THE PARAMETERS OF INTELLECTUALIZATION--
APPLICATIONS TO FILIPINO

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1.   INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to define the parameters of the intellectualization of Filipino. I understand 'parameters' to refer to the general factors that need to be kept in mind in a particular enterprise, here taken to be the agendum of intellectualizing Filipino. Therefore, I intend first to define 'intellectualization' in terms of the current sociolinguistic literature. I will then mention three contemporary approaches that have been used in intellectualizing Filipino by referring to recent research in the Philippines. I will conclude by giving some observations that might be able to guide us in our task of hastening the intellectualization of Filipino.

2.   DEFINITIONS

A sizeable literature on language planning has been built up over the years, drawing from theorizing scholars such as Haugen, Fishman, Ferguson, Rubin, Jernudd, Das Gupta, on the foreign scene, and Sibayan and Gonzalez, on the local scene. Standard introductory textbooks in sociolinguistics have summarized the main points of their presentations; I personally consider Fasold (1984) as the best one and I have borrowed heavily from it for my presentation in this section.

Language planning is defined as decision-making about language; it is an explicit choice among alternatives that have been carefully evaluated. Two broad categories of decisions have been identified as necessary in language planning: language determination and language development.

Language determination refers to such decisions as choosing a national language or official language or medium of instruction; this usually involves policy and therefore has been called the policy approach to language planning; it also involves delineating the

status of different languages in a society, and therefore, has been called status planning. Glossing over the finer points that sociolinguists make, therefore, we can say that language determination, the policy approach to language planning, and status planning refer approximately to the same reality.

On the other hand, language development refers to the selection and promotion of variants within a language and their codification and elaboration by means of grammars, spelling manuals, word lists; being concerned with correctness and style, this has been called the cultivation approach to language planning; being concerned with a body of actual language forms to be chosen, codified, and propagated, this has also been called corpus planning. For our purposes, therefore, language development, the cultivation approach to language planning, and corpus planning are equivalent terms that serve as partners to the first set of terms given.

Among the most important processes in language development is what has come to be called 'intellectualization'. It was Garvin and Mathiot (1968) who focused our attention on the Prague School's concept of the intellectualization of a language. By intellectualization, the Czech linguist Havranek meant '[the] adaptation [of a language] to the goal of making possible precise and rigorous, if necessary, abstract statements', a process that involves a movement of the language from simple intelligibility to definiteness to accuracy, corresponding closely to its movement from a conversational dialect to a workaday technical dialect to a scientific dialect (Garvin and Mathiot 1968:368).

Quoting Havranek further, Garvin and Mathiot say that intellectualization 'affects primarily the lexical, and in part the grammatical structure'. They elaborate on Havranek's statement in the following way:

> In the lexicon, intellectualization manifests itself by increased terminological precision achieved by the development of more clearly differentiated terms, as well as an increase in abstract and generic terms.
> In grammar, intellectualization manifests itself by the development of word formation techniques and of syntactic devices allowing for the construction of elaborate, yet tightly knit, compound sentences, as well as the tendency to eliminate elliptic modes of expression by requiring complete constructions. (Garvin and Mathiot 1968:368).

As Fasold takes pains to point out, there are problems with the grammatical aspect of intellectualization. According to him, it is doubtful if there are any languages that do not possess a mechanism for forming compound sentences, although they may not come out as 'tightly knit'. Furthermore, he believes that 'if elliptical modes of expression can be "eliminated", then it seems that the alternative fuller modes of expression required by intellectualized language also exist in pre-intellectualized language. They are just not used much' (Fasold 1984:249).

The contribution of Havranek, through Garvin and Mathiot, lies in the lexical aspect of intellectualization, the idea of lexical enrichment or vocabulary expansion in order to make the language more definite and accurate and also more abstract and generic. In the remainder of this paper, therefore, I will focus on the intellectualization of Filipino as a process of developing the lexical resources of the language for use as the language of scholarly discourse, the language of the intellectual life, in addition to its use as the language of everyday life. In sum, this will mean the use of Filipino for what has been called context-reduced and cognitively-demanding communication, or communication in which the non-linguistic context does not provide a crutch and in which cognitive, over and above interpersonal, involvement is required.

