Lesson (8 stanzas), the denial of St. Peter of our Lord Jesus Christ (55 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ was brought by the Jews this second time to the court of Caiphas (Good Friday) (50 stanzas), the suicide of Judas Iscariot sans hope of the forgiveness of his sin (29 stanzas), eighth Lesson (21 stanzas), the Jews brought our Lord Jesus Christ to Pontius Pilate (87 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ was brought by the Jews to King Herod (42 stanzas), ninth Lesson (13 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ was again brought by the Jews to the Roman Procurator Pontius Pilate (36 stanzas), tenth Lesson (12 stanzas), the scourging at the pillar of our Lord Jesus Christ per order of Pilate (15 stanzas), eleventh Lesson (23 stanzas), the crowning with thorns by the Jews of our Lord Jesus Christ (15 stanzas), the presentation (pagpa-patanaw) of our Lord Jesus Christ by Pilate (24 stanzas), Pilate's washing off of his hands (10 stanzas), twelfth Lesson (13 stanzas), Pilate made his sentence (8 stanzas), the carrying of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ (15 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ's embrace of the Holy Cross (8 stanzas), our Lord Jesus Christ's first fall (8 stanzas), the meeting of Jesus Christ and His weeping beloved Mother Mary (64 stanzas), the meeting of our Lord Jesus Christ and the weeping women (10 stanzas), thirteenth Lesson (13 stanzas), Veronica wipes the Holy Face of our Lord Jesus Christ (14 stanzas), the exit from the door of the Judiciary of our Lord Jesus Christ (6 stanzas), the third fall of our Lord Jesus Christ due to the heaviness of the Cross He carries (19 stanzas), the substitution of Simon of Cirene (8 stanzas), the undressing by the Jews of our Lord Jesus Christ (8 stanzas), the nailing to the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ (12 stanzas), fourteenth Lesson (7 stanzas), the Holy Cross was erected (pagbabangon) (43 stanzas), fifteenth Lesson (19 stanzas), Dimas asked for forgiveness from our Lord Jesus Christ (14 stanzas), sixteenth Lesson (19 stanzas), the arrival of the Virgin Mary
together with the women of Galilee (54 stanzas), The Judaic rule of breaking the leg bones of the crucified (10 stanzas), Our Lord Jesus Christ was brought down from the Holy Cross (53 stanzas), the burial of our Lord Jesus Christ (11 stanzas), seventeenth Lesson (10 stanzas), the Judaic rule to guard the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ (12 stanzas), the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ (68 stanzas), eighteenth Lesson (3 stanzas), Christ met His beloved Mother (11 stanzas), the Three Marys visited the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ (23 stanzas), Magdalene asked our Lord Jesus Christ assuming He is a Hortelian (48 stanzas), St. Thomas touched the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ (8 stanzas), the Ascension into Heaven of our Lord Jesus Christ after forty days (18 stanzas), the descent of the Holy Spirit on Mary and the Apostles in the form of tongues of fire (24 stanzas), the death and assumption to Heaven of the Blessed Virgin Mary (54 stanzas), the Virgin Mary was crowned by the Most Holy Trinity (40 stanzas), nineteenth Lesson (11 stanzas), Empress Helena went to visit the place of the Crucifixion and the nails of our Lord Jesus Christ (52 stanzas), Christian Prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary (9 stanzas), the Last Judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ to the human World (111 stanzas), and the twentieth, the ultimate ARAL (Lesson) (10 stanzas). – Wakas -- (End).

13. Informal interview (huntahan) with pasyon readers Inang Maring Trinidad-Zeta and early comers in Barangay Gibanga chapel on March 16, 2016 while waiting for other pabasa participants.

14. Tita Opel opined that the changing of tunes occur whenever the group decides or somebody intones a different tune after an ARAL or whenever the readers encounter a picture in the pasyon pages.

15. Host household of Tita Opel (Ofelia), her mother-in-law Lola Tacing (Anastacia), and daughter Maia Feliz (Maia).

16. One group starts the ensuing stanza even before the currently singing group is finished with their stanza.

17. In Noceda and Sanlucar’s Vocabulario, dalit is defined as tula (Spanish copla) and a bogtong/bugtong (riddle) is given: Ang dalit ay masarap, kung ang basa’y ‘di tilad. (Dalit is good-tasting, if it is read unchopped.) (166)

18. There currently exists an Áwit sa Dalit in Barangay Ibabang Palale during their May Santakrusan. This is different from the dalit that I am elaborating in this paper. I witnessed both Barangay Gibanga’s Dalit sa Poong San Isidro Labrador and Barangay Ibabang Palale’s Áwit sa Dalit sa Banal na Krus. The latter is a ritual of sung octosyllabic prayer made in front of a cross. The narrative used is about the cross of Christ already found after a long journey and given its symbolic location in the ritual – the cross is sheltered within the home of the participating family. The nine-day or novena proceedings are as follows: (1) invocation or panawagan, (2) paying respects to the owner of the house (pagbibigay-galang sa maybahay) which includes admiration of the house, the cleanliness of the stairs and floors,
strength of the doors, etc.), (3) singing hymns of praise to the cross (pagpupuri sa krus), (4) prayers to the Holy Cross (Dasal), (5) leave-taking (pamamaalam). The culmination (selebra) is much lengthier and takes the following order: (1) The Origin of the Holy Tree, (2) Council of the Holy Trinity/Junta Trinitario, (3) The Holy Tree, (4) The Tree in Paradise and the Adam and Eve Story, (5) David and Solomon, (6) Solomon and Sheba, (7) The Santakrusan Story about the Suffering, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus, (8) Resurrection and Ascension: The Story of the Cruz de Vandera and How it Differs from the Cross of the Crucified Christ, and (9) The Quest of the Holy Cross: The Story of Queen Helene and Emperor Constantine. The selebra usually takes 14 hours. Page 19 of the Ateneo paper also enumerated the above while on page 25 of the same paper, they claim that Áwit sa Dalit is a ritual that effectively brings together members of the community in order to share not just the food in the after-ritual feast that marks the relationships but also to reconsider the frailty of humanity, most deeply held in an agricultural setting reliant on the forces of nature. Nonilon Queaño (1985) claims that this Áwit sa Dalit is a la Komedya and Senakulo which are structures used by Spanish colonizers “to exploit and enslave the people” on page 26 of his U.P. Diliman thesis. Queaño also asserts that Santakrusan and its powerful images of suffering and devotion “must have instilled in the people’s minds a habit of subservience and complacency which proved difficult to break even at present.”

19. Understandably, its treatment of dalit is very different from the genre tradition as the Parish of Padre Pio in the country was founded only in 2003 in Sto. Tomas, Batangas, and declared a National Shrine in 2004.

20. My free translation of the first four (4) verses of the dalit follows:

(1) Though known as poor
   Your love is complete.
(2) All your mysteries/miracles
   Are making it known
(3) That you are blessed
   By God in heaven/in sacredness.
(4) Because of love
   That is burning in your heart.

21. Literally, libot means moving around or house hopping. Pahiyas is the general term describing decorations which can be attached to walls, windows, doors, and ceilings while pabitin is anything hanged on lightweight, manmade horizontal trellis.

22. My free translation of “Dalit sa Poong San Isidro Labrador” response is “San Isidro, we plead, we are your adopted children and you are our patron.”
23. Even the Medium Security of the Muntinlupa Bilibid Prison boasts of five videoke machines as one of their means of entertainment in the compound when my Community Development team made a visit there more than a decade ago to give music fundamentals, choir singing, and conducting lessons.

24. From handwritten áwit notes (kalipino) of Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale, given on December 20, 2010.


29. From handwritten áwit notes (kalipino) of Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale, given on December 20, 2010.

30. Tabi.

31. Tabi.


33. Furnished by Dr. Hilarion “Tio Lolon” T. Salvaña from the notebook of his father-in-law, Arcadio C. Tolentino, Sr., on October 27, 2010.

34. Rendered by the late Ret. Col. Luis Araya during the Senior Citizens Paawitán in Munting Bayan on November 25, 2010. The following sestet was sang by Herminia Sandoval on 02 November, 2012, in Brgy. Kalumpang.

35. These two stanzas were sang by Lola Claudia “Alud” Jaspio-Caagbay in the Tagayan in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011. These were similarly rendered by Emma Flores and Nelly de Torres, respectively, during the Senior Citizens Paawitán in Munting Bayan on November 25, 2010.

36. Both applied in the sense of conversational relationships and linguistic sense, i.e., metrically.

37. The first stanza was sang by Marta “Inang Maring” Zeta in the Tagayan in Brgy. Gibanga on November 2, 2011. The next two stanzas were rendered by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay in the Tagayan in Brgy. Ibabang Palale on April 20, 2011.


43. Rendered by Tia Nelly de Torres during the Senior Citizens Paawitán, Munting Bayan, November 25, 2010.
45. This stanza was encountered in all Tayábasin paawitán sources: in Brgy. Kalumpang, among the Senior Citizens (on November 25, 2010), in Brgy. Gibanga (on November 2, 2011), in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále (on April 20 and December 20, 2011).
47. Sang by Federation President Aristeo Palad to surrender to the ladies’ group during the Senior Citizens Paawitán jousting in Munting Bayan on November 25, 2010.
48. Sang by Federation President Aristeo Palad during the Senior Citizens Paawitán jousting in Munting Bayan on November 25, 2010.
50. Lyrics dictated by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay during our informal conversation (huntahan) and demonstrated on April 20, 2011 in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.
52. ARAL after the Scourging at the Pillar before the Crowning of Thorns:

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

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

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

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

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

56. From the handwritten notes (*kalipino*) and as rendered by Marta “Inang Maring” Zeta on December 27, 2010.


60. The first line of this couplet used in áwit is taken from Francisco Balagtas’ *Florante at Laura*. The complete stanza reads:

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

George St. Claire beautifully translated the stanza as follows:

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

61. In this anthropomorphism, human relationship is equated to the treatment of ginger.
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AFABLE: POETICS OF PAAWITÁN

UNITAS

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

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

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

63. Rendered by my maternal aunt, Hospicia E. Cagahastian, followed by her signature laughter.

64. After the rendition of this áwit, all of us around laughed and said “buti nga!” (that’s what you got, fool!) That was our first time to hear that funny story. Two pairs of elderly couples who are neighbors of resource singer Nanay Sedeng Caagbay were laughing at our reactions, realizing that even us were not familiar with tales of this kind, adding that we may not even know that the local term for carabao is not kalabaw but anwang. What realizations we had, indeed!

65. Lyrics dictated by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay during our informal conversation (huntahan) and demonstrated on April 20, 2011 in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.

66. Lyrics dictated by Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay during our informal conversation (huntahan) and demonstrated on April 20, 2011 in Brgy. Ibabáng Palále.

67. “I will join even if I do not sing áwit. It is full of gaiety!” Comments expressed by Inang Elisa Galapate upon learning that there will be a paawitán in Barangay Gibánga, (“Pupunta ako kahit hindi ako umaáwit. Ay masaya ’yon!” Then she whispered that she is a monotone (sintunado) and giggled.

68. Comment of the late Genoveva “Inang Gening” Pabulayan during the Gibánga paawitán, “Pag nakakalasa na’y papaanhin ba’t hindi lumabas ‘yang mga áwit na ‘yan?” (When the alcohol is already taking effect, how can there be no way that the áwit will not come out?”): double negative = positive!

69. The first to third quatrains were rendered in sequence by Lola Alud Jaspio-Caagbay, Inang Anita Rabina-Ragudo and Cacion Labitigan-Pabulayan respectively in the November 2, 2011 Tagayán in Barangay Gibánga.

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

87. Thelong copra-making process starts from coconut picking, gathering, de-husking, breaking, arranging, smoking, de-shelling, chopping, putting in sacks, bringing to the copra trader we locally call *sulitan*. In Tagalog, the processes in sequence are *káwit-bunton hakot-tapas-biyak-hanay-luto-lukad-tadtad-sako-hakot-sulit*.

88. Ann Rosalind Jones expounds on the act of repeating personal experiences: “The social is always oppressive in Kristeva’s schemes” (58).

89. John Fiske presents a related concept: “Sacred inarticulateness’ (as coined by Levine in 1972, page 40) is defined as ‘people’s inability to explain their most sacred as well as mundane institutions in an objective discourse” (158).

90. In *Revolution in Poetic Language*, Julia Kristeva defines *semiotic chora* as “the non-expressive totality formed by the drives and their stases in a motility (ability or capacity to move) that is as full of movement as it is regulated” (25).

91. Fiske expounds: “The desire for expectation of variety and richness of experience is a produce of capitalism, and serves to maintain the system. For such variety, whether of object or experience, must usually be bought and paid for... It is the people’s art of making do with what they have (de Certeau, 1984) and what they have is almost exclusively what the social order that oppresses them offers them” (158).

92. The humility in the person of Inang Maring that mentions of the “disorderliness” in her house and surroundings is reminiscent of the clean stairs and “dirty feet” exemplified in *áwit* greetings.

93. This decision by the locals of Brgy. Gibanga is similar to that of the farmers of Barangay Alitao as documented by Jayeel Serrano Cornelio (17). San Isidro replaced Santakrusan in 1978 because apart from the demise of Santakrusan experts, the locals did not feel “*na may patutunguhan ang Santakrusan. Ipinalit namin ang San Isidrohan dahil kami ay mga magsasaka.*” Religious rituals are modified according to historical exigencies and prevailing social condition. What is retained is that which to them will be beneficial.

94. Interview with Mrs. Corita Jaspeo-Abas on 06 July 2016, Wednesday, at their Kalumpang residence, “*Noong una’y wala kaming ginagawa kundi maghintay ng Mayo. Yun lamang ang masayang buwan.*” (Way back then, we eagerly and anxiously wait for the month of May. That is the only merry month of the year.)

95. The ritual becomes an outlet for the hardship involved in farming, with participants highlighting the feeling of *communitas* and satisfaction for doing it together.

96. Fiske writes that “(I)t is our bodies that finally bind us to our historical and social specificities. As the mundanities of our social conditions are set aside or distances, so, too, are the so-called sensuous, cheap, and easy pleasures of the body distanced from the more contemplative aesthetic pleasures of the mind.”
This critical and aesthetic distance is thus, finally, a mark of distinction between those able to separate their culture form the social and economic conditions of the everyday and those who cannot” (154).

97. Fiske again writes: “The culture of everyday life is a culture of concrete practices which embody and perform differences. These embodied differences are sites of struggle between the measured individuations that constitute social discipline, and the popularity-produced differences that fill and extend the spaces and power of the people” (162).


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

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

99. The Basilica Menor de San Miguel Arcangel is called “the chicken breast,” with the bird’s right wing as the parishes to its west (Our Mother of Perpetual Help in Barangay Ibabang Bukal and Our Lady of Fatima in Barangay Kalumpang) and the left wing as the parishes to its east (San Roque in Barangay Ilasan and Our Lady of the Visitation in Barangay Ibabang Palale). (“Ang pecho — dahil
ang dalawang pakpak ay ang Our Mother of Perpetual Help-Our Lady of Fatima sa Potol Kalumpang (to the west) at ang San Roque sa Ilasan at Lourdes sa Palale (to the east), kaya posiblo at pwede talagang lumipad.) From the homily of Rev. Fr. Jude Paquito S. Moreno, current Parish Priest of Our Mother of Perpetual Help Parish,

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

100. "Ang Paawitán ay isang tampok na kaugalian ng ating mga ninuno . . . nalibing na sa limot sa gitna ng kabihasnan . . . iinom sa iisang basong umiikot . . . bigkas na pakanta at may kasamang padyak, palpakak, at sayaw." as introduced by Mrs. Ligaya “Lily” Osana Rea (b. 12/25/1930), now retired elementary school principal and paawitán and folk dance practitioner, who directed the wedding (kasalan)-themed paawitán.

101. Rea; see pp. 193-198 for a complete version of Kurtisiya, and p. 228 for additional Kortes stanzas.

102. Variance is the term used by Bernard Cerquiglini in his 1989 Eloge de la variante (In Praise of the Variant) and Tim William Machan in his 1994 Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts to mean textual mobility. This is equivalent to Medieval literary historian, linguist, and structuralist Paul Zumthor’s mouvance which denotes among other things textual changes for changing audiences or functions.


104. Frs. Francisco de San Jose and Pedro de San Buenaventura, Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala. Auit means cancion o canto.


106. Thomas C. O’Guinn and L. J. Shrum claim that the ubiquitous television “rivals many traditional socialization agents such as school, church, and even parents;” . . . it “has forever changed our families and the way we set social policies, . . . view ourselves in relation to others.” It “has supplanted reading and interpersonal narrative as our primary means of storytelling and myth delivery (Silverstone, 1991) and has thus fundamentally changed our culture (McLuhan, 1964)” (278).
Nanay Sedeng Naynes-Caagbay recalls that *paawitán* in the past was rendered while planting rice (*hasikan*) on mountain slopes (*talabis*). This was done with two wooden poles (*batibot*) used by men to make holes to which the palay seeds are placed by the trailing ladies. Dry rice agriculture on plain land uses bamboo poles (*bakàl*) with ringers (*kalansing*). With the mechanization of agriculture, the wooden poles (*batibot*) and the bamboo poles (*bakàl*) were replaced first by the carabao and then later by machines. The *paawitán* that was part of traditional agriculture faded away with this change.

Patrick Brantlinger writes:

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

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

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

Susan Sontag writes about living in the “century of the self”:

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

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


112. In Barangay Alitao, libot and novena organizers are the local barangay council members who are landowners-farmers. They claim that San Isidrohan replaced Santrakrusan since 1978 because apart from the demise of Santakrusan experts, the locals did not feel any positive direction in Santakrusan. “Ipinalit namin ang San Isidrohan dahil kami ay mga magsasaka.” (We changed Santakrusan to San Isidrohan because we are farmers.) Cornelio then presents a realization that “religious rituals . . . can be modified by its practitioners according to historical exigencies and social condition” (18).

113. Cornelio notes that farmers of Barangay Silangang Catigan mutually agreed to retain the San Isidro celebrations and considered it highly beneficial to them (12n8).

114. Ryan adds, “… with their exposure to the television and the internet, the young are bombarded with Western pop culture” (Palad 112).

115. Niels Mulder writes: “… The pressing forward of media -- newspaper, radio, television, stereo, the shopping mall, computer, videoke, internet, ATM, cell phone, etc., causes irreversible changes, bringing the ancient order into new culture and novel sociality, so the carriage was driven out by the motor car, the guitar by the stereo, and civility by videoke.” (“Filipino Civilisation” 22)

116. Appadurai assesses Pico Iyer’s account on the Filipinos’ affinity with American popular music: “The uncanny Philippine affinity for American popular music is rich testimony to the global culture of the hyperreal, for somehow Philippine renditions of American popular songs are both more widespread in the Philippines, and more disturbingly (underscoring, mine) faithful to their originals, than they are in the United States today” (29).

117. Ryan Palad adds, “lambanog makers are multiplying.”

118. Harana is a singing activity with the purpose of getting acquainted, wooing/courting and winning a lady through love songs. It could also be for the purpose
of enhancing a man-woman relationship through singing. Initially, harana starts near the window of the lady’s house (sa tapat ng durungawan ng dalaga) and if the parents consent, the haranistas would be given access to go up the house and continue the harana in the receiving room. Currently, there are no more haranas held in Tayábas.

119. Epifanio San Juan, Jr. writes about the impact of American influence in Filipino culture: “We have been thoroughly Americanized according to the racialized utilitarian bourgeoisie standards of the industrialized metropole” (20). He then presents the need for systematic change in the Philippines: “Given the massive archive of treatise, ideological control, customary habits, and various diplomatic constraints, only a radical systemic change can cut off United States stranglehold in this neocolony” (21). He then proceeds with presenting the actions that led to the “Americanization” of Filipino culture: “America’s success is in making the natives speak English, imitate the American Way of Life as shown in Hollywood movies, and indulge in mimicked consumerism” (30).

120. Niels Mulder writes: “These days, individual habitus, or the personal way of being in the world, and competition for personal glory are what matters, at the same time that the mass media seem to do everything to keep it this way” (“Summary” 41).

121. Mulder writes: “. . . so there remained nothing to derive comparative identity but from the American way” (“Summary” 38).

122. See Mulder (“Lipunan” 50).

123. According to Austin, performatives could be of five (5) classes: Verdictive is an exercise of judgment by giving a verdict by a jury, arbitrator, or umpire; Exercitive is an assertion of influence or exercising of powers, or rights by appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, warning, etc; Commissive is an assuming of an obligation or declaring of an intention by promising or otherwise undertaking; Behabitive is the adopting of an attitude and have to do with social behavior like apologizing, congratulating, commending, condoling, cursing, and challenging; and Expositive is the clarifying of reasons, arguments, and communications (150, 162).

124. Adapted from Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg Novalis’ “communion of the word,” which means “love evolves into communion with God, the perfection of our consciousness of how we relate to it.”
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APPENDICES

A. MGA DALIT

A.1. Dalit kay San Isidro Labrador

Barangay Gibanga, 1945

Aklatang Lunas, 1948

Sagot/Puga
San Isidro ay ihibik
Kami’y ampon mo’t tangkilik.

Isidro’y iyong ihibik
Kaming ampon mo’t tangkilik.

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

1. Dukha ka mang sinusambit
Lubos ang iyong pag-ibig.

2. Madla mong kababalaghan
Nagbabantog, nagsasaysay.

2. Madla mong kababalaghan
Nagbabantog, nagsasaysay.

3. Na ikaw ay pinagyaman
Ng Diyos sa kalangitan.

3. Na ikaw ay pinagyaman
Ng Diyos sa kabanalan.

4. Palibhasa’y sa pag-ibig
Nagniningas ang iyong dibdib.

4. Palibhasa’y sa pag-ibig
Nagniningas ang iyong dibdib.

5. Ang pag-ibig mong matibay
Ng puso mo sa Maykapal.

5. Ang pag-ibig ay matibay
Ng puso mo sa Maykapal.

6. Kayâ nga’t dili naagaw
Ng mundo’t madlang kaaway.

6. Kayâ hindi naagaw
Ng mundo’t madlang kaaway.

7. Inalalayan ng langit
Kayâ lámang ’di lumamig.

7. Inalalayan ng langit
Kayâ naman di nagahis.

8. Uliran ng mag-asawa
Ikaw ni Santa Maria.

8. Uliran ng mag-asawa
Ikaw at si Santa Maria.

9. Ang iyong kasing esposa
Sa mabuting pagsasama.

9. Na iyong kasi at sinta
Sa mabuting pagsasama.
10. Kayâ nga’t ang inyong dibdib
Pinag-isa ng pag-ibig.

11. Kailan ma’y di nalanata
Ang ‘yong pagsampalataya.

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

13. Ang inani mo sa bukid
Pinagyayaman ng langit.

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

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

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

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

18. Ngunit ipinagtangkakal
Ikaw ng Poong Maykapal.

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

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

21. Kayâ ampunan ang tawag
Sa iyo ng mahihirap.

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

23. Bata, matanda, may damdam
Sa sakit ay nararatay.

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

11. Kailan ma’y di nalanata
Ang ‘yong pagsampalataya.

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. Ngunit ipinagtangkakal
Ikaw ng Poong Maykapal.

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

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

21. Kayâ ampunan ang tawag
Sa iyo ng mahihirap.

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

23. Bata’t matandang may damdam
Na sakit, kung nagsasakdal.
24. Sa iyong nararanasan
Ang madiang kababalaghan.

25. Dili mo pinaaalis
Hanggang di gumaling sa sakit.

26. At itong nobenang hain
Ang pamimintakasi namin.

27. Iyong papagindapating
Panunghayan at tanggapin.

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

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

A.2. Dalít sa Mahal na Birhen ng Lourdes

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

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

Daop ang kamay sa dibdib
Mata’y tingala sa langit
Mabinhin ang pananamit
Katawa’y takip na takip
Táyo ay inaalaran
Magmahal sa kalinisan. Sagot.

24. Sa iyo ay nasusundan
Ang madiang kababalaghan.

25. Hindi mo pinaaalis
Hanggang di maligtas sa sakit.

26. At itong nobenang hain
Ng pamimintakasi namin.

27. Iyong papagindapating
Papakinggan at tanggapin.

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

29. Dukha ka mang masasamit
Lubos ang iyong pag-ibig.
Minalas ang kalupaan
Sakâ nagmukhang mapanglaw
Bernardita’y tinitigan
Poon, ano’t nalulumbay
Manalangin, manalangin
Ang mundo’y papagsisihin. Sagot.

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

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

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

A.3. Dalít kay San Antonio de Padua

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

Kung hanap mo’y himala, iyong masdan
Nawawaksi kamatayan sa kamalian
Lumalayo demonyo at kahirapan
Gumagaling ang maysakit leprahin man. Sagot.
Lumalayo ang panganib
Ang mahirap ay nakatatawid
Kayong kinalinga ay magstawit
Sa Paduano’y ipagsulit. Sagot.


Ipanalangin mo kami, maluwalhating San Antonio

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

A.4 Dalít kay San Diego

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

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

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

Kami ay dumadalangin
At sa iyo’y dumaraing
Na kami’y iyong ampunin
Sa masamang sasapitin
Kaming lahat mong deboto
Ay dumaraing sa iyo. Sagot.
Ikaw ang inaasahan
Naming deboto mong tanan
At iba pang dumadalaw
Na kami’y ipagsanggagalang
Sa dilang paraya’t tukso
Hindi kami mangatalo. Sagot.

At ang maraming may damdam
Sa sakit ay dumaratay
Kung ikaw ay panaligan
Ginhawa’y siyang kakamta
to’y siyang kaloob mo
Sa napaanpon sa iyo. Sagot.

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

Lingunin kami ng awa
At tulog mo pong dakila
Gayundin ang mga dukha
Mga bulåg at salanta
Pag-ibig ay ’yong ituro
Kami sa kapuwa tao. Sagot.

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

Nang ikaw nama’y utusan
Ng pinuno mong naghalal
Sa Canariang kapuluan
Tinupad mong malumanay
Doon ang mga aral mo
Napatanyag na totoo. Sagot.
Aral mo'y nang matalastas
Ng kapuluang Canarias
Marami ang idolatrias
Ng pawang nagsipabinyag
Tubig na santo bautismo
Hiningi ng madlang tao. Sagot.

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

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

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

A.5. Dalít kay San Miguel Arkanghel

SAGOT: Maluwalhating arkanghel
Prinsipe, Santo San Miguel
Kami po'yi iyong ampunin
Sa masamang Sasapitan.

Ngalan mo'y walang kahambing
Maluwalhating San Miguel
Yari pong sinabi namin
Sa iyo po'yi panalangin
Kalingain mo’t lingapin
Kaming mga dumaraing. Sagot.

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

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

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

Lingapin mo itong bayan
At kami’y ipagsanggalang
At huwag mong pabayaan
Armas mo’y ipanagumpay
Magdalita’t kaawaan
Kaming obehas mong tanan. Sagot.

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

At angeles na tanan
Siya nating panaligan
Sa tuko’y ipagsanggalang
Ating dilang kaaway
Sampu pa ng Birheng Mahal
Siya nawang walang hanggan. Sagot.

A.6. Dalít ni Poong San Rafael

SAGOT: Aba, Poong malulugdin
Poong Santo San Rafael
Kaluluwa’t bahay namin
Kaawaan mo’t ampunin.

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

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

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

Kami’y nagpapasalamat
Araw-gabi, walang likat
Ng paghingi ng pataud
Kasalanang mabibigat
Ang aming ipatatanggap
Mga puring walang súkat. Sagot.
Ang iyong mahal na ngalan
Pinupuring walang tahan
San Rafael na timtiman
Ilaw nami’t paruluman
Kami ngayo’y kaawaan
Iadya sa kahirapan. Sagot.

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

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

A.7. Dalít ni San Roque

SAGOT:    Aba, matibay na moog
           Ng táong nangangasalot
           Ampunin mo kami’t kupkop
           Roqueng kapalara’y puspos.

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

Pagkawili mong mataman
Sa Reyna ng kalangitan
Tanang adhika mong asal
Ikaw ang tinutularan
Bata ka pa’y naghahandog
Ng pagpapakadayukdok. Sagot.
Nang ikaw ay maulila
Binahagi kapagdaka
Yaman sa dukhang lahat
Sa ama’t ina mo’y mana
Alab ng sinta ng Diyos
Ang puso ay nalilipos. Sagot.

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

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

Ang sambayang Cecena
Gayundin ang laga-Roma
Sa iyo’y kinamitan nila
Isang bayaning pagsinta
Pagsipot ng salot
Lubhang kakila-kilabot. Sagot.

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

Ibinuyo ka ng sinta
Napasabayang Placencia
Pinagaling ang lahat na
At doo’y nagkasakit ka
Pinaalis ka’t binukod
Dahil sa sakit mong salot. Sagot.
At sa tahanan mong dampa
Diyos ikaw’y kinalinga
Gumaling ka alipala
Himalang tantong mistula
M ay aso na nagdudulot
Kanin mong ikabubusog. Sagot.

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

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

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

A.8. Dalít kay San Vicente Ferrer

Kalarang walang kapara
Ng mga taong lahat na.

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

Hinulaan ka sa una
Ni San Juan Evangelista
Nang kaniyang ipakita
Angel na kaliga-ligaya.
Sa Pathmos tahanan niya
Ng paglabas mo sa ina. Sagot.

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

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

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

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

Bagaman wika mong dati
Ipinagsermon parati
Sa kahariang marami
Walang di tanto ang sabi
Para sa wikang sarili.
Angel kang kataka-taka
Sa sangmundo’y sinasamba. Sagot.

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

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

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

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

Nang ang kampana’y tugtugin
Iyong gawang milagro rin,
Ang lahat ng masasaktin
Sabihin at bilangin
Pawa mong pinagaling.
Walang di guminhawa
Sa awa mo sa kanila. Sagot.
Ang bulag, pipi’t bingi man,
Pilay, lumpo’t kalagnatan,
Hika’t nababalian,
Balang sangkap ng katawan,
Ginamot at kinaawaan.
At ang iyong Prelado pa
Pinagmilagro mo na. Sagot.

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

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

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

A.9. Dalt sa Birhen de los Dolores

SAGOT: Yamang ikaw, Inang mahal
Nagtiis ng kahirapan
Kami’y iyong kaawaan
Sa hapis mo’y alang-alang.
Sa paglilibot kay Hesus
Ng pagpapasan ng Krus
Iyong inaalinsunod
Ang pagsalunga sa bundok
Mirang kapait-paitan
Ang sa iyo'y nalalaan. Sagot.

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

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

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

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

Pakundangan inang mahal
Sa madla mong kahirapan
Madre Elena de dolor
Hace cuando esperemos
Nuestras entrehinos
En las manos y del señor. Sagot.
A.10. Dalît ni Santa Catalina

Sagot:  Santa Catalinang birhen
         Kami’y iyong idalangin.

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

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

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

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

Ikaw rin po’y dinaganan
Ng isang gulong na bakal
At may patalim pang laan
Pakong sadyang inilagay
Ngunit ika’y nanalangin
Nasira’ng bakal, patalim. Sagot.
Sa malaking kapootan  
Ng emperador na hunhang  
Ikaw po’y pinapugutan  
Sa berdugong tampalasan  
At pati na ang coronel  
Na dumalaw sa ’yo sa karsel. Sagot.

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

A.11. Dalit ni Santo Padre Pio  
(Publication in 2005, Parish erected on June 28, 2003.)

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

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

Refrain:  
Padre Pio, o Padre Pio (9)  
Maraming salamat sa awa’t tulong mo. (12)  
Padre Pio, O Padre Pio (9)  
Maraming salamat sa dalangit paggabay mo. (14)

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

Sa ’yong būhay bilang Capuchino (10)  
Banaag ang Amang si Francisco (10)
Afable: Poetics of Paawitán

B. Awit Collection 2010-2012

B.1. Awit sa Kaarawan (Birthday)
Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale on 20 December 2010.

Pagpanhik po namin at biglang pagsampa
Sa hagdanan ninyo, puspos ng ligaya
Ang linis ng sahig, hinayang tuntungan
Ng amin pong mga maruruming paa.

Sa iyong pagyao di pa rin natapos
Ang paglilingked mo sa Panginoong Diyos.
Mga daing namin at mga pagluluhog
Batid naming lahat ‘yong idinudulog.

Coda:

Refrain:

Padre Pio, o Padre Pio

Maraming salamat sa awa’t tulong mo
Dalangin din namin na maging tulad mo
Matutong umibig tulad ni Kristo.

Tapat sa nasà ng Poong Ama
At dalisay na pag-ibig ni Maria.

Ang makasalanang sa 'yo’y mangumpisal
T’yak magkakamit ng kapatawaran
Walang pagdududang awa ay kakamat
Pagkat dalangin mo’y makapangyarihan.

Sa limampung taong may stigmata ka
Ang hapdi at kirot di mo alintana
Di ka dumadaing, di ka nabalisa
Sa ‘ting Panginoon ay nakiramay ka.

Coda:

Sa iyong pagyao di pa rin natapos
Ang paglilingked mo sa Panginoong Diyos.
Mga daing namin at mga pagluluhog
Batid naming lahat ‘yong idinudulog.

Refrain:

Padre Pio, o Padre Pio

Maraming salamat sa awa’t tulong mo
Dalangin din namin na maging tulad mo
Matutong umibig tulad ni Kristo.

B. Awit Collection 2010-2012

B.1. Awit sa Kaarawan (Birthday)
Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale on 20 December 2010.

Pagpanhik po namin at biglang pagsampa
Sa hagdanan ninyo, puspos ng ligaya
Ang linis ng sahig, hinayang tuntungan
Ng amin pong mga maruruming paa.

Satîyadamiya bunying soberana
Kita’y binabati oras na masaya
Kita’y binabati oras na maganda
Kalakip ang iyong mutyang ama’t ina.

When we climb and suddenly ascend
Your stairs, filled with joy
The cleanness of the floor, a waste to step on
By our dirty feet.

For you triumphant sovereign
I am greeting you a happy time
I am greeting you a beautiful hour
Along with your beloved father and mother.
Because today is your birthday
Precious invitation of your birth on earth
Your house Neneng where you stay
A happy land where you were raised.

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

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

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

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

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

Ikaw na sa aking puso ay gumapi
Na hindi na kita malimot sa isip
Maatim ko kaya bagang di ihibik
Sa iyo ang aking dusang tinitiis?
You who have conquered my heart
That I can’t get you out of my mind anymore
Can I take not to lament
To you the sorrow that I am bearing?
I travelled to you to be able to pour out
The unbearable pain of loving
Your mentioned message to think fully well
Until now is carried with profound sorrow.

Not just a few gusts have passed
Inside me I have wrestled
That my love, even if I toss it away
Points to you and you alone.

What else but no time was wasted
That my mind is all upon you
So inside me it will never be removed
That you are the joy of the palm of my hand.

I will stop now since you know very well
My sleepless hardship in loving
Your abundant mercy do not restraint
To the one wishing remedy for redress.

Please accept this, an offering of love
And at opportune time, take pity.

If for example what I am holding is poison
Contained in a bottle, highly toxic Lysol
If I try to drink that
Will you let me go on?

If for example this that I am holding
That you see is a sharp dagger/lancet
Here in my chest I will stab/pierce into
Will you shield me and will you take pity?

