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Its Impact in the Philippines

*edited by*

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# Cognitive Mapping in the Tagalog Area \*

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## Introduction

A basic and recurrent problem plagues all nations to some degree, regardless of where they place on a scale of socio-economic development. This is the difficulty encountered when the more highly developed, or modernized, sectors of the nation try to communicate with and influence those areas and people that trail them in this regard. Sometimes the problem is called a communication gap between the elite and the masses, at other times a gap between metropolitan centers and the countryside. In either case, people who have taken on at least some of the ideas, attitudes, norms, aims, and motivations appropriate for modern living and who are committed—by profession, job specification, or personal inclination—to propagating this way of life, often find themselves balked and blocked in their attempts to achieve this end. And so the nation which could otherwise move briskly to a new level of socio-cultural integration crawls slowly and uncertainly toward its formally stated goals. Without effective communication between those who lead and those who follow, this turtle-paced, stop-and-go progression is inevitable.

To achieve a desirable level of effectiveness in communication will be difficult in any nation. In a democratic country, however, where communication from the center or the top must both inform and persuade, the task is especially challenging. For in this case, effective communication supposes an understanding not only

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of how the senders and receivers think, but also of the values most likely to attract their free and willing cooperation.

#### Project goals

This project addresses itself to the problem of effective communication between Filipinos who are well educated and those who are not, and between city Filipinos and their rural counterparts. More particularly, the project focuses on one basic aspect of that problem, namely, how the several kinds of Filipinos think about, or categorize, certain very important portions of reality. Furthermore, the project concerns itself only with Tagalog-speaking Filipinos in and near Greater Manila. Finally, only the cognitive domains of kinship, disease, ownership, and causality will be explored.

The principal project goal will have been achieved if answers are found for these questions:

1. Do Tagalog Filipinos differ among themselves in their thinking about these domains?
2. If they do, in what way do they differ?
3. Are these differences associated with identifiable background characteristics?
4. What are these background characteristics?

It is intended, moreover, that in the course of answering these questions about the Tagalog area, the investigators will develop techniques likely to be valid and reliable—after more or less modification—for other areas of the Philippines and abroad.

A further consideration, beyond that of cognitive categories, is the concern of an appended subproject. The investigators believe that the way people categorize kinsmen is likely to show significant correlation with the way they interact with them. This hypothesis needs proving, of course, but the trouble involved in testing it seems well worth it.

If we can discover patterned differences in the way Tagalog speakers associate with kinsmen, on the one hand, and non-kinsmen, on the other, we shall have cleared the way for more accurate prediction of any group activity envisioned by communications programs. If these patterned interaction choices can be related to the ways in which people mentally divide their social

world, we would stand a fair chance of predicting some important aspects of interaction behavior from the showings people made in our various questions and tests about kinship categories.

This study of the use of kinsmen, a subproject of the cognitive mapping inquiry, hopes to answer at least these questions:

1. Do Tagalog Filipinos differ among themselves in the ways they interact with kinsmen and non-kinsmen?
2. If they do, what patterned differences are there?
3. Are these differences associated with identifiable background characteristics?
4. What are these background characteristics?
5. What relation, if any, is there between ways of categorizing kinsmen and ways of interacting with them?

As in the major project, so in the use of kinsmen subproject, it is expected that techniques will be developed for the expeditious gathering of valid and reliable interaction data in any language area of the Philippines or abroad.

#### Academic orientation

Kluckhohn and Murray wrote (1959: 53) that "Every man is in certain respects (a) like all other men, (b) like some other men, (c) like no other man." The uniqueness of the individual referred to in the last phrase, is a special concern of clinical psychology and psychiatry. It is not the concern of the present investigators. Our interest is rather in the first two phrases, which remind us of ways in which people are alike. However, where Kluckhohn and Murray spoke primarily of the world at large, we speak of a single speech community. We hypothesize that every Tagalog mother-tongue speaker is like all other such speakers at least insofar as they share that language.<sup>1</sup> We believe, moreover, that in some ways these speakers differ among themselves, and may be grouped and divided according to shared and unshared ways of thinking about and using portions of the world around them. To this

<sup>1</sup> Fortunately, we have an abundance of interaction data that were gathered in Canaman, Camarines Sur, in 1957. Although the 116 respondents reporting their interaction choices were Bikol mother-tongue speakers, the interaction situations they were asked about are commonplace in the Tagalog area as well, so that any hypotheses developed from the Canaman data will be readily testable in and around Greater Manila.

extent at least, they may constitute sub-cultures within the Tagalog mother-tongue area in and around Greater Manila.

There is nothing arcane, novel, or profound in this observation. Most men accept the fact that it takes all kinds of people to make a language group as well as a world. It is not the *existence* of intragroup differences that is at issue; this is confirmed by common experience. It is rather the *nature* and *patterning* of those differences that we seek, and the kinds of people who show them.

To illuminate and identify these differences primarily at the cultural, but also at the subcultural, level, anthropologists with psychological and linguistic affinities have recently developed an approach which bears the name ethno-science. An understanding of this development will take the reader a long way toward an understanding of the disciplinary roots of this research.

Two happenings in the mid-50's led to a re-appraisal of several of anthropology's most widely accepted procedures. First, it was noted that two or more accounts of a single society, studied within the same time span by equally proficient professionals, might not be in agreement. This cast grave doubt on the objectivity of an ethnographic routine of long standing. Second, it was observed that an analytical framework derived from the study of one society might not be applicable to data from another. This made it seem that "cross-cultural comparison" might be an empty, if catchy phrase.

The first point, non-correspondence of descriptive accounts, was illustrated by the publication in 1956 of Ward Goodenough's "Residence Rules," in which discrepancies between the accounts of two competent ethnographers were attributed to a classificatory bias on the part of both and to a gap between the statement of cultural "rules" and adequate sociometric evidence supporting them. In short, ethnographers had become accustomed to a set of regularly occurring cultural categories (such as four or five post-marital residence choices) and new information was routinely fitted into these categories on the basis of lightly investigated impressions.

Several young, primarily Yale-trained anthropologists followed Goodenough's pioneer movement away from the preconceived no-

tions of what a society ought to be like. They looked instead to developments in the methodologically more enlightened field of linguistics, the primary rule of which was that every language (or dialect) must be described and analyzed in terms of itself and as a discrete entity. Reinterpreted, this meant that an ethnographer should describe and analyze a culture (or subculture), not in the framework of absolute and possibly extraneous cultural categories, but rather as a unique entity comprehensible in itself, a structure of interrelated knowledge and consequent behavior.