This is not to say--and this fear has been expressed in some quarters--that only intellectuals can use intellectualized language, and that an intellectualized Filipino lan-

guage will only drive an even bigger wedge between the elite and the masses. It is the language that gets intellectualized, not the users. I contend, as others do, that language is a resource; therefore, it should be as rich a resource as possible and as fully available to as many people as need it; a lexically elaborated language is naturally a richer resource than a lexically impoverished one, and it will have more to offer to those who use it.

3.   APPROACHES TO THE INTELLECTUALIZATION OF FILIPINO

Recent Philippine sociolinguistic literature provides at least three contemporary approaches to the intellectualization of Filipino (Gonzalez and Bautista 1981). I will call these three approaches the word-formation approach, the decision-procedure approach, and the discipline-driven approach. I will present these approaches in the order in which they made their appearance on the national scene.

3.1. The Word-formation Approach

This is the approach of the *Lupon sa Agham* (Committee on Science) of the *Akademya (Linangan) ng Wikang Pilipino* (Pilipino Language Academy), which was established by the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines in 1964. A compilation of 7500 scientific terms was prepared by some sixty professors and scientists from the six primary fields of science and was issued in the 1969 mimeographed publication *Maugnaying Talasalitaang Pang-agham, Ingles-Pilipino* (Interrelated Scientific Vocabulary List, English-Pilipino).

As described by Gonsalo del Rosario (1981a & b), the *Maugnayin* method considers the distinction between 'names' and 'terms' as crucial. According to Del Rosario, the 'names' of elements, objects, equipment, measurement, animals, plants, and other objects which can be touched or seen are arbitrary and their form or structure cannot be explained. Since names do not have definite etymologies and are isolated or not related to other names, they are often merely borrowed from other languages if there is no native equivalent in one's own language. Thus, *caballo* was brought to the Philippines by the Spaniards from Mexico and since the Filipinos had no name for that animal, it came to be called *kabayo*.

Del Rosario claims that, on the other hand, the 'terms' used for principles, ideas, concepts, events, methods, forces of nature, teachings, and other relations which cannot be touched and cannot be seen must have an explainable form or shape. 'Terms ... must always be formed from existing roots (native or borrowed) to which are attached our own affixes or compounding elements by means of processes allowed by the grammar of our language. In this way, the consistency and interrelatedness of terms may be preserved... This is the principle of relatedness (*pagkakamaugnayin*) in language' (1981a:289). In his view, the terms *mangabayo*, 'to go horseback riding', *mangangabayo*, 'horse rider', *kabayuhan*, 'cavalry', and *kabayu-kabayuhan*, 'saw-horse', were naturally derived by different generations of Filipinos from the loanword *kabayo* through the *Maugnayin* method.

What word-formation processes does the *Maugnayin* method use? Del Rosario says that affixation is the primary source, as in *saasid*, 'acidification', and *hiasid*, 'deacidification', and in *talametruhan*, 'a metric scale', and *palametruhan*, 'the metric system'. A second rich source is the use of combining forms, e.g. *mik-* as a combining form that signifies smallness, resulting in *miktinig*, 'microphone', and *miksurian*, 'microanalysis'. The removal of the reduplication of a root has also produced such words as *dahan*, 'slowness', from *dahan-dahan*, 'carefully', and *guni*, 'imagination', from *guni-guni*, 'foreboding', and *huna*, 'theory', from *huna-huna*, 'opinions'. Blending has resulted

in forms like *siksin,* 'for solid', from *siksik,* 'compressed', and *sinsin,* 'compact', (I should point out here that most successful *maugnayin* words use partial blending: *tatsulok,* 'triangle', from *tatlong sulok,* 'three corners', *parisukat,* 'square', from *parehong sukat,* 'same measurement', and *parihaba,* 'rectangle', from *parehong haba,* 'same length.')