If for example you are an edifice
That is so beautiful and made excellently
Ako nama'y isang pulubing nasawi
Makapanuluyan kayang sumandali?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Babae:
Ang bûhay ng tao may guhit na tandâ
Di mo man hintayin darating na kusâ
Ikaw sa bûhay mo’y kumbaga nagsawâ
Magpakamatay ka’t walang sasamalâ.

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

Ang lahag ng iyong mga hilingbawâ
Mayroong magaling, mayron ding masamâ
Kumbaga sa isang bibiniting panâ
Di pa binstitución’y alam na ang tamâ.

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

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

In the wish of my heart that is so young
You have a very delightful picture
That I follow with full appreciation
That does not vanish until am laid in peace.
Mesa ka sa aking nagtampong panitik
Na kung kayá lámang ako’y nanumbalik
Ay nang mamasdan ko ang ganda mo’t dikit
Na sa aking puso’y kusang napaukit.

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

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

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

Ngayon binibini ako’y magtatapat
Huwag magagalit sa ipangungusap
Iniibig kita dapat mong matapat
Oo mula ngayon at hanggang sa wakas.

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

Nang ipahayag kong ikaw ang batalà
Nitong aking pusong dakila
Ano ba ang sanhi’t nanlaglag ang luhà
Mula sa mata mong kawangis ng talà?

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

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

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

B.3. Áwit sa Pamamáysan sa Dalága (Asking for the Lady’s Hand in Marriage)
Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20 December 2010.

O sakdal ng dilag na aming dinulog
Kinagigiliwang kami sa ngalan ng Diyos
Lakip ang pitagan naming naghahandog.

O most beautiful lady whom we approach
Beloved father and mother dear
Coupled with our, the offerors,’ respect.

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

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

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

My initial greeting, father of the house
God of good evening grant you
Maybahay na ama na kagiliw-giliw
Nasà n’yaring puso sa iyo’y sabihin.

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

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

Ang sabi’y dinggin mo, mahal na prinsesa
At sasabihin ko ang biling labat na
Dito raw ay mayro’ng isang sampaga
Ang pamumukadkad ay kaaya-aya.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even if it is poison and gall, ‘tis up to you
Remedy and medication, therein included
You birds that are flying
Little or big, sky is your home.
You come down and assist
A beautiful lady, will now drink the wine!
B.4. Áwit Para sa Magúlang ng Dalága (For the Parents of the Lady)
Recalled by Lolo Mario Cabrigo of Barangay Silángang Palále on 03 December 2010 and told to and written by Lolo Marcial Tabi.

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

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

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

Ang pananalangin ano’y nang matapos
Anang isa’t isa wikang oryentasyon.
Arkanghel San Gabriel tinawag ng Diyos
At pinagbilinang sa lupa’y manaog.

Nanaog sa lupa Arkanghel San Gabriel
Na sugo ng Diyos na sa langit galing
Sa paglipad niya, sabinin ang tuling
Sa harap ni Kristo ay doon tumigil.

Ang tangan sa kamay ay kalis at krus
Sa harap ni Kristo’y tabing nanikluhod.
Ito po’y padala sa iyo at handog
Sakā may bilin pa itong Amang Diyos.

Ang sa Diyos Ama na bilin sa akin
Hesus tanggapin Mo ang kalis kong hayin
Táong nása sala’y Iyong patawarin
At tub’in Mo na po sa pagkaalipin.

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

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

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

The praying, alas, when done
By each one, as to orientation
Archangel Saint Gabriel was called by God
And was ordered to go down to earth.

Archangel Saint Gabriel went down to earth
Sent by God from the heavens
In his flight, talk about the swiftness
In front of the Christ, there he stopped.

Holding in his hand the chalice and the cross
In front of the Christ, he respectfully knelt.
This is handcarried for you and a gift
And God the Father still has a reminder.

The order given to me by God the Father
Jesus please accept the chalice I offer
Please forgive those men who are in sin
And save them from their slavery.
B.5. Áwit-Áral sa Babaeng Kinákasal (Advice to the Bride)
Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20 December 2010.

Giliw na kasuyo sandaling limutin  
Dearly beloved forget for a while  

Nasà’y ipatanto ang nása panimdim  
Let your sorrowing feeling be known  

Kahit sa puso mo’y masaklap anakin  
Even if in your heart it is painful  

Bílang pahimakas pagsasasa natin.  
As a farewell from our togetherness.  

Samantalahin mo’y ang mga pagtanaw  
Savor while they last, the gazes  

Sa pisngi at mukha ng ina mong hirang  
To your beloved mother’s cheeks and face  

Ngayo’y sumapit na itinakdang araw  
The appointed day has now come  

Mawawalay ka na sa iyong magulang.  
You will now be separated from your parents.  

Ang sasamahan mo’y di mo ama’t ina  
You’ll go with neither your father nor mother  

Di mo naman pinsan, bagong kakilala  
Not even your cousin, a new acquaintance  

Iyong susuyuin nang tapat na sinta  
You will woo him with honest love  

Hanggang sa malagot ang tanging hininga.  
Until your only breath is severed.  

Araw mo’y tapos na sa kadalagahan  
Your days of maidenhood are through  

At haharap ka na’y sa katahimikan  
And you will now face peacefulness  

Ang dáting pagtingin sa ama’t ina mo  
The old concern for your father and mother  

Higit sa sarili na daragdagan mo.  
More than to yourself, you have to augment.  

Sa araw at gabi magsasama kayo  
All days and night you will be together  

Ang pagmamahala’y walang pagbabago  
With unchanging love for each other  

Ang dátang pagtingin sa ama’t ina mo  
The old concern for your father and mother  

Higit sa sarili na daragdagan mo.  
More than to yourself, you have to augment.  

Ubus-ubusin na’y ang mga pag-angal  
Consume now all your tantrums  

Sa ama’t ina mong lahis kang minahal  
To your father and mother who loved you more  

At sa kapatid mong iyong maiiwan  
And to your siblings whom you’ll leave behind  

At sasama ka na’y sa asawang hirang.  
And you will live with your chosen man.  

Guni-gunûhin ma’y di magkapon lamang  
Even if imagined, it will not just be for a day  

Na kakasamahin, kundi habang-búhay  
That you will live together, but for a lifetime  

Haharapin mo na ang kaginhawahan  
You will now face stableness  

Iniwang ligaya sa kadalagahan.  
Maidenhood’s joy is what you left.  

Kung magkaanak na, narito ang hirap  
When you bear a child, suffering here comes  

Bukod sa babat’hing kapagura’t púyat  
Aside from the weariness and sleepless nights
Mura ng asawa’t sa batang pag-iyak
Sabay titisin ng nasabing palad.

Scolding from husband and the child’s cries
Will be both suffered by your fate.

Ito na ang iyak, pagtangis at lumbay
Lahang di maampat ng panyo sa kamay
Kayâ kasuyo ko’y bahala na’y ikaw
Lalong mag-isip ka, kagaling-galingan.

Here comes the cries, wails and sorrow
Unarrested tears by the kerchief on hand
So my dear this is all up to you
Think even more, be wiser.

Adios, adios, Neneng na kasuyong giliw
Ang kadalagaha’y iyong lilisanin
At ikaw, babae, ilaw ng tahanan
Ng isang asawa sakâ pamahayan.

Farewell, farewell, Neneng, my dearest
Maidenhood you will leave behind
And you, woman, light of the home
Of one husband and household.

Ako’y paalam na’a ko’y aalis na
Sikát na ang araw, ako’y tanghal na
Pagdating sa amin, ako’y maglalaba.
Agos pa ng tubig kaiga-igaya.

m saying goodbye now, am leaving now
The sun is high up, am late already
When I reach our place, I will wash clothes
The flow of the water is very delightful.

At itong paglibot nama’yaking lisam
Ang sabihin ko’y ang pamamaalam
Sakâ kung matapos, umuli na naman
Sa loob ng mentlo, mahal na simbahang.

And this ambling around, am leaving behind
Am speaking of bidding farewell
And if after ‘tis finished, it repeats once more
Inside the temple, beloved church.

B.6. Áwit-Áral sa Lalaking Kinakasal (Advices to the Groom)
Recalled and handwritten by Marta Trinidad-Zeta of Barangay Gíbangá and recorded on 27 December 2010.

Mga maginoong dito’y napipisan
Sa lipunang ito’y bilang pamparangal
Ako po’y babati ng puspos na galang
Tuloy humihingi ng katahimikan.

Gentlemen who are gathered here
Who render honor to this society
I will greet you with full respect
And hereupon asking for silence.

Upang ang tungkuling sa aki’y importa
Ang magmanukala ng ganitong sayá
Matupad ko ngay-o’t mabigyang-halaga
Sa abot ng aking maralitang káya.

So that the duty of my import
The management of a celebration like this
I will fulfill today and give significance
To the best of my humble ability.

Pagkat ito’y oras na katangi-tangí
Sa dalawang puso, ngay-o’t pinangtañ

Because this is a opportune time
For the two hearts, now bound
Dapat ipagsaya, tuloy ipagbunyí
Handugan ng isang maligayang bahí.
Must be rejoiced, herein celebrated
To be offered one happy greeting.

Yamang sa dambana ng pagkakasundô
Iyong pinagbuhol ang hibla ng suyò
Iyang isang tali ng sumpa’t pangakô
Kamatayan lângang ang nakakasugpô.
Since at the altar of agreement
You tied the thread of love
This sole knot of pledge and promise
Only death could sever.

Kapuwa sa inyo ang ligaya’t tuwâ
Ang kaligayahang pawang talinghâgà
Sa lambing ng palad sa asawang mutyâ
Siyang tanging tinig na maunawà.
To you both are the happiness and joy
The all metaphorical blissfulness
In the palm-sweetness to dear better-half
The only voice who understands.

At dahilan dîto’y iyong pagdamutin
Ang isasaysay kong ilang tagubilin
Kahimanawari kung inyong tuparin
Isang maligayang bühay ang sapitin.
And because of this, please take heed
Some reminders that I will speak of
Wish, if you will follow,
You will have a happy life.

At sa matrimonyong katutubong dangal
Magaang pasanin kung pagtutulunganán
Ngunit wala namang kabigat-bigatan
Kung sakali’t hindi magdînabayan.
And to matrimony’s inherent honor
‘Tis light burden when worked together
But there is really nothing so heavy
Had it not been not helping each other.

Ngunit tungkulin nga ng isang lalaki
Dapat na magmahal sa asawang kasi
Sundi’t talimahin sa gawang mabuti
Sa mata ng tao’y ipagkakapuri.
But it is truly the duty of the man
That he must love his dear wife
To follow and take heed the good deeds
Worthy of praise in the people’s eyes.

Sa dáko pa roon binata pa kayo
Nagpapakagumon sa maraming bisyo
Mula-mula ngay-o’y pangingilagan mo
Nang kayo ay huwag malimit magtalo.
Far before when you were still single
You were buried deep in many vices
From now on you have to evade them
So that you will not quarrel frequently.

Sakà bukod dîto’y kinakailangan
Sa isang lalaki’y magahanapatbühay
Ang gugol sa mga walang kaluluhan
Tatalikdan mo na’t magtipid ang bagay.
And aside from this, there is a need
For a man to have a gainful work
The expenses for unneccessaries
You have to turn your back against and be thrifty instead.

Ikaw nga ang bisig ng iyong asawa
Ang mga bunso mo’y sa iyo aasa
You are indeed the arm of your wife
Your youngs will depend upon you.
Kung di ka mag-impok at matugagas ka
Marahil ay di ka bibigyan ng iba.

Dating kasabihan’y pag walang ‘sinuksok
Ay wala rin namang sukat madudakot.
Galng ng may simpang kahit kakarampot
At may gugugulin pagdating ng signos.

Kayâ nga bago ka manaog ng bahay
Ihanda ang mga kinakailangan
At huwag hiking ng ano mang bagay
Na sa asawa mo’y walang iniwanan.

Isa pang gawaing pagkamalibangin
Sa mga sabungan, sugal ay limutin
Pagkat itong bisyo kung di mo limutin
Asawa’t anak mo’y tatangis sa lihim.

Huwag kang tutulad sa ibang lalaki
Ang pinupuhuna’y hanap ng babae
At kung darating ka sa inyong sarili
Ikaw pa ang siyang nag-aasal tigre.

Kung mahirati kang uminom ng alak
At sakâ may bisyo, susugal, bibilyar
Liimutin mo rin ang asawa’t anak
Na siya mong dangal sa dusa’t bagabag.

Hanggang dito na po’t niloloob naming
Pagsasama ninyo’y maging mapayapa,
Maligtas sa madlang kahirapa’t sakit
Na handog ng mundong mapagmalikmata.

If you won’t save and be a spendthrift
Others might not provide for you.

Old saying goes, if there’s nothing tucked aside
There’s also nothing to be drawn up
‘Tis good to have some savings even just a little
There’ll be something to spend during bad times.

So before you go down the house
Prepare everything you need
And do not ask for anything
That you didn’t leave with your wife.

Another vice that diverts your attention
In cockfights, forget your gambling
Because these vices if you will not forget
Your wife and children will wail in secret.

Do not imitate those other men
Who capitalize on the earnings of the wife
And when you reach home
It is even you who act like a tiger.

If you become accustomed to drinking
Have vices, will gamble, play billiards
You’ll also forget your wife and children
Who are your honor in suffering and anxiety.

Until here and we pray that
Your togetherness will be peaceful,
Be safe from all sufferings and pains
That the delusory world offers.

B.7. Áwit sa Kasálan (Wedding)
Given by Lolo Marcial Tabi of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20, December 2010.

Araw mo’y natapos sa kadalagahan
At ang tutunguhin ay katahimikan
Pawang lilisanin ang lahat ng bagay
Dahil sa asawang tapat kung magmahal.
Tanang kasayahan iyong lilisanin
Dáting kaibigan tuloy lilimutin
Bawat ikikilos isiping magaling
Nang hindi masawi sa asawang giliw.

You will leave behind all merriments
And eventually forget old friends
Think wisely of every movement.
So that you won’t fail your dear half.

Baksi ang bibig mo korales na hiyas
At sa kapatid mo ay makipag-usap
Pahid iyang luha sa mata’y nanatak
Ako’y sagutin mo sa tinawag-tawag.

Open your mouth coral jewel
And with your sibling communicate
Wipe the tears falling from your eyes
Answer me, my calls.

Ikaw aming bunso yayamang sumapit
At mawalay ka sa aming tangkilik
Iyong tatandaan, itanim sa dibdib
Ang sasabihin ko, o bunso kong ibig.

You, our youngest, while you have arrived
And you will be separated from our care
Remember, keep in your breast
What I have to say, o dear youngest.

Magmaula nang ikaw sa mundo’y iluwal
At iyong makita ang kaliwanagan
Ama’t ina ninyo ipinagminsanan
Sa inyo ang kan’lang buong pagmamahal.

Since you were on earth born
And you saw the light of day
Your father and mother pour out all
To you their undivided love.

Walang oras na di ang pagkakandili
Ang siyang ginawa ng ina mong kasi
At hindi dinamdam ang pagkaduhagí
Hanggang ikaw bunso kanyang mapalaki.

There was no time that not just the caring
Was done by your beloved mother
And she didn’t mind the abuse
Till you youngest she was able to raise up.

Ngayo’y sumapit na ang tadhanang oras
Kung datnin mo, bunso, sapitin ng palad
Iba na sa dati at di mo talastas
Ang sasapitin mo, kung tuwa o hirap.

Now the fateful time has come
When you reach, youngest, destined fortune
Different from the old and you know not
What awaits you, whether joy or suffering.

Ang kaligayaha’y iyong tatamuhin
Kung ika’y matuto sa asawang giliw
Subalit kung hindi, kulangin sa lining
Kahirapa’y iyong kakaulayawin.

Happiness you will reap
If you’ll learn from your dear half
But if not, lack in meditative thinking
You will court suffering.

Magtiis ng lumbay, o bunso kong ibig
At iyang luha mo sa mata ay pahid
Diwa’y talaga na ng Diyos sa langit
Ariing ligaya, kurdial sa dibdib.

Suffer great sorrow, o dear youngest
And wipe the tears from your eyes
The spirit is the heavenly God’s will
Accept happily, cordially to your chest.
Itingin Mo, Poon, mata Mong diamante
Ang bibig Mong martel, bakit di magsabi?
Kung ako ay sala, bigyan mo ng sisi
Katawa’y talaga at di tumatanggi.

Look, Lord, with Your diamond eyes
Your martial mouth, why not speak?
If I am wrong, put the blame on me
My body is resigned and not resisting.

B.8. Kurtisiya (Courtesy)
Given by Dr. Hilarion “Lolon” T. Salvaña at their residence in Malaking Bāyan on 26-27 October 2010. These collections came from a notebook of his late father-in-law, Arcadio C. Tolentino, Sr., former supervisor of Quezon Province NAWASA, who died in 1977.

Pinangahasan kong ikaw ay batiin
Gintong alaala sa puso’y nanggaling
Tulad ng halamang nasà ko’y diligin
Nang huwag malanta puso sa paggiliw.

I courageously attempted to greet you
A golden memory coming from the heart
Like a plant that I wish to water
So as not to wither, the heart in loving.

At magtatap ka rin kung may ligaya pa
Tanging mahintay ng aking pag-asa
At kung wala naman’ y sabihin mo sana
At ihanda mo na ang hukay ng dusa.

And tell me honestly if there is still joy
The only thing to be waited by my hope
And if there’s nothing please say so
And do prepare the grave of grief.

Aywan ko kung bakit ako’y nagtataka
At yaring puso ko’y kalaro ng dusa
Ngayong makita ka’y dagling lumigaya
Pagkat kayo pala’y bathala ng ganda.

I do not know why, am wondering
Why my heart is a playmate of grief
When I saw you, am overjoyed at once
Because you’re indeed a goddess of beauty.

Paruparo akong kinulang sa palad
Sa dagok ng dusa’y di makapagaspas
Ngunit ang pag-asa’y hindi kumukupas
Pagkat dinidilig ng ganda mong ingat.

Am a butterfly who is lacking in fortune
At sorrow’s strike, I cannot flap my wings
But hope never fades because
It is being watered by your cared beauty.

Naririto akong kalong ng hinagpis
Alipin ng madlang mga pagtitiiis
Kulang sa aruga ng iyong langkilklik
Kayát’ang ligaya’y pumanaw sa dibdib.

I am here sitting on the lap of sorrow
A slave of all the sufferings
Wanting in care of your support
So happiness perished in my breast.

Gayon ma’y tanggapin ng iyong kariktan
Na siya kong handog sa iyong kalakhan
Gintong alaalang dala’y pagmamahal
Bagong kakilala sa hardin ng bihay.

Despite that, your beauty, please accept
My offering to your magnanimity
Golden memory, bearing love
A new acquaintance in the garden of life.
O Aling Polana ako’y pautangin
Ng kaunting áwit, sayaw ay gayundin
Ipanghanggang dito, patdin ko ang hibik
Yamang talos mo na ang laman ng dibdib.

Sagutin mo láwang itong nahahapis
Na kung makakamta’y tuwa at pag-íbig

Lalaki:
Salamat sa iyong ugaling timtiman
Mapagbigay-loob kung hinhilíngan
Hinggil sa magaling at ikatatanghal
Ng purí ng lahat, ay sunud-sunuran.

Pakidampputin mo ang mga tagayan
Alak na pandilig sa pusong may lumbay
Mga paneuhin ay iyong alayan
Upang magsísigla mga kalóoban.

Babae:
Kami’y susunod na’t aming ibibigay
Sa mga ginoong sa ati’y dumalaw
Ang alak na katás ng sasang halaman
Nagbibigay-lugod sa pusong may lumbay.

Narito na nga po, mga maginoo
Tagay na talagang láan po sa inyo
Tanggapi’t inumin nang upang magbago
Inyong pakiramdam sa oras na ito.

At kung mainom na kayo’y giginhawa
Mga paninímdim ay mawawala na
Sakali mang kayo’y nag sisipangabáma
Agad títwasay loob ninyo ng bakla.

Lalaki:
Huwag naman kayong agad maalis-is
Magbigay ng tagay, bakit mäsígasíng?
Gawa ninyong iyan ay hindi matuud
Sa wikang sisihan ay líhis na líhis.

O Madame Polana, please lend me
Some songs, dances just the same
Until here, am cutting the lament
As you already know my breast’s content.

Just answer this person in sorrow
Will give joy and love.

Man:
Thanks to you modest character
Abiding when being requested
Regarding the good and worthy of praise
Of the praise of all, is obedient.

Please pick up the spirited drink glasses
Wine used to pour on a gravely sad heart
To the visitors make an offering
To enliven their feeling within.

Woman:
We will now obey and we will give
To the gentlemen who visited us
The wine that is the sap of the palm plant
Giving pleasure to a saddened heart.

It is here now, dear gentlemen
Tágay that is really intended for you
Accept and drink to be able to change
Your feelings at this time.

When you have drunk, you will feel better
Your anxieties will readily vanish
In case you are doubting
Unsettled feeling will stabilize soon.

Man:
Please don’t be fretfully irritated at once
To give tágay, why so persistent?
That work of yours is not proper
In words of blaming, is so inappropriate.
Sandaling pakinggan, aking isasaysay
Tila di marapat ganyang pag-aalay
Sapagkat ang tagay ay bago ibigay
Kailangan munang ikaw ay sumayaw.

Listen for a while to what I will relate
Seemingly unworthy is that kind of offering
Because the tagay before it is handed
You need to dance first.

Babae:
Ako nama’y iyong ibig paghanapan
Bagay na di lubhang kinakailangan
At bukod sa rito’y wala akong alam
Upang isagawa ang wikang pagsayaw.

You only want to find fault in me
A thing that is really not much needed
And aside from this, I know nothing
To put to work the said dancing.

Maanong huwag nang ipilit sa akin
Sinabing pagsayaw ipagpaumanhin
Tanggapin na ninyo’t walang hahanapin
At ako ay musmos, ano ang gagawin?

May it not be insisted unto me
That said dancing, may I be excused
Accept now, there’s nothing to look for
And I am young, what shall I do?

Lalaki:
Samantalang kayo ay nagpapautang
Lubos-lubusin na nang walang ligamgam
Kung talastas naming kayo’y walang alam
Di na mangangahas kayo’y paghanápán.

While you are letting us lend
Do it to the fullest without lukewarmness
If we know that you know nothing
We will not attempt to find fault in you.

Ngunit isasaan at kailan pa ngâ
Ipakikilala alam ninyong madlâ
Sa gawang pagsayaw, sinuma’y hahangà
Tikis lâmang kayo ay nangangahiyâ.

But really, where else and how else
Will you introduce what you all know
In dance work, anybody will be awed
Had you not been so shy.

Babae:
Ano man ang aking gawing katuwiran
Hahanggang pagsunod ang kauuwian
Kayâ’t ang mabuti’y mag-utay-utay nang
Aking isagawa’t nababalot lâmang.

Whatever reasoning or retorting I do
Will only result to/arrive at obeying
So it is good to slowly
Perform it, this is just delaying.

Baka naman kami’y kung nakasayaw na
Matapos maganap lahat ninyong pita
Di pa tanginggapin at bibituan pa
Iba’t ibang utos di na makakaya.

It might be that if we finish the dance
After all your wishes have transpired
Will still not accept and will still not hold it
Various orders, cannot anymore follow.

O mamang ginoo naming minamahal
Tanggap inyong kuha itong inyong tagay

Gentleman whom we love
Accept, please get this your tagay
Pagkakaganito’y alang-alang lamang
Sa inyong mapuring mga kalagayan.

Lalaki:
Kayo nama’y huwag magkakawikaan
Ako’y tututol pa at may ibig lamang
Mapagkita naming ang kadalisayan
Ng lakad ng ating mga kasalayan.

May lalong marikit na kahangang-hangâ
Na hindi pa ninyo naisasagawâ
Tâgay ay sunungin sa harap ng madlâ
At muling sumayaw na walang bahalâ.

Katulad ng lagi naming namamasdan
Na sa pagsusunong niyang inyong tágay
Tuloy ang pagsayaw at ang mga kamay
Ay wala nang tigil ng pakunday-kunday.

Babae:
Ang uling ninyo ay lubhang kakatwâ
Ang nakakatulad yaong mga batâ
Pag sinusunod na ay lubhang utità
Mga hinihingi’y ang ’di magagawâ.

Kayâ ang malimit, siyang karaniwan
Na dapat mangyari sa hiningilingan
Ay wala nang sukat magawa’t ibigay
Tumampo’t magalit, magkalutas lâmang.

Lalaki:
Huwag naman kayong kapapanibulos
At ang nais nami’y matuwâ nang lubos
Pakisusap nami’y itakwil sa loob
Ang maling akala at huwag mapoot.

Ay sapagkat kayo’y hayag na maalam
Bakit magkakait, sa anong dahilan?
At kung ibig ninyong kayo ay matanghal
Oras na nga nagyon at kapanahunan.

This is all just for
Your praiseworthy situation/condition.

Man:
Please do not be offended
I will dissent and I just have a wish
For us to witness the purity
Of the proceedings of our celebration.

There is one prettier that is more acclaimed
Thing that you haven’t done yet
Put the tâgay on your head in front of the people
And to dance once more without worry.

Like what we always witness
That in putting your tâgay upon your head
You continue dancing and the hands
Are swaying without stopping.

Your character is really funny
Comparable to those of children
When obeyed becomes more talkative
Asking for things that cannot be done.

That is why frequently, thus commonly
What should happen to the requested one
As there’s nothing more she can do or give
Get hurt and angry, just to have a solution.

Please do not take offense
And we just want to be truly happy
We entreat that you take away inside
The wrong notions and do not bear hatred.

Because it is well-known that you are wise
Why restraint, for what reason?
And if you like to be featured
The hour and the opportune time is now.
Babae:
Pinipilit ko na ang aking sarili
Na huwag sumuay, ngunit di mangyari
Anumang sabihí'y wala na nga kaming
Magagawang iba na kawili-wili.

Maging sa halaman at sa taong buhay
Pag walang hihinting, di dapat hanapan
Kung sana sa dayap, pig-in man nang pig-in
Pag wala nang katas, wala nang lalabas.

Lalaki:
Kung kayo nga disin 'di namin kilala
At natatalastas na hindi bihasa
Magsunong ng tagay, kami'y tatahan na
Ng aming pagdaing buhat pa kanina.

Baka naman kayâ kayo'y alinlangan
At walang pakulit at nalilimutan
Inumin nga muna hawak ninyong tagay
At upang lumakas ang inyong katawan.

At kung iya'y inyong mainom, mauhos
Pilit na tatapang puso ninyo'y loob
Tanggapi't inumin itong inyong tágay
Huwag magtitira kahit kapatak man.

Ang alak na iyan ang taglay na bisá
Sa bawat uminom gamot na mistulà
Huling tagubilin ay pakatandaan
Ang bisa ng alak na inyong titikman.

Babae:
Muling nautusa'y walang magagawá
Kundi and sumunod na walang bahalà
Pağkat kung sumuay ay lalong masamà
Mawiwikang kami'y babaeng mulalà.

Ang mga tagayang muling dadampu seen
Nang di nalalaon, pagdakà'y sunungin

Man:
Had you not been known to us
And we understand that you are not experts
In carry tágay on your head, then we'll stop
With our requests since a while ago.

It may be that you are doubting
And you don't just give in and you forget
Drink first the tágay you are holding
To make your bodies strong.

And when you drink that, all consumed
Your heart and loob will be eventually brave
Accept and drink your tágay
Do not leave any, not even a single drop.

That wine, the effect that it has
To everyone who drinks, is like medicine
Just remember the last reminder
The wine that you’ll taste is very effective.

Woman:
I am now forcing myself
Not to disobey, but it does not happen
Whatever you say, we really cannot
Do any other thing that is pleasurable.

Even in plants and in live humans
If there's nothing to wait for, no need to search
As in lemon, no matter how much you squeeze
If there's no more juice, nothing will come out.

Once more ordered, cannot do otherwise
But to obey without worry
Because to disobey is worse
It will be said that we are bad women.

The tágay glasses will be picked up again
So as not to be delayed, carry on the head at once
At ito rin lamang ang magiging dahil
Ng hinabahaba pag-uusap natin.

Narito na naman sa inyong harapan
Ang tagay ay sunong at pasayaw-sayaw
Nang walang marami tayong pag-usapan
Pinakyaw na namin ang lahat ng iyan.

Kawikaan namin kung gawi’y ganito
Hindi manginingip kami, sampung kayo
Yaon ding bibigyang mahal na gino
Di pa antay-antay, bakå magsitampo.

As it will only be the reason
For this lengthy conversation of ours.

Here once again in front of you
With the tágay on the head and dancing
That there’ll be not much we’ve to talk about
We already took all of them.

As our saying goes, if we do it this way
We will not be impatient, even you
Same with the dear gentleman to be offered
Won’t be waiting, might take offense.

[Will approach and give the tágay.]

Kaipala kayo’y maisiyanan na
Sa aming ginawa na inyong nakita
At dahil nga dito ay walang-wala na
Mahihinanakit kayong para-para.

Wish that you will be satisfied
With what we have done that you witnessed
And because of it, there is nothing more
No hurt feelings that you can think of.

Accept with openness this wine
The innate strength will not change
Drink and like what you heard
That we told the two gentlemen.

So rightfully accept and consume everything
So that the effect will at once be felt
To remedy and truly get well
In case you have a hidden secret.

Lalaki:
Nang lalong tumalab ang bisang tinuran
Mga tinataglay ng alak na iyan
Maigi’y hatin ninyo ang ibabaw
At ang matitiira ay sa akin naman.

Man:
So that the said effect will be felt more
What that wine contains
Better divide the upper portion
Whatever will be left is mine.

Babae:
Ano nama’t kayo ay labis kalambing
At iniibig pa’y tagay ay hatini
Kung kakalahati ang inyong inumin
Bisa niyang taglay kayo’y di talabin.

Woman:
How can you be so sweet
And desires that the tágay be divided
If your drink will be only half
Its effect will not take on you.
Lalaki:
Salamat sa inyong mga karangalan
At naipatnugot ating kasayahan
At ang bawat isa ay nasisyahan
Kayâ naman kami ay namamaalam.

Man:
Thanks to your honorable excellencies
And you managed our celebration
And each one is satisfied
That is why we are saying goodbye.

B.9. Áwit sa Galahán (Gift-giving to Newly Married Couple)
From Maria Judith Masilungan who unselfishly provided the 2009 Indie film “Fausta,” where this áwit is featured as a cameo, October, 2010; the first two stanzas are also well-known in most Tayábas areas; the third quatrain is from Barangay Ibabáng Palále courtesy of Nanay Sedeng Caagbay. The fourth stanza is from my maternal aunt, the late Hospicia E. Cagahastian.

Dudulugin ko na ang aking bianan
At itatanong ko kung ako’y manugang
Kung makapagsabi at makapagsaysay
Alaalang piso, sa aki’y ihigay.
(Ay kulang/Alangan ang piso . . .

I will now go to my parent-in-law
And I will ask if I am a daughter/son-in-law
If he/she is able to tell and able to state
A peso souvenir, to be given to me.
(One peso is not enough . . .

Ako’y titindig/sasayaw na ng iisang paa
Dadal’wahin ko po kung kayo’y gagálá‡
Aanhin ang gálang panungkit ng bunga
Di tulad ng pisong pambili ng sáya.
(pansilid sa bulsa)

I will now stand/dance on one foot
I will make it two if you will give a gift
What will I do with a pole for fruit picking?
Unlike the peso which could buy a long skirt
(to be placed in the pocket.)

Dudulugin ko na’y ama sa kasal ko
Na siyang sumaksi nitong matrimonyo
Ilayo ng Diyos at kami’y magtalo
Kayo ang bahala sa ami’y magpayo.

I will not go to my wedding father (sponsor)
Who witnessed this matrimony
May God forbid that we (couple) quarrel
’Tis up to you to counsel/advise us.

Ako’y paalam na, maghahanap-hanap,
Maghahanap-hanap, bagong kamag-anak.

Goodbye for now, I will be looking for,
Will be looking for new relatives.

‡ Pun was used in this stanza with the double meanings of the word gála: (1) gift during weddings, and (2) bamboo pole with a cutter and/or basket at its end used to get and collect fruits from tall trees.
B.10. Áwit sa Pagpapatulog ng Bata o Oyáyi (Lullaby)
From Segunda “Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay of Barangay Ibabáng Palále on 20 May 2011 in the house of Nanay Aida and Tatay Melo Cabalsa.

Mayroon daw anwang na nanginginain
Sa tabi ng tubog at mga pampangin
Sa binilog-bilog at tinaba-tabâ
May nakakamalas na isang palakâ.

There was a carabao that grazes
Along the mudpool and its banks
In its roundness and fatness
There watches a frog.

Wika ng palakâ, “makatulad kayâ
Sa binilog-bilog at tinaba-tabâ.”
Ang wika ng anwang, “ay baliw ka pala
At nag-imbot ka na lumaki ka pa.”

The frog said, “what if I imitate
In its roundness and fatness.”
The carabao said, “you are indeed crazy
And you are lying that you’ll still grow big.”

“Uminon ng tubig buhat sa umaga,
Masdan mo kung hapon, at malaki ka na.
Naniwala naman ang palakang uslak
Uminom ng tubig hangga’t hindi singkag.

“Drink water from the morning,
‘See in the afternoon, you’ll be big.”
And the crazy frog believed and
Drank water until he is so very full.

Ang nasapit niya ay dalita’t hirap:
Pumutok ang tiyan, paa’y iniunat.

He suffered great affliction and difficulty:
His stomach burst, feet straightened.

Ako’y magsasabi ng kabulaanan
Siguro’y di ninyo paniniwalaan.
Ako ay pumana ng usang sungayan
Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay tinamaan.

I will relate a story of lies
Maybe, you will not believe
I arrow-shot a horned deer
The ear and the nail were hit together.

Akin pong lalagyan ng hustong trasunta
Siguro po’y kayo’y maniniwala na
Nagkataon noong usa’y nangangamot
Ang kaniyang taynga ay kinakalikot.

I will put a correct perspective
Maybe you will now believe
It was a chance, the deer was scratching
Was assiduously nitpicking its ear.

Siya kong pagbigwas, nahayap kong tunod
Ang taynga’t kuko ay sabay na natuhog.

That moment I released my aimed arrow
The ear and nail were together hit apiece.
11.1 **Paawitán Text From Barangay Ibabang Palale**

20 May and 30 December 2011 collections from Barangay Ibabang Palále. Participants were mother and daughter tandem of Lola Crisanta “Santa” Naynes and Segunda “Nanay Sedeng” Naynes-Caagbay, Lolo Marcial Tabi, Mrs. Barbara “Lola Bareng” Baasis, and Nanay Belen Raca. Guitarist was Mang Biloy Cabuyao.