Linguists describe and analyze a language starting at the lowest level (phonetics) and progress upward through the linguistic hierarchy by investigating the systematic variations in significant sounds (phonemics), the patterning of sounds into meaningful units (morphemics), and the distribution of these units into meaningful utterances (syntax). At each level of the study the procedures are so defined that an independent student, following them, can replicate the original findings. The result of such an investigation is a grammar of the language.

Following an analogous procedure, the "ethnoscience" begins at the lowest level with discrete bits of data provided by an informant about himself and the persons, things, and items in the world around him. Advancing through the cultural hierarchy, the ethnographer isolates the significant knowledge and behavior units, describing and analyzing the variations. The patterning of these units constitutes the "rules" or principles, by which the culture-bearer acquires knowledge and acts appropriately. The distribution of these principles throughout the community and throughout the individual's life cycle constitutes cognition, the patterning of perception of, knowledge about, and ways of behaving toward the physical, social, and ideological world. The sum total of this investigation is an ethnography, a grammar of the culture under study. Defined in this way, culture is the cumulation of an individual's or a community's knowledge, and the patterned behavior which that knowledge may lead to. Again, the ethnographer's procedures at each level of the investigation are so defined as to enable duplication of the findings and to reveal any subjective bias.

Description of so rigorous a nature is an exhaustive and time-consuming task. In view of this, proponents of ethno-science have concentrated on a few "cognitive domains," or culturally defined bodies of knowledge and associated behavior, such as kinship terminology, color categories, agriculture, and disease concepts. The acceptable techniques used for eliciting data pertinent to a cognitive domain progress from open-ended interview (to establish the relevance of the domain), to the testing of verbal responses for appropriateness, to the construction of frames for deriving the taxonomic structure of the responses, back to open-ended interview to establish the validity of the description. These procedures, chiefly derived from descriptive linguistics, have been succinctly defined and illustrated by Charles Frake (1962).

The analytical technique most widely used at the lower level, corresponding to that of phonemics in linguistics, is componential analysis. By this means the anthropologist seeks to define terms, or linguistic responses, in relation to each other by those features of inclusion and contrast which respectively group them together within a hierarchy of meaning and separate them from each other when they are culturally appropriate alternatives to a given stimulus. Other analytical techniques used at this level and higher levels of investigation have been adapted from psychology through the mediation of psycholinguistics: listing of terms in free recall, sorting tests, semantic differential, and triads tests (see especially Osgood 1964 and Romney and D'Andrade 1964). The application of such techniques to a discrete body of data for the purpose of arriving at succinct generalized statements which are valid for these data and comparable with other such statements is termed "formal semantic analysis."

It must be emphasized that cross-cultural comparison, or even cross-subcultural comparison, can be valid only at the level of the principles governing the data and not at the level of the data themselves (Goodenough 1956:37). This is in consonance with the methodology of linguistics. Linguists, except for students of lexico-statistics, do not compare concrete data from two or more languages. Efforts at comparison are aimed at the more abstract level of structure, which can be handled only in terms of a general theory, such as tagmemics, immediate constituent theory,



or transformation theory. Many now feel this to be the proper procedure in anthropology as well.

A question of considerable controversy at present is just what can be claimed for the results of a formal semantic analysis. There are some, especially Anthony F. C. Wallace (1965), who maintain that "psychological validity" is the desired end. That is, the criteria which the ethnographer uses to order the data should be the same criteria which the native uses. The argument against the possibility of attaining psychological validity has been proposed most vocally by R. Burling (1964, 1965). Others hold that formal semantic analysis does not need so ephemeral a goal to justify itself (Hammer 1966).

Psychological validity may not be attainable, but "structural validity" is. That is to say, although we may never be certain that we have discovered and described the criteria which the native uses to order his universe, we can organize the same data by our own criteria in such a way that we can predict behavior with a certain degree of accuracy and, if we wish, behave in a way socially acceptable to our informants.

In this research we are limiting ourselves to the more conservative search for structural validity in cognitive domains. We seek to determine and describe principles by which informants *may* order their world of concepts, regardless of how they actually do order it.

#### Research Findings to Date

The research on which we are reporting began in July 1966. This article is, in effect, an interim report which tells the state of the project as of early January 1967. Subsequent articles will continue to explain the progress of the work.

At the very beginning of the project, partly to hasten the orientation of the staff members to the backgrounds of the research they were to do, a basic bibliography of over 500 items was compiled. The most important of the entries were read, abstracted, and discussed by the staff, while the abstracts themselves were typed on the Unisort analysis cards for easy coding and retrieval.

By early January 1967, completed abstracts numbered 91, classified as follows:

I. General: cognition and ethnoscience	25
II. General: ethnography	3
III. Disease and medicine	43
IV. Kinship	15
V. Property, ownership, and land	5

Substantive research was begun within the first month of the project's existence, moreover. The domains of disease and kinship were examined first, with some preparatory steps also taken in the subproject on the use of kinsmen.

#### The cognitive domain of disease

Investigation of the disease domain was the responsibility primarily of Rosalinda Garcia whose credentials for this task included both the M.A. in anthropology, an R.N., and considerable hospital experience in both the United States and the Philippines. Helping Garcia were Luzbella Ramirez and Federico Montenegro, research assistants.

The purpose of Garcia's research was twofold; namely, to develop techniques for eliciting disease categories and conceptions, and to suggest some first hypotheses regarding background characteristics of people who differ significantly in how they think about disease.

The informants with whom Garcia began were relatives and neighbors in her part of Malate, Manila. Here she worked with people chosen on grounds of their accessibility and the range of familiarity with traditional and modern conceptions of disease they were likely to manifest. She took her own grandmother as a starting point and moved on through a succession of informants to herbalists and registered nurses. Once she had established productive interviewing techniques and some basic findings, she interviewed a sample of students, professionals, and lower class housewives of suburban Manila. In all, she and her assistants spoke at length with 43 informants, recording no further interviews when it seemed that additional informants added little or nothing new to what had been learned from earlier participants.

Informants were always permitted to choose the language of interview and to control it throughout. This resulted in some interviews being exclusively in Tagalog, others in English, and still others partly in one language and partly in the other. In eliciting classifications of disease concepts, free recall and open-ended interviewing were employed (see, for example, the skin disease schedule in Appendix B to this paper).