It has been pointed out by Gonzalez and Bautista (1981b:106) that the *Maugnayin* words come in sets because the ideal of the *Lupon* was for complete sets to be incorporated into the language. However, that has not happened. Acceptance does not seem to occur in terms of lexical sets. In the case of the *Maugnayin* words, after almost twenty years of availability, the words that have gained acceptance are those terms that have preserved their familiar Filipino roots in some form. Thus, the relatively widespread use of *tatsulok* for 'triangle', *dalubwikaan,* for 'linguistics', and *binhisipan,* for 'seminar'.

3.2. The Decision-procedure Approach.

Exemplified by the work of Otanes and her associates (1977) and Santiago (1981), this approach uses an algorithm developed from field tests for choosing the most potentially acceptable forms for the technical lexicon from various alternate forms.

In the earlier work by Otanes and associates (1977), 240 respondents (school teachers and administrators from urban and rural Tagalog and non-Tagalog areas, college instructors of Pilipino, science, and education, and graduating education students) were asked to state their preference from among five translations for each of twenty English technical terms embedded in sentences, and among six different Pilipino translation versions of an English scientific passage. In effect, the choices were among borrowing from Spanish without respelling (*liquido*), Spanish with respelling (*likido*), English without respelling (*liquid*), English with respelling (*likwid*), and using indigenous term *(danum)*, which could be a vernacular term, a coined term, or an archaic Tagalog word. For both the isolated sentences and the continuous passages, Otanes found that (1) borrowing from either Spanish or English without respelling was not acceptable, (2) borrowing from English, even with respelling, was not a highly preferred alternative, and (3) using indigenous terms which were not part of the current Pilipino vocabulary was likewise an unpopular alternative.

The later study done by Santiago (1981) has formalized these findings into an algorithm. The data that he obtained from 300 respondents (100 college students, 100 professors, and 100 practitioners) yielded the following decision procedure: For an English technical term, first determine if there is a suitable current Pilipino term (thus, *precipitation* can be translated into *pamumuo,* from *buo,* 'whole', and prefixes). If that alternative is not feasible, then use Spanish with respelling (thus, English *microbe*--Spanish *microbio*--Pilipino *mikrobyo*). If that alternative is not available, then use English with or without respelling--respell if the resulting form is easily retrievable from the original *(matematisyan* form *mathematician*) but do not respell if the resulting form is not transparent (i.e. *dioxide* should not be respelled as *dayoksayd*). The last alternative is to use either a vernacular term, coined term, or an archaic Tagalog term, whichever is the most adaptable (thus, the coined word *dalubsakit-babae* comes from *dalubhasa,* 'expert', *sakit,* 'sickness', *babae,* 'woman'). An additional source is mixing a combination of the sources, as in *pagpaplano ng pamilya* for 'family planning', which combines the Pilipino affixes *pag-* and *pa-* and the linker *ng* plus the Spanish equivalents for 'plan' and 'family'.