**Ganda ng loob mo'y pakita sa akin**
Show me your benevolence

**Sinusalubong ko'y magandang loob din**
I am welcoming it with benevolence also

**Ang loob mong iya' ba't di mo baguhin**
That *loob* of yours, why don't you change

**Ang loob ko'y lalong madaragdagan din.**
Mine will be augmented more.

**Atas palibhasa'y ligayang sumibol**
An order wherefore is joy that sprung

**Ang di maiwasang likat ng panahon**
An unavoidable flow of time

**Iniisip yata'y nandirito ngay-on**
‘Tis supposed thinking that it is herein now

**Ang pagpapaunlad, tuwa'y suson-suson.**
The progressing way, happiness a-piling.

**Kung sa pag-inom ko'y di ka masiyahan**
If in my drinking you won’t be satisfied

**At ang iyong mithi'y di ko maialay**
And your desire I cannot offer

**Patarawin ako at yaring kawal-an**
Forgive me and this utter lack

**Ang siyang may sala ng lahat ng bagay.**
Is the offender of all things.

**Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay**
My standing at the center of the house

**Nalalantang kahoy ang aking kabagay**
A withering tree I am compatible to

**Ang nakakatuyo'y ang patak ng ulan**
The rainfall dries me up

**Nakakasariwa'y ang sinag ng araw.**
The rays of the sun refreshes me.

**Kami'y may halaman, punò ng sampága**
We have a plant, a champaca tree

**Mayroong bulaklak na kaaya-aya**
It has a delightful flower

**Kung pipitasin mo'y magpapakaága**
If you will pick it, be really early

**Ngunit ang hiling ko'y maging maligaya.**
But my request is to be happy.

**Ako ay aalam, sa iyo'y lalapit**
I will be knowledgeable, I will approach you

**Ang dala ko'y baso na may lamáng tubig**
Am carrying a glass containing water

**Handog ko sa iyo, lakip ang pag-ibig**
My offering to you filled with love

**Ito'y tanggapin mong maluwag sa dibdib.**
Accept this with a roomy breast.

**Malaon nang araw, aking hinahangad**
It has been a long time, I am wishing

**Sa ganitong piling ang kayo'y mamalas**
In this kind of celebration, to see you

**Sa oras na ito, tayo'y nagkapalad**
At this time, we had the opportunity
Ang iyong kariktan, nalunod sa galak.
Your beauty, drowned in happiness.

Ako’y nilapitan, hagdang inyong sandig
I was approached, your leaning stairs

N’yaring may dalitang nagnasang pumanhik
Of this poor one wanting to go up

Pinagkaisahan na dito’y lumapit
All agreed to approach here

Upang di’y makamantan, ligaya’y masapit.
So as to receive, to arrive at happiness.

Narito na kami, mabunying ginoO
We are now here, triumphant gentleman

At nakapasok na sa pintuan ninyo
And have entered your doorstep

Aming pupunuan, pangunang bandito
We will begin with the initial band

Giliw na maybahay, pakinggan po ninyo.
Beloved houseowner, please listen.

Aking pupurhin, pasasalamatan
I will praise, will give thanks

Bunying sakramento, kamahal-mahalan
Hailed sacrament, dearly beloved

At ang ikalawa’y ang amang maybahay
And the second is the father of the house

At sa nandiritong táong nakagapay.
And to the one herein supporting.

Lamesa at silyang dito’y nakatayô
The table and chair herein standing

At doradong pilak na magkakahalô
And golden silver which are mixed

Nagpakilalang ang nagsisiupô
Introduce that those who sit

Yaong mga taong loob ay maamô.
Are people of mild character.

Sukat hanggang dito, yamang natanto na
So until here whereupon it is known

Kami ay uupô sa naturang silya
We will sit upon said chair

“Ang kapangahasa’y bunga ng pag-asa.”
Whence I came, Seneca said

“Courage springs from hope.”

Magandang oras po, bunying soberana
Good hour, hailed sovereign

Kita’y binabati, oras na maganda
I am greeting you a beautiful hour

Kita’y binabati, oras na masaya
I am greeting you a happy time

At lakip ang iyong mutyang ama’t ina.
With your beloved father and mother.

Sapagkat ay ngay-o’y siyang kaarawan
Because today is the birthday

Mahal mong anyaya sa mundo’y pagsinta
Your beloved invitation to the world is love

Sa bahay mo, Neneng, na tinatahanan
In your house, Neneng, where you stay

Lupang maligaya na iyong nilakhan.
A happy land where you grew up.

Madlang halaman mo’y nagsisipagsaya
All your plants are enjoying

Sampu ng bulaklak nagngiti sa sanga
All flowers are smiling on their branches

At ang samyo nito ay kaaya-aya
And their fragrance is very delightful

At nakakaakit sa tuwa’t ligaya.
And enticing joy and happiness.
Ikaw nga ang rosas na namumukakad
Ang laman ng pusong mahigit sa pilak
Sa araw at gab-i’y di ibig malingat
Halos patunungan sa dalawang palad.

Aba masanghayang bulaklak ng ari
Lingap ng awa mo’y siyang hintay namin
Kung ipagkalooob ikaw ng may hardin
Pakaasahan mong ika’y pipitasin.

Pagpitas kong ito’y hindi sisiipin
Puno’t sampung ugt aming aakatin
itatanim ko sa mabuting hardin
Ipagdidilig ko’y loob na magaling.

Ayon sa ligaya ng puso ko’t dib dib
Alay ko sa iyong kabutihan dikit
Ang tagay na iio na hauk ko’t bitbit
Sa ina sa binyag, doon ihahatid.

Iaabot ko na’t kami’y nalalaon
Yaring tangan-tangang rosas de palaton
Tinitingnan-tingnan, nililingon-lingon
Iitinuto pang iabot ko roon.

Inom na’y inom na, sa kamay ko galing
Sukdang ito’y lason, di ka tatalabin
Kung magkasakti ka, sa akin ang dahil
Ako’y malayo ma’y iyong ipaghilin.

Ang tagay na iya’y di ko iinumin
Ang tintiman lámang, di ako titimtim
Tana kung isayaw at saká sunungin
Intana biro ma’y iinumin ko rin.

Ako’y titindig na’y di man tinatawag
Ugali ng bata na may hinahanap
Ang hinahanap ko’y hindi ginto’t pilak
Kapuwa rin bata na kaisang-palad.

You really are the rose that blooms
The more-than-silver contents of the heart
Days and nights, don’t want to neglect
Almost asked to step on two palms.

Alas, delightful flower of joy
Your caring mercy we are awaiting
If you will be given by the garden owner
Surely hope that you will be picked.

This picking of mine will not sever
The trunk and all the roots we’ll be balling At
And I will plant in a good garden
I will water with a good intent.

Through to the joy of my heart and breast
My offering to your goodness and beauty
This drink that I hold and carry
To my baptismal godmother, there I’ll bring.

I will now give, as we are being delayed
This that I am holding rose of advance
Being looked at, head being turned
And still pointing to be handed there.

Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand
Even if it is poison, you won’t be harmed
If ever you get sick, I am the reason
Even if I am far away, call for me.

That tágay I will not drink
Even just to taste, I will not taste
Lest it’ll be danced and placed on the head
Even if’ tis a joke, I’ll also drink it.

I will now stand, though not called upon
The actuation of a child who looks for . . .
I am neither looking for gold nor silver
Also a child, who is a palm-mate.
No’ng unang panahong ako ay bayabas
Sa tabi ng daa’y hinahampas-hampas
Sakâ ngay-on nama’y lumaki’t tumaas
Hindi makalalo kung hindi pipitas.

Kung gusto mo Neneng tayo’y mag-áwitan
Tibagin ang bundok, dagat ay tabunan
Dakipin ang alon, ilagay sa pinggan
At siya po nating gagawing laruan.

Ano po ba’t tayo ay maglalaro pa?
Di na kayo batà; kayo’y matanda na
Kayà ko sinabi, sa buti mo’t ganda
Ang laman ng tasa, inyong inumin na.

Inom na’y inom na ng dilakonesa
Palamig sa dibdib nang ‘di mamaos ka
At pagka-inom mo’y ikaw ay agaganda
Pupula ang labi, pupungay ang mata.

Ano kayâ baga’t ako ang dinampot
Batang alanganin, kulang pa ang loob
Maigi-igi pa ang kawayang Ános
Kung higan ng hangi’y umaalinsunod.

Kung ako’y mayroong isandaang piso
Nalalaman ko na ang tutunguhin ko
Sa maglalaruan paroroon ako
Lakad ko’y matulin, may halo pang takbo.

Itong balbarosa’y magandang halaman
Di man umiimik ay nakakadångåang
Ang bango at samyo siyang nagsaysay
Marunong ka raw pong magpasayaw-sayaw.

Yaring pagtindig ko kung ako ay asin
Natunaw na laang sa inyong paningin
Mga mata ninyong kamukha’y patalim
Ang siya rin yatang papatay sa akin.

In the old days I was a guava
Along the road, was being slighted/hit
And now that I am have grown and tall
They cannot pass/advance without picking.

If you want Neneng, let us do some singing
Tear down the mountain, fill-up the sea
Catch the waves, put them on a plate
And we will make them our playthings.

Why do we still have to play?
You’re not young anymore, you’re now old
I said it because in your goodness and beauty
The contents of the cup, you drink now.

Drink now, drink now, the dilakonesa
Chest cooler so your voice won’t get hoarse
And once you drink, you will be beautiful
Will have red lips, flickering eyes.

Why did it happen that I was the one chosen
A doubtful child, wanting in will/volition
The Anos bamboo is a little better
Swaying with wherever the wind blows.

If I have a hundred pesos
I already know where I will head
To the one who sells toys I will go
I will walk fast, combined with running.

This balbarosa is a beautiful plant
Though unspeaking, it is conversant
Its fragrance and scent are the ones relating
That you know how to dance.

This standing up of mine, if I am a salt
Should have melted from your intent gaze
Your eyes that look like sharp weapons
Will be the ones to kill me.
At ditong sa aking ganabiglaanan
Ang galang ko’t puri’y aking nalimutan
Pero gayunman po’y kung aking pagbalkan
Magandang oras po sa inyong lahat d’yan.

Kung sa ganáng aki’y walang mahihità
Kung baga sa nangka’y pinitas ay múra
Manipis ang kálong, patda’y parang sutlâ
Nilabon mang but-o’y/ Ka’nin pa kung ‘maga’y nakakasikmurâ.

Birheng masaklolo, ano kayâ ito
Ako’y naliligid ng maraming tao
Kung ako’y umurong, mga kapatid ko
Kahikity-an natin sa táong narito.

Magpautang ka na’t ikaw ang mayroon
Magbabayad akong hindi maglalaon
Hintayin mo lamang mamarga ang santol
Magbabayad akong sakay sa karton.

Kung kaya ang aking pag-asa ay lubos
Na lilingapin mo akong napapagod
Yamang ang dalisay ng aking pag-irog
Magpakailanma’y di ko malilimot.

Dini sa puso ko ay nakalimbag na
Na lingked mo ako, panginoon kita
At sa bandang oras ikaw ay magsa
At ako ay laan sa pananalima.

Marabilya ka pong kahoy ko sa parang
Dahon mo’y mayabong, sanga mo’y maruklay
Sinumán daw taong dito’y maparaan
Pilit manganganlong kung naiinitan.

Puso ko’y nanlumô at napagulantang
Sa sagot mong hálos kumitil sa báhay
Tunod na mahayap ang siyang kabagay
Na sa aking puso ay hálos magwalaray.

At ditong sa aking ganabiglaanan
Ang galang ko’t puri’y aking nalimutan
Pero gayunman po’y kung aking pagbalkan
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Sa sagot mong hálos kumitil sa báhay
Tunod na mahayap ang siyang kabagay
Na sa aking puso ay hálos magwalaray.

And at this hesitance of mine
My self-respect and esteem, I forgot
But, even though, if I might return
Good time for all of you there.

As for me, you will not profit any
Compared to a jackfruit, picked so young
The flesh is thin, the sap is like silk
Even the boiled seeds/When eaten in the morning will upset the stomach.

Helpful Virgin, what is this then
I am surrounded by a lot of people
If I backtract, my siblings,
Our embarrassment to the people here.

Please lend us; you are the one who have
I will pay, it will not take long
Just wait for the santol tree to bear fruits
I will pay carried on a cart.

The reason why I am full of hope
That you will care for me who is weary
Because the pureness of my love
Forever I won’t forget.

Here in my heart is already imprinted
That I am your servant, you are my lord
And at a desired time whenever you wish
I am willingly resigned to obey.

You are my marvelous tree in the field
Your leaves are lush, your branches wide
Whoever passes by your way, ‘tis said,
Will surely take cover from the sun.

My heart was aggrieved and aghast
On your answer that almost killed the life
Likened to an arrow shot into a bow
That in my heart almost got amuck.
Nguni at sa udyok ng inang pag-ibig  
Di mayag na hindi muli pang ibalik  
Sa tyo ang aking dusang tinititis  
Ang iyong pasiya’y tula nallilibis.

But in the urge of mother love  
Will not permit not to return again  
To you my suffering I’m painfully bearing  
Your decision seems not to tread the way.

Ang isang sa loob ng bayang narapà  
Sa bundok magbangon, mangyayari kaya?  
Sino mang banta ko’y di makapagagawa  
Ng payo mong yaon, tula balintunà.

For one who fell in town  
To rise up in the mountain, will it happen?  
Whoever, I suppose, cannot do that  
Advice of yours, it seems the opposite.

At sa isa namang may malubhang damdam  
Mas nása kamay mo yang kasagutan  
Sakà ituro mo sa di kailangan  
Ang payo mong yaon kayâ’y karampatan?

And for one who has a grave ailment  
The remedy is more in your hand  
Then point out to one who doesn’t need  
Will that advice of yours be justly right?

Marahil ay kahit pangulo ng bansâ  
Puso’y yayakagin, habag mo’y ilawit  
At sino pa kayâ ang hindi mahapis  
Sa palad kong pinagtipunan ng sókit?

Maybe even the president of the country  
Will entice the heart, to grant your mercy  
And who else will not feel the sorrow  
On my palm (fate) that added up suffering?

11.2 Paawitán Text From Barangay Gibanga


Upon entry to the house:

Pagparito namin (ay) dili sa kung ano  
Ay di man kumbisi, dili kumbidado  
Kayâ lámang bilang kami’y naparito  
Maganda raw loob ang maybahay dito.

Our coming over is not for whatever reason  
We were not so busy, though uninvited  
We came over just because ‘tis said that  
The dweller here has a beautiful heart.
Ang maybahay dito’y maiging panhikin
The dweller/wife here is good when you
ascend to her house

Ang loob ay leyal/riyal, ang katawa’y hayin
The loob is true, the body is an offering
Paloob-palabas, dala-dala’y mam-in
Going in and out, carrying food
Ipinanamamama/Isinasalubong sa táong
Being offered/fed to incoming people.
nadating.

Inside the house:

Tindig, katawan ko, at panuntunan mo
Rise up, my body, and make a lead
Ang gawang komedya, nása entablado
Of the comedy chore, up on a stage.
Anuman daw sayá, pag walang lakayo
However joyous, if there is no clown,
Ay pagtatawanan ng maraming tao.
Will be laughed at/jeered by many people.

Tabi-tabi ako, mga kamahalan
Excuse me, your excellencies,
At sa bumabásang may dunong na taglay
And for the knowledgeable reading ones
Ang sasabihin ko’y kung magkamali man
For whatever I’ll say, if I commit mistakes
Inyong ipatawad, tuloy na pagpun-an.
Pardon me and consequently fill it up.

Ako’y nahkiyang umáwit kung tikis
I am embarrassed to sing if forced
Sapagkat masama yaring aking boses
Because my voice is bad
Maraming tatawa, maraming iismid
Many will laugh, many will sneer
Magkukuhitan pa ang magkakaratig.
Seatmates will tickle each other.

Ako’y inutusan, hindi makatanggi
I was commanded, I cannot resist
Tumanggi man ako’y walang mangyayari
Even if I resist, nothing will happen
Subalit kung sundin, pagpipitang yari
But if I obey the wished thing to do
Kapurihan ko rin sa táong marami.
Praise will also be mine from many people.

Ako’y susunod na, madaling-madali
I will obey now, in a hurry/haste
(Ay) Para ng pagsunod sa mahal na hari
Like obeying a beloved king
Yaring katawan ko’y tindig sa delante
This body of mine, stand up in front
Tanghalin ka ngay-o’y sa táong marami.
To be displayed now to many people.

Kung ‘binigay na yaong hinihiling
If whateven is requested is now given
Ay siguro’y di na muli pang dadaing
Maybe, he/she will not request again.
Kung ibinigay yaong hinihingi
If whatever is asked is now given
Siguro’y hindi na hihingi pa uli.
Maybe, he/she will not ask again.

Wag mong paghanapan ang ‘di pa bihasa
Don’t find lack from a neophyte
(Ay) Mauuna kayong tunay na tumawa
You will be the the first to really laugh
Walang magagawâ at ang magdadala  
(Ay) Bagong nag-aaral sa primera letra.  
Nothing could be done since the bearer  
Is a new learner in first letters.

Utos ng matanda, mahalay di sundin  
Kinababusungan batang paris natin  
Ang bai’t ng bata (ay) saan manggagaling  
Kundi sa matanda, nakuhang tanong din.  
Orders from elders, obscene not to follow  
Bad labeling for children like us  
The character of a child, whence it come  
But from the elders, gotten also from asking.

Yaring pagtindig ko sa gitna ng bahay  
Ang nakakaparis ay ipang bualaw  
Di magserbeng gatong, di magserbeng tanglaw  
(Ay) Itapon mo na po’t hahanipin lamang.  
My standing at the center of the house  
Am comparable to rice hull  
Can’t serve as fuel, can’t serve as light  
Throw me, I’ll only accumulate bugs.¹²

¹² hahanip are very tiny itch-causing insects.

Sa nakakarinig ng huni ng punay  
Sa isang malagong kahoy na maruklay  
Ng dalawang lalaking laging nakabantay  
Huhulihin lamang ay kung magkakaway.  
Those who hear the punay bird chirp  
On one of the lush wide-branched trees  
Of two men who are always watching  
Will catch only if it flaps its wings.

Ang mabuting puno’y mabuti ang sanga  
Magpahanggang dulo’y mabuti ang bunga  
Dito na po lâma ng at wala nang iba  
At ako’y wala nang maídaragdag pa.  
A good tree trunk has good branches  
Until the top end, has good fruits  
Until here and nothing follows  
And I have nothing more to add.

Inom na’y inom na’y nása tasang tagay  
Pag naubos ninyo ang laman ng tagay  
Pupula ang pisngi, mata ay pupungay  
Gagandang lalaki, parang artista ay.  
Drink now, drink now, tágay in the cup  
When you finish the contents of the tágay  
Your cheeks will redden, eyes will flicker  
Will be good-looking, like a movie actor.

Naari na nga po, sa inyo’y narating  
Ang pinangalanang mahal na inumin  
Ngay-on ko titingnan at panonoorin  
Ay ang ibubundol at palalayawin.  
Here it is now, coming your way  
The named or branded dear drink  
Now I will look and watch  
What will be forwarded and foregone.

Sinusulyap-sulyap, nililingon-lingon  
Itinuturo pa, ang wika ay ‘doon’  
Pagdating sa gitna, ay pagbiling-biling  
Mamà’y kunin mo na’t ‘pakita sa akin.  
Being gazed at, head being turned,  
Still finger-pointed, said ‘there’  
Upon reaching the center, head a-turning,  
Man, get it now and let me see.
Naari na nga po, narating sa inyo
Ang pinangalanang mahal na tágay mo
Kung di mo damputin ay ilalagay ko
Kukunin ang iba, ano pang sa iyo?

Here it is now, coming your way
The named/branded dear tágay of yours
If you’ll not pick it up, I’ll put it down
Somebody will get it, what else will be yours?

Inom na’y inom na, sa kamay ko gåling
Sukdang ito’y lason, di ka tatalabin
Kung magkasakit ka, sa akin ang dahil
Malayo man ako’y iyong ipagbilin.

Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand
Even if this is poison, you’ll not be harmed
If ever you get sick, I am the reason
Even if I am far away, call for me.

Ang tágay na ito’y di ko iiinumin
Ang títimman lamang, di ako titítim
Intana isayaw at saká sunungin
Intana biro man, tayo ay hañi rin.

This tágay I will not drink
Even just to taste, I will not try
Unless it be danced and placed on the head
Even if it is just a joke, we drink in halves.

Tuloy mo na po ang iyong pag-inom
Darayukdukin ka paq iyong in’urong.
Ako’y inom na ng parating akin
Ay mamaya-maya’y ako’y siyang lasing.

Go on with your drinking
You will be starved if you postpone.
I will now drink this which is always mine
In a little while, I will be the one drunk.

Ako’y naari na’t napapagöt na
Nasasakupan na ng inyong bandera
Ang ibig pa yata’y humiyaw ng biba!
Anong magagawa’y di na makakaya?

Here I am now and at the center
Your flag already conquering me
Still wishing me to shout Viva! (Long live!)
What can be done when I can’t anymore?

Magpautang ka na’t ikaw ang mayroon
Magbabayad kami, hindi maglalaon
Maghintay-hintay kang bumunga ang katmon
Magbabayad kami, sunò sa kariton.

Lend us, because you are the one who have
We will repay, it will not take long
Wait a while for the catmon*3 to bear fruits
We will repay, carried on a cart.

*3 Catmon and santol (cotton fruit) currently have no market value.
Mataas na langit, paanhin ko kayâ
Ang mga pagsunod sa may dalang tuwâ?
Di pa nabigkas ng labî ko’t dilâ
Ang nangunguna na’y ang malaking hiyâ.

Mayroon ka ngay-on, bûkas ay wala na
Sa binûkas-bûkas, tinuwing makalawa
Sunod, kapatid ko’t sa usapang pita
(Ay) Di ka sisiguro, di maiimporta.

Labas na’y labas na kung sino’ng lalabas
Tugtog ng gitara ay bakâ lumipas
Ang nakikita ko’y gila-gila lámang
Ituloy mo na po yaong karamihan.

Pagdating sa gitna magbibiling-biling
Ang maidudugtong, makita’y sa akin
Ngay-on ko titingnan at panonoorin
Bangkang ibubunsod at palalayawin.

Yaring kapatid ko, masyadong malambing
(Ay) Masiya-siyado kang madaraingin
Siya’y naari na, sa akin kapiling
Ang ibig pa yata’y damputin, kalungin.

Salamat sa Diyos at ako’y pinálad
Pinalad man ako’y di sariling hanap.

Itataas ko na ang tangan kong tasa
At sa aking ulo ay nakakorona
Ang laman pa nito’y Agua de Kolonya
Sa atay ko’t puso, doon ko kinuha.

Ikaw na sahig ka’y aking yayapakan
Ng maruming paa na kahalay-halay.

Yaring pagtindig ko, bilôg na kung bilôg
Tagulaylay mandin, ganda ng ’yong loob
Ang nangangatuwa’y sa aki’y manood
At ang hindi nama’y mukha’y italikod.
Ganda ng loob n’yo’y ’pakita sa akin
Sinasalubong ko, magandang loob din.
Ang loob na iya’y atin nang baguhin
Ang loob ko’y lalong hindi magmamaliw.

Show me your good heart (loob)
I am welcoming it with good loob also
This loob, let us now change
My loob will not even falter.

Sulong aking tandang, sulong aking manok
At sa dumalaga ay mangurukutok
Sa oras na ito’t di ka tumaraok
Sayang ang tinukà, sa balayot dukot.

Forward, my rooster, forward, my chicken
And to the young hen, make a cackle
At this very hour if you don’t cock-a-doodle
What wasted feeds, drawn from the huge sack.

Yaring pagtindig ko’y nanlulumo halos
Ang paa’t kamay ko’y parang ginagapos
Ipinanlulumo ng puso ko’t loob
Daming mata ninyong nagsisipanood.

In my standing, am almost so weary
My feet and hands are like being tied
My heart and loob’s weariness is due to
So-many eyes of yours watching me.

Ang gayak at nasà n’yaring aking puso
Ay manood lámang ng inyong palaro
Akala ko mandin, táyo ang nag-utos
Sino ang haharap? Ako’y namamaos.

The plan and wish of this heart of mine
Is just to watch your games
I just thought, we made the orders
Who will face them? My voice is hoarse.

Maniniwala ka, prínseang marikit
Nang kita’y sintahin, hamak kang malilit
Nása tiyan ka pa ng ina mong ibig
(Ay) Natatanim ka na sa puso ko’t dibdib.

You have to believe, pretty princess
When I loved you, you were lowly small
You were still in your mother’s womb
You’re already planted in my heart.

Kung mangyayari nga at mangyari lamang
(Ay) Luha n’yaring mata’y aking pinansulan
At pinapatak ko sa iyong hihig-an
Upang matanto mo yaring kahirapan.

If ever it will happen and wish it will
I will make an aqueduct for my tears
And I let them fall on your bed
For you to realize my suffering.

Ang minamahal ko saan man magsuot
(Ay) Kahit na magtago sa likod ng bundok
Di ako titigil nang sinunod-sunod
Hangga’t di mahigay ng magandang loob.

My beloved wherever she goes
Even if she hides at the back of the mountain
I’ll not cease to pursue her
Until she gives a good loob.

Kung ika’y pumaris, sa ibon pumaris
At nahahayon mo ay ang himpapawid
Ako ay gagawa, panang malilit
Pagtama sa iyo’y sa akin ang bulid.

If you imitate a bird
And you can reach the sky
I will make small arrows
When they hit you, to me you will fall.
At kung ikaw nama’y pumaris sa isda
Papunta sa dagat na pipitlag-pitlag
Ako ay gagawa ng maraming baklad
Sakâ isampukot na sakop ng dagat.

And if you imitate a fish
Will go to the sea a-jumping
I will make many fish weirs
Then catch all over the sea-covered area.

Kung ikaw naman ay dayap na malagô
Ang sanga’t dahon mo’y lagaylay sa punò
Ang alinmang ibong sa iyo’y dumapò
Mailap-ilap ma’y pilit ding aamò.

If you are, meanwhile, a lush lemon tree
Your branches and leaves cover your trunk
Any bird that perches on you
However wild, will turn meek and mild.

Mahal na prinsipe, wag kang magpumilit
Sa kapunong dayap na lipos ng tinik
Ang baro mo’t sóya’y diyan mapupunit
Ang hari mong sinta’y walang masasapit.

Dear prince, do not persevere
With the lemon tree surrounded by thorns
Your clothing and drapes will be there torn
Your conquering love will go to waste.

Nagi nga ba mahal ang mahinang isip
Ay salat sa alam, may susi ang bibig
Alalayan ninyo, santos, kerubines,
Sampu kayong lahat na dominasyones.

Isn’t it, beloved, that the weak mind
Lacks knowledge, the mouth is locked
Please assist, saints, cherubims,
As well as you, all dominations.

Yaring sasabihin, kulang man sa regla
Sakaling kulang man sa punto at bunga
Walang magagawa at ang nagdadala
Bagong nag-aaral sa primera letra.

What I will say, though wanting in rules
In case it lacks points and produce
Nothing can be done as the bearer is
A new learner in first letters.

Mahal na prinsipe, kung totoo’t ibig
Hayo na’t manulay sa hiblang sinulid
Pagdating sa gitna at hindi napatatíd
(Aj) Totoo nga palang kayo’y umiiibig.

Dear prince, if it is true and you really like
Go on and walk on a fiber thread
Upon reaching the middle and it doesn’t break
It is really true that you are in love.

Mahal na prinsipe, kung totoo’t gusto
Hayo na’t magtanum ng niyog sa bato
Ngayon din bubungga, ngayon din bubuko
Ngayon di’y kukunan ng igagátà ko.

Dear prince, if ’tis true and you really want
Go on and plant a coconut tree on a rock
Today it’ll bear fruits, today it’ll have nuts
On this very day I’ll get from it my cocomilk.

Ako ay nagtanum ng kapunong santol
Namunga kanina, nahinog kahapon
Nang pipitasin ko’y natukà ng ibon
Nahulog sa lupà, sa dulo gumulong.

I planted a cotton fruit (santol) tree
It fruited a while ago, ripened yesterday
About to pick it up, ’twas pecked by a bird
It fell on the ground, rolled onto the top.
Ako’y inutusa’y hindi makatanggi
Ang tumanggi nama’y hindi mangyayari
Subali, sundin ko’y pagpipitang yari
Kapurihan ko rin sa tåong marami.

Kundangan ang aking pagpapakundangan
(Ay) Di ko ikinibo ang aking katawan
Labè ko’y may susi, seradura’y siyam
Kahiyaan lámang kayá ko binuksan.

Biling katawan ko, ijong paglabanin
Ang gilingang batong pinalad ng hangin
Magdali-dali ka’t bakâ di abutin
Nakabit sa lawa at pabiti-bitin.

Ako’y paalam na, palapa ng saging
Kung anong gaw-in mo’y s’ya ko ring gagawin
Kung ika’y sumayaw, ako’y sasayaw rin
Kung ika’y umupo, ako’y uupo rin.

Kung ika’y tumágay, ako’y tatágay rin
Kung ika’y kumanta, ako’y kakanta rin.
Ilabas mo na po yaong karamihan
At kaming narito’y susunod na lámang.

Ako’y huwag mo nang pagpari-paringgan
Tungkol hangong sulat, di ako maalam
Ang kinagispnan ko sa aking magulang
Ang pluma ko’y dulos, ang papel ko’y parang.

Yaong sinisinta n’yaong pirmamento
Solong kapisanan ng Pastor Dibino
Ginawa’t nilalang ng Paring Eterno
Aman Pontipise nitong uniberso.

Sa aming probins’ya ng Diyos na kasi
Nayaring di kulang pahtiyas sa gab-i
Ito ay nilagyan tamang palamuti
Na bituing tampok sa dilim ng gab-i.
Dito ay may palma, malabay ang dahon
Humirang ng lilim, sila’y nakisilong
Ang wika ng Birhen kay Hosep ay gay-on
Kikita ng tubig upang makainom.

Here was a palm plant, with wide leaves
Chose a shade, they took shelter
The Virgen told Joseph to
Look for water to be able to drink.

Sagot ni San Hosep, “dito’y walang tubig,
Bukal man ay walâ, ni makitang batis
Pagkakitang gay-on ng Birheng Maria
(Ay) Yumuko’t kumuha ng dahon ng palma.

Saint Joseph answered, “no water here,
Not even a spring, can’t even see a brook.”
Thereupon seeing, the Virgin Mary
Stood down and got a palm leaf.

At doo’y dumaloy tubig kapagdaka
(Al) Uminom agad ang Birheng Maria
Magpahanggang ngay-o’y nadaloy ang tubig
Sa dulo ng palma, hindi napapatid.

And there flowed water at once
The Virgin Mary drank at once
Until now the water is flowing
At the top of the palm, without ceasing.

Tabi po sa inyong karikitang bantog
Maybahay na amang aming iniirig
Magandang gab-i po, una naming handog
Pagkat sumasa’yo yaring abang lingkod.

Talk about the unending joy
In the place of suffering, heart of Pontipeles.

Di akin ang sabi, ang may isang hain
Ang nag-aalaga, dito nakahimpil
Ang sinta ng hari na nakakaaliw.

‘Tis not from me, the one with an offering
The caretaker, hereby staying
The beloved of the king, source of his joy.

Tuloy po kung kami dito’y naglalakbay
(Ay) Dito’y may balita, rosas na halaman
Ang rosas na iyon ay nabatalaan
At ako’y pipitas kung pahintulutan.

Go on if we here are travelling
The news is there is a rose planted here
And that said rose is known
And I am going to pick if permitted.

Kung kayâ po ako, ginoong maybahay
Dito’y ang katulad, ang magkasintahan
Dito’y nakatulad at kabagay tayo
Sa mahal na poon, santa’t santo, Kristo.

That is why I, master of the house
Herewith are compared to lovers
In comparison, and we are compatible
To the blessed image, saints all, Christ.

Ang winika niya, Diyos na Poon ko
Sana’y akin Ka po, at ako’y sa Iyo.

He uttered, God my Lord
I wish that You are mine, and I am Yours.
Ang sinisinta ko ay punò at ugi
Ang sinasamyo ko’y mabangong bulaklak
Kayá sa bulaklak ako nakiusap
(Ay) Sa bulaklak naman ako narárap.

I am loving the tree and the root
I am smelling the fragrant flower
I conversed with the flower because
I must be with the flower.

Ang sinisinta ko saan man magsuot
Kahíma’t matakpan pitong susóng bundok
Di ako titigil nang sinunód-sunód
Hanggang di magbigay ng magandang loob.

My beloved, wherever she goes
Even if she’s covered by a sevenfold mountain
I will not stop pursuing
Until she gives a good heart (loob).

O Aling Polana, sumayaw ka lámang
Ang mabaling sahig aking babayaran
Doon po sa amin mahal ang kawayan
Sambias ay piso, wala pang makunan.

O Madame Polana, if you will just dance
Any floor that breaks I will pay
In our place, bamboos are expensive
One peso apiece, can’t even acquire any.

Ang inang binyag ko kaya pala walâ
Nagbibíkang-bíkang sa tabí ng sapa
Nang ako’y pumar-o’t aking inusisà
Pinaglahok-lahok suman at marhuya.

My baptismal godmother, she’s not here
She is making bikang along the brookside
When I went there and inquired
She is mixing suman and marhuya.

Si Aling Polana’y hindi maghihirap
Pinaghahanapa’y lupang gagapalad.

Madame Polana will not be poor
Getting her income from a palm-sized land.

Si Aling Polana’y may bahay sa labak
Ang bubong ay yunot, ang dingding ay balât
May bintang muntí sa tapat ng papag
Dungawan ng kanyang minamarisapsap.

Madame Polana has a house in the valley
The roof is yunot, the wall is skin
With a small window across the bed
Where her minamarisapsap looks out.

Si Aling Polana’y may but-o ng kasoy
Ako namang arí’y may kamoteng kahoy
Puwedé kayá pong ako’y makílabon
Sa inyong palayok, tabí’y harimuyomoy?

Madame Polana has a cashew nut
I on the other hand have a cassava
May I then please boil
In your pot, surrounded by lace?

Mahirap nga pala ang bûhay ng duling
Pagkatanghalia’y sa langit ang tingin!

It is really difficult, the life of a cross-eyed
After lunch time, always looking at the sky!
No’ng unang mauso ang gitarang bunga
When the fruit guitar was then in fashion
Tugtog ni Bayutbot, sayaw ni Tigrina
Bayutbot will play, Tigrina will dance
Lantaki Putakte, natatalawan ka
Eat Putakte, you are missing something
Bakit bagá Negrong nagpapabayâ ka?
Why are you a neglecting Nigger?

Di ko sana násang katalo’y patulan
It was not my desire to fight my opponent
Sa kalbo’y wala raw masasabunutan
There’s nothing to hair-fight in a bald man
Subalit sa kanyang mga kayabangan
But to his many boastings
Bakà maniwala ang mutya kong hirang.
My dear beloved might believe.

Kayâ alang-alang sa katotohanan
So for the sake of truth
Ay lilisanin ka ang madlang tinuran
I will leave all what I planned
Siya raw po’y merong isang maharpilak
’Tis said that he has a noble-silver
Sa may Dagat Sulung katimugang dagat.
At the southern Sulu Sea.

Sa dami ng silid, wala raw katulad
In good number of rooms, nothing compares
At ang tuktok nito’y lampas daw sa ulap
And its top is said to be beyond the clouds
Sa gusaling guhit ay aking nahagap
The drawn building it dawned on me
Ang Bilibid pala’y doon ililipat.
The Bilibid Prison will be there transferred.

Ano kaya itong narating ng palad?
What is this that fate brings
Na sa laot mandin sa gitna ng dagat
That at sea in the middle of the sea
Ako’y lumulubog, ‘di naman mabigat
I am sinking, although not heavy
Wala namang hangin ako’y napapadpad.
There’s no wind even, but I am blown.