Findings made to date concern either conceptions of disease in themselves or the relation between particular ideas and the background characteristics of informants who expressed them. Under the first heading the following points are worthy of special mention: the incomplete congruence of the cognitive domain of "disease" (English) and *sakit* (Tagalog), the names of diseases most commonly recalled, and ways in which informants grouped, interrelated, and explained various diseases.

The American-English domain of "disease" differs significantly from the Tagalog domain called *sakit*, the latter being less restrictive in scope than the former. *Sakit* includes, for instance, not only what English speakers would call sicknesses, but also "pain." A practical conclusion from this finding is the care one must take to know the language or languages used in each interview, since the categories elicited may be expected to differ according to the medium of communication employed. It is also clear that we will do well to discover how the two domains, disease and *sakit*, are bounded by the criteria that define their content, and how the criteria themselves differ from one cognition-language set to another.

As regards the latter question, one answer already suggests itself: a specific *sakit*, except when labeled by a Spanish or English term which has no Tagalog counterpart, is defined and recognized as a symptom or syndrome. An example might be *taón*, translated here as "congenital cyanosis." The term *taón* may refer to the appearance presented by a newborn infant who is discolored, having great difficulty in breathing, and is near death. In this sense it closely approximates the American English phrase "blue baby," which may cover a wide variety of visible, audible conditions yet still be thought of as a specific disorder in the folk medicine of America.

The diseases recalled by the first 20 informants totaled 188 in all, with the individual range from 7 to 60 and the median just 18.5. Appendix A to this paper lists those diseases mentioned by more than one informant, in the order of the total frequency of occurrence. When 23 informants were interviewed just on the subject of skin diseases, or *sakit sa balát*, 56 terms were elicited, but here the range was from 4 to 21 and the median, 10 (see Appendix C). There appears to be greater agreement among respondents regarding the subdomain of skin disease than about the inclusive domain of all disease. An illustrative taxonomic hierarchy, acceptable to 20 informants, is shown in Figure 1.

Informants interviewed only about skin diseases were asked to sort the terms they had recalled into groups of terms which "seem to belong together" (see Appendix B). Their reasons for the groupings were then elicited, and another sort attempted. From the various sorts each informant made, and the explanations given for them, it appears that the following were the most common ways in which informants saw diseases as similar to one another:

1. In *cause* (e.g., "lack of something"; *init ang pamimulán*, 'heat is the origin');
2. In *site of pain or discomfort* ("all in the middle part of the body, neck to hips", *lahát sa stomach*, 'all in the stomach');
3. In *commonness* ("fever is present in all"; "usually have them when you are young");
4. In *areal distribution* ("locally and internationally prevalent");
5. In *physiological effects* ("affects the blood circulation");
6. In *seriousness* ("very serious"; "cannot be cured"; *hindí dilikado*, 'not serious')

Certain diseases were grouped together because one of them was seen as leading to the other. Following up on this method of sort, the investigators asked informants to assign numbers to successive stages of the course taken in such a case, No. 1 be-

SAKIT SA BALÁT 'skin disease'						
BUNGANG ARAW 'pricky heat'	BUKOL 'swelling'					
	MAGÁ 'swelling without content'		BUKOL 'swelling with content'			
	KULEBRA 'erisypelas'		MAY MATÁ 'with eyes'	WALANG MATÁ 'without eyes'		
	PACÓNG 'round like a turtle'	AHAS 'elongated like a snake'	PIGSÁ 'boil'	GRANO 'infected pimple'	BAGÁ 'swelling on a woman's breast; cause unspecified'	TUMOR 'swelling on a woman's breast due to trauma'

Figure 1. Taxonomic hierarchy of "skin disease" (sakit sa balát) categories acceptable to 20 Tagalog-speaking informants from the Greater Manila area.

ing the first manifestation of disorder, and so on. This resulted in lists like the following (which is from one such informant):

1. High fever (40 degrees centigrade) with extreme headache;
2. *Tipos* (typhoid);
3. Meningitis;
4. Common insanity.

Correlations of grouping patterns with the informants' background characteristics have not been attempted, since this is reserved for a later stage of the research. However—and this is an important preliminary finding—a clear correlation seems to exist between recalling some disease names in English and invoking germs, or *mikrobyo*, as causal agents. English-speaking informants tended to ascribe some diseases to specific microorganisms, such as "spirochetes," and "viruses," or to "obstructions" affecting normal physiological processes. Those who recalled disease terms only in Tagalog, however, tended to ascribe diseases to environmental conditions (e. g., *singáw ng panahón*, 'something released from the atmosphere because of seasonal changes'), or to conditions within the body (e.g., *marumi ang dugô*, 'the blood is dirty'). The correlation of language of recall with causative factors cited can be made in a simple table (20 informants):

Language of recall	Causative factors cited	
	Germs; others	No germs; others
English or English and Tagalog	12	1
Tagalog alone	1	6
T o t a l	13	7

Among the etiologic factors classified as "others" in the above table are these:

1. *Lumálabás na lamang*, 'just appears';
2. *Singáw ng panahón*, 'something released from the atmosphere because of seasonal changes';
3. *Singáw ng katawán*, 'something released from the body';
4. *Similya ng pamilya*, 'heredity';

5. *Puyat*, 'irregular sleeping hours';
6. *Marumi ang balát*, 'dirty skin';
7. *Init ng panahón*, 'seasonal heat';
8. "Part of growing up";
9. *Pawis na natútuyó*, 'perspiration that dries on the skin';
10. *Pasmá*, 'exposure to alternating heat and cold';
11. *Lamíg*, 'coldness';
12. *Dugóng napasmá*, 'blood affected by pasmá.'

In summary, then, during the period under review, research on the domain of disease did not proceed beyond the pre-test stage. However, certain findings were made, among them the following:

1. The categories called "disease" in American English and *sakit* in Tagalog are not congruent. The latter is a more inclusive category than the former.
2. Informants named seven to 60 disease terms and from four to 21 skin disease terms. The medians were 18.5 and 10 respectively.
3. Informants tended to group diseases according to one or more of seven rationales; namely, cause, site of pain, commonness, areal distribution, physiological effects, seriousness, and interrelatedness.
4. Informants who recall disease names only in Tagalog tend not to speak of germs, or *mikrobyo*, as causes of any disease.
5. Informants mention a variety of etiologic factors, many of them reflective of a folk-medical mentality.