It can be said, then, that the decision-procedure approach gives general guidelines which will, for example, predict that *kasaysayan* will be preferred to *historya*, which will then be preferred to *history*. For those who are preparing and using word lists, and for those who go by the 'feel' in their translation attempts, this approach has great utility. It has been found very useful in textbook projects for the elementary and high school.
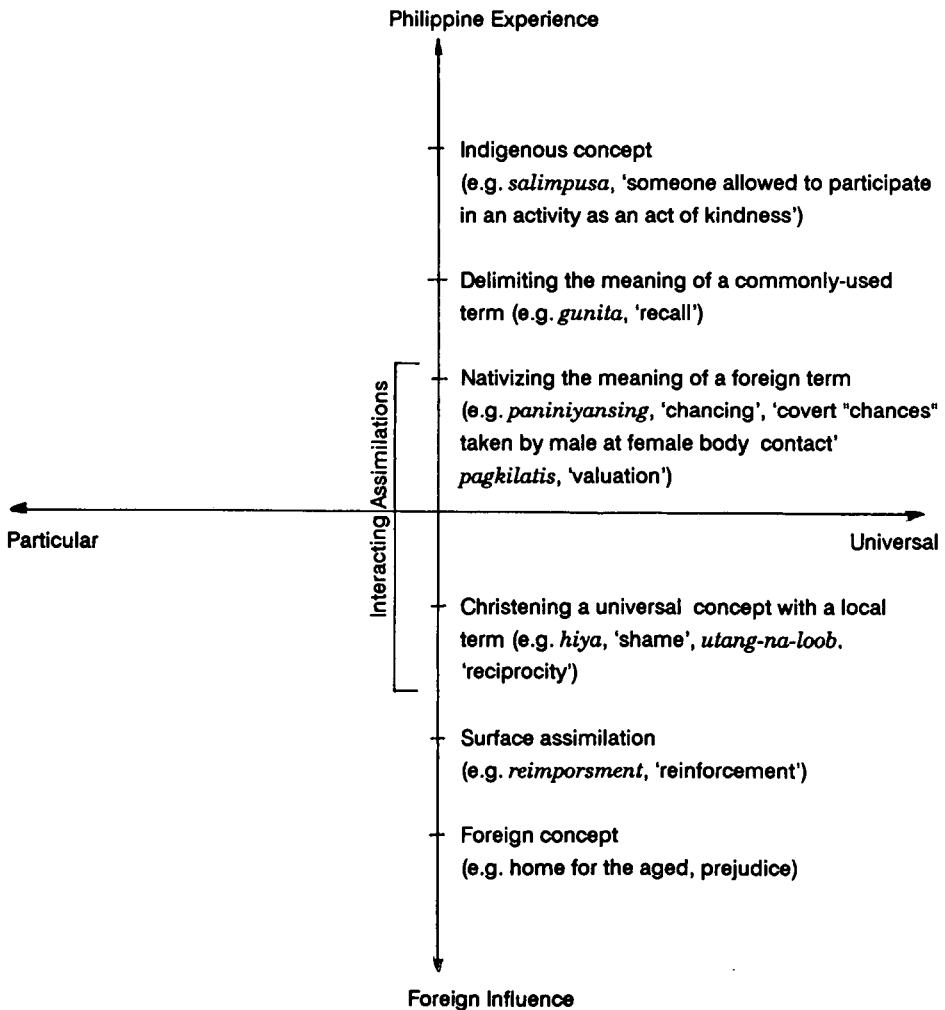
3.3. The Discipline-driven Approach.

The best exponent of this approach is Virgilio Enriquez (1981). Unlike the word-formation approach and the decision-procedure approach, which begin with the English term and then provide the equivalent term in Filipino, this third approach looks at the reality and then looks for the lexical expression of that reality. Since it does this in the context of a specific discipline, I call this approach the discipline-driven approach.

Enriquez explains that what is important is not the search for a translation equivalent but rather the 'recognition of a concept as part of a hypothesized classification, series, or fact in psychology, and the recognition of its significance to the context of a theory or viewpoint' (1981:269). With that perspective, Enriquez has arrived at a schema in 'languaging' concepts in Filipino psychology (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

The categorization of concepts in Filipino psychology according to nearness to or distance from Philippine experience or foreign influence and the particularity or universality of the subject matter (from Enriquez 1981).