Ang bait-isip ko ay natitigilan
My lucidity seems to stop
At ako’y wala nang masabi’t maturan
And I can neither say nor speak anymore
Gapoon na man ay aking aatuhan
However, I will try
Kung ako’y mamali, tawad ang pakamtan.
If I commit mistakes, grant me forgiveness.

May kapunong kahoy na ipinagturing
There is a named tree
Na sa buong mundo’y walang makahanbing
That in the whole world nothing compares
Ito’y talaga na’t kaloo sa atin
Bearing white leaves with black trunk.
Nagdahon ng puti at ang punò’y itim.

Maliit na dampa ang aking tahanan
A little shack is my home
Walang palamuti’t mga kasangkapan
With no adornments and furniture
Di tulad ng ibang magagaran bahay
Unlike the other opulent houses
Nagtataka ako nang gay-on na lâmang
I am wondering not just a bit
Kung bakit lagi kong pinagpipilitang
Why I am always forcing myself
Doon din magbalik sa kinahapunan.
There to return in the afternoons.
Pag ako’y nalayô kahit ilang saglit
Whenever I get far from it even for a while
Nais ko’y sa dampa’y kaagad magbalik
I wish to return at once to my shanty
Kapag nawawalay, ako’y nananabik
When apart, I feel so eager
At kung naghihintay, ako’y naiinip.
And when waiting, I become impatient.

Natutuwa ako kapag namamasid
I am joyful when I am able to see
Ang aking magulang at mga kapatid
My parents and my siblings
Maligaya ako kung nakakapiling
I am happy when I am with
Ang lahat ng aking kaisang damdamin.
All of those who share my feelings.

Nalilimutan ko ang mga hilahil
I forget the anxieties
Ang sumasapuso’y banal na hangarin
What fills my heart are holy intentions
Kaya’t sa tuwa ko’y malimit sabihing
That in my happiness, I frequently say
Ang Diyos ay sadyang malâpit sa akin.
That God is really near me.

Ang aking tahana’y isang munting pugad
My home is a little nest
Na nahihiyasan ng mga pangarap
That is adorned with dreams
Doon ko nakita ang unang liwanag
There I saw the first light
Ang pagkatao ko’y doon din namulat.
My being is also there eye-opened.

Ang aking tahanan ay walang katulad
My home is beyond compare
Tang-king kayamanang sa langit nagbuhat
A special wealth that came from heaven
Nagbabalik mandin, parang hinahanap
‘Tis hereby returning, as though searching
Dito ang panahong nasayang, lumipas.
Here the wasted time that passed.

Mga binibini at mga ginoo
Ladies and gentlemen
Matanda at batang ngayon ay narito
Elders and children now here
Malugod ang bati, ang tanging handog ko
Joyful greeting, my only offering
Sa pagsisimula nitong pag-áwit ko.
In beginning of this singing of mine.

Hari palibhasa’y makapangyarihan
The King, as he is powerful
Ang atas mo’y sundin at iyong igalang
Your order to obey and respect
Haring mahal namin ika’y naririto
Our beloved King, you are here
May lugod at aliw ang lahat ng tao.
There is joy and happiness in all the people.

Nang ako’y umalis sa sariling amin
When I left our very own place
Si Ama at Ina’y may katagang bilin
Father and Mother left an order
Sinuman daw tång mag-utos sa akin
Whoever commands me
Sundin ko pong tunay bago ko suwayin.
I should truly follow before I disobey.
Ang táong kumibo nang kulang sa gayak
Nagmamagatanong sa mga paglakad
Ang taong patay man maganda ang asal
Para rin ngang buhay kung pinag-usapan.

Any man who moves lacking in planning
Always asks things along his ways
A dead man with good character
Is like a living man when talked about.

Ako mandi’y walang maisip-isipan
Hiyang-hiya mandin ang aking kataw-an
Ang naisipan ko’y manghiram na lámang
Sa isip ng ibang may pinag-aralan.

I cannot think of anything
My body is so embarrassed
I thought of just borrowing
From the minds of those who have studied.

At kung maliligo’y sa tubig aagap
Nang hindi abutin ng tabsing ng dagat.

And when bathing, to be early in the water
So that the saltiness of the sea will not catch up on you.

Ngayong natanto mong sa iyong pagdating
Isinalubong mo’y ang ngiti at lambing
Di na yata káya akin pang sabihin
Ang pag-ibig sa ‘kin ay iyong banggitin.

Now that you realize upon your arrival
You welcomed with a smile and sweetness,
I cannot take it to say anymore
Your love for me you should mention.

Ay h’wag mo na akong igaya sa luya
Gagayat-gayatin, gagawing atsara
Hangga’t bago-bago’y lagay sa lamesa
Kapag nalumà na’y sa linó kasama.

Do not compare me to ginger anymore
Will be minced and made into pickles
While still new is placed atop the table,
Will be included in the hogfood when old.

Mahal na prinsipe, kung totoo’t gusto
Magbahay ka muna sa gitna ng bato . . .

Dear prince, if it is true and you want
Build your house first at the rock center…

Abot, abot, kuha, mahal na bituin
Ang nagreregalo’y huwag mong hiyain.

Reach out, reach out and take it, dear star
Do not embarrass the gift-giver.

Susundin ko na po, mahirap-hirap man
Kung siya po ninyong ibig mapalayaw
Ang táong patay ma’t mabuti ang asal
Para rin ngang buhay kung pagsubihan.

I will now obey though it is difficult
If that is the favor you so desire
A dead man, if he had good character
Is like a living person when assessed.

Kagagawang ito’y aking inaangkin
Ay kawalang-bait kung iyong banggitin

This work, I am treating as mine
Is a loss of mind if you will say it

Aanhin ko pa ang makinang na ginto
Higit pang makinang sa maraming tanso?
Inom na’y inom na, n’yaring damasino
Hamog ng Aurora, galing sa pusó ko.

What else will I do with glittering gold
Far shinier than a lot of silver?
Drink now, drink now, this damascene
Aurora dew, coming from my heart.
Mahirap din naman sa dilang mahirap
It is also difficult, as to difficulty
Umutang ng loob sa di kamag-anak
To ask for favors from non-relatives
Maigi-igi pang utangin ang pera
‘Tis better to borrow money
Pagdating ng oras ay makakabayaran.
When the time comes, we can repay.

Sa isang maliit at ulilang bayan
In a small and lonely town
Na pinagtumpuhan ng kaligayahan
Where happiness was utterly lacking
Ito po ay mga sabi ng matanda
This are what the old folks were saying
Kapanahunan no’ng mga Kastila.
‘Twas then the era of the Spaniards.

Nang ito’y tugtugin dahilan sa digma
When it was played because of war
Lakas pa ng tugtog, bumagsak sa lupa
In its loudness, it fell on the ground
Ano kaya baga’t ako ang dumampot?
Why then it was I who picked it up?
Batang alanganin, kulang pa sa loob.
A doubtful child, lacking in will/volition
Kung sa kakanin ay di ikabubusog
Compared to a snack, won’t make one full
Kulang sa linamnam, di gaya ng hinog.
Lacking in flavor, unlike the ripe one.

Susundin ko na po, sapagkat utos mo
I will now obey because it’s your order
Sapagkat ikaw po’y hindi nagbabago
Because you are not changing
Bakâ ang masabi ng alin ma’t sino
Some might say am everchanging
Nagbabago-bago’y di ko naman kaso.
Yet this is not even my case.

Tila naiiba ang tanging layunin
The only purpose seems different
Nitong mga taong dumarating
Of these people who are coming
Kayâ ako ngay-on sa aking pagdating
So that I now in my arrival
Ang magandang batì aking sasabihin.
The good greetings I will state.

Yamang itong áwit ngay-o’y itinanghal
Since this áwit that is now performed
Sa dagling panahon matatapos dapat
In a short while must end
At ang aking áwit, ngay-o’y maguawakas
And my áwit will now end
Sa inyo pong lahat, maraming salamat!
To all of you, many thanks!

11.3. Paawitán Text From Barangay Kalumpang
Barangay Kalumpáng contributors are Julita “Tia Juling” Valle Apurado, Fredeswinda “Ate Fresing” Contreras Avila-Carillo, my mother Monica E. Cagahastian-Afable, my maternal aunt the late Hospicia “Tia Picia” Evclavea Cagahastian, and Herminia Sandoval.

Gitara kong munti, Intsik ang may panday
My little guitar, made by a Chinaman
Aayaw tumunog kapag walang tágay
 Doesn’t like to sound sans tágay
Aking sinabitan, tingting na kawayan
Aayaw tumunog pag walang pulutan.

Ako’y magbibiro sa kadalagahan
Huwag magagalit pagkat biro lámang
Karamihan ngayon ay lubhang magaslaw
Binti ng dalaga ay pinalilitaw.

Binti ng dalaga ay may limang klase:
May binting ulalo, may binting kamote,
May binting kawayan, may binting garrote,
May binting labanos, tadlad pa ng buni.

Binti ng dalaga, kung mahaba’t payat
Bukod pa sa payat, p’wedeng pamalibag,
Yaon kung tawagin ng taga-Mabitac
Yaon daw ay binti, biniting alimasag.

Binti ng dalaga, kung sobra ang laki
Bukod sa malaki, p’wedeng panghaligi
Yaon kung tawagin ng taga-Cavite
Yaon daw ay binti, biniting elepante.

Binti ng dalaga, kung malaki’t sukóng
Bukod pa sa sukóng, maaring igatong
Kung tawagin yaon ng taga-Malabon
Yaon daw ay binti, biniting kinamagong.

May tigas na galit si Aling Kuranggi
Anak na dalaga’y isinasauli
Hindi naman pilay, hindi naman bungi,
Ang pintas mo lámang, pilipit ang binti.

Kayâ nga dalaga, kung kayo’y laalakad
Ay magsuot kayo kahit sirang medyas
Kahit na seksonhan, kahit na maay bütas,
Wag lámang makita binting puro peklat.

I put on it a bamboo stick
Doesn’t like to sound sans pulutan.

I am going to make jokes to the ladies
Don’t get mad because ’tis just a joke
 Mostly nowadays, are so rough/vulgar
Legs of the ladies are being displayed.

Ladies’ legs are of five kinds:
There are legs like worms, legs like camote,
Legs like bamboos, legs like garrote,
Legs like radishes, full of ringworms.

Ladies’ legs, if long and thin
Aside from being thin, can be thrown,
That kind as named by those from Mabitac
Those are the legs, legs of crabs.

Ladies’ legs, if they are too big
Aside from being big, can be used as post
That kind as named by those from Cavite
Those are the legs, legs of elephants.

Ladies’ legs, if big and bowed
Aside from being bowed, can be used as fuel
That kind as named by those from Malabon
Those are the legs of the kamagong tree.

Madame Kuranggi was very angry
Lady daughter was being returned
She is neither limp nor lacking in teeth,
The only fault is her legs are crooked.

So therefore, ladies, when you walk
Wear stockings/socks even if worn out
Even if second hand or have holes,
So as not to be seen legs full of scars.
Dooon po sa amin, nayon ng Bikuyô
May nagpapaskuhang Paite at Susô
Wiika ng Paite, kumuha ng pakô
At ating gagat-an ng pito kabuô.

There in our place, barrio of Bikuyô*
There were Paite and Susô Christmas-partying
The Paite instructed to get some edible ferns
And we will cook with coconut milk from seven-whole nuts.

Ang sumagot naman ang Haring Kayuran
Na kung walang niyog ay huwag nang gat-an
Ang kutsara’t sandok nagpapanahakan,
Ang apoy at tubig ay nagpapatayan.

The King Grater answered then
That if there is no coconut, then don’t proceed
The spoon and ladle quarrel
The fire and water are killing each other.

Ako’y si Butiki, anak ni Bangkalang,
Pamangkin ng Tuko, apo ng Layagan.
Kung itatanong mo ang aming pulangan,
Dooon ka magpunta sa Kabayawakan.

I am House Lizard, son of Salamander,
Nephew of Gecko, grandson of Skink.
If you will inquire about our clan,
You go to the area of the Monitor Lizards.

Tiririt ng Maya, tiririt ng ibon,
Huni ng Kulyawan, walang ipalamon.
Tiririt ng Maya, tiririt ng matsin
Ibig mag-asawa’y walang ipakain.
Tiririt ng Maya ang under de saya
Tiririt ng ibon ang under de carson.

Chirp of the field sparrow, chirp of the bird,
Sound of the oriole, nothing to feed.
Chirp of the field sparrow, monkey’s sound,
Would like to get married; has nothing to feed.
Chirp of the field sparrow, the henpecked husband,
Chirp of the bird, the unspeaking wife.

Kili-kili tatis, kili-kili tasyon
Bendita tu eres, Sabado ng hapon
Binabati kita’y di ka man nalingon
Nagmamadali ka’t may panyo kang asul.

Onomatopoeic phrase
Bless you, a Saturday afternoon
Was greeting you, you didn’t even look back
You’re hurrying up, you got a blue hanky.

Ang panyo mong asul dinagit ng lawin
Dinala sa kahoy, bantang pupugarin
Sa Linggong sa Linggo, ako’y bibili rin
Luma na ang iyo, bago pa ang akin.
Kili-kili tasyon, kili-kili tapis,
Ang batang maulit, nahingi ng panglis.

Your blue hanky was swooped by a crow,
Flown into a tree, to be made into a nest
This very Sunday, I will also buy one,
Yours will already be old, mine is still new.
Onomatopoeic phrase
An unruly child is asking for a spanking.

Ako’y si Sebudas, ng angkang mataas
Pag nakapag-alak, ay kukurap-kurap.
Kung may pera ka man, ibili ng alak
Malilimutan mo, asawa mo’t anak.

I am Onion, scion of a noble clan
When I am drunk, my eyes flicker.
If ever you have money, buy liquor
You will forget your wife and children.
Ayaw ko, ayaw kong umibig sa iyo
Because I really do not like to fall in love with you
Sapagkat ikaw raw ay maraming nobyo
Because you got so many boyfriends
May pang-araw-araw, may pang-linggo-linggo
You have the dailies, the weeklies
Bukod ang pang-p’yesta, bukod ang pamasko.
Aside from those for feasts and Christmas.

Ayaw ko, ayaw ko sa lalaking tamad
I really do not like lazy men
Susugal, sasabong, iiinom ng alak
Who gamble, cockfight, drink liquor
Pagdating sa bahay, pabali-baliktad
When they reach home a-tumbling
Ang pobreng asawa, siyang binababag.
The poor wife, she is given a beating.

Ang aking manugang ang asawa’y sampu
My son-in-law has ten wives
_______________________
___________ ang buntis ay siyam,
______ nine are pregnant,
Mga pusod nito’y ga-ulo ng bawang.
Their navels are as big as garlic cloves.

No’ng unang panahon, sa reynong Borgonya
Long time ago in the kingdom of Borgonia
May magkapibigang dalawang dalaga
There were two ladies who are friends
Mula pagkabata hanggang mag-asawa
Since childhood until they got married
Di naghiwalalay ay ang isa’t isa.
They have not separated from each other.

*5 from the book Magcarayap, ca. 1940’s as recalled by my mother in October, 2010.

Ang laki sa layaw, karaniwa’y hubad
Those who are bred in wealth and ease are
Mabuti pa si Og, may kaunting bahag.
usually without clothing, Og is better off,
he has a scanty g-string.

Kami ay bulaklak, kayâ naparito
We are flowers, we came here because
Ay sa bulaklak din kami patutungo.
We’re likewise going to the other flowers.
Naparito kami, ’di man kumbidado
We came over, despite being uninvited
Makikipag-aliw sa isang tulad mo.
For entertainment by someone like you.

Ihahabilin ko’y bulaklak na rosal
I am leaving with you a rosal flower
Birtud na bulaklak ang aking habilin.
A virtuous flower I am with you leaving.
Ang kaparis nito’y ang mga bituin
This is comparable to the stars
Sa araw at gabi’y laging magniningning.
Will always shine day and night.

Ay k’wintas, ay k’wintas, magkabil’a’y bitin
Scapulars, scapulars, side by side a-hanging
Ay kalmen, ay kalmen, magkabil’a’y bitin
Necklace, necklace, with holes on both sides
Magkabil’a’y sa noo, ang isa’y sa kalmen,
One for the forehead, one for the scapular
Ang isa pa nito’y sa mag-Inang Birhen.
Another for the Madonna and Her Child.
Ako ay nagtanim kapirasong luya
Tumubo ay gábi, namunga ay mangga
Nang pipitasin ko’y hinog na papaya
Nalaglag sa lupa: magandang dalaga!

I planted a piece of ginger
It sprouted as yam, fruited a mango
When I picked it up, ’twas a ripe pawpaw
It fell on the ground: a beautiful lady!

Ako ay nagtanim, saging na but-ohan
Wika ng paniki, wag ka ngang maingay,
Ako ang sa gab-i, ikaw ang sa araw.

I planted a seedy banana stalk
The damn crow was watching
The bat said, keep quiet
I’ll be for the night, you’ll be for the day.

Maghintay-hintay ka, ay ibong kanugtog
Hintay, anang tikling, na payungkog-yungkog.

Wait for a while, woodpecker
Wait, said the hunchback-walking egret.

No’ng panahong una, si Sidro ay mahal
Di pa siya santo, si Sidro nga lámang
Naglabon ng tugî, hindi ginatungan,
Magsapahanggang ngay-on, tugî ay banlugan.

In the olden time, Isidro was so loved
He was not yet a saint, just plain Isidro
He boiled a tugî yam without fire
Until now, the yam is undone.

Minsan ay tanghali, ako’y naidlip
Sa aming libanan, may lagi-lagitik
Nang ako’y magbangon at aking sinilip
Isang baboy-damong tangay ng kuwitib.

One noon, I was asleep
In our yard boundary was a creaking sound
When I got up and peeped
A wild boar carried by the mouth of an ant.

No’ng unang panahong ako ay bata pa
Ang masalubong mo’y di ko alintana
Nang ako’y lumaki at naging dalaga
Pinag-aralan mong hainan ng sinta.

In the olden times when I was young,
Anybody who came across wasn’t a concern
Now that I am grown up, a lady
You studied to offer me your love.

May nais ka palang pumitas ng rosal
Di ka naparito nang kapanahunan
Nang pumarito ka’y lagas na sa tangkay
Buko ma’y walâ na’t nása ibang kamay.

All the while you wished to pick a rosal
You did not come during the season
You came when ’twas separated from the branch
Even the buds are gone and in another’s hands.

Ako’y nagtataka sa panahon ngay-on
Di pa nagsisilbi’y nakuha nang tuloyp
Ang nakakatulad, isang punongkahoy
Ibig nang pas-ani’y di pa napuputol.

I wonder in these days
Service is n’yet done, everything is gotten
Comparable to a tree
Would like to carry away but uncut still.

Ako’y paalam na, di na paririto
upaunta sa bundok, mag-ermitianyo
Ang napasukan ko’y mababang opisyo
Magkutkot ng buni sa buong sanlinggo.

’Tis goodbye now, will not come back P
Will go up the mountain, live like a hermit
I entered a very lowly chore
Scratching ringworms the whole week.
11.4 Paawitán Text From Munting Bayan Senior Citizens Board of Directors and Council of Presidents. The Tayabas Senior Citizens Federation mamawits were Federation President Aristeo Palad, Board Director Ret. Col. +Luis O. Araya of Angustias Zone 1, Treasurer Zenaida “Lola Nida” Jabola of San Diego Zone 2, director and wife Lolo Marcial and Esperanza “Lola Asang” Tabi of Barangay Ibabang Palale, director and wife Maximo “Lolo Memong” and Lola Mely Naynes of Barangay Mateuna, director Eliminita “Tia Ely” Llaneras- Bajal of Barangay Isabang, Barangay Kalumpang president +Iluminada “Inang Luming-Temio” Abril and companion Nelly “Tia Nelly” de Torres, and director Lazaro Quesea of San Isidro Zone 3. Additional stanzas were provided by Emma Flores of Barangay Masin from her handwritten kalipino.

Come out, come out, whoever will come out
The music of the guitar may pass away.

Drink now, drink now, coming from my hand
Even if it is poison, you will not be affected.

Though I am far away, call upon me.

I was ordered, I cannot resist
Resistance, meantime, will not happen

Praise from the people will be mine.

That tagay I will not drink,
Just to taste it, I will not taste

Unless it is hand-swayed, I will then drink.

What fault have I done
That I am being punished by you?

It is neither stonerock nor metal,
If I estimate it, I cannot seem to take it.

Enter the carsel, my jail
Am here and following.

This, my body, if I am a mound of salt
I could have melted from your looks

Your faces are like sharp objects
That would kill me.
Sinusulyap-sulyap, nililingon-lingon
Itinuturo pa, ang wika ay ‘doon’
Pagdating sa gitna ay pabiling-biling
Mamà’y kunin mo na’t ‘pakita sa akin.

Being gazed, head being turned, (Ay)
Still finger-pointed, said ‘there’
Upon reaching the center, head a-turning (Ay)
Man, get it now and let me see.

Ako ay si Dusa, kakambal ni Hapis,
Pinsan ni Dalita, anak ni Hinagpis.
Kayà naparito’y aking kinikita
Ang nawawala kong sintang si Ligaya.

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

Si Ligaya na nga, walà at nagtagò,
Ako ay pupunta, pinsang si Tumèro.
Nahipan ng hangin ang nagsusumamò,
Ay bakà maagnas ang pita sa pusò.

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

Si Ligaya na mga, walà’t di makita
Ako ay pupunta, pinsang si Suminta
Sa tulong ng aking pinsang si Magtiis
Ay bakà maagnas ang tigas ng dibdíb.
Pagdating ko roon, tatawagan kita
Nasaan ka, Neneng? Kay tamis suminta!

This Joy, who is lost and cannot be found
I am going to my cousin To-Fall-In-Love
With the help of my cousin To-Bear
The hardness of the heart may melt.
Upon reaching there, I will call upon you
Where are you, Neneng? How sweet to love!

Tilaok manok, huni ng kulyawan
(Ay) Kung aking warii’y ako’y tinatawag
Ang aking pangaral kung nais mabatid
(Ay) Inyong ipagtanong kay bunsong magiliw.

Cock-a-doodle of the rooster, chirp of the oriole
If I perceived I am being called upon
If you want to learn my admonitions
You have to ask my beloved youngest.

No’ng unang panahong ako’y batang muntî
Ang aking panata, ako’y magpaparì.
Nang makakita na ng magandang bintî
Ay nalimutan na itong pagpaparì.

In the olden days, when I was a little kid
I promised myself that I’ll become a priest.
When I saw some beautiful legs
This becoming a priest was forgotten.

Ako ay bulaklak na iisa-isa
Pinakamamahal ng ama ko’t ina
Kung pipitasin mo’t dadalhin sa dusa
Mahanga’y sa punò, malaglag, malanta.

I am an only flower
Dearest beloved of my father and mother
If you’ll pick me and bring me to suffering
Better for me from my tree to fall, wither.

May isang tanghali, ako’y naidlip
Sa aming bakuran, may umalagit-it
Ako ay nagbangon at aking sinílip
Isang baboy-damong natangay ng ipis.

One noontime, I was asleep
In our yard was creaking sound
I got up and I peeped:
A wild boar carried on the mouth by a roach.
Magpahanggang-ngay-on, nanguros-nanguros
Magpahanggang-ngay-on, suno sa paragos.

Up to now, signs of the cross
Up to now, carried on a sledge.

Ang pagparito ko’y walang naghatid
Tila may kung anong inihip ng hangin.
Kung itatanong mo kung saan nanggaling
Kay Aling Polanang si kun-ay ang titser.

My coming over here has no guide
As if there is something blown by the wind.
If you will ask where I came from
From Madame Polan whose teacher is this unnamed one.

Ang huni ng ibon sa gitna ng gubat
Kung aking isipi’y ako’y tinatagaw.
Sinulid na iya’y itali sa hangin
Ang áwit nang áwit ang papagpigilin.

The bird’s sound in the middle of the forest
If I may think, I am being called upon.
That piece of thread, tie it on a wind
Let the one who sings without let-up hold it.

Magpautang ka na, ikaw ang mayroon
Magbabayad kami, hindi maglalaon.

Please lend, you are the one who have
We will repay, it will not take long.

Ano bagá ale pakay mo sa akin
Ang pautangin ka’y di ako sisingil
Pagdating ng búkas, bubukás-bukásin
Pagdating ng Linggo’y sa Linggo pa mandin.

What, lady, can I do for you
To lend you, I will not demand payment
When tomorrow comes, still the next days
When Sunday comes, this very Sunday still.

May karunungan ma’y sakâ natatago
Hindi nakikita sa manggas ng baro.
Ang karunungan nga, kung ito’y totoo
Di rin nakikita sa mga sanggano.

Knowledge even if it is hidden
Cannot be seen from the clothes' sleeves.
Knowledge if it is true
Cannot be seen from the rogues.

Si Aling Polana ay pagay-on-gay-on,
Nag-aanyong bata, hindi laang sanggol.
Marunong umáwit, marunong magsunong,
Ano’t ang reklamo ngay-o’y patung-patong?

Madame Polan does this and that
Acting like a child, not an infant.
Knows how to sing, to carry on the head
Why now complaining one on top of another?

Si Aling Polana, magandang babae
Ang tae’y pandesal, ihi’y tsokolate
___________ biskotso, __________
Ang kanyang tutuli, ay puting merengge.

Madame Polan is a beautiful woman
Eating pandesal, drinking chocolate,
___________ biscocho, __________
Her earwax is white meringue.

Mahal na prinsipe, ay h’wag kang kalulong
Sa pamamangka mo, dagat ay maalon
Di kaloob ng D’bos, mabasá ang timon
Ang mapalibing ka’y walâ ni kabaong.

Beloved prince, do not be too absorbed
In your boat-sailing, the sea has big waves
Not by God’s will, the sail may get wet
To be buried, not even a coffin you’ll have.
Tindig na po, ale, at nang di malaon
Ang sunong mong tagay ay ibigay doon.
Abo, abot, kuha, mahal na bituin
Ang nagreregalo h’wag pakahiyan.

Stand up now, lady please, so you won’t delay
The tágay on your head, give it there.
Reach out, get it, dear star,
Do not embarrass the gift-giver.

Dito natitingnan at nasusubukan
Ang galing ng tao sa pag-adwitian.

It is herein tried and tested
The mettle of a man in singing.

Meron pa po akong ibang karunungan
Di naitatanong, ay ang palasayaw.

I still have some talent reserves
Though not asked, I dance.

Itong aking tandang, láwit na ang palong
Hindi na po káyang tumuka’t sumulong . . .

This rooster of mine already has fallen crown
Neither can it peck nor advance anymore . . .

Ako’y paalam na’t magpapailaya,
Tatawid ng ilog at mangangarsada.
Paqdating sa bahay, ako’y maglalaba,
Agos pa ng tubig, kaiga-igaya.

Goodbye now, am going northbound
Will cross a river then walk a cemented road.
Upon reaching home, I will wash clothes,
More so, the water flow is so delightful.

C. ADDITIONAL AWIT STANZAS 2012-2016

Drinking:

Ako’y kakanta na, kakanta rin lámang
Ugali ng ako’y napaghihilingan
Kung ako’y nanghiya sa pagkanta lámang
Bakà ako ay din kung ako’y mangutang.

I will now sing, as to sing I have to
Because I am requested to
If I have caused shame only in singing
May boomerang to me if I will borrow.

Ako’y kakanta na ang sabi mo’y utang
Pagkatapos nama’y iyong babayaran
Pag sinaking hingi ay walang anuman
Pag sinaking utang, pilit babayaran.

I will now sing, you said ’tis a debt
Thereafter you have to pay
When ’tis named a request, that’s nothing
When ’tis named a debt, it must be paid.

On humility:

Tunay, ang kawayan habang tumutubo
Mataas na langit ang itinuturo
Ngunit pag tumanda at saká lumago
Sa mababang lupa doon din yuyuko.

Truly, the bamboo while it grows
Points to the high heavens
But when it grows old and abundantly
To the lowly land too will it bow down.
Parangal (Homage):

Sa kapangyarihan ng Amang Bathala
Nayari ang langit at sakâ ang lupa
Ang naging batayan nitong Manlikha
Ay isang pag-ibig na kahanga-hanga.

Mag-ibigan tayo ang wika ng Diyos
Mula nang lalangin itong sansinukob
Ang batas na iyan ay banal na utos
At pinatibayan nitong Mananakop.

Ang dakilang Kristo ang kakristyanuhan
Ang nakop sa ating mga kasalanan
Ang siyang sumaksyi sa katotohanan
Lahat-lahat tayo’y dapat magmahalan.

From Nanay Sedeng’s late father:

Ibabang Paléle no’ng unang panahon
May tatlong bulaklak na doo’y sumibol
Isa’y inihain sa Diyos na Poon
At ang dal’wa nama’y tinuka ng ibon.

Yaon namang isa kahit tinuka man
Ay nagserese rin sa puno’t tangkayan
Yaon namang isa kahina-hinayang
Nalaglag sa lupa, sa tubig lumutang.

Oyayi (Lullaby):

Tulog na, tulog na, aking umispako
At kita sa Linggo dadalhan ng bago
H’wag ka na lâmang sa iba pahipo
Sa isang Sabado’y siya nama’t baro.

Hoyo-hoyo rine, hoyo-hoyo riyan
Parang nag-iwi wata sa aluyan.

Tulog na, tulog na, ako ay gigising
Gigisingin kita kumbaga’l kakain
Gising ko sa iyo, bangon na si Neneng
Parine na Bunso, lalamig ang kanin.

The stone floats, dried leaves sink
Cold sun and hot moon.

Am waking you up, get up Neneng
Come here Youngest, rice will turn cold.

Kung ako ay iyong sinisingtang tunay
Bakit iniwan mo sa gitna ng parang?

If you really love me
Why leave me at the center of the field?

Kortes/Kurtisiya (Courtesy):

Sa pagkakahimlay sa gitna ng dilim
May mahinhing bango sa aki’y gumising
Nang ako’y magbangon at aking hanapin
Di na matagpuan kung saan nanggaling.

Aking tinaluntong ang mahinhing bango
Na mapanghalina, bulaklak ng liryo
Liryong mahiwaga, saan ka naroon?
Kita’y tinatawag, bakit di tumugon?

Di mo ba narinig ang aking panaghoy
Sa laot ng dusa ay luluyong-luyong?

Dumalagang manok na nasala ruweda
Ang pamumutak mo’y di naming importa
Pagaspas ng bagwis, pilantik ng paa
Ang siya po naming gahinahanap pa.

On catching wild boar (baboy-damo) in the olden days:

No’ng unang panahon gawang pamamanting
Sa madaling araw kami’y dumarating.

Pagmatok ng aso ay pupunuan na
Ang paghahayop ng mga talayba.
Ang sabi ng bugaw dali’t malapit na
Mga baboy-damo mauunahan ka.

Ang sagot ng bugaw kayo’y umakyat na
Sa dulo ng kahoy doon mamahinga.
Ngunit nang mahimbing nakapagtataka
Ang Elena’y buntis, ang kaparte’y dal’wa!

Áwit sa Kasálan (Wedding)
From Barangay Ibabáng Palále, in the files of Tayábas Senior Citizens Federation, office of the Presidents Mr. & Mrs. Aristeo Palad, Angustias Zone I, Ermita, Tayábas City, on 19 November 2016.

Kayong dal’wang puso ngayo’y pinaglakip
Sa harap ni Kristo at ng Birheng ibig.
Pag-ingatan ninyo na huwag magahis
Sa hibo ng mundo, lilo at balawis.

Yaong sakdal dilag santo matrimonyo
Sakramentong galing sa poong si Kristo.
Sa dibdib umagos, pitong sakramento
Laan sa lahat na kung tungkol Kristyano.

Ang dalawang puso ninyong magsing-ibig
Ngayo’y pinag-isa, sakdalan sa linis.
Padrino’t madrina ang saksiing mahigpit
Sa pagtatanggapan sintang walang dungsis.

Idinulog ninyo sa harap ng altar
Na ang matrimonyo hindi durungsan
Ang tamis ng sumpa ng nagdaang araw
Nguyong pinag-isa hanggang sa libingan.

Ang singsing na ginto at kadenang pilak
Ang sa iyong nobyo tambing iginawad
Ng mahal na nobyo sinta mo at liyag
Sampu pa ng tandang marilag na aras.

Ang kadenang pilak ay taling mahigpit
Ninyong dal’wang pusong ngayo’y pinaglakip.
At taling matibay magpahanggang langit
Siyang ihahayin sa Diyos na ibig.
Sa harap ng altar ng Poong si Hesus
Yaong konsagradong belong maalindog
Ay tinanggap ninyo nga laging nasasaklob
Sa ulo ng nobio, esposa mong irog.

Kayâ ikaw namang hinirang na nobyo
Isinabalikat konsagradong belo.
Sakaling may hírap na daratnin kayo
Kahit anong biyága pagtitiisan mo.

Kayâ ipinutong ikaw namang nobyo
Konsagradong belo sa ulo mo baga
Ikaw ang may ingat ng puri at onra
At dangal nga iyong hírang na asawa.

Kayong mag-asawa h’wag maghiwalay
At kayong dalawa’y iisang katawan.
Ibigin mo siya, ibigín ka naman
Sundín mo ang utos at sundín ka naman.

Kung sakali pa nga’t iyong kahinatnan
Ang maging api ka sa kinaragdagan
Magugunita mo ang pagpapalayaw
Ng ama’t ina mong matamis magmahal.

Madlang kasayahan ngayo’y limutin mo
Itanim sa puso gawang mahistrado.
Aral at habilin ng poong si Kristo
Sadyang inilagak ng Pastor Divino.

Ngayon ay ligaya iyong tatanggapin
Kung ika’y matuto sa esposang giliw.
Kung magkalisya ka’t magkulang sa lining
Kahirapa’y siyag kakaulayawin.

Ngayon sasapit ka sa tadhanang oras
Kung datin ang, bunso, sasapit ang palad.
Iba na sa dati at di mo talastas
Ang tatanggapin mo, kung tuwa o hírap.
Matrimonyo ninyo’y pakamamahalin
At sa inyong puso’y tambing na itanim.
Mga hibo’t daya ng demonyo’y al’sin
At ang pagsasama pakalilinisin.

Pakaiingatan parang isang rosas
Na iminasitas sa hardin ng liryo
Kung ito’y maluoy, masira, malanta
Sampu ng punò nga’y wala nang halaga.

Nguni’t kung mabuti ang pangangalaga
Malago ang punò, ang daho’y sariwa
Sa ngayo’y malabay, sa lilim sagana
Sino mang titingi’y tiyak matutuwa.

Ito ang katulad at nakakabagay
Ninyong mag-asawa sa pagsusunuran.
Kung ang pagsasama malinis, mahusay
Matrimonyo ninyo magiging uliran.

Sukat hanggang dito yamang inyong tanto
Piliin ang baling magaling sa puso.

**Handog sa Kinasalan**


Pagtitipong ito na may kamahalan
Ako’y nagbibigay ng puspos na galang
Pagkat sa ugalin aking kinagisnan
Gumalang at upang igalang ka naman.

Una’y pasintabi sa tanang narito
Sanáy at bihasa sa larong ganito
Kung ako’y mamali sa koma at punto
Kayo ang bahalang magpunò’t maghusto.