In the pre-test stage of the research, Garcia succeeded in developing a productive interviewing procedure, which will soon be used on a wider and representative sample of Tagalog mother-tongue speakers. Further analysis of the data on hand is now needed, to discover those patterned manners of naming, grouping, and explaining diseases which most clearly discriminate informants of one description from those of another.

#### The cognitive domain of kinship

Research on kinship categories has been the responsibility of the junior author, aided by anthropologist Maria A. Gonzalez and research assistants Montenegro, Ramirez, and Violeta Peralta.

The senior author has been especially concerned with the use of kinsmen subproject. Accomplishments to date are of two kinds: (1) devising and testing techniques for the eliciting of Tagalog kinship terminology and terminology behavior, and (2) preparation in final form of genealogies taken from 116 Bikol mother-tongue speakers, which data will be utilized in the use of kinsmen subproject.

#### Eliciting techniques and initial findings

*Eliciting techniques.* One of the earliest techniques tried was a listing of kin terms in free recall (see Appendix D). The results expected from this were (a) a familiarity with Tagalog kin terms and their variations, and an awareness of (b) the frequency of occurrence of specific terms, and (c) the saliency of terms in the order of recall. Knowledge of kin terms is easily obtained by interviewing informants from Manila and various parts of the Tagalog region. However, tabulations of frequency of occurrence and saliency of recall are of limited application, given the variations in kinship terms within the Tagalog speech area. At least at this stage of the research, valid generalizations are difficult.

We were confronted initially with a problem of semantic usage because we had assumed that *kamag-anak* was a cover term roughly equivalent to "kinsman." The omission of affinal and nuclear-family terms from listings of *kamag-anak* indicated that our assumption was not entirely correct. Gonzalez worked with 20 informants, all unmarried college students who listed Tagalog as their mother-tongue, to determine how best to phrase our questions. When asked if there was a Tagalog word used to refer to relatives in general, all 20 respondents replied that there was: *kamag-anak* or *kamag-anakan*. When asked the people subsumed under the term, all mentioned terms applicable to consanguineal kinsmen; no affinal or ritual kin terms were given. Asked if the "family" (parents, siblings, and children) were included in *kamag-anak*, 18 informants answered negatively. Of the other two, one explained that no general term applies to the family, specific terms being used instead; the other held that, while the family was distinguished from more distant kin, they



were all considered kamag-anak in contexts such as a "family reunion." The 18 respondents answering negatively to the question of inclusion gave the terms *pamilya* (16) and *kaanak* (2) as equivalent to "family" and distinct from "relative."

Seven informants stated that affinal kinsmen were included in kamag-anak, although none had been listed, while the remaining 13 took the opposite view. All agreed that there is no Tagalog term for affines other than specific terms.

It appears, then, that three or more separable segments constitute the kin domain. Eliciting of terms appropriate to *pamilya* and to kamag-anak demonstrated some overlapping, but generally the results were disappointing. A potpourri question, asking for terms applicable to family members, kamag-anak, and "in-laws," proved much more productive.<sup>2</sup> For aside from terms relative to the three kinship segments of which we were now aware, ritual kin terms were also volunteered (*ninong*, *ninang*, *inánák*, *kumapadre*, *kumadre*, *kinákapatid*). Moreover, some surprising responses — the request was for kin terms — were *kaibigan* ('friend'), *querida* ('mistress'), "boyfriend," "girlfriend," *kabarkada* ('gang or clique co-member'). Often the term kamag-anak was listed, but with the restricted meaning of "recognized, distant kinsman whose relationship to me I cannot trace."

These additional terms took us a step deeper into the problem of defining the taxonomic structure of the categories in question. We were eliciting, apparently, not only kin terms in the strict sense, but also "relationship" terms in a broader sense. In pursuit of this possibility, we tested a new technique, based on completion of the sentence: "X is a kind of Y" (*Ang \_\_\_\_\_ ay isáng uri ng \_\_\_\_\_*), the interviewer to supply a reference term in the first blank. The results of this technique with one informant are given in Figure 2. The same informant, at another time, isolated the problem for us: terms for ritual kinsmen are grouped together — "they are related to me, but they are not relatives." This explanation was given in English, but in Tagalog, it is less self-contradictory: "they are people who have a relationship (*kaugnayan*) to me, but they are not my kamag-anak."

<sup>2</sup> Whenever questioning techniques were changed, we used new informants so as to avoid the learning bias.



Thus, there is a class of people whom I may consider "people to whom I am related in some way" (*taong may kaugnayan sa akin*), and into this class of people fall family members (*pamilya*, *kaanak*, or *mag-anak*), relatives (*kamag-anak*), acquaintances (*ka-kilala*), and an indefinite number of others.

This technique of filling blanks within a standard frame proved unproductive with most informants, who felt "forced" and restricted. The satisfactory data derived from the responses of some informants, however, compelled us to seek the same kind of information by other means.

A technique used early in the research was a sorting test. Informants were asked to sort the kin terms they had recalled into groups of terms "which seem to belong together." The reasons for this sorting were elicited, then another sort of the same terms was attempted if the informant readily thought of some other criteria as a sorting basis. The same technique was used with a furnished list of 26 terms (including ritual kin terms), to afford some degree of comparability from one informant to another.

The sorting test as an eliciting technique is highly productive and is readily understood and executed by informants. Repetition of the sorting, however, is often hesitant or impossible.

An adaptation of this test is more successful, and it solves our problem of semantic overlap as well. After the informant has sorted the standard set of terms, he is asked to divide the groupings into consecutive smaller piles, if this is possible. Returning to the first sort, the informant is asked to combine the groups into consecutively larger piles, if it is appropriate, until all the terms are included in one large grouping. The reasons for the various combinations and divisions are elicited, along with names for the groups if such names exist. We designate this series of procedures, together with the charting of the informant's responses, the "multi-level sorting test." One informant's answers are diagrammed in Figure 3.