Philippine Experience

Indigenous concept
(e.g. *salimpusa*, 'someone allowed to participate
in an activity as an act of kindness')

Delimiting the meaning of a commonly-used
term (e.g. *gunita*, 'recall')

Nativizing the meaning of a foreign term
(e.g. *paniniyansing*, 'chancing', 'covert "chances"
taken by male at female body contact'
pagkilatis, 'valuation')

Particular — Interacting Assimilations — Universal

Christening a universal concept with a local
term (e.g. *hiya*, 'shame', *utang-na-loob*,
'reciprocity')

Surface assimilation
(e.g. *reimporsment*, 'reinforcement')

Foreign concept
(e.g. home for the aged, prejudice)

Foreign Influence

As an example of how important it is to begin with the concept or reality rather than with the term, Enriquez cites his own experience teaching psychology: When he simply translated *social interaction* as *interaksyong sosyal*, there was no gain in terms of local work or Filipino-oriented research. But once he and his students started considering *pakikipagkapwa*, 'the act of being one with, the act of being a fellow human', then they started to realize the richness of the concept in Filipino experience.

Six considerations guide Enriquez and his associates in choosing their labels (1981:280-282):

(a) The familiarity of a label or its frequency of use. Thus, according to Enriquez, *pakikibagay* is a better choice than *pakikitungo* for 'social adaptation' because of the greater familiarity and more frequent use of *pakikibagay*.

(b) The existence of a developed literature suggested by one category label as compared to minimal literature for another. Enriquez says that between the perfectly natural and folk-inspired *pagkakaroon ng ideya*, 'having an idea', and the awkward loan translation *pagbuo ng konsepto*, 'concept formation,' the existence of a developed literature on concept formation in English journals tilts the balance in favor of *pagbuo ng konsepto*.

(c) The relational and theoretical fertility of a concept. Enriquez explains that a choice can be made among *saloobin, atityud, opinyon*, and *palagay* for 'attitude'. Frequency of use and familiarity of a label would favor *palagay*, except that it has a taboo meaning in Cebuano. *Opinyon* can be a good choice because it is generally understood and has its anchor in Spanish and English; however, it clearly connotes verbalizability, which is not a generally intended meaning for this concept. *Atityud* has a rich literature in American social psychology related to attitude theory, measurement, and change. However, Enriquez says that the best choice is *saloobin* because it relates to the theoretically fertile concept of *loob*, which is a psychologically meaningful concept in other Philippine languages, and also because it brings to mind the literature on *utang-na-loob*, 'debt of gratitude', and the rich semantic domain of *loob*, which includes apparently unrelated and diverse concepts such as *lakas ng loob*, 'risk-taking behavior', and *sama ng loob*, 'resentment'.

(d) Considerations of cultural and ethical acceptability. Enriquez uses as an example here a choice from among the terms *sabjek, katulong, kawaksi*, and *kalahok*. He finds *subjek* unacceptable because it connotes the exploitation of others in the name of scientific research. *Katulong* connotes a housemaid and *taga-tulong* likewise connotes a helper in the sense of housemaid. *Kawaksi* has no such connotations but it is a low frequency word and is better reserved for 'confederate'. Thus, *kalahok* is Enriquez's choice because it does not have unwanted connotations and also because it reminds the psychologist that the subject is an active participant in an experiment.

(e) The cultural matrix of a concept. Enriquez claims that if a concept is developed in the matrix of other cultures and readily seen as culture-bound, the concept might be imported in its unmodified form or assimilated. His example is *prejudice*, which he says should be retained in that form or as *prejudis* to avoid confusing it with milder terms like *paghamak, pagmamalaki, pang-iisnab*, and *rehiyonalismo*.

(f) Connotations and associations of the labels for the concept. This is the hardest to handle, according to Enriquez, because a word can have all sorts of connotations in the various Philippine languages. Thus, the hesitation to use *palagay* for 'attitude' because of the taboo meaning of *lagay* in Cebuano.

>*Sikolohista* is preferred to sikologo for 'psychologist' because *sikologo* sounds like *kulogo*, 'wart'.

Considerations *b, c*, and *e* especially show up the discipline-driven nature of this approach. On the other hand, considerations *a, d*, and *f* point out the cultural embeddedness of this approach.