Ang bubuklatin kong munting kasaysayan
Ay ukol sa ating mga pagdiriwang
Kung pagwariin ko’y kayong kalahatan
Masayang-masaya dahil sa kinasal
Ngunit ang wika ko’y huwag kalubusin
Iyang kasayahan sa puso’t panimdim
Ang alalahani’y panahong darating
Kapag may umaga ay may takipsilim.

Wala pang seguro sa iyong paglakad
Kahit ang hakbang mo’y totooong banayad
Kung magkaminsan mo’y sa isang palanas
Tuyo man ang daa’y napadumpilas.

At gayundin naman ang agos ng tubig
Mayroong panahong lubhang matahimik
Ngunit kung dumating ang sigyang mabilis
Ang katahimika’y biglang liligalig.

Ang buhay ng tao ay gayundin naman
Karamihan itong ating namamasdan
Hanggang bago-bago’y ang pagsasamahan
Parang pipit puso ang pagmamahalan.

Walang likat na di pagsuyo tuwina
Ang inihahandog sa sintang asawa
Kahit kapirasong kakaning bala na
Pinagsasaluhang namnamin ang lasa.

Ngunit gunitaing sa lakad ng buhay
Ang lahat ng sayá ay may katupsan
Ang pagmamahala’y kapag nasaputan
Ng ulap ng dilim sa katanghalian.

Nariyan ang isang matinding pas-anin
Kapagka mayroong gumawa ng lihim
Malilimutan na ang suyo at lambing
Ang dating masayang mukha’y kukulimlim.

Dagling maglalaho ang kaligayahan
At magugunita ang nagdaang araw
Tuloy mawiwika sa sarili lamang
Mabuti pang ako’y mag-isang mabuhay.
Kapitid na giliw iyang pagsisisi
Kapagka huli na’y walang mangyayari
Anumang gagawin’t mauuna’y sisi
Asahan mo’t walang gawang mapeperde.

ARAL

Ang pag-aasawa’y kung pag-iisipin
Magaang mabigat, masamang magaling
Kung nagkakasundo’y magaang dadalhin
Pag hindi sumama’y tunay na magaling.

Takis na nga lâmang hindi maiwasan
Ilong matrimonyoong pinagpipilitan
Hindi natatantong ito’y parusahan
Sa ini’t lamig ay namamagitan.

Lisanin ang ama’t inang nagkandili
At ang sinunod mo’y loob mong sarili
Ang iiwanan mo’y ginhawang parati
Gumawa ka’t di ma’y di ka sinisi.

Tapos na ang layaw, tapos na ang lahat
Mga kasayahan at gintong pangarap
At ngayo’y ang inyong buhay na hinaraap
Ang pakikibaka sa ginhawa’t saklay.

Anupa’t ang inyong nasapit na buhay
Parang nakukulong sa ’sang hawlang bakal
Ibig mang lumabas magsay’a’t magdiwang
Di na mangyayari, may kadenang pataw.

Dâting kaibiga’y lalayo nang lahat
Di gaya ng dâting lagi mong kausap
Harana’t sayawa’y di na malalasap
Dahil sa asawang susundin nang tapat.

Kayâ ang wika ko’y loob mo tibayan
Sa pinsasukan mong bagong kabuhayan
Hapis at dalita’y iyong pagtiisan
Upang maging ganap ang pagmamahalan.
Nagsala-salabat sa balát ng lupa
Ang maraming tuksong lumilipana
Pakaingatan mong ikaw ay madaya
Nang di maging daan ng ikasasama.

Kung ikaw babae gumawa ng sala
Pilit magagalit ang sintang asawa
Ikaw na lalaki gayundin sa kanya
Kayâ pag-ingatan ang sala tuwina.

Kung kayo’y tumanggap masamang balita
Sinuman sa inyo’y huwag mahiligla
Bago magparusa’y isipin muna
Bakâ di totoo’t ang balita’y likha.

Kung saka-sakaling ang isa’y magalit
Ang isa sa inyo’y huwag nang imik
At inyong antayin ang gabling tahimik
Marahang itanong ang inikagalit.

At ang pagtatanong ay huwag gahasa
Haluan ng lambing sa mga salita
Ang usapan nino’y maraha’t mahina
Kung may natutulog, nang di magambala.

At ang pagtatalo’y huwag isisigaw
At inyong daanin usapang marahan
Da’nin sa malamig at sa malumanay
At kahiya-hiya sa kalapit-bahay.

Sinuman sa inyong gumawa ng lihis
Da’nin sa pangusap, salitang malamig
Huwag nang bibigkas salitang masakit
Sa kasing esposong kabiyak ng dibdib.

Ikaw na babae tungkuli’y sa bahay
Manulsi ng punit, maglabâ’t magsimpan
At ang asawa mong näsa hanapbuhay
Kung basâng dumating, bihisa’y ilaan.
Sa pangungusina naman ay gayundin
Huwag pabayaang walang lutong kanin
Kung saka-sakaling asawa’y dumating
Kung may luto ka na’y madaling ihayin.

Ang anumang bagay na bawal sa iyo
Huwag mong gagawi’t nang hindi magtalo
Pangangaperbahay pakailagan mo
Diyan nagmumula ang masamang tukso.

Huwag pagkaalis ng iyong asawa
Ay aalis ka ri’t dadayo ng hunta
Walang mapapala sa ganiyang hunta
Kundi pag-usapa’y ang bûhay ng iba.

Na ang dulo’t suno’y pagdating ng wakas
Siniraang puri, ngayo’y manunumbat
Para kang kumuha ng batong matigas
Na sa ulo mo ri’y siyang ihahamps.

Huwag padadala sa tuksong masama
Alam mo na namang mundo’y magdaraya
Lingapi’t mahalin ang asawang mutya
Magsalo tuwina sa ligaya’t tuwa.

Dati mong ugali sa pagkadalaga
Sa panahong ito’y lilimutin mo na
Ang pag-aralan mo’y ang pakikisama
Sa kinaragdaga’y manuyo tuwina.

Asal kabil-ani’t igaling makalay
Huwag mong gagawin sa kinaragdagan
Kung may ginagawa’y huwag mong titingnan
Kundi tumulong ka ng makakayanan.

Kayâ ang wika ko’y magpakatimbang ka
Sapagkat mahirap gawang mag-asa
At wala na namang tunay na ginhawa
Kung magkakasundo kayong magsasama.
Kahit kani’t asin ang pang-araw-araw
Masarap na ito kung di nag-aaway
Kahima’t sagana sa isda at ulam
Kung kayo’y magulo’y walang kasaysayan.

Kung pagsulitan ka ng iyong asawa
Ng munting salaping kaniyang kinita
Anumang bibilhi’y ang iba’y itira
Na kung may sakuna’y mayroong magasta.

Ang batis at ilog hindi laging baha
Mayroong panahong nagkakating bigla
Kayâ ang mag-impok ay hindi masama
Kapag may sinuksok, may matitingala.

Ang magpakababa’t ugaling banayad
Ay kapuri-puring malasin ng lahat
Ngunit ang mababang mag-anyong mataas
Sa mata ng tao’y lazon at kamandag.

Tungkulin mo naman esposong marangal
Humanap tuwina ng ikabubuhay
Agapan ang gising sa madaling-araw
Nang ‘di tanghalii’y gamit ay ilaan.

Salaping kinita’y lahat ay isulit
Sa asawang giliw, huwag maglilingid
Magtapat na lagi sa esposang ibig
Nang kayo’y purihin ng Diyos sa langit.

At kung malulungkot esposa’y aliwin
Huwag pagsabihan ng nakakahirin
Alalahanin mong iya’y bahagi rin
Ng iyong katawang dapat mong mahalin.

Sa minsang pagdaing ng sakit ng ulo
Ihanap mo agad ng isang mediko
At bakâ sakaling magkasentimyento
Kayâ kailangan agad ng remedyo.
Matrimonyo ninyo’y kung baga’t magbunga
Inyong tuturuan ugaling maganda
Nang di maging kargo sa Diyos na Ama
Ang magandang asal inyong ipamana.

Huwag pabayaang lumaki sa layaw
Turuan ng gawa na makakayanan
Ang batang lumaki’t sa bisyo namuhay
Kung hindi busabos, ganid at halimaw.

Ang dadagdagan mo’y sipag at tiyaga
Hindi ka na ngayon paris ng binata
Kawalan sa bahay ikaw ang bahala
Bago ka umalis iyong iahanda.

Na kung umalis ka at nakahanda na
Bigas, ulam, tubig, kahoy at lahat na
Sa iyong tungkuli’y nakakaganap ka
Walang mawiwika ang kasing esposa.

Kung nakahanda na ang mga lutoin
Nakasiguro kang darating ay hayin
Ngunit kung wala kang iniwang kakanin
Ang abang babae, saan pakukunin?

May suliranin pang aking nalimutan
Sasabihin ko ri’t nang iyong maal’man
Na bakà sakaling sa daraang araw
Ang bagay na ito’y inyong pagdanasan.

Na kung dumating ka’t walang lutong kanin
Ang iyong asawa’y huwag sisisihan
At bakà mayroong lagnat na salimsim
O kung dili kayà ay may batang munting.

Ang bagay na iya’y kung bagá sumapit
Walang katuwirang ikaw ay magalit
Anupang gagawin kundi ang magtiim
Tawagan na lámang ang Diyos sa langit.
Ang bagay na ito'y sinalita ko man
Ay bahala ka na namang makiramdam
Bakâ kayâ gayon ang kanhiyang asal
Ay naglalaro na ng apoy sa kalan.

Ang pagtitiwala'y huwag kalubusin
Ang iyong mamasda'y ang kilos na lihim
Bakâ ang ulo mo'y gaving patubiling
At parang manika na gagalawanin.

Iya'y suliraning kabig-at-big-atan
Na dito sa mundo'y wala nang kapantay
Kayâ ang babae kung mabuti mahal
Apdo at kamandag kung sumama naman.

Hindi baling ika'y magtiis ng hírap
Kung ang asawa mo'y tapat sa pagliyag
Ngunit kung balawis at may asal sukab
Iyong parusahan ng ukol at dapat.

Karapatan iyang gagampanan mo na
Mahirâp-hirâp ma'y mag-aagawanta
Ang hírap sa iyo ng ama mo't ina
Sa panahong ito'y magbabayad ka na.

Huwag isusukal ng puso mo't loob
Anuman ang hírap sa iyong idolot
Sa tungkuling iya'y walang nag-autos
Ang kagustuhan mo'y siyang sinusunod.

Nang nása piling ka ng iyong magulang
Husto ang tulog mo gumawa ka't di man
Sa panahong ito ang tulog mo'y himlay
Pagkat mayroon kang sagutin sa bulhay.

Ang biyanan ninyo'y huwag kalimutan
Dalawin ka hit na minsan sa sambawan
At doon mahigang magdamag man lamang
Nang hindi masabing masamang manugang.
Kung bagá dumating ang kinabukasan
Ikaw na lalaki mag-ula man lámang
Maglabit ng kahoy pag-uwi ng bahay
Parang bigay-loob sa iyong biyanan.

At bago umalís usisain muna
Ang tapaya’t galong, bigasa’t lahat na.
At kung walang tubig dumadlo ka muna
Magbayo kung walang bigas na natira.

Kung mayroon naman na magkakaramdam
Sinuman sa inyo na kinaragdagan
Dadalawin ninyo’t dalhan ng anumang
Mga makakaing sa sakit ay bagay.

Kung may pagpipiging ay huwag aalis
Kung sa inyo’y walang gawaing mahigpit
Pangilagan ninyo’y ang maghinanakit
Na kung ikaw naman sila’y magsilapit.

Lalong-lalo na nga’y ang inyong biyanan
Kung may karamdama’y huwag tiwanan
Piliting hanapin lunas kagamutan
Sa magulang ninyo’y nagbigay ng bûhay.

Ang asahan ninyo’y pag may itinanim
Darating ang araw na may aanihin
Ang masamang punla’y hindi pa nasupling
Ay nag-aabang na uhod na kakain.

At bago lisain ang inyong biyanan
Magmamano muna’t hahalik ng kamay
Ito’y isang tanda ng buong paggalang
At sunod sa batas ng magandang asal.

Marami pang lubha kung pag-iisipin
Mga kahirapang pilit dadanasin
Ang nasabi ko na’y munting bahagi rin
Kabuhayan ninyong pilit dadanasin.
Hanggang dito ako’t mahaba na yata
Mga nakikining, ay bakà sumawa
Di naman pangaral ang aking ginawa
Kundi alaalang lubhang masagana.

Kung may mali ako sa ipinahayag
Walang magagawa’t dagliang sinulat
Utang ko nang loob ilihim ang libak
Ako ngang si Naynes, nahingi ng tawad.

Sa Kinasalan

Para Sa Lalaki

Mga maginoong dito’y napipisan
Sa lipunang ito’y parang isang aral
Ako’y humabati ng puspos na galang
Tuloy humihingi ng katahimikan.

Pagkat sa akin po ay may nag-importa
Ang magmanukala ng ganitong sayá
Tutuparin ko po’t bibigyang-halaga
Sa abot ng aking munting makakaya.

Pagkat ito’y araw na katangi-tangi
Ng dalawang pusong ngayo’y pinagtali
Dapat ipagdiwang tuloy ipagbunyi
Handugan ng ating maligayang bati.

Yamang sa dambana ng pagkakasundo
Inyong pinagbuhol dal’wa ninyong puso
Ito’y katuparan ng sumpa’t pangako
Kamatayan lamang ang makakasugpo.

Kaya po dahil d’ya’y inyong pagdamutín
Pakinggan ang aking mga tagubilin
Tagubiling ito’y kung inyong tuparin
Maligayang báhay hari nga’y sapitin.
Tapos na sa inyo’y ang layaw at tuwa
At kaligayahang mapagmalik-mata
Ang lambing at suyo ng asawang mutya
Siyang tanging tinig na maunawa.

Tantong matrimonyo ay ang iwing dangal
Magaang pas-anin kung pagtutulungan
Subalit siya ng kabig-at-big-atan
Sakali at hindi mag-unawaan.

Pagkat ang tungkulin ang isang lalaki
Ay pakamahalin ang asawang kasi
Magsunuran kayo tungkol sa mabuti
Sa mata ng lahat ipagkakapuri.

Kung no’ng unang dáko binata pa kayo
Nawiwili ka man sa barkada’t bisyo
Akala mo ngayon pagbabawahan mo
At baká pagmul-an niyong pagtatalo.

Ikaw nga ang bisig ng iyong asawa
Mga bunso ninyo sa iyo aasa.
Kung di ka mag-impok at matugagas ka
Siguro’y hindi ka bibigyan ng iba.

Dating sawikain kapag may inimpok
Kung magigipit ka ay may madadampot
Igi nang may impok kahit kakarampot
Kung kailangan mo ay may madukot.

Ikaw man ay bago umalis ng bahay
Ihanda mo muna mga kailangan
Iwasang masangkot sa masamang bagay
Na sa asawa mo’y maghibigay lumbay.

Isa pa’y ang gawang pagmamalibangin
Sa mga sabungan, sugal ay limutin
Pagkat iyong bisyo kundi lilimutin
Asawa’t anak mo’y tatangis nang lihim.
Sa paglilibang mo, iwasan ang sabong,
Mahjong at babae, tong-it at pangngigGil
Huwag kang tutulad sa ibang lalaki
Ang inaasahay sikap ng babae

Kung dumating pa’y sa inyong sarili
Ikaw pa ang siyang mag-asal tigre.
Kung marahuyo kang uminom ng alak
At sakay may bisyong sumugal magbakrat

Mapapahayahan ang asawa’t anak
Na siyang karamay sa dusat hirap.
Huwag mong lilimitin ang iyong pagsimba
Kung araw ng Linggo, pangilin lalo pa.

Kung matutupad mo ikaw ay umasa
Di ka lalayuan ng ating Bathala.

Para Sa Babae

At ikaw babaeng ilaw ng tahanan
Dangal ng lalaki sa kapamahayan
Inang magbibigay ng magandang aral
Sakali’t magbunga ang pagmamahalan.

Kung no’ng dalaga kay sunod mo ang tuwa
Layaw sa magulang mulang pagkabata
Maging matimpi ka’t ang asawang mutya
Paglilingkuran mong hinaho’t payapa.

Tapos na sa inyo ang layaw at tuwa
At kaligayahang mapagmalikmata
Ang lambing at suyo ang asawang mutya
Siyang tanging tinig na maunawa.

Ngayo’y iingatan pangangapit-bahay
Parini-paroon, walang pinapanaw.
Pag-iingatan mo’t ang bagay na yaan
Marubdob na mitsa ng panibughuan.
Kung ang asawa mo’y darating ng bahay
Gáling sa kaniyang paghahanapbuhay
Kung may lungkot ka man ay pasalubungan
Ng masayang mukha na may pagmamahal.

Pag-ukulan mo rin ng wastong pagtingin
Ang kinaragdagan sa asawang giliw
Mga pagsunod mo’y pakatitiimbangin
Nang hindi masabing ika’y kabil-anin.

Kung may kailangan bayaw mo’t bianan
Anumang gawa mo’y sagliting paron-an
Huwag mo rin namang biglang iiwanan
Uusanin mo’y kung may kailangan.

Sa kinaragdagang bayaw mo’t bianan
Magmasunurin ka nang buong paggalang
Kung maaapi ka’t kakaunting bagay
Kapurihan mo rin kung mapagtisán.

Ito’y simula ng paglubog ng araw
Mula sa pagsikat sa kaliwanagan
Didilim na pilit kusang tatalikdan
Nagdaang panahon di na pagbabal’kan.

Isa-isahing balikan sa isip
Ang nangakaraang araw na matamis
Nagsumpaan kayong saksi lupa’t langit
Buhol ng daliri ang saksing ginamit.

At ikaw babae siyang maghahawak
Ng lahat ng iyong ikapapanatag
Ikaw rin ang siyang susing magbibukás
Sa mga darating na magandang palad.

Sukat dito na po loobin din nawa
Pagsasama ninyo’y maging mapayapa
Ilayo sa tuko at mga sakuna
Hanapbuhay ninyo’y maging masagana.
Marapat abutin itong kurtisíya
Tanda pagtalikod sa pagkadalaga.
Santo matrimonyo ay ang iwing dangal
Magaang pas-anin kung pagtutululugán

Subalit siya ng kabig-at-big-atan
Sakali at hindi mag-unawaan.
Kayá dahil dito’y inyong pagdamutin
Pakinggan ang aking mga tagubilin.

Tagubiling ito’y kung inyong tuparin
Maligayang búhay hari nga’t sapitin.

Sa Kinasalan

Dudulugin ko na ang aking bianan
At itatanong ko kung ako’y manugang
Dudulugin ko na ang aking kapatid
At itatanong ko kung ako ay ibig.

Dudulugin ko na’t aking lalapitan
Ang bagong partido sa kinaragdagan
Akong naparagdag mahirap ang búhay
Huwag naman ninyong kapapahirapan.

Ako’y paalam na inang nagpalaki
Mga kapatid kong sa aki’y nag-iwi
At sa iyo naman amang nagpalaki
Nag-aru-aruga sa araw at gabi.

Ako’y paalam na mga kaibigan
Amai’t inain, kapatid ko’t pinsan
Ating samaha’y huwag lilimutan
Tulad din ng dati, tayo’y pisan-pisan.

Ako’y paalam na, kapuwa ko bata
Ito’y simula na ng aking pagtanda
Tatanda man ako’y bata ang edad ko
Kayá lámang gayo’y lalagay sa’stado.

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Ako’y lalakad na’t maghahanap-hanap
Maghahanap-hanap bagong kamag-anak.

Sa Umpákan

Sa kagalang-galang nating pag-uumpok
Nása gitna na ng ligaya at lugod
Parang kristalinong malinaw na bubog
Batis ng ligaya ang pinaaanod.

Narini na nga po natinding na rini
Pusong naghihirap ay antabayani
Bakâ makapara roon sa sinabi
Katawan ay kaayo, bungà’y lagedarni.

Huwag nang magtampo, huwag nang magalit
Aking pagbibigyan pawang iyong hiling
Sa ganda mong iyan, di ka bibiguin
Anumang hiling mo’y pilit kong gagawin.

Pútong

Literally, pútong means crown. It was customary to celebrate a dear friend’s, relative’s or a landlord’s birthday with this beautiful ceremonial dance and song. Friends, relatives, and tenants of the honoree gather together, prepare gifts and food, invite or hire musicians, make a crown of flowers for the honoree and prepared other things for the celebration. When everything is ready, the people go to the honoree’s house and perform this dance and song. This is called asáltó. The first two stanzas of the song are sung while the people are going up the stairs. The honoree is requested to sit on a chair between two small girls dressed as angels and each holding a lighted candle. The crowning and dancing are done in front of the honoree who is at the center of the room.

Malaki ang tuwa nang kami’y dumating
Nang aming makita ang inyong luningning
Lubos ang pag-asa, kami’y tatanggapin
Ang lahat ng tao’y inyong aampunin.

Nang kami’y dumating sa inyong pintuan
Itoon si San Jorge, aming natan-awan
Naroon sa trono na namamag-itán
Sa dalawang anghel na may dalang ilaw.
Kami po'y may alay na isang korona
Sa San Jorge aming dinadala-dala
Ang kasama rito'y marikit na palma
Sampung bulaklakan na kaaya-aya.

Hayo na't lumabas ang isa sa inyo
Alay tang korona ipatong sa ulo
At sakâ ang palma nama'y iabot mo
Kasabay ang sabog asusena't liryo.

Yamang nar'yan ka na katawang mapalad
Korona sa glorya tinamo mong agad
Nagputong sa iyo birhenes na lahat
Ng palma't korona saulong marilag.

At kayo pong lahat dito ay sumama
At makiabuloy sa dakilang p'yesta
Ang mahal na santo ipinagcelebra
Karampatan namang ihiyaw ng "Biba!"

Biba, biba, biba! Mabuhay! Mabuhay!
Mabuhay ang santo aming pinutungan
Biba ang kapatid, biba ang magulang
At biba pa mandin ang kamag-anakan.
Constitutional Populism in Korea

A Curious Dream Of Realizing Democratic and Constitutional Ideal through the Military Dictatorship

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Abstract
This article examines Constitutional populism in Korea focusing on Han Taeyeon's constitutional theory. Han is one of the most eminent constitutional theorists in Korea whose works have dealt with political issues within the boundaries of public law. He also took part in the Park Junghee regime as an ideologue to legally legitimize the regime. His main theme concerned how the people could be established as the protector of sovereignty in undeveloped Korea, which was a critical and urgent agenda for constitutional theory. He criticized the political situation and legal system in the 1950s in this respect, and advocated, by the concepts and languages of public law, the May 16 coup d'état in 1961 as a decisive step to redeem people's sovereignty and the legal system. Since then to the Yushin regime in 1971, Park's populist regime was legitimated under the ideal of people's sovereignty by Han.

Keywords
Constitutional populism, people's sovereignty, Han Taeyeon, democracy
The Portrait of a Constitutionalist

There exists a familiar scenario of being born in colonial Korea, receiving college education in Japan, and settling at the center of political, business, or academic circles after liberation. In particular, it is impossible to comprehend without the protagonists of this scenario how Korean society from the 1950s to the 1970s established its national framework. Their importance becomes all the more prominent if the scope is narrowed down to the realm of intellectual history. The influence of those who studied in the Japanese empire on the early period of academia cannot be overemphasized, even if one turns to humanities and social sciences or even natural science. Among them, constitutional scholar Han Taeyeon holds an unrivaled position. This is true in terms of his vigorous writing activities and outstanding achievements from the 1950s to the end of the 1990s, but also true in terms of his deep involvement in the formation of a legal system as an engaged intellectual amid the tumult of modern history. Han participated in the enactment of the Constitution of the Second Republic, the Third Republic, and the Yushin Constitution. He also became a politician during Park Junghee regime, and later served as the chief editor of a newspaper company, exercising vast influence across the society. In this sense, Han’s life can be said to provide a unique example of how knowledge and politics are implicated in Korea after its liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945.

Of course, like Han Taeyeon, there are many intellectuals who form close relations with the regime and “engage” in real politics. However, the reason why this article pays close attention to Han Taeyeon, in particular, is to gain a historical view of populism in modern Korea. As will be discussed in the coming pages, populism is a concept that refers to the phenomenon of developing politics or governance through appeals to and mobilization of people by dissolving parliamentary-centered institutional democracy. Populism has appeared in various forms in the political history of the twentieth century at a global level, including Nazism and Italian fascism in the 1930s, the development of popular democracy in Latin America, the recent Trump phenomenon, Brexit, refugee aversion in Europe and the advancement of the extreme right. Korea, of course, is no exception. The establishment of
the Rhee Seungman regime was made possible by a thoroughly populist mass mobilization, and the military regime since Park Junghee formed its governance in a direct combination of the president and the people by neutralizing the power of parliament. From this context, it appears that the governing paradigm of modern Korea has been government-manufactured populism.

Han Taeyeon’s intellectual pursuit took place in the middle of a trend towards constitutional populism. He tried to demonstrate the development of government-manufactured populism through the concept and category of Constitutional theory, and also designed a legal system for such a governing paradigm. The following scene, reminisced by Han himself, is an example that dramatically exhibits his intellectual pursuit.

This gentleman [Lieutenant colonel Lee Seokjae: citator] came in his uniform, armed with a pistol. He told me to make a revolutionary Constitution. [When I replied that it wasn’t possible: citator] he asked what could be done. So I said I’d study it the next time as an alternative and sent him back. After sending him back, no ideas came to mind. Then, one idea was hitting me, that is, the process Hitler encroached upon the Weimar Constitution after he took power: it was so called “the enabling law” which was to remove the authority of the people and the state. This law, so to speak, is known among scholars as the Weimar Republic having enacted a law by which Nazi demolished the Constitution. With this, Hitler began to complete the dictatorship. That law was my hint, and I started to work alone for a week at a small hotel in Hyewoondong, which is now gone. [. . .] The law of emergency for state restoration is what was created from this (Han T., “Retrospect” 34–35)

This scene may be regarded as a shameless retrospection of a government-patronized scholar who collaborated in a coup d’état. However, the scene also stimulates a strong imagination set in the modern and intellectual history of Korea; that is, how populism, constitutionalism, and democracy have been muddled under the military regime, and how Han Taeyon attempted to present the reasons for the making of a Revolutionary constitution. This is beyond an intellectual scandal, rather a desperate effort by the intellectual to establish stable political and social order for his undeveloped country that had suffered under colonial rule. Of course, justifying the
reasons for making a Revolutionary constitution should not be acknowledged. But, at the same time, it could not be simply blamed for collaboration with the dictatorship because Han was participating in the military regime to realize his ideal as a sincere democrat and constitutionalist. The following parts discuss the tangled involvement between populism and constitutional theory in modern Korea by tracking down Han Taeyeon’s intellectual pursuit. First of all, let us review Carl Schmitt’s discussion on people’s sovereignty and populism, which had a profound impact on Han’s constitutional theory.

**People’s Sovereignty and Populism**

“All power comes from the people” (Article 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea). Although constitutional expressions vary from country to country, this principle of people’s sovereignty is the first principle shared by all democratic countries. The problem is the people. No need to quote Rousseau because it is well known that the people are not a simple sum of individuals. The people must be a single entity with one will, and it must know no division or part. However, people’s sovereignty is always institutionalized and functionally divided in spite of its unity. Because the people as unity can never exercise direct power, they must always execute power through persons or institutions. This is why the legal system, as best enshrined in the constitution, is the basis of governance in a democratic system. People’s sovereignty is only exercised indirectly through the closely organized division of functions through the legal system.

But the “people” are a “temptation” for a direct intervention in a democratic government system. Even though the protocol of modern political principles stipulates an indirect rule that presupposes the impossibility of direct democracy, history shows that democracy has not quelled the desire for direct rule by the people. The numerous people’s uprisings in history have been regarded as the manifestation of direct democracy, and for those who dream of revolution, the directness of a single, unified people have been a strong basis for overthrowing the regime. Those who accept the temptation within themselves depict the presence of people in a way that would be called “political phenomenology.” This was true for the general strike of
George Sorell, who tried to prove the people’s existence by stopping the world in an instant, and Walter Benjamin, who cited Sorell and configured the directness of the people in the form of the divine violence, and V. I. Lenin, who led a unified revolution by overlaying the last human figure of the proletariat by steel. Similarly, Carl Schmitt also opposed the manifestation of the people to counter the liberal democratic constitutional state. But for Schmitt, this was not for a revolution; rather, it was an attempt to defend the power of the constitution from liberalism:

“People” is a concept that becomes present only in the public sphere. The people appear only in the public, and they first produce the public generally. People and public exist together: no people without public and no public without the people. Only the present, truly assembled people are the people and produce the people. The correct idea that supports Rousseau’s famous thesis that the people cannot be represented rests on this truth. They cannot be represented, because they must be present, and only something absent, not something present, may be represented. As a present, genuinely assembled people, they exist in the pure democracy with the greatest possible degree of identity. (*Constitutional Theory* 272)

Schmitt defines the gathering of the people in the public square as the people themselves and the public themselves and states that people who have manifested this way perform their own unique activities. It is called “acclamation.” Through cheers or silence in the public square, people decide for and against the leader or a certain proposal. In other words, ‘people = the public = acclamation’ is the present state in which people’s sovereignty, which is the basis of democracy, exists. As a result, “to Schmitt, acclamation is the pure and direct expression of the people as a constituent democratic power” (Agamben 171). Agamben evaluates Schmitt’s strategy of reconstructing the genealogy of acclamation as follows:

Schmitt’s strategy is clear. He acted as the theorist of pure direct democracy by borrowing from Erik Peterson the constructive function of the liturgical acclamation. Through direct democracy, he aimed to counter the liberal democracy of the Weimar Republic. [. . .] The acclamation of the people
who are directly present is the opposition to the liberal practice of secret voting. (172).

To summon the genealogy of acclamation, therefore, is to confront direct democracy to the liberal practice or system of democratic republics. Carl Schmitt tried to overcome the political turmoil of the Weimar Regime through this strategy. For him, the political turmoil of the Weimar Regime was equated to the chaos of the liberal parliament. The incompetence of parliament, marked by “eternal chatter” (ewigen Gesprache) rather than political determination, was unlikely to overcome the disintegration from the defeat. Carl Schmitt’s works in the 1920s, ranging from The Dictatorship (Die Diktatur, 1921) to Political Theory (Politische Theorogie, 1922) to Constitutional Theory (Verfassungslehre, 1928), were all interventions to this situation. He demanded the president’s dictatorship based on Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution as a way to overcome the parliament’s incompetence; here, dictatorship refers to a provisional state of rule in which the constituent power, from which the constitution originates, remains valid while the constitutional law as a written statement is suspended from effect (Schmitt, Dictatorship). The acclamation of the people is requested here. He seeks the justification for the president’s dictatorship from the stark manifestation of people’s sovereignty, or the acclamation of the people.

Recent research overlaps with such context in that populism is not simply an anti-democratic pathological phenomenon, but a challenge or an appropriation to democracy in the form of a shadow/periphery/ghost (Canovan; Akkerman; Arditi, “Populism, or Politics”; Arditi, “Populism as a Spectre”; Taggart; Mudde). From the standpoint of institutional democracy with the constitution as its highest standard, populism is clearly a pathological phenomenon that destroys democracy. This is because populism radicalizes and disintegrates norm/debate/compromise/agreement as the political process of determination/shouts/antagonism/confrontation. However, recent research deviates from this structure and regards populism as a “constant” of democracy. Although normative positions vary, most recent research places populism at the critical point of democracy; this suggests that
the situation in which direct governance/movement appears at the forefront by bypassing various institutions of democracy, including parliament, is a conventional mechanism rather than a pathology. In other words, the temptation of the people mentioned above is already embedded in democracy in the wake of populism.¹

If we move this back into the context of Schmitt’s constitutional theory, democracy and populism can be understood as the relationship between the constitutional system and constituent power. This relationship is one of “the state of exception” in which the “people’s acclamation” appears naked and the “normal state” under the legal system based on the Constitution is suspended. Of course, not all populism results in exceptions such as revolution, unrest, and war. The important fact, however, is that populism’s phenomenal feature always emphasizes the crisis of the current system, abhors external enemies, and asserts the unity of the people. Populism also crystalizes all of this as a single personality, manifesting the people’s acclamation with the charisma of the leader. As such, populism always uses the rhetoric of exception and dictatorship and accuses the current system of serving the interests of certain groups and not the people. Thus, the people’s acclamation, which makes the Constitution and the system possible, is summoned in populism. In this context, Carl Schmitt had theorized the dynamic relationship between populism and public law.

Since the enactment of the Constitution in 1948, the constitutional history of Korea experienced several constitutional revisions. In this process, especially in the process of amending the Constitution in the 1950s and 1970s, populism has always been at the center of political dynamics over revisions. This was the case with so-called the Busan political turmoil in 1951 and the discussions around April 19, 1960 and May 16, 1961), and this paradigm reached its peak with the Yushin Constitution of 1972. It was typically entered into public law mainly through discussions on the executive power system, namely over the cabinet system or presidential system. In this context, Korea’s populism from the 1950s to the 1970s can be seen to have developed in a way that exceeded the governing method, hegemony strategy, rhetoric, and political movements. As will be discussed below, the
rulers of the time have attempted to reshape the power structure through constitutional revision, and showed a typical aspect of government-manufactured populism that summoned the people as sovereigns. In this sense, what is characteristic in modern Korea is that populism develops in line with the discussion of constitutional amendment. In that process, a prominent constitutional scholar named Han Taeyeon always made an appearance. Perhaps it is no coincidence. Han Taeyeon, who had repeatedly made intellectual reflections under Carl Schmitt’s great influence, captured Korea’s situation at the time in the frame of Schmitt’s theory of sovereignty.² It is now time to turn to Han Taeyeon’s intellectual pursuit.