The cooperation of informants in performing the multi-level sort is highly satisfactory. Moreover, it appears from the data collected so far that significant differences occur among informants with regard to the kinds of groupings they make. Some informants,

Sort VI	MAGKAKAMAG-ANAK																									
Sort V	MAG-ANAK sa BINYAG sa KUMPIL sa KASAL		MAG-ANAK																							
Sort IV			KAMAG-ANAK na MALAYO		KAMAG-ANAK na MALAPIT																					
Sort III					MAG-AALE at MAG-AAMAIN					BUONG MAG-ANAK																
Sort I					MAG-AALE at MAG-AAMAIN			MAGKÁ- KAPATID		MAG-AAMÁ at MAG-IINÁ			MAG- NUNÒ													
Sort II	[no term]		[no term]			[no term]			MAG- NUNÒ																	
	NINONG	NINANG	INAANAK	KUMPADRE	KUMADRE	KINAKAPATID	ASAWA	BAYAW	HIPAG	BILAS	BALAE	BIYENAN	MANUGANG	TIYO	TIYA	PAMANGKIN	PINSAN	KAPATID	KUYA	ATE	AMA	INA	ANAK	LOLA	LOLO	APO

FIGURE 3. One informant's performance of the multi-level sorting test. Objective criteria.

such as the one who provided the data for Figure 3, use more or less abstract criteria such as generation, lineality, or consanguinity, whereas others apparently use much more subjective criteria (affect, residence) and have specific persons in mind while performing the sort. We are still trying to devise ways to substantiate this impression. An example of the latter type of data is given in Figure 4.

One attempt to establish the subjectivity of sorting criteria has had encouraging results. The informant is asked to provide the names of kinsmen that come to mind when he hears a reference kin term. The terms used are those from the furnished list. These names are listed by the interviewer together with a notation of the precise relationship between the kinsman and the informant. The names are written on cards which are then sorted by the informant in the same manner as the furnished kin terms (multi-level). Comparison of the sorts of kin terms and the names of kinsmen indicate that the criteria used by an informant are substantially the same in both instances. The reasons for the groupings, however, are often quite different, the informants frequently indicating that particular kinsmen are grouped together because they are all very close to him, live near at hand, lend him money, and the like. Productive though it is, this technique tends to tire both the informant and the interviewer. For this reason we hope to devise other and more convenient means for gathering the same kind of information.

*Consanguineal kin terms.* The consanguineal terms given in Appendix E represent a compromise among possible alternatives. They are not necessarily the most frequently occurring forms, but generally they are the most widely recognized. In this section and the two to follow the frequencies refer to a sample of 23 unmarried college students, between 19 and 22 years of age. By and large, the terms are characteristic of the Central Tagalog area (Manila and Bulacan).

In the grandparental generation the pair *lolo-lola* appeared most frequently (19 times;  $N = 23$ ); one informant gave *lolo*, but not *lola*. The following alternatives were also listed by informants from the same group: *lelong-lelang*, 'grandfather' and 'grandmother,' (2); *impó*, 'grandmother' (4); and *nunò*, 'grandfather' (1). *Apó*, 'grandchild,' was listed five times, with no

Sort VI	MAGKAKAMAG-ANAK																								
Sort V	MAG-AANAK						MAGKAKAMAG-ANAK																		
Sort IV	MAG-NUNUNO		MAG-AANAK				MAG-HIPAG		MAGNINONG MAGNINANG		MAGTITIYUHIN AT MAGBALAE														
Sort I			MAG-AANAK		MAG-HIPAG		MAGNINONG MAGNINANG		MAGKAKAMAG-ANAK				MAG-NINONG												
Sort II			MAG-KUYA	ISANG ANGKAN	MAG-BIYENAN		MAG-KAPATID	MAG-NINANG	MAGKAKAMAG-ANAK				MAG-NINONG												
Sort III	ASAWA	BAYAW	LOLA	KAPATID	KUYA	LOLO	APO	ANAK	INA	MANUGCANG	ATE	AMA	KINAKAPATID	NINANG	INAANAK	TIVO	TIVA	PINSAN	PAMANGKIN	HIPAG	BILAS	BIYENAN	NINONG	KUMPADRE	KUMADRE

FIGURE 4. One informant's performance of the multi-level sorting test. Subjective criteria.

variations. One informant gave *apó sa tuhod*, 'great-grandchild,' as well.

Variations in terminology for the parental generation are more common: *tatay-nanay* (13); *papa-mama* (4); "father"- "mother" (2); *amá-iná* (1); *tatang-nanang* (1); *tatay-ináy* (1); and "daddy"- "ma" (1). *Anák*, 'child,' occurs five times, without variations.

The variants applicable to parents' siblings and their spouses occur with the following frequencies: *tiyo-tiya* (14); *tito-tita* (3); *tiyo-tita* (2); *tito-tiya* (1); *tata-nana* (1); *amáng-ináng* (1). One informant gave *tiyo*, 'uncle'; *tata*, 'uncle—father's side'; and *tito*, 'uncle—mother's side.' Six informants listed *pamangkin*, 'nephew, niece,' and no variations are discernible.

Cousin terminology occurred as follows: *pinsan* (17); *pinsang-buò*, 'first cousin' (2); *kaka* (2); *kuyang* (2); *diko* (2); *ate* (2); *kuya* (2); *tito* (1); *pinsang-makalawá*, 'second cousin' (1); *pinsan sa labás*, 'illegitimate cousin' (1); and *pinsan sa tuhod* (?) (1).

There is evidence of some overlapping in the terminology applicable to siblings, especially elder siblings, and cousins. The following forms were given by the 23 informants: *kapatid* (11), *kuya* (10), *ate* (10), *ditse* (3), *diko* (2), *sangko* (2), *sanse* (2), *manong* (2), *manang* (2), *bunsó* (2), *utol* (1), *dersis* (1), *kong* (1), "brother," (1), and "sister" (1).

Aside from differences resulting from the choice of language (English vs. Tagalog) or the use of slang (*dersis* is a syllabic metathesis of sister), there are also significant terminological differences from one Tagalog-speaking region to another. Bulacan is widely known for conserving the "traditional" (Chinese-influenced) sibling terminology. There the six elder-sibling terms retain their original values. These terms are used in reference and address: *kuya*, 'eldest brother'; *diko*, 'second eldest brother'; *sangko*, 'third eldest brother'; *ate*, 'eldest sister'; *ditse*, 'second eldest sister'; and *sanse* or *siyanse*, 'third eldest sister.'

In address, these terms can be used only by a sibling younger than the one addressed. For example, in the sibling set which, in order of birth, is male-female-male-next youngest-next youngest-

youngest, the female will not address the second-born male by the term *diko*, although anyone younger than the latter will do so. In reference, however, she may say "si Pedro" or "si diko" when addressing the younger ones and referring to this second-born male.