A similar attempt to look at cultural realities and give them names is taking place in other fields. An excellent example is what is happening in theology. Jose de Mesa (1987) has provided the following illustration of what he calls the process of theological re-rooting.
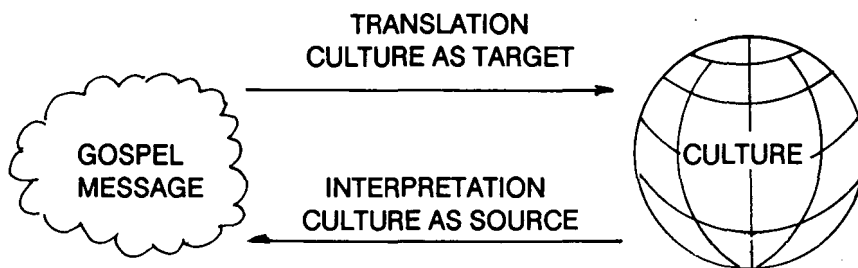
THE PROCESS OF THEOLOGICAL RE-ROOTING

It appears from this diagram that in his view, a *translation* of the Gospel message means that one begins with the message and then looks for the appropriate equivalent labels so that one can convey the message to the targeted culture. On the other hand, an *interpretation* of the Gospel message requires that one begin with culture, that one use the culture as source, in order to reach the Gospel message. De Mesa exemplifies theological re-rooting by using the concept designated as 'salvation'. He attempts first of all to achieve a Biblical understanding of the reality called 'salvation', commonly translated as *kaligtasan*. He then searches for 'a Filipino concept with respect to its potential as a model of interpretation in our Filipino situation' (78). In other words, he aims 'to *re-interpret* the Gospel message in such a way that the inner meaning which is expressed presently by [the] term "salvation" will be *faithfully communicated also through an indigenous concept*' (emphasis in the original, 79).

Analyzing the Old and the New Testament concept of salvation, De Mesa says that the Filipino term *ginhawa* expresses a range of meanings very similar to that of the original Greek term for the concept. Like the Greek term, it connotes ease of life, relief from difficulty, consolation received, freedom from want, and it also means something more than earthly blessings without denying the value of those said benefits. *Ginhawa*, according to him, is not only a faithful rendering of the inner meaning of the Biblical message, but it can also have deep significance for the Filipinos who are poor, deprived, or oppressed--those who not only are *mahirap*, but also experience life as *mahirap* (82). If salvation is the reality of total well-being in God, then salvation is *ginhawa*, rather than *kaligtasan*.

As can be gleaned from these examples taken from psychology and theology, the discipline-driven approach to the intellectualization of Filipino entails a reconceptualization or reinterpretation of subject matter; it requires theorizing on the subject matter.

4.   SOME OBSERVATIONS

I would like to bring together, in this section, some of my own observations on the parameters of the intellectualization of Filipino. Of necessity, this is a limited perspective because I have not had access to the literature in all the different disciplines.

1.   It should be pointed out that the three approaches presented in the previous section do not exclude one another, in that the discipline-driven approach can include the decision-procedure approach, and the decision-procedure approach can and will include the word-formation approach. However, it does not work the other way around. It is usually the case that the word-formation approach and the decision-procedure approach will not take into account the considerations (for example, theoretical fertility, cultural embeddedness) that are so important in the discipline-driven approach.

2.   Within the decision-procedure approach, there may be a conscious cultivation of certain terms for specific meanings. It is not a straightforward matter of, for instance, choosing *panunuri* over *kritisismo* to translate 'criticism'. As Isagani Cruz (1983) has shown, a literary critic may choose to cultivate the term *panunuri* to refer to criticism that refers to literature, for example, Soledad Reyes' analysis of Fausto Galauran as a novelist, while *kritisismo* would refer to criticism that refers to other critics, for example, Soledad Reyes' analysis of Epifanio San Juan's criticism. The availability of both a native word and a borrowed word increases the lexical possibilities of the language. Thus, Cruz's title for his article, *Iba't ibang uri ng panunuri at kritisismong pampanitikan*, will simply have to be translated as 'Different kinds of literary criticism' since the distinction between *panunuri* and *kritisismo* is not translatable as single lexical items in the English gloss.