People’s Sovereignty Without the People

“There was one formula in our country in the era of the Liberal Party government. The presidential system was dictatorship, and the cabinet system was liberal. That was the formula. Regardless of whether the parliamentary system was suitable for the nation’s reality, the free political system was common practice in Korea at that time.” (Han T., “Retrospect” 26). That was how Han recalled the situation around April 19, 1960. It was not a mere arbitrary judgment. For example, another public law scholar said the following shortly after May 16, 1961, one year after April 19, 1960. “Of course, the logic cannot be established that the presidential system must flow to dictatorship and that only the cabinet system is democratic, but it was an undeniable fact that the presidential system had helped the dictatorship of the Rhee Seungman regime in Korea’s reality, so it was a fact that anyone could predict that the presidential system would be subjected to change along with the end of the Rhee Seungman regime.” (Kim N. 204). It was, thus, a matter of course that the transition from the presidential system to the cabinet system was the natural consequence of democratization after April 19. That is why the constitutional amendment after April 19 naturally adopted a parliamentary cabinet system, the process of which Han Taeyeon deeply intervened in. Let us entertain the recollection of the time.
After the April 19 Revolution, the National Assembly Constitution Establishment Committee was formed, and Professor Park In-hwan and I went out as expert members. I worked on the constitution for weeks in a quiet villa over at Mapo, and the parliamentary cabinet system was one of the opposition party’s party policies at that time. What surprised me, however, was that, although these people have a great opportunity, they don’t know what the party policy of a parliamentary system is. [. . . ] I did it, but I felt it didn’t fit our reality. [. . . ] The Constitutional Court system of the Second Republic was something we insisted on. It is no exaggeration to say that the expert members were in control of the parliamentary cabinet system at that time because members of the National Assembly were not familiar with it. The result was a failure. We faced failure because it didn’t fit our reality. (Han T., “Retrospect” 26)

According to Han Taeyeon, the parliamentary system at that time was a fancy dress that did not fit the Korean people. This is not simple consequentialism. Han Taeyeon had already repeatedly stated in his writings in the 1950s that the parliamentary-politics-centered parliamentary system does not fit the situation in Korea, raising issues of democracy, parliament, and political power in Korea. To begin with, he said the following about parliamentary politics: the reason why parliamentary politics “is regarded as an indispensable system in the democracy of reality is that the owner of a conflicting intent forms a social agenda in a public place in the course of a compromise through discussion and refutation. Therefore, there is no doubt that it is an institutional expression of relativism, which is the basis of democracy. This is especially true when the politics of reality, especially in the context of this parliamentary system, are dominated by the majority party of the parliament.” (Han T., “Democracy” 15)

Parliamentary politics with openness and relativism as physical and spiritual principles embody the will of the people through debate, refutation, and compromise. Therefore, Han Taeyeon had already asserted at the time that “deliberate democracy” was the key to parliamentary politics. However, in the article cited above, he is pessimistic about the possibility of parliamentary politics settling in Korea. This was very natural. At the time, even ordinary rule, let alone parliamentary politics, was incomplete amid the ravages
of war in the Korean Peninsula. In particular, the series of disturbances, referred to as the “Busan political turmoil,” was enough to imprint that a deliberative democracy consisting of openness, relativism, and debate-refutation-compromise was an illusion that Korea could not even imagine. Han must have witnessed this chaos and observed the collapse of institutional democracy, which has the constitution at its peak, even before it was settled. The experience of the “Busan political turmoil” in 1951 made him sure that parliamentary politics was a fancy dress for Korean People.

On February 9, 1951, Rhee Seungman mentioned the amendment of the direct presidential election system at a press conference. He expressed his willingness to push for a revision of the Constitution that prescribed the president election in parliament. To that end, Rhee Seungman and the “Jokcheong (Korean National Youth Association)” faction launched operations and campaigns to promote the constitutional amendment in and outside the parliament. At this time, Rhee mobilized young people from the Jokcheong to organize a government-inspired demonstration for the constitutional revision of the direct presidential election system. Their slogans included “Let’s overthrow members of the National Assembly who are scheming for a dictatorship of the parliament,” “Sovereignty lies not in the National Assembly but in the people,” and “Direct presidential election is the people’s right.” Based on such anti-parliamentarism, Rhee launched a campaign to summon members of the National Assembly, which was not in the law. He confidently justified the suspension of the National Assembly by stating that “There is no condition in the Constitution to summon members of the National Assembly, but there is no condition not to summon them, so there is no one to stop voters, who are the owners of a democratic state, both theoretically and legally from summoning their representatives. In a democratic country, the country is created by the people and the Constitution is created by the people, so if the people want it, they can correct anything, be it the Constitution, government, or National Assembly.” The National Assembly responded by saying that “There is a fear of tilting in the direction of dictatorship,” and that they are “denying the current Constitution and current laws, which are the basic conditions of a democratic constitu-
tional state.” This confrontation was the primary cause of the Busan political turmoil (Fujii 335–46).

Later, the National Assembly passed a constitutional amendment bill with the parliamentary system as the framework, which led Rhee to mobilize organizations from below to stage anti-parliamentary demonstrations and declare martial law to arrest a number of members of the National Assembly. This is the so-called Busan political turmoil. It goes without saying that this Busan political turmoil was the epitome of populist political terrorism. This was the case behind Han Taeyeon’s claim that the parliamentary system was a fancy dress that did not fit the Korean people. In his view, parliamentary politics was the product of bourgeois liberalism born in Western historical experience. “Parliamentarism has been a political stage of the citizen class with sophistication and property in terms of intellectual history” and it has been established “to ensure the political freedom of citizens who are at odds with state power” and developed into a political norm, namely the constitution, that “sets the limits of power execution by the basic rights” of citizens (Han T., “Protection” 6). However, among the discussion of the Korean Constitution, the discussion on the executive power structure (namely the discussion between the cabinet system and the presidential system) was not made in this context. That was because it had been “degenerated” as a discussion for the reinforcement of the president and administrative power.

It should be noted that the principle of separation of powers in our Constitution is not for the “political freedom” of the individual, as in the U.S. Constitution, but for the strengthening of the presidential system and administrative power. Needless to point out, the principle of the separation of power in modern constitutional law does not work as a principle of power structure, but rather it has an institutional mission to serve the basic right to guarantee an individual’s “political freedom.” On the contrary, the principle of the separation of power in our Constitution does not act as a “principle of freedom” serving the basic rights of individuals, but rather as a “principle of power” to strengthen the presidential system and administrative power. This is the spiritual distinctiveness of our Constitution. (Han T., Law 18)
Since the enactment of the 1948 Constitution, including the Busan political turmoil, the Korean Constitution experiences five proposals of constitutional amendment and two major constitutional amendments. In the process, the power structure changed in a way that reinforced the executive power of the president: “The Constitution does not mean an objective ideology or value that can sum up the people as the greatest common factor, but rather it means a mere personal tool for the political convenience of the real-life politicians.” As a result, this led to “a consequence in which the president of our constitution possessed more authority than a monarch of a constitutional monarchy,” and thereby created an “an unimaginable concentration of power in the modern liberal democratic constitution” (Han T., Law 19). As such, he strongly criticizes the ‘process of constitutional degeneration’ that weakens the parliament and maximizes the president’s power. What should be noted here is where Han Taeyeon is looking for the cause of such degeneration: it is the “absence of the people”:

In this way, the Constitution means “promised ideology.” In spite of that, in order for it to be enhanced as the highest norm that governs the order of state in reality, it needs the existence of a political force behind it, one that guarantees the value and normality of the Constitution. It goes without saying that in a modern nation, such political force is the general public with a democratic consciousness. […] However, in a politically backward country like Korea, even though the Constitution is a civil constitution enacted by the people, it in fact lacks a democratic people who can guarantee the value and normality of the constitution. So it is an immovable fact that the process of constitutional alteration is not slowly created according to the people’s democratic sentiment, but rather arbitrarily transformed according to the convenience of politicians at that time. (Law 16)

This diagnosis should not be understood as the elite’s crude public hatred since Han Taeyeon, in all respects, is writing as a constitutional scholar. The “general public” or “democratic people,” therefore, do not consist of individuals who walk the streets of reality. Instead, as mentioned in the opening remarks, it is people as a single unity: that is, the presence of people as the public itself. Han Taeyeon defines it as “the people as an ideal unity”: “It is
considered that people who can never exist in reality exist only when the concept of people in people's sovereignty is understood as an ideal unity, and people who can never be unified in reality are defined as unified” (Han T., “Myth” 10) The reason why the Constitution was degenerated to concentrating power to the president was that the people as the protector of sovereignty were absent. In other words, Han Taeyeon developed a radical criticism that although the Korean Constitution at the time bears the appearance of modern liberal democracy, it cannot be regarded as a constitution because it lacks the people as an ideal unity.

However, Han Taeyeon's criticism does not stop here. While Han standardizes people as an ideal unity that is a single entity that holds sovereignty, he points out that it also functions as a “mythology” that justifies the ruling power:

There is no doubt that the theory of people's sovereignty, which veils parties that pursue profit in each part with totality, is a fiction that plays a magic-like role. In that sense, the modern theory of people's sovereignty [...] conceals a kind of mystique that is theoretically inexplicable. Therefore, although the social governing process is always dominated by minorities and is about the majority, the principle of people's sovereignty in modern democratic ideologies will always remain as a "mask of totem" that symbolizes the fate of political men, unless the falsehood and superficiality of people that assert the ideology of totality as a pretext is dispelled. (Han T., “Myth” 11).  

This is why the ideal unity of the people can serve not only for democracy but also for dictatorship. As long as the actual rule, whether it is democracy or dictatorship, is by a minority of people for the majority, the constitution will be willing to side with the ruler as long as it acquires the justification that the interests of a majority equate the people on the whole. In Han's view, this was the situation that the Korean Constitution was placed in during the 1950s. As was evident in the process of the Busan political turmoil, the people were both a strong ground for the expansion of Rhee's authority and also an ornament. The people were a kind of floating sign that the National Assembly and the president fought for, and it was degraded to an ideology that demonstrated the transformation into dictatorship through the presi-
dent’s mobilization of the people and political terrorism. Through the political turmoil, which can be evaluated as typical populism, Han Taeyeon saw the people as the sidekick of governing power and did not see the people as an ideal unity. This is what he meant by the absence of the people.

As such, Han Taeyeon questioned the populism of the Rhee Seungman regime in the context of constitutional theory. As a constitutional researcher, he captured the political situation of the 1950s as when the sovereignty of modern liberal democracy faced a crisis, rather than as a confrontation between democracy and dictatorship. Rhee Seungman’s populism and terrorism did not simply devalue democracy. It was because it exploited the myth of the people’s sovereignty, which could make democracy exist. When the myth of the people’s sovereignty is rooted in reality in a way that justifies the various systems of democracy, all matters of the state, including governing power, are determined through discussion-confrontation-agreement in open places and takes the guarantee of people’s basic rights and freedom as the final goal. However, when the myth of the people’s sovereignty remains a mere justification for dictatorship, the dictator exercises power in the name of the people according to his own arbitrary judgment and interests. To quote Schmitt, the acclamation of the people is not a manifestation of the people, but rather a decoration for the dictator. Therefore, the task of Han Taeyeon was not to make the people’s acclamation a decoration but to turn it into a true manifestation of the people. For him, the May 16 coup was an event that created an opportunity for that.

**Small Peoples’ Fancy Clothes**

Han Taeyeon took it as a given fact that there were no real “people” in Korea, which was essential to the survival of democracy at the time. This is why the debate on the constitutional amendment was biased toward the reorganization of the power structure, which is why the basic right to guarantee the freedom of the people itself was not even a subject of discussion. The Liberal Party led by Rhee Seungman submitted a revision to the National Security Law to the National Assembly in August 1958, which strengthened civilian inspections and media control, and Han Taeyeon expressed a concern that
it could excessively control the people’s right to freedom. It is reasonable to legislate a national policy such as anti-communism as the National Security Law, which is a quasi-constitutional law, but it cannot be abused in a way that violates daily freedom (Han T., “Freedom”). However, his analysis here suggests the root cause of this situation is Korea’s immature freedom, not the abuse of administrative power.

This national liberation movement called the March 1st Independence Movement had a groundbreaking meaning in the history of our society in many ways. [. . . ] In the wake of the March 1st Movement, nationalism in the modern sense of self-determination began to dominate our society as the main trend. [. . . ] But the March 1st Movement was aimed only at the liberation of the people as a whole and their self-determination, not at the liberation of the individual who had lost his or her autonomy thus far (Han Taeyeon 1958, 342).

For Han Taeyeon, the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919 was the self-determination and liberation of the people, not of individuals. In this context, the ‘Declaration of Independence’ was criticized for having a “pre-democratic nature.” However, if Han Taeyeon considered his own theory of people’s sovereignty, such judgment could be seen as self-contradictory. He argued that the theory of people’s sovereignty, which “controlled the spirit of modern people at will in political life, does not regard the subject of sovereignty as an individual, but rather as the ‘people as a whole’” (Han T., “Freedom”). Given that the spirit of the March 1st Independence Movement was written in the preamble of the 1948 Constitution and established as a symbol of constituent power, it was a logical conclusion that the “people as a whole,” that achieved self-determination through the March 1st Movement, was the protector of sovereignty. Therefore, Han Taeyeon’s logic, that Korea’s democracy was flawed because only national liberation and self-determination were the goals and that individual freedom was flawed, could be seen as a judgment that betrays his own theory of sovereignty.

But to understand his judgment, one should not only pay attention to the dimensions of constitutional, as his judgment was based on the context of the so-called “Asian stagnation.” Let us cite a passage from his paper
that reflects this: “There is something called the Jokcheong faction which is different from the Korea Independence Party\(^4\) that is the most influential conservative force in the liberated Korea. [. . .] In fact, any member of the Jokcheong reminds us of terrifying slogans on nationalism and national supremacy [. . .] The conservatives connote the possibility of one-party dictatorship like the Nazis and fascists” (Han Taeyeon 1961, 94).

The Jokcheong (Korean National Youth Association) is a large movement organization that was organized by Lee Beomseok as a leader just after the liberation and during the early Rhee Seungman regime. Under the slogan of nationalism and national supremacy, they developed radical populism modeled after the People’s Party of China (Fujii). For Han Taeyeon, they were a political organization that was at the opposite point of liberal democracy, just like the Korea Independent Party of the provisional government genealogy. This was because unlike the ideology of liberal democracy that advocated people’s sovereignty for the sake of the guarantee and expansion of individual freedom, the Jokcheong, and the Korean Independence Party were determined to move towards dictatorship by asserting the superiority of the whole (people/state) over individual freedom.

In Han Taeyeon’s view, such property implied the possibility of easily combining with communism, no matter how much they asserted anti-Communism. “In the June 25 Incident in 1950, part of the Jokcheong faction blindly followed the North Korean puppet” (Han T., “Genealogy” 95). What matters here is that, to Han, communism meant the totalitarian regime of a one-party dictatorship. He identified the Stalinist ruling system that exists in reality as the inner workings of communism, rather than a revolutionary theory or ideology based on the Marxist theory of historical materialism. He could, therefore, claim that the vague expectations of communism in South Korean society during the liberation years were shattered by North Korea’s occupation of Seoul in the early days of the Korean War. “In fact, for the people of underdeveloped countries, direct experiences were more effective than wisdoms in judging objects” (Han T., “Intellectual Class” 310). Thus, the lack of individual freedom is defined as the manifestation of Asian back-
wardness under the situation of national division and anti-Communistic campaigns:

For Koreans who have no conscious awareness of freedom, the 38th parallel itself represents not only a material division of the land but also a spiritual division of minds, and even in the acceptance of communism, our people are already becoming Soviets before they become Koreans. [...] In fact, for an Asian society without the conscious awareness of freedom, the nationalist sentiment gained so far from its experience as a European colony and the universalization of poverty resulting from its primitive agricultural economy are the biggest hotbeds for the propaganda of Communists who promise innovation in economic conditions. In fact, in an Asian society that has not lived for individual freedom but only for the maintenance of its animal life, the Communists’ promise of the distribution of bread is a little more specific and attractive than the concept of democratic individual freedom and equality (Han T., “Freedom” 343).

Considering such awareness in the background, the self-determination of the March 1st Independence Movement is a target of criticism. The spirit of the March 1st Movement, which was written in the preamble of the constitution as a symbol of constituent power, was the foundation of the formation of a modern state centered on people’s sovereignty, and at the same time, it was also evidence that they were still caught in Asian backwardness due to the omission of individual liberation and self-determination. Thus, for Han, independence of the people as a whole declared in March 1st movement was evidence of people’s sovereignty in terms of constitutional theory, but, at the same time, a proof of Asian backwardness which made it impossible for Korean nation to accomplish liberal democratic regime that was the ultimate end of the people’s sovereignty.

The political turmoil before April 19, 1960, led Han Taeyeon to grasp the premodern authoritarianism of Rhee Seungman’s regime as the imperfections of the “people.” This was enough to add to the agony of constitutional scholars as it meant that liberal democracy based on people’s sovereignty could not take root in the legal system and governance. It was in this context that the April 19 uprising was bound to be a major turnaround for Han Taeyeon because the constitutional amendment of the parliamen-
tary system after the uprising was carried out in an atmosphere in which democracy could settle down only by a parliamentary cabinet system which could alter the dictatorship based on the presidential system. In other words, whether the constitution of the parliamentary system led by him after the uprising would work smoothly in reality would be a watershed on whether liberal democracy would settle in Korea. So, Han Taeyeon regarded the Chang Myon cabinet with concern:

The parliamentary system in our society is a task for the Second Republic, and is definitely not a reality (...) In fact, although the modern state’s parliamentary system is considered as an ideal form of democratic politics in the sense that it enables collective leadership and accountability, its successful operation requires the same complex and expert techniques as those required by the craftsmen of precise machinery. Therefore, for politicians in our country who do not even know the concept of politics, the parliamentary system in this sense is an excessive burden on their operation (“Theory” 155).

As he later recalled, Han Taeyeon saw the politicians of the time as immature individuals who were not even aware of what politics was, let alone the cabinet system. Shortly after April 19, the conditions were such that they were expected “complex and skilled skills required by the craftsmen of precise machinery.” The reality, as expected, fell short of expectations. The political strife and confusion in the ruling Democratic Party was not only unable to establish liberal democratic rule through debate-confrontation-agreement, but it also revealed the incompetence of parliamentarism that was unable to determine anything and that only added to confusion (as Carl Schmitt said): “It seems that Dr. Chang only repeated failure in less than half a month since he organized the cabinet. A series of incidents began to take place: there were various opinions in a cabinet meeting, opinions from the prime minister and the minister clashed, there were no principles in the personnel administration that should be swift and effective, and the younger faction protested against the new faction.” (Han T., “Theory” 160).

Han Taeyeon’s judgment was not unique. In 1961, Yu Jinoh, one of the founders of the Constitution and one of the most prominent intellectuals
since the colonial period, identified the situation as one in which “both left and right sides expect dictatorship due to the desperation that democracy is impossible” (qtd. in Heo 15). In addition, Yoo Dalyeong, who served as the second chief of the state restoration movement following Yu Jinoh, criti-
cized the Chang Myon administration in a more radical language in 1963. He described it as “a feud between rotten politicians” and a regime in which “the extreme selfishness of the insensible people and the abuse of freedom made the sparks of revolution disappear” (Yoo 236 qtd. in Heo 15). It was the judgment of the intellectuals of the time that the post-April 19 cabinet system betrayed what philosopher Park Jonghong called “absolute determi-
nation” and “creative intelligence” (188) of the uprising. In their view, the cabinet system, which was established through April 19, was a fancy dress that did not suit the small people. The May 16 coup took place under these circumstances. Now it is time to look at Han Taeyeon’s acrobatic intellectual practice that rationalizes the May 16 coup with consistent logic.

**People’s Acclamation and the Glory of the Leader**

Intellectuals such as Yu Jinoh, Yoo Dalyeong, and Park Jonghong, who led the state restoration movement under the banner of enlightenment and defeating communism since before the April 19 uprising, immediately welcomed the coup and participated in the Central Committee of the State Restoration Movement, which became an organization under the Supreme Council for State Restoration following the coup. As can be seen from the fact that figures like Ham Seokhun and Jang Junha, who later became fierce critics of the Park Junghee regime, are listed, this committee included intellectuals from almost all fields in academy and journalism (Heo 49). In other words, intellectuals in all fields had high hopes for the May 16 coup. In fact, right after the coup, most professors in Seoul were appointed as advisors to the planning committee and chairman of the Supreme Council for State Restoration (Han Y. 267) and Han Taeyeon was no exception. As we saw in the beginning, he participated as a main player who created the base of the law of emergency for state restoration.
As revealed in his own memoir, Han Taeyeon was involved in the military coup by adopting a law in the Nazi regime for the legitimation of an exceptional governmental system after the coup. The law from which he took hints is the Enabling Act (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*), which Hitler used to encroach on the Weimar Constitution, in enacting the law of emergency for state restoration. The core of the Enabling Act is to delegate the legislative power of parliament to the administration. Through this, the Nazis suspended the Weimar Constitution and legally monopolized the ruling power. In other words, the Nazis took the nation legally by suspending the constitution through constitutional legislative procedures. He referred to this in legalizing the coup power’s seizing of the regime. Thus, the Supreme Council for State Restoration, with Vice-Chairman Park Junghee as the de facto commander-in-chief, was legally formed through the law of emergency for state restoration:

Article 1 Establishment of the Supreme Council for State Restoration

The Supreme Council for State Restoration will be established as an emergency measure to protect the Republic of Korea from communist aggression and to help the nation and people overcome the crisis and rebuild it as a true democratic republic.

Article 2 Status of the Supreme Council for State Restoration

The Supreme Council for State Restoration shall hold its position as the highest governing body of the Republic of Korea until the National Assembly is formed and the government is established by a general election to be implemented after the completion of the task of the May 16th Military Revolution.

Article 3 Basic Rights of the People

The fundamental rights of the people as stipulated in the Constitution are guaranteed to the extent that they do not violate the performance of their revolutionary work.

As can be seen in Article 1, the law of emergency for state restoration already mobilized rhetoric of “the state of exception” from its basis of existence, including “enemy,” “crisis,” “resurrection,” and “emergency measures,”
etc. Generally, martial law, according to the Constitution, is a temporary measure to deal with an emergency, and it can be legalized only with the consent of declaration from the National Assembly, and it must quickly return to normalcy after the situation has terminated. However, the law, similar to martial law, created a “permanent exception” by not setting a deadline for the Supreme Council for State Restoration. In addition, it stipulated the following to legally neutralize the separation of powers: Article 9 stipulates that “the power of the National Assembly as stipulated in the Constitution shall be executed by the Supreme Council for State Restoration,” Article 17 stipulates that “the substance of administrative power concerning jurisdiction shall be directed and controlled by the Supreme Council for State Restoration,” and Article 18 states that “the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court judge shall be appointed by the president at the recommendation of the Supreme Council for State Restoration.” Han Taeyeon’s long-cherished plan for liberal democracy met with such extreme self-betrayal. However, he does not see it as a so-called “conversion.” That is because for him, the crossroads between liberal democracy and dictatorship always depended on how “people’s acclamation” manifested itself.

In the guide of this law, Han Taeyeon criticizes that “the poverty of the people has become more and more average while the Constitution is violated, fraudulent elections become formalized, foreign aid becomes used as political funds, and the number of illegal funders increase” as a result of the Rhee Seungman administration’s “corruption, injustice and toxicity of dictatorship.” He reproaches that the April 19 uprising, which was an inevitable means of healing the pathology, gave birth to the Second Republic but it was helpless against the “end-of-the-term phenomenon,” such as being “powerless and corrupt” and having “deterioration of economic conditions” and the spread of “pro-communist tendencies.” Thus the “May 16 Revolution” took place and the “law of emergency was enacted” and “the effects of some provisions of the Constitution were suspended.” But the May 16 coup was never about destroying the Constitution, as “the May 16 revolution was a revolution that was aimed at maintaining the constitutional order from communist aggression from the beginning” (Han T., Law).
This logic is strictly dependent on Carl Schmitt’s constitutional theory. On the premise of the ‘absolute constitution’ which is the basic framework of the Constitution and on which the ‘relative constitution’ is established as in concrete sentences (Han T., “Retrospect” 24), Han Taeyeon could claim that the May 16 coup upheld the absolute constitution by suspending the relative constitution. At this time, the absolute constitution must be the “sovereignty” itself: namely ‘the manifestation of the people.’ On this basis, he expounds the law of emergency, referring to the coup forces as “the last guardian.”

For any country, when the existence of the nation or its people is in question, emergency measures to overcome the crisis are called forth. Thus, the theory to legally explain the emergency measures in these cases is the theory of the national emergency right (Staatsnotrecht). [. . .] In a narrow sense, national emergency rights refers to extreme emergency situations that are completely unpredictable, where a competent state agency comes to the rescue of the nation beyond constitutional provisions or in violation of constitutional regulations, only when it is impossible to overcome by all legal means under the constitutional order. [. . .] The May 16 Military Revolution has its theoretical basis on the combination of the right to revolution and national emergency right: revolutionary national emergency rights, so to speak (Han T., Law 35–37).

This is the logic of Han Taeyeon in providing legal grounds for the May 16 coup. In particular, he said that the May 16 coup could be seen as the invocation of the right to revolution (Recht zur Revolution) as it was not the invocation of the presidential emergency power. However, it can be also understood as the issuance of the national emergency right because it was an act to protect the constitutional order. In this way, Han Taeyeon stressed that the coup was aimed at protecting the sovereignty rather than extorting it. He therefore argued that “the power of the revolutionary government is constitutionally and directly based on the principle of people’s sovereignty, and therefore the absolutist of that power invokes the so-called commissarial dictatorship (Komissarische Diktatur) of Carl Schmitt” (Han T., Law 40). Schmitt’s concept of constitutional submission (Verfassungsbeitigung)
can be seen as a compressed version of this argument because for him “the submission of the constitution refers to the case where the power to enact the constitution remains intact and the basic political decision based on it is replaced by a new political decision replaces” (45). Through this logic, the military coup was ultimately interpreted as a situation in which state power was delegated to protect sovereignty, not to take over sovereignty.

From a historical perspective, this may seem like sophistry. However, Han Taeyeon’s intellectual pursuit, ranging from Rhee Seungman’s regime to the May 16 coup, remained unshakable. What mattered most to him was not the question of the presidential or cabinet system, liberal democracy or dictatorship, revolution or coup d’etat. The question was superficial. What really mattered was the idea of the people as the protector of sovereignty. A system built without the people’s sovereign determination is all the same as anarchy, regardless of whether it is a democracy or dictatorship. As a constitutional scholar, Han Taeyeon’s key point was whether the constitution could be established as a fundamental norm for realizing the basic freedom of the people.

In his eyes, however, the Korean people were never determined for sovereign freedom. This was due to the Asian backwardness that was marked by the colonial experience and poverty. Both Rhee Seungman’s populist dictatorship and the chaos right after April 19, 1960, originated from just that, and the May 16 coup d’état broke out in a crisis in which the people without decision were about to be swallowed up by waves of communism. In this sense, the May 16, 1961, coup and the subsequent military regime were not populist dictatorships like the Rhee Seungman regime to Han Taeyeon. They were the people’s “guardians” that allowed for the manifestation of true acclamation, rather than a usurpation of the people’s acclamation. It was also because many welcomed the coup. Most of all, it was because he considered the coup itself as an uprising from below. That is why he was able to “legalize” the coup, all by himself. Han Taeyeon’s intellectual pursuit thus proved that the military coup was a concept and category of constitutional theory, which led to the “difficult” practice of the constitution maintained throughout Park Junghee’s reign in the 1960s. During this period, he served the Park Junghee
regime as a scholar and politician and sought out the true acclamation of the people. His attitude toward the Yushin Constitution can also be understood in this context. The true manifestation of the people’s sovereignty came to be identified entirely with the character of the president:

In a society like ours that is always dominated by the notion of crisis, the characterization of that power means the only form of government in times of crisis. That’s why the concentration of power in the Yushin Constitution to the president, who is the head of state, is shaping the characterization of the leader in charge of it, as well as the characterization of power in our Constitution. As a result, the president possesses legitimacy of power according to the principle of people’s sovereignty that represents the entire people, and performs his duties by trust from the people in his political leadership and determination and by his responsibility to the people. In addition, the characterization of power in our constitution is also asking for direct links with the president and the people. (Han T., Constitutional Theory 58)

The Yushin Constitution was enacted in a referendum on November 21, 1972 with a turnout of 91.9 percent and an approval rating of 91.5 percent (Gal 9). According to Gal Bonggeun, who was involved in the enactment of the Yushin Constitution with Han Taeyeon, “the essence of the Yushin Constitution” is none other than “seeing state power as a principle of political life” (10). In addition, as long as “the president can order or control other agencies as the advocate of national interests” (11), the Yushin Constitution is a constitution that implies the president’s authority can be exercised indefinitely. What is important here is that the president’s enormous authority is explained by the “direct realization of the people’s sovereignty:

In the traditional Korean constitution, there was no clear representative body of people’s sovereignty. Rather, the president elected by the people and also members of the National Assembly elected by the people asserted to be the people’s representatives. It’s the so-called dual representation theory. [ . . . ] Even so, the “people” in this case are the aggregate of individual profits that exercise the right to vote through political parties and other social groups as the medium. The president and members of the National Assembly also started as members of political parties and were elected with
a political party background. It was not the embodiment of the indivisible will of the people.

However, this Yushin Constitution “realized” the concept of people’s sovereignty, which was sublimated into the overall general interest by excluding individual interests, thereby establishing a de-party organization. It organized the National Council for Unification so that the president could be elected solely by the “inseparable will of the people.” (15)

Here we can see that the indivisibility and totality of people’s sovereignty clearly overlap with the president. In other words, the people are understood to be exercising direct rule through the assumed fusion of the president and the people in which the president’s power is itself an embodiment of the people’s rule. This is clearly different from the Rhee Seungman regime. If the Rhee Seungman regime was a dictatorship that took the name of the people, the Yushin system was the reality of direct democracy in which the people and the leader became one. Now the acclamation of the people is indistinguishably united with the glory of the leader. At this point, populism no longer appears as a pathology or shadow of democracy, but as the most ideal reality of democracy. Just as Schmitt argued that dictatorship is a manifestation of the fundamental normalization of the Constitution (Schmitt 2003), Han Taeyeon claimed that the Yushin Constitution is an ideal realization rather than a destruction of democracy. Thus, the indirect rule of modern democracy, characterized by the division of power in legislation, administration, and justice, disappears off-stage. But there is no problem. There is no need for an indirect rule that corrupts or gives the enemy a chance when the people’s acclamation is wrapped up in the glory of the leader without a single error. The Yushin Constitution was thus proven to be an ideal system in which the national composition based on individual liberation and self-determination, namely the acclamation of true people, that Han Taeyeon so longingly desired for was realized.
Modern Democracy and Populism

In the 1950s and the 1960s, when most countries were within the sphere of influence of either United States and the Soviet Union, the so-called developmental dictatorship had become a leading ruling paradigm of the “third world,” regardless of capitalism or communism. Given that paradigm, the leaders of many countries that incorporated themselves into the West ruled by suspending liberal democracy as a system in the name of the people. This is what Han Taeyeon saw in Korea from the 1950s to the 1970s. He looked critically at the ruling system at that time from the perspective of liberal democracy, and as a constitutional scholar, he tried to thoroughly maintain people’s sovereignty as the basis for the legitimacy of the system. However, he eventually chose the emergency situation over the ideology of liberal democracy. What was important is that this “decision” was never a conversion. By mobilizing the logic of constitutional theory, he was single-minded in his intellectual pursuit. In this way, he justified the May 16 coup and the Yushin Constitution in the context of emergency without any self-contradiction (Han T., “Retrospect” 28–29).

The intellectual pursuit of Han Taeyeon offers great implications for how modern democracy is viewed. “Modern democracy is a democracy based entirely on glory,” and “it is a democracy based on the power of acclamation amplified and spread beyond all imagination through media” (Agamben 256). In other words, if one acknowledges that democracy is based on populism, populism is no longer a pathology of democracy, an extreme, ghost, or shadow, but a ‘rule.’ It is rather a powerful grammar of modern democracy that emerged amid institutionalization of the developmental dictatorship during the 1950s–70s. Thus, it is an urgent task in the future to rewrite the history of democracy in the twentieth century in this respect to see precisely what will happen in the name of democracy in the twenty-first century.
Notes

1. This is why Mouffe’s “left-wing populism” based on Laclau’s argument could be a hegemony strategy for post-democracy, which is centered on de-politicization (redification) (Laclau; Mouffe). Mouffe’s populist theory with Schmitt clearly in mind was an attempt to revive the momentum of politics in the ruling paradigm of the neo-liberalistic era dominated by de-politicization and consensus. This is in line with Carl Schmitt’s liberal criticism that attempted to confront the antagonistic paradigm with the liberal rule dominated by compromise and consensus, as Mouffe herself admits (Mouffe).

2. Han Taeyeon was greatly influenced by Japanese Constitutional scholar Kuroda Satoru when he studied in Japan in the 1930s (Han T., “Retrospect” 21). In particular, Han confessed in post-liberation lectures to have relied heavily on the constitutional textbooks of Kuroda, who had created his own constitutional theory by being baptized by Carl Schmitt’s decisionist law after commencing with Hans Kelsen’s legal positivism.

3. The party, led by the leaders of independence movements in 1930s Shanghai, is one of the most influential conservative forces in the nation-building process just after liberation.

4. There is a difference in the positions of Jang Junha and Ham Seokhun right after the May 16, 1961, coup. While Jang Junha regarded the coup as a revolution and expressed full, positive expectations, Ham Seokhun emphasized the transition-ality of the coup and insisted on the swift transfer of power to civil government for the true revolution in which the people become the main entity.

5. This was not only the position of Han Taeyeon, but it was an established theory of the interpretation of the law of emergency for state restoration by constitutional scholars at the time (Moon).
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_English_


In Language and in Health
Expectations and Realities Regarding the JPEPA/JLPT-Passer Nurses’ Integration into the Japanese Healthcare Community

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Abstract
From 2009 to 2014, Filipino nurses who dreamed of entering Japan and passing the required minimum level of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) were given up to six months of language training, through the implementation of the Japan Philippine Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA). This training, however, had proven not to be enough if one’s aim was to pass the National Board Exam (NBE) as it needed a more rigorous language training in order to sufficiently acquire the required level of proficiency. Similarly, in the case of Vietnam, 12 months of language training had been deemed to be more beneficial than six months JPEPA nurses language training to meet the language proficiency requirement; thus, the JPEPA has increased the period for language training for nurses.

However, despite the improvement in the NBE results, a recent trend shows that JPEPA nurses, even the NBE passers, eventually quit their job to return to the Philippines because of their difficulty in fully integrating into the Japanese health community. Two reasons have been cited for the difficulty: (1) only 40% of the JLPT word list is actually used in the NBE, and (2) language used in daily conversations with patients and the medical jargon used among the medical staff are different from those used during the NBE. With this, the
research aims to address the gaps in understanding the difficulty in order to facilitate the integration of JPEPA nurses in Japan. To fill in this research gap, this paper looks into the results of the Japanese language training received by JPEPA nurses. It has been noted that while the JPEPA has already responded to the language-related needs of Filipino nurses in the past, that response has been recently observed to be inadequate in addressing new calls for filling the shortage of nurses in Japan. Thus, this study recommends the following: (1) 18 months of language training and NBE review in the Philippines, and (2) the NBE be taken at the Japan Embassy in Manila.

**Keywords**
JPEPA, JLPT, Filipino Nurses, Japanese Language, Japanese Healthcare Community
Introduction

Early on in the meetings of the working group of Japan Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement in 2002, the Japanese side had expressed their concern about the language proficiency of Filipino health workers going to Japan. In response to this, the Philippines suggested the establishment of schools where they could learn the Japanese language (Yu-Jose, 2004: 18).