Until approximately 15 years ago, the system still obtained in at least one town (Marilao) of Bulacan, wherein first cousins were addressed by the elder sibling terms if they were the children of the elder sibling in the parents' sibling set. Figure 5 provides an example. This practice is extant in parts of Laguna and Batangas provinces. Otherwise, elder-sibling terms may be applied to first cousins if the latter are older than Ego. In parts of Rizal province there is an awareness of the two systems, and a choice is made between them. Informants in Pililla, Rizal, gave the term *matandâ sa dugô* ('older by blood') to the system in which the parents' age, relative to each other, was the determining factor of who should be called "elder sibling." When the determinant is the age of the cousins themselves, relative to each other, it is *matandâ sa banig* ('older on the sleeping mat'). In Morong, Rizal, the terms *diko*, *sangko*, *ditse*, and *sanse* are not used. *Kuya* and *ate*, although occasionally used, are considered new terms. In most families, according to one informant, the reference term *kakâ* is used for elder siblings of both sexes. In addressing elder siblings and cousins, the form *kâ* plus name or nickname occurs. Generally, when *ate* and *kuya*, or *kakâ*, are used, but the other elder-sibling terms are not, *ate* and *kuya* (or *kakâ*) refer to all siblings older than Ego, regardless of their birth order.

*Affinal kin terms.* The affinal terms which are most commonly used in Manila and the Tagalog-speaking provinces are included in Appendix E. The terms listed by 23 unmarried college students are the following: *bayâw* (16), *asawa* (13), *hipag* (8), *bilâs* (5), *biyenân* (5), *manugang* (4), *balae* (4), *maybahay* (1), and *watot*, 'wife' (1). *Maybahay*, 'house-owner', is a common euphemism by which a man refers to his wife. The woman refers to her husband as *tao*, 'person.' *Watot* ('wife') is a slang expression.





*Ritual kin terms.* Ritual terms are a part of the *compadrazgo*, or co-parenthood, system as it is practised in the Philippines. Among the Tagalogs the system is based primarily on the relationships recognized among persons participating in a particular ceremony such as baptism, confirmation, or matrimony.<sup>3</sup> Four of the terms are derived from their Spanish equivalents, but two of them have Tagalog correspondents which occur infrequently. The terms are as follows:

*ninong* (<*padrino*, Sp., 'godfather') or *ináamá* (<*amá*, Tg., 'father'), 'godfather';

*ninang* (<*madrina*, Sp., 'godmother') or *iniiná* (<*iná*, Tg., 'mother'), 'godmother';

*ináaná* (<*anák*, Tg., 'child'), 'godchild';

*kumpadre* or *pare* (<*compadre*, Sp., 'co-father'), 'co-father';

*kumadre* or *mare* (<*comadre*, Sp., 'co-mother'), 'co-mother';

*kinákapatid* (<*kapatid*, Tg., 'sibling'), 'god-sibling'.

A diagram of the relationships created through ritual kinship is given in Figure 6. For an analysis of the rights and duties inherent in ritual kinship, and the motives for establishing a

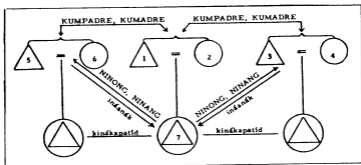


FIGURE 6. Ritual kinship terminology of reference. Persons 3 and 6 are the godparents (or sponsors) of 7 in either of three ceremonies: baptism, confirmation, or matrimony. Terms in upper-case are used in address as well; otherwise, the first name is used.

<sup>3</sup> For an interesting Ilocano variation see Scheans (1966).

kinship relation with a non-kinsman, see Arce (1961), Mintz and Wolf (1950), and Fox (1956).

The frequency with which 23 college students recalled different ritual kin terms is this: ninong (5), ninang (5), kum-padre (4), kumadre (4), ináanák (2), and kinákapatid (1). It should be kept in mind that the question made no reference to ritual kin terms, but asked merely for terms applicable to family members, kamag-anak, and affinal kinsmen.

In the Southern Tagalog region, ninang and ninong are used most often for godparents or sponsors in baptism and confirmation; sponsors in matrimony are *amáng-kasál* and *ináng-kasál*. The reciprocal is either *ináanák* or *anáak sa kasál*. In Bataan, the pattern is extended: *amáng-binyág*, 'godfather in baptism'; *ináng-kumpil*, 'godmother in confirmation,' and so on.

The kinship system of referential terminology varies considerably within the Tagalog region. There appears to be a more-or-less standard Tagalog (or Philippine) base with differing degrees of Chinese influence. This contribution of southern or southeastern Chinese terms is sometimes recognized, as in the elder-sibling terms in Bulacan. Most often it is not recognized, and it is often denied. Laktaw (1914) acknowledges the following terms as Chinese and as having currency among the *mestizos chinos*: *impó*, 'grandmother'; *inkong*, 'grandfather'; *imá*, 'mother'; *insó*, 'sister-in-law'; *siaho*, 'brother-in-law'; *kaka* (no glottal stop), 'uncle,' 'aunt'; *kuya*, *koya*, 'eldest brother'; *diko*, 'second-born brother'; *sanko*, 'third-born brother'; *ati*, 'eldest sister'; *ditse*, 'second-born sister'; and *sanse*, 'third-born sister.'<sup>4</sup>

Laktaw enters the terms *tatay*, 'father,' and *nanay*, 'mother' as "*local de Manila, que va tomando carta de naturaleza en provincias*" (local to Manila, and being adopted in the provinces).

The Spanish derivatives *tiyo* and *tiya*, or *tito* and *tita* (uncle and aunt, respectively), are not listed by Laktaw, nor does he list the terms *lolo* and *lola* or *lelong* and *lelang* (grandfather and grandmother). These are popularly thought to be Spanish deri-

<sup>4</sup>The English terms are translations of the corresponding Spanish entries in Laktaw's dictionary.

vatives, but Manuel (1948) attributes them to Chinese. Manuel further lists *siko*, 'fourth-born brother,' and *sitse*, 'fourth-born sister,' but he notes that they have very limited currency outside the Chinese community.

The study of terminological variations from one locale to another does not fall within the scope of this report. It is our problem, however, to ensure comparability of data from two or more informants who use different sets of terms. This is solved by eliciting the preferred terms in free recall and having the informant perform a single sort of these terms. The results of this sort are then compared with those of the informant's multi-level sort of the furnished terms. So far, there does not appear to be any significant difference between sorts performed by the same informant. An example of this comparability is given in Appendix F.