3.   Sometimes the choice of one term over another is simply a matter of 'feel'. This can be seen in Enriquez's account of the attempt to give an equivalent for 'brainwashing'. The loan translation *paghuhugas ng utak* was laughed down, but a subsequent reference to *paghuhugas-diwa* was fairly well accepted, and subsequently led to the best accepted *paghuhugas-isip* (1981:277). The acceptability criterion is extremely important in intellectualization, and yet it is not always easy to specify in advance what lexical items will gain currency.

4.   There appears to be a qualitative difference between *translation,* which is what the word-formation and the decision-procedure approaches aim at, and *interpretation,* which is the ultimate goal of the discipline-driven approach. Adapting De Mesa's paradigm as a general paradigm for the processes of intellectualization, we can say that translation considers the Filipino language (and culture) as the target, while interpretation considers the Filipino language (and culture) as the source.

5.   Intellectualization need not be equated with difficult and esoteric words. An excellent example here is Bishop Francisco Claver's attempt to interpret Philippine society in the light of the February 1986 events (Shaplen 1987:53-56). The bishop explains Philippine society as a mixture of power and strength (*lakas*), on the one hand, and compassion and mercy (*awa*), on the other. His analysis of the events that led to the February revolution revolves around *lakas-awa*--Marcos' *lakas*, Ninoy's dependence on Marcos' *awa*, the triumph of *lakas* over *awa* in Marcos in Ninoy's assassination, the *lakas* of Marcos vs. the *awa* for Cory in the campaign; as also his analysis of the ac-

tual February revolution itself--Marcos' *lakas* vs. the people's *awa* for Enrile and Ramos. He anchors his hope of a transformation of values to sustain a social revolution on *lakas-awa*: 'The term *lakas-awa*--"compassionate force", if we can so translate it-- will sufficiently verbalize for us what we wish henceforth to express by the term "active nonviolence"'.

6. In the attempt to build up the intellectualized corpus of Filipino, translation (language-as-target) seems better suited for the more culture-neutral fields of knowledge, like the physical and biological sciences, while interpretation (language-as-source) should be the natural preference for the more culture-loaded areas, like the humanities and the social sciences.

7. It seems to me that the most developed fields in terms of Filipino intellectualization are psychological and literary criticism. In those two areas, *a community of users* has been created and a research literature has been built by Virgilio Enriquez and his associates, in psychology, and by Bienvenido Lumbera, Soledad Reyes, Virgilio Almario, Isagani Cruz, and Nicanor Tiongson, in literary criticism. The importance of a community of 'significant others' and a tradition of research and publication cannot be over-emphasized in the task of cultivating a language.

8. Intellectualized language, as Sibayan (personal communication) notes strongly, is written language. It must be recorded; it must have permanency. Not only must it be a pedagogical idiom in the classroom, it must also be a vehicle for academic discussion, and especially for research and publication.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have situated intellectualization in the context of language planning, specifically, language development. I have defined intellectualization to refer almost solely to lexical expansion or enrichment (that is, with no applicability to grammatical expansion), although, as a later section demonstrates, lexical enrichment can lead to a reconceptualization or interpretation of an indigenous reality. I then presented three approaches to the intellectualization of Filipino: the word-formation approach as utilized by Gonsalo del Rosario and his group of scientists, the decision-procedure approach as formulated by Otanes and Santiago, and the discipline-driven approach as exemplified by Enriquez and De Mesa. I then presented observations, augmented by some examples, on Filipino intellectualization in general with some reference to the three approaches. The most important observation concerned the difference between translation (which uses the Filipino language as target) and interpretation (which uses the Filipino language as source). I pointed out the relevance of this distinction to intellectualization efforts in the more culture- neutral fields like the physical and biological sciences, where translation seems more applicable, and in the more culture-loaded fields like the humanities and the social sciences, where interpretation provides a better yield than translation.

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