The JPEPA deployment of Filipino nurses started in 2009 (“Philippines–Japan Economic Partnership Agreement”), and the pre-arrival [Japanese language] training lasted only a few months during its first launch. However, every year since then, the training has been enriched and improved, and in 2012, it was extended to last for six months (“Japanese Language Pre-Training Program” Japan Foundation, 2021). In 2014, the teaching of the Japanese language was extended to 12 months through the signing of another agreement between the Philippines’ Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) and the Japan Foundation. In addition, the first six months of training on the foundations of the Japanese language and culture was arranged to be held in the Philippines prior to deployment (“TESDA Offers Language Training,” TESDA, 2014). Moreover, Filipino nurses had to initially pass at least the N5 level in the Japan Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) after pre-departure studies before entering Japan (Kawaguchi et al., Anonuevo, & Hirano, 2016: 56). Lastly, another six months of comprehensive language training was arranged to be conducted in Japan after completing the initial language training at TESDA (“TESDA Offers Language Training,” TESDA, 2014; Salaverria, 2013). And with the training upgrades made in 2012 (the six months of language training made formal) and in 2014 (extending the language training to 12 months), it was expected that there would be a steady increase in the number of JPEPA nurses arriving in Japan (with better JLPT level than N5). The figure below, however, shows the opposite reality:
In figure 1, a fluctuating pattern can be seen in the numbers of JPEPA/JLPT-passers nurses based on the number of arrivals in Japan from 2009 to 2018. Comparing the 2009–13 and 2014–18 numbers, a decreasing pattern is more observable from 2014–18 when the training was adjusted to twelve months: from 2015 at 75, to 2016 at 60, and 2017 at 34. Also, 2009 remains the year with the highest number of arrivals with 93 JPEPA/JLPT-passers nurses. Although other factors may be considered such as the number of Filipino nurses who wanted to be recruited per year and the actual achievement of the minimum language proficiency requirement in the first six months of training, there should have been no extreme differences between the numbers (or rather a small, steady increase over the years should have been observed) if this nurse recruitment program under JPEPA were to achieve its ultimate goal mutually benefitting the Philippines and Japan.
Japanese Language Proficiency, and Application to the NBE

Another hurdle for JPEPA nurses is to pass the National Board Exam (NBE), where the knowledge of the Japanese language is important (“TESDA Offers Language Training”). Under the JPEPA, nurses are given a maximum of three opportunities to take the NBE (“Filipino Nurses”); once a year for three years (JICWELS in Ohno et al. 12; Salaverria; POEA in Vilog et al. 45). Therefore, those who arrived in 2009 must take the exam from 2010 to 2012 to comply with the JPEPA rules and maximize the opportunity.

However, the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) takers of the NBE are required to have a JLPT N2 level to take the test (JEES in Ohno et al. 19). What has been acquired in the minimum through the language training under JPEPA, particularly from 2009 to 2013, is the easiest N5 level (the hardest is N1) among the different levels of linguistic competence (“N1–N5”). Therefore, failure can be expected with the first NBE attempts of JPEPA nurses due to the low language proficiency; but to familiarize oneself with the NBE, they would still take the NBE right away. This is reflected in the first three years of their NBE results.

![Number of JPEPA/ JLPT-passers nurses who took and passed the NBE](https://example.com/graph.png)

Figure 2. The number of JPEPA/ JLPT-passers nurses who took and passed the NBE (2010-2012). (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas”; “13 Pinoy Nurses”; Hosono; Ohno et al. 13; Tubeza)
In early 2010, when the first batch of JPEPA nurses took the NBE for the first time, only one passed out of 59 (Ohno et al. 13; Hosono 36). The passing rate was extremely low at 1.7% (Ohno et al. 13). The following year 2011, again, only one made it to the NBE out of 40 (Tubeza; Hosono 36). The passing rate increased, yet was still extremely low, at 2.5%. In 2012, 13 passed out of 160, and these are composed of first, second, and third batches (“13 Pinoy Nurses”; Añonuevo, “Prospects” 2). The passing rate is still a single-digit figure at 8.125%.

Figure 2 shows that NBE takers significantly increased in 2012. The year 2012 is the third and last year for the 2009 first batch of JPEPA nurses to take the NBE; thus, the influx was expected. It was reported that as of 2012, there were 63 (out of 93 from the first batch) who took the NBE (with the aforesaid two of the 63 already passing in 2009 and 2010), while 28 (out of the remaining 30) already went home for various reasons (“13 Pinoy Nurses”). And since only 13 passed the 2012 NBE, and if none of these 13 were from the first batch, an additional of no less than 50 JPEPA nurses also returned to the Philippines. The 2010–12 NBE result is the reflection of only a “few months” of language training from 2009–11 and must be the reason why such training was extended to six months since 2012.

The Philippine Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) reported a total of 55 NBE passers from 2010 to 2014. This means that there were 40 passers in 2013 and 2014 combined. Although the number of NBE passers significantly increased after the first training adjustment, Ohno et al. concluded in their study that the six-month language training was not enough for EPA nurses to master Japanese and work in clinical settings; the training was even insufficient to understand the questions in the NBE (13). Thus, in 2014, another adjustment was made to the JPEPA nurses’ language training; six months of training was extended to twelve months.

Apart from the 2010–14 NBE results, another important event that must have considered is the arrival of Vietnamese nurses in Japan under the Japan–Vietnam Economic Partnership Agreement (JVEPA) in 2014. Unlike the JPEPA nurses, JVEPA nurses received a twelve-month pre-departure
Japanese training in Vietnam, and only those who have gained an N3 level of JLPT are eligible to sign a contract with a Japanese employer (Ohno et al. 17–18). The JVEPA nurses are living proof that JLPT N3 level is achievable within twelve months. Translating the JLPT N3 proficiency to the NBE result, since 2015, the JVEPA nurses have had high passing rates in the NBE [among EPA nurses] and it is reasonable to attribute this to the screening system, wherein only JLPT N3 level speakers can work in Japan (Ohno et al. 18).

Meanwhile, one JPEPA nurse passed the 2015 NBE (out of three). This is equivalent to a 33% passing rate (“Filipino Nurses”). Only three took the NBE although 2015 is a crucial year for the 2012 batch. In 2017, Infonurses reported that there were already 106 who passed the NBE since 2009 (“Japanese Groups”). This means that the output of three years from 2015 to 2017 with 51 passers, almost doubled the output of the first five years from 2010 to 2014, totaling only 55 passers. Although still not enough, the output from 2015 to 2017 reflects the language training extended to twelve months.

According to a JPEPA nurse, “It’s like taking a nursing course all over again, but this time, in Japanese” (Tubeza). “Learning the [Japanese] language alone is already difficult, and it’s all the more grueling trying to pass the NBE,” another one said (Calunsod). The language barrier is one of the significant hurdles faced. Okuda analyzed the vocabulary used in the NBE by comparing it with the standardized word list for the JLPT. He points out that only 40% of the words in the JLPT word list were used in the NBE. This indicates that the NBE uses highly technical terms compared with the Japanese language of daily use. Language proficiency is the key determinant of the results of NBE (Kawaguchi et al. 58).

The JLPT only uses a marking sheet with multiple choices, and the disadvantage of this test is that it does not and cannot measure speaking and writing skills. When it comes to skills, [any] nurse would be required for their daily duties, good speaking skills with their coworkers, patients, and the patients’ families is essential. Meanwhile, updating patient records requires high-level writing skills. Therefore, it is argued that the use of
JLPT as the benchmark for Japanese language skills in the EPA scheme is inappropriate (Kusunoki 63–64). This is why integration into the Japanese healthcare community, more importantly, is also a part of the scheme’s design.

The JPEPA/JLPT-passer Nurses’ Integration into the Japanese Healthcare Community

Arrival in Japan marks the beginning of JPEPA nurses’ integration into the Japanese healthcare community. Until they pass the NBE, they are considered “nurse candidates.” In this capacity, they are expected to work as apprentices. They continue studying the Japanese language and other nursing practices while reviewing for the NBE (Añonuevo in Ohno et al. 12). Once passed the NBE, however, they will be recognized as registered nurses qualified to work in Japan with a “designated activity visa” and with the same salary as that of a Japanese. This is the strict rule of JPEPA (JICWELS in Ohno et al. 12). Therefore, JPEPA nurses can only be treated and compensated as professional nurses if they pass the NBE (Carlos, “Multiculturalism Policies” 181). At this point, their integration may be categorized into two: (1) pre-NBE integration and (2) post-NBE integration.

1) Pre-NBE integration

As apprentices, JPEPA nurses do only “noninvasive work” at the Japanese healthcare facilities—arranging the bedside environment, making the bed, organizing medical supplies (Watanabe 295 in Hirano 36), feeding, bathing, and assisting in the toilet needs of elderly patients, distributing tea to the patients, dusting, wheelchair repairing, changing diapers, mopping, and toilet cleaning. Others call these “non-nursing functions.” One confessed that some of them could not keep up with work expectations: “Work here is deadly grueling. Lifting patients is tough enough!” (Añonuevo, “Prospects” 4–5). A JPEPA nurse from batch 7 claimed that they were treated as basically helpers, not even nursing assistants. Meanwhile, one from batch 8, felt that there was no professional growth and that they were not learning anything (Vilog et al. 54). In effect, “it dulls the mind” as others describe it.
Although many of them may have had valuable experience working as registered nurses in their country of origin, the unfortunate reality is that they were not allowed to perform any medical interventions for their patients until they had a national nursing license in Japan (Ohno 560). It is believed, however, that the highly technical terms present in the NBE cannot be learned fast enough, especially by doing noninvasive work/non-nursing functions. But when Añonuevo interrogated why receiving hospitals assigned EPA nurses to the ward and not in departments with potential high-technology exposure, a head nurse said, “it is good to offer [EPA] nurses opportunities to have communication with patients. This is an excellent training for them to pass the NBE” (“Transnational Care” 9). The NBE includes “situational questions” based on conditions of nurse-patient interactions and communications.

Generally, receiving hospitals are required to render additional tasks to support the candidates’ learning for them to pass the examination. A Japanese preceptor to JPEPA nurses said, “We are not Japanese language teachers, but we have to teach [the] Japanese language by spending extra hours aside from our hectic tasks.” EPA nurses in a certain hospital work from 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., from Monday to Friday, and were given four hours in the afternoon to study for the NBE, including two hours of tutorial conducted by the head nurse, staff nurse, or special instructor hired by the hospital (Hirano 43–44). In another hospital week arrangement, JPEPA nurses were given two days of hospital duty and then three days of continuing language courses and self-study modules. With that, they expressed their appreciation for the support and assistance of their Japanese employers and supervisors (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 3, 5). In another account, an EPA nurse kept a dictionary in his pocket to check the words he did not understand. Studying late at night for NBE, he revealed that his coworkers were helping him, too. Another one, meanwhile, was able to secure entry into the hospital’s library to study twice a week; there was also a staff-in-charge that taught her Japanese language and how to write official documents. Some helping coworkers are also EPA nurses who eventually passed the NBE and wished to have a support system for nurse candidates to pass the exam as
soon as possible ("Japan Foreign Nurses"). Despite the effort exerted by different sides—Japanese hospitals and staff, JPEPA nurses, even other EPA nurses—still, there had been a problem with NBE results over the years. This could also mean that the required additional tasks for receiving hospitals are not fully executed across Japan.

As studied by Ford and Kawashima in 2013, the key for the apprentice to pass the NBE during their first year and first take is to have more than twenty hours a week for their study provided by the receiving hospital (based on the experience of those who passed in February 2010 NBE), with a focus both on a progression of tasks along with improvements in Japanese proficiency. However, there are indications of significant variability among the level of commitment of receiving hospitals towards their training obligations. As cited in Okushima, overtime or night shifts occurred at 50–80% of hospitals, making it difficult for the candidates to find time to study. In terms of task distribution, the scheme assumes that the tasks in which they engage will become progressively more complex. In practice, however, this has often not been the case. In the article by Calunsod published in 2016, a JPEPA nurse suggested, in order for them to complete the program, to allow them to shadow their Japanese counterparts as they perform their jobs instead of getting assigned to orderly tasks and janitorial functions.

Without the full implementation of the expected role of the receiving hospitals and consideration of the findings of various research, the EPA nurses’ status as apprentices will definitely be prolonged to three years, without any guarantee of completing the program through passing the NBE. But difficulty in the achievement of full implementation may also be attributed to the pressure coming from the Japanese Nursing Association (JNA) which, according to Ohno et al., is averse to the introduction of EPA nurses unless the job security of Japanese nurses is protected; and from the Japanese Medical Association (JMA) which insisted that Japan must prioritize strengthening nursing education in the country before receiving EPA nurses (3–4).

After work, JPEPA nurses return to their accommodations. These were described as modest, comfortable, and complete with household appliances.
Two people share a room that has a study corner. They also have a stock-room for their supplies and other personal things. In addition, they are provided with free train tickets courtesy of their employer. They are off duty on Saturdays and Sundays, during which they devote their time to housecleaning and group study. This also allows them to go to places for shopping and recreation. However, they pointed out that salaries and benefits differed according to employers. Some were not given free accommodations at all (Añonuevo, “Transnational Care” 6–7).

With the NBE proper, some JPEPA nurses considered those questions related to Fundamentals of Nursing and Biostatistics easy. The difficult questions consisted of lengthy nursing situations and clinical scenarios written in kanji; and those of Japan’s health care system, nursing system, labor laws, and insurance systems (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 4). What has been made as an adjustment in the 2011 NBE is the English translation of the test’s certain portions. In the 2012 NBE onwards, candidates received extra exam time, along with Japanese characters being presented with a reading aid to indicate pronunciation (Ford and Kawashima; Salaverria). However, these modifications and special considerations applied to the NBE have done little to boost the passing rate. The effectiveness of each modification and the feedback from the candidates regarding the modifications, have not been seen and demonstrated at all (Kusunoki 66).

Since there is a disconnect between the problem and the solution, it can only be expected that passing the NBE is almost impossible. A JPEPA nurse who was deployed in 2011 (and quit after a year) expressed that “the journey to becoming a nurse in Japan was indeed a mission impossible. We were very tired physically, mentally, and emotionally while studying to pass the board exam and working at the same time. All of us were pushed to study even on our rest day” (Calunsod). Other JPEPA nurses [from other batches] also expressed the same exasperation in that working and studying at the same time were both physically and mentally tiring (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 4). As an apprentice, even if receiving PHP 40,000 of net salary in 2011 (and some of them even receiving free lodging and food) (Tubeza), these benefits were not enough to motivate them to stay longer. Therefore,
even the premature return to home countries—particularly of JPEPA nurses back to the Philippines—can be expected so long as the study hours are insufficient, and the hospital tasks are experientially inadequate.

2) Post-NBE Integration

Passing the NBE starts a licensed career, but nothing much would change in terms of language difficulty. One licensed JPEPA nurse said, “daily conversation with patients and medical jargon used among the medical staff are different from the language used in the NBE. I have to keep studying my Japanese even after I have passed the NBE” (Kawaguchi et al. 77). Still coping with his Japanese language skills, another licensed JPEPA nurse said, “whatever I lack in verbal communication, I make up for by being sensitive to the [patients’] needs through feelings and touch;” A licensed JPEPA nurse giving health teachings still had difficulty explaining herself in Japanese: “I’m a bit frustrated because I can’t give the best explanation to my patients. Health teaching is different from everyday conversations because health teaching has to be done in a systematic manner and in a polite form.” Even a licensed JPEPA nurse who passed the NBE on the first try confessed that she continues to experience language difficulty. And because her functions have expanded, command of the language becomes more and more a necessity. This is where her insecurity comes in. “I feel bad when I don’t understand what others say in Japanese; for instance, when I take verbal orders from doctors,” she said (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 5–6).

Another reality is that there are Japanese characters all over the hospital. Medical kanji prevents EPA nurses from getting integrated into the Japanese hospital workforce (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 8). This is why furigana (Japanese reading aid) for kanji (Japanese character) in NBE was viewed as pointless since there are kanji in the workplace that EPA nurses cannot read (Kusunoki 66). The study of Kawaguchi et al. in 2016 recommended that support for EPA nurses after passing the NBE—especially in the Japanese language—be formalized and enhanced to make the program more meaningful. The licensed JPEPA nurses interviewed by Añonuevo in her study in 2019 also stated that hospitals should continue their support,
especially with language education, even after the nurses had passed the NBE ("Prospects and Dilemmas"). They believe that as long as Japanese employers need nurses and the respective governments are serious about the intentions of JPEPA, the program can still have a bright prospect.

One of the good things after passing the NBE, on the flip side, is that there have been major changes in the nursing responsibilities. Licensed JPEPA nurses can now take and carry out doctor’s orders, give medications, and do charting, perform blood extraction, maintain intravenous lines, conduct health teachings, discharge instructions to patients, handle trauma patients, administer emergency drugs, and perform cardio-pulmonary resuscitation. Another good thing is the change in treatment by the social environment. One licensed JPEPA nurse said, “All my Japanese coworkers greet me, unlike before when they regarded me quite inferiorly." Another one shared that “whereas before, anyone in the ward would tell me what I should do, now I can delegate some of the tasks to a Japanese caregiver.” Change in salary is also a good thing. Licensed JPEPA nurses could now receive an average of PHP 140,000 per month (PHP 90,000 net salary after deductions such as insurance, taxes, house rental, internet, telephone, and utility charges), from the PHP 60,000–115,000 monthly salary of a nurse candidate. On top of this, they are also entitled to a midyear bonus, thirteenth-month pay, a three-day summer leave, and eight to ten days of allowable leave from duty every month (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 4–5).

The JPEPA/JLPT-passer Nurses’ Disintegration from the Japanese Healthcare Community

1) Disintegration due to non-passing of NBE

Failure to pass the NBE within the designated period requires JPEPA nurses to return to the Philippines (Carlos, “Filipino Careworkers” 14) and this marks the beginning of the JPEPA nurses’ physical disintegration from the Japanese healthcare community. With the very low passing rate over the years, it is understandable that most of the nurse candidates have already returned to the Philippines after three years (Carlos and Suzuki 9). In 2015,
around 400 JPEPA nurses and caregivers were reported to have already returned to the Philippines since 2009 (Santos); over 500 in 2016 (Embassy of Japan in the Philippines); and over 700 in 2018 (“Embassy of Japan to Host,” 2018). Based on the pattern from 2015 to 2018, around 100 nurses and caregivers combined become jobless annually as they disintegrate from the Japanese healthcare community. According to Trines in 2018, this added to the number of unemployed nurses in the Philippines with already around 200,000 in 2016.

After the first three NBEs (2010–12) of JPEPA nurses, it can be said that having a backup plan for non-passers would be wonderful. This is why since 2012, the Japanese Embassy in Manila has held an annual job fair with Japanese companies and medical institutes to help the returning JPEPA nurses (and caregivers) to further utilize their skills and experiences acquired in Japan, to strengthen the relationship between Japan and the Philippines (“Embassy of Japan to Host,” 2017), and to provide them with other employment opportunities (“Job Fair and Dinner Reception” 5). This is also a way to contradict the view that the “potential of those who have made an effort to come to Japan is not being utilized (as they go back to their home countries without taking the NBE)” (“Japan Foreign Nurses”). Through job fairs, some returnees were rehired as company nurses, Japanese language teachers, interpreters, and office staff (Embassy of Japan in the Philippines). Those who returned to the Philippines from 2009 to 2011 may have also benefited from the job fairs from 2012 onwards as long as they participated in, and were able to secure a job through, the fair. But, according to Calunsod, other JPEPA nurses who did not take nor pass the NBE already migrated to other countries after returning to the Philippines from Japan.

2) Disintegration despite passing the NBE

Many of those who have passed the NBE have already left Japan (Hirai; Matsukawa and Morimoto in Kusunoki 1). After painstakingly completing the requirements, some nurses and care workers have decided to return to the Philippines. This is a clear drawback on Japan, as they have already invested resources for them yet end up leaving their Japanese health institutions after
completing all the costly training (Vilog et al. 47). The Japan International Corporation of Welfare Services (JICWELS), which directly handles the program on the part of Japan, said that the most common reasons cited by licensed JPEPA nurses who decided not to work in Japan are personal and family issues, particularly nurses’ desires to be close to and take care of their parents (Calunsod). One licensed JPEPA nurse said, “I’ll stay here for as long as I’m happy. [But] my feelings are unsure.” There’s a decision to remain in Japan if they have relatives who could provide psychosocial support to them. Another licensed JPEPA nurse added that she could count five more years in Japan if she could bring her family with her as they are her priority (Añonuevo, “Prospects and Dilemmas” 6). There has been a struggle brought by separation anxiety, particularly to those who are married. Some initially believed that the financial rewards outweighed separation from their family. Their families were also optimistic that if they passed the NBE, the former could join them and live with them in Japan (Añonuevo, “Transnational Care” 4–5). For others, working in Japan means reuniting with other family members. A licensed JPEPA nurse from batch 3 decided to migrate because she has a relative working in Japan (Vilog et al. 47).

Likewise, a considerable number among those who passed had already quit their job, to work in another destination (Carlos and Suzuki 9). Japan, in this scenario, is not the preferred destination by Filipino nurses. In fact, according to studies, most of them prefer countries such as Saudi Arabia, Singapore, the United Kingdom, and the United States (US) as destination countries. Many nurses want to go to the US, [even if] it is very expensive to apply for the National Council Licensure Exam (NCLEX) (Vilog et al. 47). One licensed JPEPA nurse interviewed by Añonuevo was reviewing for the NCLEX. If she passes, she said that she’d be ready to set off and work in the US (“Prospects and Dilemmas” 7).

Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendation
The JPEPA, as a bilateral agreement, is wished to be seen fulfilling its objectives, particularly in supplying nurses for the aging population of Japan and providing job opportunities to nurses from the Philippines. This is why the
language concern, even the remedy to this, was anticipated years before deploying the first batch of nurses. However, realities regarding the learning of the Japanese language unfold year after year. Extending the language training of JPEPA nurses, from six to twelve months, was the action undertaken by authorities, guided by the idea that the NBE results will improve only when there’s a higher level of Japanese language proficiency. This is all the more evident when JVEPA nurses were able to achieve the JLPT N3 within a twelve-month training program and performed significantly better during the NBE among EPA nurses.

However, even if the JPEPA nurses eventually received a twelve-month language training, they didn’t seem to reach the JLPT N3 (as reflected in their NBE results). One reality is that JVEPA nurses spent twelve months of training in Vietnam. The expectation that the improvement of JPEPA nurses’ language proficiency would happen upon being integrated into the Japanese healthcare community did not happen in the case of the majority. As already revealed in the study of Ford & Kawashima, the key to passing the NBE during the first year and first take is to have more than twenty hours of study a week, with receiving hospitals supporting such study and giving out a progression of tasks. One JPEPA nurse even described his journey to pass the NBE as a mission impossible because (1) the NBE required JLPT N2, and only 40% of the words in the JLPT word list is used in NBE; there’s a (2) lack of time to study; (3) lack of support from some host hospitals; and (4) lack of progression of relevant tasks. While the JVEPA’s approach to language training can already be a benchmark, no further adjustment was made for JPEPA after 2014.

Instead, what has been done by the Japanese authorities was to give the NBE an English translation, along with giving candidates extra exam time and a reading aid to indicate the pronunciation of Japanese characters. If such remedies are not the answer to the problem, what improvement these can contribute to the number of licensed EPA nurses. Another proof that there must be a focus on the improvement of language training is that the licensed JPEPA nurses still have difficulty with Japanese, as they find the words in actual daily conversations with patients and medical staff different
from the words used in NBE. With this, the study of Kawaguchi et al. recommended further Japanese language support for licensed EPA nurses.

With regards to the pre-NBE integration into the Japanese healthcare community, particularly performing non-nursing functions, it can be said that it did not help to improve the language proficiency of JPEPA nurses nor to enrich their knowledge of nursing in Japan. Worse, it made JPEPA nurses feel deskilled and demotivated. If highly technical terms used in NBE cannot be learned during the apprenticeship, the by-the-book NBE review might be better. It is suggested, therefore, to start the integration after passing the NBE so that JPEPA nurses will no longer experience the disenfranchising apprenticeship episode; and as licensed, the responsibilities, as well as the social treatment, salaries, and benefits to be given to them, are the same with their Japanese counterpart right from the beginning. This may help limit the disintegration of the JPEPA nurses from the Japanese healthcare community.

On the other hand, it was mentioned that the necessary integration should have also entailed cultural learning aside from language (Vilog et al. 50, 62). If there will be cultural learning, it is suggested by this research to be two-way; for example, since Filipinos study the Japanese cultural practices, the Japanese may also study the Filipino culture (e.g., about family). Japan might not be one of the preferred destinations, but if the JPEPA nurses can bring their family members to Japan it could be something worth considering. As has been mentioned more than a decade ago, learning the Japanese language might prove a waste in terms of time, effort, and money invested if JPEPA nurses do not eventually work in Japan (Yu-Jose 20), especially because proficiency in the Japanese language achieved while in Japan will not be useful in the next preferred destination (Carlos, “Multiculturalism Policies” 182). But Japan can still be a preferred destination, provided that JPEPA nurses can bring their families with them.

To learn the Japanese language more quickly, most of the JPEPA nurses have suggested that the basics of the course be conducted in the Philippines before they are sent out to their respective employers (Añonuevo, “Transnational Care” 2011: 8). Specifically, this research recommends that Filipino nurses have JLPT N2 before taking the NBE. Similar to the JVEPA
approach, the complete language training for JLPT N2 [intermediate level or B2 in the CEPR or JF Standard for the Japanese Language Education] (Saitama University, 2018) should be conducted in the Philippines in eighteen months. The Japan Foundation’s (2019) decision to hire Filipino Japanese-language lecturers (together with Japanese lecturers in a team) to handle an intensive Japanese-Language Course for JPEPA nurses (and care-workers) at TESDA is also seen as beneficial for licensed JPEPA nurses who already returned in the Philippines to get reunited with their families. It was mentioned in the hiring requirement that “the lecturer must have the ability to respond accordingly to the learners’ actual need and readiness” (Japan Foundation, 2019) thus it is believed that licensed JPEPA nurses are the most fit for the job.

If the ideal number of hours to reach the JLPT N2 level is 1,000 hours (“Course Information” Akita Japanese Language Institute, 2021), and the ideal number of study hours for JPEPA nurses per week is more than twenty hours (say, 24 twenty-four hours), according to Ford & Kawashima (2013), then the proficiency required for NBE can be achieved in twelve months. Thus, starting the thirteenth month, language training should be accompanied by an NBE review for which test-based review classes may be helpful. The NBE is recommended to be taken at the Japanese Embassy in Manila, and only after passing the NBE should the Filipino nurses be deployed to Japan. Eighteen months after deployment, it would be even be a good idea if licensed JPEPA nurses could bring their families to Japan. The recommended 18 months of language training and NBE review in the Philippines, plus eighteen months of work as a licensed nurse in Japan, are also equivalent to the three years (thirty-six months) of the nursing contract currently given by JPEPA. With these, JPEPA nurses will only be away from their family for only eighteen 18 months, before making Japan, finally, their preferred destination.


Carlos, Maria Reinaruth D., and Y Suzuki (2020), “Japan’s Kaigoryugaki Scheme: Student Pathway for Care Workers from the Philippines and Other Asian Countries.” Human Resources for the Health and Long-Term Care of Older Persons in Asia, edited by Yuko Tsujiita and Ozuke Komazawa, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, pp. 1–33.


Carlos Bulosan and Filipino Collective Memory
Teaching, Transgression, and Transformation

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Abstract
Who is Carlos Bulosan? Why is he significant? Why teach Bulosan in our classrooms? These questions function as points of departure for this lecture delivered in Summer 2021 for the UNITAS International Lecture Series cosponsored by CLASS and Kritika Kultura. By reviewing the significance of Carlos Bulosan, this talk provides an opportunity to examine the continued relevance of Bulosan and his works for the twenty-first century. A pioneering Filipino writer of the twentieth century, Bulosan developed a unique transgressive aesthetic that travels across national and literary boundaries and, in the process, reimagines the boundaries of Filipino identity and literary categorization. Emphasis is placed on approaches to teaching Bulosan within the Asian American studies classroom at Bryant University. Within Bulosan’s literary imagination, transgression is inextricably interconnected with transformation.

Keywords
Carlos Bulosan, pedagogy and interdisciplinarity, Asian American studies, US–Philippines colonial relations, Filipino self-determination and Filipino American labor activism
Introduction
The following is the text of my lecture delivered in the summer of 2021 for the UNITAS International Lecture Series cosponsored by CLASS (Cultural, Literary, and Art Studies Society, Inc.) and Kritika Kultura. This presentation focuses on pedagogical approaches to teaching Carlos Bulosan’s classic text *America Is in the Heart* (1946) in my Asian American studies course at Bryant University in Smithfield, Rhode Island.

I assign Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart* during the first part of the course, which emphasizes the historical emergence of the field of Asian American studies as inextricably interconnected with the Asian American movement of the late 1960s which historians trace to the Third World Liberation Front student strike at San Francisco State College (1968–69). The retrieval of Bulosan’s text by Asian American and Filipino/Filipino American activists and scholars in the late 1960s and early 1970s speaks to the early stage of Asian American studies which, according to Asian American historian Yuji Ichioka, is characterized as “uncovering a buried past”—which includes reclaiming the histories of various groups within the Asian American community such as detained Chinese immigrants at Angel Island, Filipino migrant workers on the plantations and in the canneries of the US West Coast, and incarcerated Japanese Americans in concentration camps. For Filipino/Filipino American activists and scholars from the 1960s to the 1980s, Bulosan helped to uncover a “buried past” of working-class resistance in the United States and anticolonial subaltern agency in the Philippines.

When teaching Bulosan’s text, I assign E. San Juan, Jr.’s “In Search of Filipino Writing” which provides a useful theoretical framework for students—one that advances earlier concepts introduced in the course by Ronald Takaki and Gary Okihiro. San Juan’s emphasis on the historical specificity of the Filipino experience enables students to return to Okihiro’s rearticulation of orientalism for the field of Asian American studies. American orientalist discourse cannot be separated from US–Philippine colonial relations and the racial-national subordination of the Filipino people. While San Juan advances Wallerstein’s world system perspective in historicizing the international scope of Bulosan’s writing, he simultaneously emphasizes what
lies at the heart of Bulosan’s literary imagination—the concept of Filipinos as subjects-in-revolt. This concept speaks to Ronald Takaki’s insistence that Asian American/ethnic studies should examine how peoples of color are not only victims of history but also actors in history—subjects with minds, wills, and voices.¹ Filipinos as subjects-in-revolt speak to Bulosan’s narrative strategies of transgression/transformation—specifically, the ways in which a long memory of anticolonial subaltern resistance in the Philippines provides the foundation for the Filipino American labor movement during the 1930s in *America Is in the Heart*.

**Teaching Asian American Studies at Bryant University**

I’d like to begin by talking a little bit about my upper-division course in Asian American studies which I teach for the Department of English and Cultural Studies at Bryant University in Rhode Island. Bryant University is a small private college that has a predominately white student body (83.2% as of 2019).² The majority of the students are business majors given the institution’s long history as a business college founded in 1863 in Providence, Rhode Island as a branch of the Bryant and Stratton National Business College which sought enrollment among Civil War veterans and members of the working class.³ Bryant was a business college until 2004 when its College of Arts and Sciences was established; as a result, Bryant College became Bryant University (located in Smithfield, Rhode Island since 1971).

My Asian American studies course contributes to the expansion of the university’s curriculum and to our new ethnic studies program. In spite of the racially homogenous student body at Bryant, my Asian American studies course has become one of our more racially diverse courses with student enrollment drawing from US students of color and international students. The course has been attractive to students of color and white students interested in theoretical perspectives on local and global forms of difference. Over the years, the course has attracted a wide range of students across the university—from international business majors to students working in Residential
Life and Services interested in issues of diversity within education (from PreK to the university level).

In my course, I encourage students to reflect upon three interconnected strands which are in conversation with the broader field of literary/cultural studies:

• **Field Formation**
Demonstrate knowledge of the interconnectedness of the history of Asian American Studies and the history of US social movements during the 1960s–70s. Students will be able to articulate how this historical connection (between field formation and social movements) situates the study of Asian Americans within a global context.

• **Canon Formation**
Demonstrate knowledge of the historical development of an Asian American literary canon. Students will be able to articulate the possibilities and limitations of developing an Asian American literary canon. Students will examine the following questions: What constitutes Asian America according to this canon? Who defines the canon? For whom? How does the idea of a canon shift and change at different historical moments in the development of Asian America?

• **Racial Formations**
Use the theory of “racial formation” to examine the processes by which Asian groups have been historically racialized within the United States as well as the ways in which “Asian America” has been defined and redefined by its various communities. Students will be able to articulate the significance of the theory of racial formation to the field of Asian American Studies. We will examine new frontiers for this theory. For example, we will discuss how Asian American feminisms (including studies of sexuality) can enrich our understanding of Asian American racial formations.
The course provides an opportunity for students to learn about pioneering Filipino writer Carlos Bulosan (1911–56) and his significance to the Asian American movement and Asian American literature. Born of the Filipino peasantry in Binalonan, Pangasinan in 1911, Bulosan arrived in Seattle, Washington in 1930 and joined 150,000 Filipino migrant workers—in the canneries of Alaska and on the plantations of the US West coast and Hawaii. Bulosan’s racialized diasporic class consciousness informed his development as a prolific author of novels, short stories, essays, and poems.

Teaching Carlos Bulosan and America Is in the Heart
I assign Bulosan’s America Is in the Heart, which was published in 1946. It was recovered by the Asian American movement and republished in 1973 by the University of Washington Press with a reissue in 2014. It was recently released as a Penguin Classic in 2019. This text is very useful for me in the classroom because it helps my students make connections between the three strands of the course—field formation, canon formation, and racial formation. America Is in the Heart introduces students to the Filipino American experience and to a canonical text within Asian American studies. Its canonical status speaks to the field’s liberatory vision informed by the Asian American movement of the late 1960s.

America Is in the Heart chronicles the experiences of Filipino migrant workers on the US west coast during the Great Depression. I assign “In Search of Filipino Writing” by E. San Juan Jr. to accompany our reading of Bulosan’s text. San Juan’s essay is an invaluable resource for my students because it provides a historical context for understanding Bulosan’s literary craft. San Juan distinguishes the ethico-political framework of Bulosan’s writing from the immigrant-assimilationist paradigm that has dominated Asian American literary criticism at its inception (see Elaine Kim) and has informed the work of contemporary Filipino American writers/critics who yearn for recognition from the US literary establishment. San Juan discusses Bulosan’s writing as a literature of revolt (not just a literature of exile) that draws sustenance from a durable tradition of anticolonial subaltern struggle in the Philippines.
I ask students to consider how this is dramatized in Bulosan’s text—specifically through its form and the development of the narrator.

Categorized as a literature of revolt, *America Is in the Heart* dramatizes a diasporic Filipino protest consciousness. Part novel, part autobiography, and part collective memory, *America Is in the Heart* is an ethnobiography that transgresses the literary conventions of various forms of writing such as the bildungsroman, naturalism, and proletarian literature. Our protagonist Allos is a composite of many stories. He embodies the collective experiences of the Filipino peasantry under American colonial occupation and Filipino migrant farmworkers in the United States during the Great Depression.

The structure of the ethnobiography (divided into four parts) traces the development of Allos’s awareness of marginalization within Philippine colonial society and the United States. This awareness of marginalization enables Allos to craft modes of resistance as a writer-activist of the Filipino American labor movement which includes the formation of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA union). Bulosan’s text allows us to focus on working-class experiences in the Philippines and the United States. I begin our discussion by asking students to identify how Allos develops a racialized class consciousness in the Philippines (part one). I emphasize how this particular development within part one is significant because it anticipates the emergence of new forms of consciousness in parts two, three, and four.