On the other hand, informants seem to differ significantly in the criteria they use for sorting. The most basic difference can be seen as consisting of differing degrees of subjectivity or objectivity, an index of which must be devised and tested. We have, in other words, taken a step toward answering the first two questions we asked ourselves; namely, Do Tagalog Filipinos differ among themselves in their thinking about kinship, and, if they do, in what do they differ? The third and fourth questions, concerning the association of these differences with identifiable background characteristics, we have not yet begun to consider in systematic fashion.

#### The use of kinsmen subproject

In November 1966, when the preliminary study of disease concepts had drawn to a close, some staff members were available for a further development of the kinship study. Attention was given to this task in the last two months of the period under review in this report.

*Purpose and plan.* The aim of this subproject was, first of all, to develop some hypotheses about patterned differences among informants in the degree to which they interacted with kinsmen, on the one hand, and non-kinsmen, on the other. To

do this we proposed to examine an available, relatively extensive corpus of interaction data in which both informants and interactors were identified by many different variables, including any kinship tie between them. Although the data at hand were not from the Tagalog area, but from a poblacion (Canaman, Camarines Sur) in the Bikol area, they would nonetheless serve as a basis for hypotheses to be tested later in the vicinity of Greater Manila. Moreover, since the informants lived in a relatively closed social unit, namely, a poblacion of about 2,000 people, and since the interaction data we would use concerned local situations generally begun and ended within this community, we felt justified in considering the social world of our informants to be populated only by Canaman residents, at least for purposes of developing the hypotheses we desired.

To construct these hypotheses properly required that we knew not only how each informant thought he was related to the interactors he listed, but the relationship he perceived with all other Canaman residents as well. Put another way, the problem was to know, for every one of our 116 informants, the names and total number of the Canaman residents who belonged in each of the four cells in this two-by-two matrix:

Canaman residents other than informant		
Action relationship to informant	Static relationship to informant	
	Kinsmen (K)	Non-kinsmen (Nk)
Interactors (I)	I-K	I-Nk
Non-interactors (Ni)	Ni-K	Ni-Nk

As sources for the information we needed there were the following documents: a complete household census of Canaman, listing every man, woman, and child resident there at the time of the interaction study; genealogies giving the complete kindred of recall elicited from each informant in the study; lists of their ritual kinsmen, also from these informants; interaction protocols concerning some 25 major interaction situations (as locally perceived and identified), in which the informant

gave not only the names of the people he interacted with, but whether or not he considered them kinsmen.

How these various documents will enable us to fill the cells in our matrix is easily shown.

1. *Cell I-K* (interactors who are kinsmen)

Included here are the names of all Canaman residents appearing in the informant's interaction protocols *provided* the individual interactor was identified there as a kinsman of some kind, or appeared in the informant's genealogy or list of ritual kinsmen.

2. *Cell I-Nk* (interactors who are non-kinsmen)

Included here are the names of all Canaman residents appearing in the informant's interaction protocols *provided* the individual interactor was neither identified as a kinsman there, nor listed in the informant's genealogy or list of ritual kinsmen.

3. *Cell Ni-K* (non-interactors who are kinsmen)

Included here are the names of all Canaman residents appearing in the informant's genealogy and list of ritual kinsmen but not in his interaction protocols.

4. *Cell Ni-Nk* (non-interactors who are non-kinsmen)

Included here are the names of all Canaman residents appearing in the poblacion census *except* those in the informant's interaction protocols, genealogy, and list of ritual kinsmen.

Because of the richness of the Canaman data we will be in a position to say much more about an informant's interaction patterns than is contained in the kinsmen/non-kinsmen dichotomy. The possibilities, some of which we shall exploit, can be estimated from the fact that these variables are known for every resident of Canaman: name, sex, age, place of residence, social class, civil status, and (if ever married) names of spouse(s) and children. Moreover, every interactor

or kinsman mentioned by an informant is identified by generation and age relative to the informant.

*Findings regarding genealogies.* Although the genealogies will serve primarily an instrumental function in the subproject, enabling us to identify members of the informant's kindred of recall, some observations are in order about the content of the documents themselves. In particular, some generalizations are possible about the average number of people recalled by informants classified by age, sex, and the place where their parents came from. The following tables would provide a basis for generalizations of this kind:

1. On the average size of the kindred of recall, by informant's sex and age (all informants married):

Informant's age	Male	Female	Both sexes
Under 20 years	----- ( 0)*	72.0 ( 1)	72.0 ( 1)
20 — 40 years	104.6 (33)	97.7 (37)	100.5 (70)
Over 40 years	128.7 (23)	105.8 (18)	118.7 (41)
T o t a l	114.5 (56)	99.8 (56)	107.2 (112)

\*Number in parentheses is respondent total.

2. On the average number of secondary and more distant kinsmen recalled, related through one parent or another, by informant's parents' place of origin (Canaman or not):

Place of origin of informant's parents	N	Parent linking informant	
		Father	Mother
Father from Canaman	11	26.4	20.0
Mother from Canaman	11	29.7	33.4
Both from Canaman	62	78.7*	37.5*
Neither from Canaman	28	32.7**	49.2**

\* Without two extreme cases, averages would be 37.4 (Fa) and 37.5 (Mo).

\*\* Without three extreme cases, averages would be 31.4 (Fa) and 32.9 (Mo).

By the time of our next report (July 1967) we hope to complete the preparation of all the documents needed for this subproject and move on to the construction of those hypotheses indicated by the Canaman data.

#### Summary of all findings to date

With few exceptions, the work in Project One has not progressed beyond the preliminary stage. Nonetheless, we have gathered considerable data, developed satisfactory techniques, and trained a competent staff for the tasks that lie ahead. Given high priority in the next six months will be the analysis of our data and the consequent preparation of descriptive and explanatory hypotheses derived from them.