**On Racial/National Subordination:**
**Carlos Bulosan and the Filipino American Experience**

When I teach Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart*, I ask students to situate the Filipino experience within US-Philippine colonial relations (beginning with the Philippine–American War 1899–1902). I emphasize that American colonization is key to understanding the historical context of the narrative, its conflicts, and the development of its characters. I ask students to reflect upon how Bulosan’s text begins in the Philippines under American colonial occupation. Our central character and narrator Allos develops his understanding
of self and the world he inhabits within this colonial context. Part one of *America Is in the Heart* dramatizes how the dissolution of Allos’s family and their dispossession of land in the Philippines is due to absentee landlordism under American colonial occupation:

One summer day, when the rice lay golden in the sun, startling rumors came to Mangusmana: the peasants in a province to the south of us had revolted against their landlords. There the peasants had been the victims of ruthless exploitation for years, dating back to the eighteenth century when Spanish colonizers instituted severe restrictive measures in order to impoverish the natives. So from then on the peasants became poorer each year and the landlords became richer at every harvest time. And the better part of it was that the landlord was always away, sometimes merely a name on a piece of paper. (Bulosan 25)

Asian American historian Erika Lee reminds us that “U.S. rule transformed the Philippine economy in ways that benefited American investors but not Filipinos [by] expanding the Philippines’s export-oriented economy first established by the Spanish” (176).

To help students understand the impact of US colonization on the Filipino experience, I introduce the concept of racial/national subordination. Within Bulosan’s text, the racism encountered by Filipinos in the Philippines and by Filipinos in the United States cannot be separated from the colonial status of the Philippines. According to Filipino scholar-activist Bruce Occena, “Filipinos have been integrated into US society on the basis of inequality and subjected to discrimination due both to their race and nationality” (qtd. in San Juan 450–51). This condition of racial/national subordination informs how Filipinos are positioned within US society and constructed within the US colonial imaginary. According to Erika Lee, Filipinos were classified as “U.S. nationals” ineligible for citizenship and “described in racial terms as uncivilized savages, brutal rapists, and even dogs and monkeys . . . [or] children in need of US guidance” (175).

I ask students to identify passages from the text that illustrate the racial/national subordination that Filipinos encountered. One moment that is useful for this exercise appears at the start of part two with Allos’s passage
to America as a steerage passenger. A traumatic encounter with a young white girl on the boat’s deck foreshadows Allos’s life of displacement and exploitation as a migrant worker in the United States where he eventually reconnects with his brothers Macario and Amado and learns to reconstitute family, community, and belonging through labor activism and interracial working-class solidarity:

“Look at those half-naked savages from the Philippines. . . Haven’t they any decency?”

I was to hear that girl’s voice in many ways afterward in the United States. It became no longer her voice, but an angry chorus shouting: “Why don’t they ship those monkeys back where they came from?” (Bulosan 100–01)

I also ask students to consider how racial/national subordination exacerbates the hostile working conditions of Filipino migrant workers who are positioned in the United States as racialized colonial subjects ineligible for citizenship. Bulosan dramatizes life as a Filipino migrant worker during the Great Depression through our protagonist Allos. In part two, Allos experiences a “life of fear and flight” from racialized violence (from the pitting of Filipino workers against other workers of color to indiscriminate acts of police brutality) and inhumane working conditions in the environment—on plantations of the West Coast and the canneries of Alaska. Here’s one vivid example of the hostile working conditions of Filipino migrant workers:

In those days labor unions were still unheard of in the canneries, so the contractors rapaciously exploited their workers. They had henchmen in every cannery who saw to it that every attempt at unionization was frustrated and the instigators of the idea punished. The companies also had their share in the exploitation; our bunkhouses were unfit for human habitation. The lighting system was bad and dangerous to our eyes, and those working in the semi-darkness were severely affected by the strong ammonia from the machinery.

I was working in a section called “wash lye.” One afternoon a cutter above me, working in the poor light, slashed off his right arm with the cutting machine. It happened so swiftly he did not cry out. I saw his arm floating down the water among the fish heads. (Bulosan 103–04)
Filipino Diasporic Protest Consciousness: Carlos Bulosan and the Asian American Movement

*America Is in the Heart* was recuperated by the Asian American movement of the late 1960s and the revitalized Philippine national sovereignty movement of the 1970s. An essay assigned to students prior to their reading *America Is in the Heart* is Glenn Omatsu’s “The ‘Four Prisons’ and the Movements of Liberation.” This essay introduces students to the history of the Asian American movement which emerged from the 1968 San Francisco State Strike for ethnic studies. Students learn that the Asian American movement critiqued the racist violence of US imperialist adventures in Asia—specifically Vietnam and the Philippines. Bulosan’s text resonated with the liberatory visions of the Asian American movement and the Philippine national sovereignty movement by achieving two goals simultaneously. *America Is in the Heart* documents the exploitation and oppression of Filipinos within racial capitalism. At the same time, *America Is in the Heart* documents Filipino collective agency in the Philippines and the United States.

Bulosan’s text eloquently captures the emergence of a diasporic Filipino protest consciousness. I ask students to take notice of how the openings of parts three and four are vastly different from the opening of part two which frames Allos as victimized by the hostile racist and exploitative forces of his environment. The openings of parts three and four push against victimization by emphasizing the development of the Filipino organic intellectual—the development Allos’s agency as a writer-activist.

Part three opens with the publication of *The New Tide*, a Filipino workers’ magazine that is an actual journal that Bulosan edited in 1934 while working closely with Filipino labor organizers. Part four opens with Allos’s reflecting upon American models of the writer-activist such as Carey McWilliams, Louis Adamic, and others. The narrative as a whole, however, reveals that Allos’s ideal model of the writer-activist is deeply informed by a diasporic form of Filipino insurgency—a concept embodied by the character of Felix Razon (a young peasant organizer) whom Allos first encounters during his childhood in the Philippines. Felix Razon later reemerges within the narrative as an active participant in the Filipino labor movement in the
United States. In fact, Felix Razon is involved in the publication of *The New Tide* (Bulosan 189). As a child, Allos encounters Felix Razon in part one in the Philippines:

My mother and I went to the town of Tayug, a rich rice land, and helped in the harvest. Tayug and two other neighboring towns belonged to one family.

In the middle of the season strange men began coming to the rice fields. A rugged peasant boy made impassioned speeches to the harvesters . . . I remember this fanatical peasant boy because years afterward I met him again in America. His name was Felix Razon. (Bulosan 60–61; pt. 1)

Years later, Allos reunites with Felix Razon in the United States.

. . . I took a bus for Los Angeles. I found that my brother Macario and Nick, Jose’s brother, were living together. They had started a literary magazine with a man named Felix Razon. To my amazement, he was the same peasant boy who had warned me to leave the rice fields in Tayug, before the Colorum revolted against the landlords. (Bulosan 189; pt. 2)

The character of Felix Razon represents the global movement of anticolonial Filipino class consciousness by referencing labor organizer Pedro Calosa.

The development of Felix Razon’s character resonates with the life of Pedro Calosa who is the central organizer of the colorum groups of the 1931 Tayug revolt. Filipino historian Renato Constantino reminds us of the significance of Pedro Calosa and the Tayug revolt:

Calosa had spent many years as a laborer in the sugar fields of Hawaii, but plantation authorities dismissed him when they discovered he was attempting to organize his co-workers. Sent back to the Philippines, he finally settled in Pangasinan where he worked in the rice fields. (353)

The Tayug revolt was supposed to be the spark that would ignite the whole of Central Luzon in a peasant revolution that would achieve independence for the country and reward all participants with equal shares in lands confiscated from caciques. (354)
Felix Razon and the Tayug uprising of 1931 speak to a diasporic Filipino insurgency—or anticolonial protest consciousness—which undergirds the narrative of *America Is in the Heart*. Felix Razon’s embodying the history of Pedro Calosa and the Tayug revolt speaks to the ways in which Filipino American labor activism was informed by a tradition of subaltern struggle for national sovereignty in the Philippines. Bulosan maintained this diasporic connection in his work as a writer-activist until his untimely death in 1956 (see Bulosan’s work as editor of the 1952 *ILWU Yearbook*).

Bulosan’s dramatization of the diasporic continuity of anticolonial Filipino protest consciousness helps to explain why *America Is in the Heart* resonated with activists of the Asian American movement and the Philippine sovereignty movement into the 1980s. We can see how this diasporic continuity is represented in an early attempt by Filipino American filmmaker and activist Linda Mabalot (founder of the Asian Pacific Film and Video Festival) to create a film inspired by Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart*.

In her footage for the unfinished film *Quiet Thunder* (1981), Mabalot portrays Filipino resistance to American colonization of the Philippines as the political unconscious of *America Is in the Heart*. Her opening and closing scenes of anticolonial Filipino resistance (a reference to the Philippine-American War which lasted between 1899 and 1902) frames images of dislocation, community building, survival, and resistance in the United States. An historical memory of anticolonial insurgency informs Filipino American modes of survival and collective resistance (Filipino labor activism and interracial working-class solidarity) within *America Is in the Heart*. Mabalot’s film footage reminds us that this collective memory resonated deeply with Asian American and Filipino American activists of the 1970s and 1980s.
Fig. 1. Photo of filmmaker and activist Linda Mabalot. Courtesy of Visual Communications (VC) blog, post by Abe Ferrer, VC Staff.

Fig. 2. Opening scene from *Quiet Thunder: Philippine–American War (1899–1902).*
Fig. 3. Scene from *Quiet Thunder*: Interracial working-class solidarity – fleeing from fascist violence in the United States (1930s). Moments of interracial working-class solidarity in Bulosan’s text (with characters such as John Custer and the Odell sisters) are useful for helping students reflect upon the ways in which working-class agency is central to challenging systemic racism in the United States.

Fig. 4. Closing scene from *Quiet Thunder*: Philippine–American War (1899–1902).
American Orientalist Discourse
As a teacher, I realize that concepts such as US-Philippine colonial history and racial/national subordination might seem, at times, challenging for students to grasp in relation to our reading of Bulosan’s text. So I use a theoretical concept central to the field of Asian American studies to help students. Here I’m referring to the rearticulation of orientalist discourse within the field of Asian American studies. The framework of American orientalist discourse helps my students to grasp and visualize concepts specific to the Filipino experience.

In his essay “When and Where I Enter,” Asian American studies scholar Gary Okihiro explains the concept of orientalism for my students in the following:

Orientalism . . . composed a system of thought that supported a ‘Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over’ Asia. Orientalism’s purpose was to stir an inert people . . . shape them and give them an identity, and subdue and domesticate them. (7)

To help students visualize the formation of an American orientalist discourse, I use images from The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons (Ignacio et al.) which is an invaluable classroom resource. The political cartoons within the text simultaneously challenge our historical amnesia in the United States with regard to US colonialization of the Philippines. When filmmaker John Sayles premiered his 2011 film Amigo (on the subject of the Philippine-American War), he shed light on the dearth of information on Filipino resistance to US colonial occupation within our American educational system:

I was doing research for my last novel, Los Gusanos, and I came — kept coming across this phrase, “the Philippine insurrection,” or “the Philippine-American War.” And I said, “OK, I’m 30-something years old. How come I’ve never heard of this?” which got me suspicious. You know, usually when we [Americans] win a war—and we won that war—we celebrate it. And how come, you know, Amigo is probably going to be the third movie ever made
in the United States about the Philippine-American War? How come there are no novels about it? How come it’s not in our history books? (Sayles)

We can perhaps read Gina Apostol’s recent novel Insurrecto (2018) as a text in conversation with John Sayles’s reflection on reconstructing our collective memory of Filipino resistance during the Philippine-American War.

Here are a few images that I ask students to examine. I ask them to walk me through how these images, as part of American orientalist discourse, construct Filipino “otherness”—specifically the racial and national subordination of Filipinos.

![Image of political cartoon titled “The White Man’s Burden (Apologies to Kipling)” from Judge (Judge Publishing Company, New York, 1899). This political cartoon which illustrates the United States taking on the responsibilities of an imperial power alludes to Kipling’s poem “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands” (1899). Students observe how white supremacy and patriarchal domination are integral to the formation of American orientalist discourse. Image from The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons, edited by Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio.](image)

Fig. 5. This image is titled “The White Man’s Burden (Apologies to Kipling)” from Judge (Judge Publishing Company, New York, 1899). This political cartoon which illustrates the United States taking on the responsibilities of an imperial power alludes to Kipling’s poem “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands” (1899). Students observe how white supremacy and patriarchal domination are integral to the formation of American orientalist discourse. Image from The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons, edited by Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio.
Fig. 6. The left image is titled “The Filipino’s First Bath” and the caption is as follows: “McKinley – ‘Oh, you dirty boy!’” (Judge, Judge Company, New York, June 10, 1899). The right image is titled “Christmas In Our New Possessions” and the caption is as follows: “Santa Claus – Phew! I’m glad to oblige Uncle Sam, of course. But next time I come I’ll wear khaki!” (Puck, Keppler & Scharzmann, New York, December 24, 1902). My students observe that the Filipino characters in both images are depicted as children to justify the American colonial representation of the Filipino as incapable of self-rule. Often times students will also point out that a perspiring Santa Clause signifies the “white man’s burden” of imperial responsibility to uplift and civilize. A bundle of books is presented as a Christmas gift on behalf of Uncle Sam. An uncomfortable Santa Clause positions the Philippines as the other of Western civilization—an American orientalist construct of the Philippines as unfamiliar, savage, other. Images from The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons, edited by Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio.

When asking students to reflect upon the formation and function of American orientalist discourse, I also encourage them to consider how Bulosan’s text challenges, interrogates, and destabilizes American orientalism by bringing their attention to a deconstructive moment in part one. Here, in an act of individual survival, Allos reveals Filipino racial otherness as a fiction, as performance. Allos’s performance denaturalizes the American colonial gaze that objectifies, essentializes, and dehumanizes Filipinos:
My clothes began to wear out. I was sick from eating what the traders discarded. One day an American lady tourist asked me to undress before her camera, and gave me ten centavos for doing it. I had found a simple way to make a living. Whenever I saw a white person in the market with a camera, I made myself conspicuously ugly, hoping to earn ten centavos. But what interested the tourists most were the naked Igorot women and their children. They seemed to take a particular delight in photographing young Igorot girls with large breasts and robust mountain men whose genitals were nearly exposed, their G-strings bulging large and alive. (69–70)

On one hand, Allos’s performance critiques American orientalist discourse. It denaturalizes white supremacy by revealing the performative nature of racial otherness. On the other hand, Allos’s performance reveals the limitations of deconstruction as a mode of individual survival within (rather than a mode of dismantling/transforming) the system of American colonialism. The ineffectiveness of Allos’s deconstructive performance of racial otherness (one that pokes fun of while simultaneously reinforces American colonial racism) becomes apparent as the narrative unfolds and explores alternative modes of survival and resistance—specifically the possibility of collective mobilization. In Allos’s development as a writer, Bulosan illustrates how new forms of consciousness (writing/cultural production) are interconnected with new forms of collective agency for social transformation.

In the class, when we talk about American orientalist discourse, I remind students that we’re talking about a motivated form of knowledge (a system of representation) produced by different types of cultural texts that serves to ideologically justify (naturalize) the US colonial occupation of the Philippines. The different texts include political cartoons as well as a souvenir textile commemorating the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair. I came across this textile during a visit to the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) museum a few years ago. This textile is part of the RISD collection.
Fig. 7. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Souvenir Textile, after 1904. Printed cotton plain weave. Courtesy of the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) Museum, Providence, Rhode Island. This textile was on display in the Former Glory exhibition at the RISD Museum, July 27, 2018–January 20, 2019. The following is a description of the textile from the museum: "This work, possibly a pillow cover, may have been a souvenir from the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair. Its images depict the Bontoc Igorot people from the Philippines. The US military colonized the Philippines in 1898, and in 1904 a group of Igorot was transported to St. Louis for an exhibition at the fair. Showcased as a constructed village, the group was made to enact their ‘exoticness’ in ceremonial dances and other cultural practices for the consumptive gaze of onlookers. In the centermost panel, US flags fly above the site."9

RISD artist fellow Walker Mettling decodes the images in the textile. Not unlike John Sayles a decade ago, Mettling discovers that our memory of American colonization of the Philippines at the turn of the century continues to be repressed. Mettling’s detailed research diagram uncovers an unsettling fact of American colonial history—Filipinos were displayed in human zoos in...
the United States. In his research, Mettling notes that the textile documents the following:

This living museum/human zoo treatment of 1,300 Filipinos from 12 ethnic groups in replicas of their various building styles was deliberate propaganda to justify the annexation of the Philippines after the Spanish American War. The spectacle was designed by Lieutenant Governor of Bontoc Province, Truman Hunt.

Fig. 8. Research Diagram: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Souvenir Textile. Courtesy of Walker Mettling, cartoonist, printmaker, and director of the Providence Comics Consortium, Rhode Island. From the RISD museum website: “During his tenure as the RISD Museum’s 2017 Artist Fellow, Walker Mettling became interested in a mysterious textile identified in museum records as a pillow cover. Through extensive research, Mettling unearthed the work’s likely origin as a souvenir of the 1904 World’s Fair and its complex history as a celebration of US colonization of the Philippines and the exoticization of Bontoc Igorot people. In this screen-printed graphic, Mettling describes his research process and findings.”

10
Bulosan and Filipinos as Subjects-In-Revolt

Early in the course, I have students read the work of Asian American historian Ronald Takaki. In *A Different Mirror*, Takaki is interested in viewing Asian Americans as “actors in history, not merely victims of discrimination and exploitation, [who] are entitled to be viewed as subjects—as men and women with minds, wills, and voices” (14). The enduring appeal of *America Is in the Heart* for the field lies in its ability to reveal how Filipinos have survived, collectively resisted, and pushed against victimization mode. The following passage from E. San Juan, Jr. helps students explore the concept of Filipinos as actors in history—as subjects-in-revolt:

Called “little brown brothers,” barbaric “yellow bellies,” “scarcely more than savages,” and other derogatory epithets, Filipinos as subjects-in-revolt have refused to conform to the totalizing logic of white supremacy and the knowledge of “the Filipino” constructed by the Orientalizing methods of American scholarship. Interpellated within the boundaries of empire, Filipinos continue to bear the marks of three centuries of anticolonial insurgency (443–44).

*America Is in the Heart* is a text that “bears the marks of anticolonial Filipino insurgency” which inform the Filipino American labor movement of the 1930s—a movement that paved the way for Filipino American labor activists of the 1960s such as Philip Vera Cruz and Larry Itliong. Vera Cruz and Itliong are pioneering figures of the Filipino farmworkers movement in California and the Asian American movement.

One of my writing prompts asks students to discuss how *America Is in the Heart* speaks to Philip Vera Cruz’s moral vision of compassion, solidarity, and commitment which is explained by Asian American scholar-activist Glenn Omatsu:

Through his years of toil as a farmworker, [Philip Vera Cruz] recognized the importance of worker solidarity and militancy and the capacity of common people to create alternative institutions of grassroots power. Through his work with Filipino and Mexican immigrants, he saw the necessity of coalition-building and worker unity that crossed ethnic and racial boundaries. Vera Cruz has also promoted a larger moral vision . . . compassion
for all victims of oppression, solidarity with all fighting for liberation, and commitment to the ideals of democracy and social justice (191).

Fig. 9. Philip Vera Cruz. Courtesy of Farmworker Movement Documentation Project, UC San Diego

One example that inspires my students is Allos’s developing a workers’ school as part of the labor movement toward the end of the text (an example of compassion, solidarity, and commitment):

I worked with a crew of pea pickers [in Nipomo]. I found a new release. The land had always been important to me. I felt my old peasant heritage returning with fresh nourishment. I knew that my future was linked with these tillers of the soil, from whose common source I had sprung.

I started a little workers’ school and invited the pea pickers.

When I pointed out that the advance of democracy was related to the working man’s struggle for better wages and living conditions, I felt a warm feeling of humanity growing inside of me.

I left Nipomo [for] Betteravia, a town fifteen miles away. In this little town, nestling like dried mushrooms, were Filipino and Mexican sugar beet workers. I worked with them and started another class. (311–12)
Bulosan’s generation of Filipino migrant farmworkers and labor organizers (the *Manongs*) of the 1930s (informed by a diasporic anticolonial Filipino protest consciousness) paved the way for the Filipino American labor movement of the 1960s and the creation of the United Farm Workers movement which developed through interethnic working-class solidarity created by Filipino and Mexican farmworkers.

Fig. 10. Larry Itliong. Courtesy of *New York Times* photo gallery.

Larry Itliong, president of the Filipino organization called Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, bridged Bulosan’s generation with the interethnic farmworkers movement of the 1960s. A recent PBS documentary on Asian Americans highlights the contributions of Filipino migrant farmworkers in California’s central valley by focusing on the historic five-year Delano Grape Strike of 1965 (considered the civil rights movement for people of color on the US West Coast) and the role Larry Itliong played in helping to create the United Farm Workers movement. Delano historian
Alex Edillor states that the Delano Grape Strike of 1965 and the United Farm Workers movement are significant because they’re proof that “Filipinos were here, and we made a difference.”

Today, Filipinos are everywhere—nearly 12 million around the globe. The memory of Bulosan and the Manong generation continues to live in the work of Jose Antonio Vargas (journalist and activist for the rights of undocumented immigrants) and Zenei Triunfo-Cortez (president of the California Nurses Association/National Nurses Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO and labor organizer on the frontline of the COVID pandemic). Can we think of other Filipinos (in the Philippines, the US and throughout the diaspora) who contribute to our unique history of activism and cultural production? Filipinos who build upon Bulosan’s diasporic protest consciousness? I invite readers to reflect upon how Bulosan and his writings can help us to continue to make a difference in the twenty-first century.

Fig. 11. Gintong Kasaysayan, Gintong Pamana (Filipino Americans: A Glorious History, A Golden Legacy). Mural in historic Filipinotown, Los Angeles, California. Courtesy of Alvin-Christian’s blog.12
Final Remarks—Teaching Strategies of Transgression/Transformation.

When I decided to teach Carlos Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart* within the context of Asian American studies, I was focused on introducing students to the specificity of the Filipino experience as well as the central concerns of Asian American studies which emerged from the Asian American movement. To be sure, Bulosan’s text provides an excellent introduction to Filipino/Filipino American history and to foundational concerns of Asian American studies. I did not anticipate, however, the different ways in which Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart* would resonate productively within a predominately white classroom. In other words, in addition to serving as an introductory text to the Filipino experience, Bulosan’s ethnobiography opens spaces within which students are able to see our interconnected histories. When I ask students to think about Bulosan’s strategies of transgression (crossing boundaries and borders) and transformation (challenging racism and economic exploitation), they’re able to see how interracial working-class solidarity functions as the bridge between transgression and transformation.

Over the years, I’ve discovered one moment (out of many) that enables my white students to see how they’re able to enter the text in solidarity. In chapter 35, Allos becomes friends with a white male patient in the hospital—“a young boy named John Custer.” Allos discovers their common bond of class when John, who did not have the opportunity to learn how to write, asks Allos to write a letter on his behalf to his mother in Arkansas. Allos comments, “I was not writing to an unknown mother any more. I was writing to my own mother plowing in the muddy fields of Mangusmana . . . I realized that this poor American boy had worked all his life. I could have told him then that I had worked all my life, too” (Bulosan 248–49). Through this expression of interracial working-class solidarity (which enables Allos and John to transgress the boundary of race), my white students realize that Bulosan’s text is also about the experiences of the multiracial working class. While Allos’s class consciousness details the violence of white supremacy/US imperialism, it also highlights how working-class white Americans are able to challenge the ideology of racism to forge solidarity with Filipinos.
My students of color are able to see their own experiences with racism and marginalization reflected in Allos’s journey within the text. I’ve also noticed that Allos’s journey gives my students of color hope. When I ask students to observe how Bulosan’s text dramatizes how Filipinos are victimized by hostile forces within the environment (US colonization, economic exploitation, racist violence), I also ask them to highlight how Allos learns to challenge and push against victimization mode by developing strategies of transgression/transformation. One of my Latino students, in a passionately written paper, juxtaposes Allos’s bearing witness to the brutal lynching of a Filipino organizer by the name of José (fascist violence against labor) with Allos’s intellectual awakening and political development as a writer guided by the Odell sisters. Through interracial working-class solidarity (represented by Alice and Eileen Odell), Allos was “determined to face [life] again but now with an unswerving intellectual weapon” (256). One of my Chinese American students, who was coming to terms with the rise of anti-Asian violence in the age of COVID-19, decided to write about Bulosan’s text in light of the keywords that characterize Philip Vera Cruz’s activism—compassion, solidarity, and commitment. This approach enabled my Chinese American student to see the continued relevance of Bulosan’s text—specifically how collective action and interracial solidarity will be crucial tools for the Asian American community as it confronts and challenges the devastating eruptions of deep-rooted anti-Asian racism unleashed by the Covid pandemic.

Strategies of transgression/transformation within *America Is in the Heart* highlight the significance of working-class consciousness and interracial solidarity which, as Angela Davis reminds us, continue to remain necessary as we navigate pedagogical challenges within the academy (pushing beyond dominant neoliberal academic theories that center on the politics of failure/despair) and confront racial/economic injustices associated with the ongoing pandemic. At the same time, Bulosan’s strategies of transgression/transformation stem from our long memory of anticolonial resistance in the Philippines—a reminder of how Filipino self-determination is inextricably interconnected with struggles for social justice everywhere.
Notes

1. See Takaki’s *A Different Mirror*.
2. *Student Demographics and Outcomes Profile. Bryant University.*
3. See Bryant History and Traditions.
4. See *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt*.
5. See *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt*.
8. See Teresa Ebert’s *Ludic Feminism* for her detailed discussion on deconstruction as a form of idealist theory.
11. See also Philip Vera Cruz: a personal history of Filipino immigrants and the farm-worker movement. Los Angeles: UCLA Labor Center & UCLA Asian American Studies Center.
13. I’m grateful to all of my students from my Asian American studies course at Bryant University – specifically those enrolled in spring 2020 and 2021 who creatively and thoughtfully engaged Bulosan’s literary imagination in the age of Covid-19.
14. See “Planetary Utopias: Angela Davis and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in conversation with Nikita Dhawan” and Rahul Rao’s ”Neoliberal antiracism and the British University.”


San Juan, Jr., E. “In Search of Filipino Writing: Reclaiming Whose ‘America’?” Wu and Song, pp. 443–66.


BOOK REVIEW

Affect, Narratives and Politics of Southeast Asian Migration, by Carlos M. Piocos III

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Abstract

In *Affect, Narratives, and Politics of Southeast Asian Migration* (2021), Carlos Piocos III deploys multidisciplinary approaches to understand contemporary issues surrounding Southeast Asian migration within the framework of what is now generally called Affect Theory. Ethnographic accounts and literary and visual analyses are juxtaposed, interfacing the collective experiences of Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers and migration policies that expose, enable, and mobilize such precarious politics of gendered labor. This book-review essay examines how Piocos advances the various texts, textualities, and contexts that situate affect in narratives, in order to underscore the plight of Filipina and Indonesian women domestic workers and how their struggles characterize women’s social movements in the region. This book plays a vital role in exploring affect theory, migrant studies, and Southeast Asia.

Keywords
Introduction
What has been referred to as “emotions” is one of the most crucial representations of the cultural aspect of social scientific inquiries, whose visible manifestations “appear [in order] to tell us about our true selves” (Boellstorff and Lindquist 437). Drawing from Affect Theory in the analysis of their representations, contexts are critically mobilized toward cultural discourse by locating and acknowledging where these emotions are located connecting fields and disciplines such as anthropology, social psychology, and political theory as the book attempts to unpack emotions as a cultural lexicon in understanding texts, textualities, and contexts, particularly in the process of investigating contemporary Southeast Asia (Leys 436).

Over the years, Southeast Asia has been a subject worthy of critical inquiries that emanate from its dynamic cultural mobility. For instance, the region’s marked increase in both local and transnational migration offers dialogues on Southeast Asian narratives of movement. Theorists and scholars working on aspects such as globalization have posited that these movements of people, media, economy, and culture are “crucial in theorizing transnational processes” (Boellstorff and Lindquist 439). Hence, it is suitable to look into these ethnographies of affect to reconfigure the cultural mileage of Southeast Asia as this book tries to do.

Indeed, in Affect, Narratives and Politics of Southeast Asian Migration, by deploying multidisciplinary approaches, Carlos M. Piocos III in understanding contemporary issues surrounding Southeast Asian migration through a combination of ethnographic narratives and literary and visual analyses, exploring the collective experiences of Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers confronting migration policies that expose, enable, and mobilize the precarious politics of gendered labor. The book aims to unload these experiences to reify women’s portrayal in public discourses and popular. As such, the book asks: how do films, literary works, and performances “represent” the politics of gendered labor migration in Southeast Asia? How important is the articulation of affective states that accord to the rise and development of women’s social movements within the region?
Piocos focuses on affect and its immediate impact on the development of the labor dynamics of women. The chapters highlight conflicting and complementing themes that are structured to carefully guide readers into its immersive track: “belonging and displacement, shame and desire, vulnerability and resistance, sacrifice, and grief” (Piocos 5). These tropes are made manifest by illustrating the experiences of these women labor migrants. It is through their voices that Piocos constructs the involvement of emotions in the tradition of the ethnographies and literatures of women’s migration. These voices, in turn, constitute the experiences of labor migrants, their host countries, their homeland, and eventually, the Southeast Asian region.

How do we manage emotions on a national scale? Piocos opens with the significance of affect and how emotions have the power of influencing our understanding of mere statistics when dealing with labor migration and labor exports. These affective states inform political rhetoric, which is then “deployed toward specific discursive ends” (Piocos 2). Philippine and Indonesia are rooted in political economics as he argues that while host countries or city-states benefit from labor migration of women from the Philippines and Indonesia, their home countries also profit from this transnational exportation of women’s domestic labor. While women’s domestic labor contributes to the economic stability of their home countries, their lived experiences abroad are affected by policies set by the host countries.

His book derives from and contributes to the continuing dialogue on the affective turn of feminist and transnational discourse. In dealing with emotion-work and the global care chain, he operationalizes the concept of intimate labor “to explore how emotions are configured into the experience of border-crossing” (6). Through the analysis of literature, films, and photography, Piocos advances Brooks and Simpson’s position regarding the connection of emotions with gender and migration. Still, while Brooks and Simpson argue that the changes in migrant women’s subjectivity, identity, and belongingness is heavily impacted by their experiences in border-crossing, Piocos extends this argument further to discuss how gender relates to transnational migration, specifically. This adds a layer of representation
that figures into the discursive dialogue of transnationalism, women’s labor migration, and the politics of affect.

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It is important to note how Piocos deploys the Deleuzian notion of affect to differentiate it from feelings or emotions. Through the positioning of affect as a Deleuzian concept, it is imperative to consider conditions, structures, and relationships in the conversation. Moreover, Piocos builds upon and expands Ahmed’s concept of affective stickiness. While Ahmed suggests how emotions and feelings are made to “congeal” and “cohere in a certain way” (231), Piocos further argues how this stickiness should also include the possibilities of incoherence and disjointedness in dealing with affective viscosity. Hence, these uneven, contradicting, and almost conflicting natures of affect permit scholars to experience the degrees to which we understand emotions and experiences.

* 

**Conclusion**

In her book entitled *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (2015), Butler raises this question: “How is precarity enacted and opposed in sudden assemblies?” (20). I believe that Piocos’ book engages with this Butlerian interrogation through his selection and analysis of his texts in an effort to contribute to the expansion of affect discourses in the region. Moreover, the visibility that the book affords to such literary and critical works on the plight of Filipina and Indonesian migrant workers constitutes an “assembled” voice that deploys compelling remarks to boost and sustain such dialogues.

The process of understanding precariousness needs to be accompanied by a thoughtful discourse on the perilous realities experienced by Filipina and Indonesian migrant workers that brings about a transformation in their psyche. As Lauren Berlant advocates in her theory of affect, emotions that are engaged mostly through narratives “imply a heightened sense of expend-
ability or disposability that is differentially distributed throughout society” (29). It is in this regard that Piocos participates in the conversation that the marginalized, often excluded, chronicles of women domestic workers need to be brought to the fore. For instance, these migrant workers confront anxieties that escalate due to the impermanent nature of their jobs, their gendered bodies constantly sexualized and commodified, and the concern for the security of the family they left home. All of these issues overlap, producing a certain kind of apprehension when thinking about their future or the future of those who are directly dependent on them. The experience of anxiety inflicts a structuring of singular accountability on the person suffering from that anxiety. Thus, what it yields is an individualized sense of suffering and apprehension.

This brief assessment of the chapters’ essential aspects and arguments focuses on the contributions that Piocos offers to the complex scholarly dialogues regarding women’s migrant situation in the region. *Affect, Narratives and Politics of Southeast Asian Migration* is definitely a rich source material for affect theory and women’s migration studies. The careful maneuvering of textual strategies of literatures and films work well in depicting the experience and emotions of Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers, opening up possibilities for various endeavors for scholars and critics to engage with. The book shows how powerful it is for different fields and disciplines to converse with one another in order to produce a compelling scholarship on migration, women, and the region.

Piocos engages with scholarly and creative works, and at the same time, expands the field with possibilities for further studies. One of his main contributions to the ongoing debates on migration narratives and affect is the focus on (oftentimes) overlooked aspects when dealing with affect and gendered migrant labor experiences. His engagement with public and private spaces is one of the crucial aspects of the book. This unlocks several considerations when experiences of emotions are spatialized. Moreover, Piocos unpacks creative and critical nodes from which women migrant workers’ agency are exhibited and empowered. While their experiences are almost
always utilized as spectacular narratives, there is a need to engage, question, and challenge these dominant modes of representing their plights.

Although the book presents a wide variety of literary and visual analyses, one of the minor shortcomings is the non-inclusion of performance/performing/performative texts. The cinematic and fictive representations of the experiences of Filipina and Indonesian migrant workers have been scrutinized critically. It would have been interesting to juxtapose the chosen texts of Piocos with performance ‘texts’ such as festivals and events in Hong Kong or Singapore where these women migrant workers choose to engage themselves in. In a way, this adds a supplementary layer from which readers can see the bigger picture of how emotions eventually play out in the experiences and narratives of women labor migrants abroad. Furthermore, still connected with the point raised above, it would have been interesting if the actual responses or insights from these women migrant workers were considered or included. How do Filipina and Indonesian women migrant workers view their own portrayals and representations in these selected texts? It is curious to hear the actual voices of those who are represented and studied in the book. To look into these materials enhances the critical and creative reach of the frameworks which Piocos has established in his work.

This book is a welcome addition to the scholarly works dealing with affect theory, migrant studies, and Southeast Asia. Piocos opens opportunities, possibilities, and trajectories for scholars and academics who may want to pursue the research on the topic expand his work. There are still several ways for those who are inspired and encouraged by his methods to advance his scholarship. One way is to expand his framework in the analysis of other texts aside from literary, visual, and cinematic. I can think of interesting conversations if performance or theatrical texts are analyzed alongside Piocos’ framework. Moreover, further studies may delve into other women migrant workers in other regions such as South Asia, or a transcontinental comparison of the struggles of these domestic workers. For instance, is it possible to look into the tendency of migrant workers coming from Sri Lanka and to be limited to men only in the construction industry? How does this affect the women migrant workers from this region and their oppor-
tunities abroad? Another intersection that can be unpacked is the affective experiences of LGBTQ migrant workers in other regions and how they are represented in media, literature, and other texts. In so doing, scholars may discover other aspects and themes of affect that have not been explored in this book.

Anchoring the narratives of domestic workers and other migrant laborers through their emotive experiences is critical as the politics of gendered labor migration continues to play out across the globe. Piocos constructs a scholarly path where emotions, experiences, and expectations are engaged with contemporary mobilities happening in the region. We, as scholars, are reminded to traverse the wide opening left by Piocos where we can connect, converse, and convene with the questions provided for us.
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