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## APPENDIX A

Table 1. Most frequently recalled disease terms, in language of recall, grouped by frequency of occurrence. (Number of informants = 20)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
Eleven	Lagnát	Fever
Ten	T.B.	
Nine	Bekè	Mumps
Eight	Asthma	
Seven	Bulutong Sipón	Smallpox Cold
Six	Appendicitis Cancer Cholera Ubó Ulcer	Cough
Five	Chicken pox Hikà Manás Measles Rayuma	Asthma Beriberi Rheumatism
Four	Allergy Bosyo Dysentery Galís Ketong Malaria Pigsá Sakit sa pusò Smallpox	Goiter Scabies Leprosy Boil Heart disease

APPENDIX A, Table 1 (continued)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
Four	Tigdás	Measles
	Trangkaso	Influenza
Three	Alipungá	Athlete's foot
	An-án	Ringworm ( <i>Tinea flava</i> )
	Arthritis	
	Athlete's foot	
	Boil	
	Bukol	Swelling (with pus)
	Buwá	Prolapse of uterus
	Dermatitis	
	Diarrhea	
	Fever	
	Flu	
	Gastroenteritis	
	Gonorrhea	
	Lagnát sa sipón	Cold-induced fever
	Leukemia	
	Polio	
Rheumatism		
Ringworm		
Sakit sa ulo	Headache	
Syphilis		
Toothache		
Two	Anemia	
	Bagá	Swelling on breast
	Beriberi	
	Bulutong tubig	Chicken pox
	Buni	Ringworm ( <i>Tinea saginata</i> )
	Cold	
	Eczema	
	Goiter	
	Headache	
	High blood pressure	
	Hypertension	
Impatso	Indigestion	

APPENDIX A, Table 1 (continued)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
Two	Kuliti	Sty
	Lagnát lakí	"Spring fever"
	Lagnát sa piláy	Fever induced by sprain
	Leprosy	
	Mumps	
	Pasmá	Condition resulting from exposure to alternating heat and cold
	Pulmonya	Pneumonia
	Sakit sa ngipin	Toothache
	Sakit sa tiyán	Stomach ache
	Singáw	Exuded scent
	Sprain	
Taón, taól	Congenital cyanosis	
Tukdol	Stiff neck	

## APPENDIX B

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONS ON SKIN DISEASES

## A. PART ONE: SORTING PROCEDURES

1. Recall as many skin diseases as you can and mention each to me.

*Isipin ninyó ang lahat na sakit sa balát (ng buóng katawán) at isá-isá ninyóng sabihin sa akin.*

2. Sort these slips of paper into piles or groupings which "seem to belong together." Sort them into as many or as few groupings as you like.

*Pagsamá-samahin ninyó ang mga papél na inákala ninyóng dapat ipagsamasama. Maaari kayóng gumawá ng kahit na iláng grupo o tumpók ng papél na gustó ninyóng gawin, kahit na marami o kaunti.*

3. What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

*Ibigáy ang inyóng katuwiran kung bakit ninyó ipinagsama-sama ang mga papél na iyán sa bawat tumpók o grupo.*

## APPENDIX B (continued)

4. Do you have another way of sorting these slips?

[If yes, repeat questions 2 and 3.]

*Mayroón pa ba kayóng ibáng paraán sa pagsama-sama ng mga papel na itó?*

## B. PART TWO (AFTER SORTING PROCEDURES ARE COMPLETED)

1. Give the location or part of the body particular to this type of skin disease.

*Sáán-sááng bahagi o parte ng katawán nakikita o napápansin ang sakit na itó?*

2. Give a description of this disease.

*Anú-anó pò ang napápansin o naráramdamán sa sakit na itó?*

3. What causes this disease?

*Anú-anó pò ang mga dahilán ng sakit na itó?*

4. What are the medicines or what is the therapy used?

*Anú-anó pò ang mga gamót na alam ninyong ginagamit sa sakit na itó?*

5. Whom do you consult for this disease?

*Sinu-sino ang mga manggagamot na inyóng kinukunsulta o sinasungunì sa sakit na itó?*

## APPENDIX C

Table 2. Most frequently recalled skin disease terms, in language of recall, grouped by frequency of occurrence. (Number of informants = 23)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
21	Galfs	Scabies
20	Buni	Ringworm
17	Tagihawat	Pimple
16	An-án	Tinea flava
14	Eczema	Eczema

APPENDIX C, Table 2 (continued)

Frequency	Name (as recalled)	English name
12	Pigsá	Boil
11	Bungang-araw	Prickly heat
10	Alipungá	Athlete's foot
Seven	Bukol	Swelling with pus
	Bulutong (totoó)	Smallpox
	Bulutong tubig	Chicken pox
	Tigdás (tikdás, tipdás)	Measles
Six	Pekas	Freckles
Five	Butlíg	Postules
	Ketong, lepra	Leprosy
Four	Allergy	Allergy
	Balakubak	Dandruff
	Galís aso	"Dog itch," a kind of scabies
	Kulebra	Erysypelas
	Pantál	Wet
	Tagulabáy	Hives
Three	Agihap	A kind of scabies
	Sugat	Wound; lesion

## APPENDIX D

PROCEDURES DEVISED FOR ELICITING DATA ON THE  
COGNITIVE DOMAIN OF KINSHIP

## A. RECALL AND SORTING OF REFERENCE KIN TERMS

1. Recall as many reference kin terms as you can and mention each term to me. These reference kin terms should be the terms that you use to describe the members of your *pamilya o mag-anak*, your *kamag-anakan* including those who become your relatives through marriage, or *pag-aasawa*. It should be within this context: if I were to ask you, "Who is this person," your answer would be, "*Siyá ay ang \_\_\_\_\_ ko.*"

## APPENDIX D (continued)

*Tandaán ninyó ang lahat ng mga pangalang ginagamit ninyó para sa mga miyembro o kasapi ng inyóng pamilya o mag-anak, ang inyóng kamag-anak, pati iyóng mga taong may kaugnayan o relasiyón sa inyó dahil sa pag-aasawa. Halimbawò kung itatanóng ko sa inyó, "Sino ba iyan," ang sagót ninyó ay, "Siya ay ang \_\_\_\_\_ ko."*

- Sort these kin terms/slips of paper into piles or groupings which "seem to belong together." Sort them into as many or as few groupings as you like.

*Pagsamá-samahin ninyó ang mga pangalan/papél na inákala ninyóng dapat magsama-sama. Maaari ninyóng ayusin ang mga pangalan/papél sa kahit iláng pag-aayos na gusto ninyó.*

- What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

*Anó pò ang katuwiran kung bakit ninyó pinagsama-sama ng ganyán ang mga pangalan/papél?*

## B. SORTING OF FURNISHED SET OF KIN TERMS

- These cards contain Tagalog reference terms for people which designate relationship. Group those cards/terms which "seem to belong together." You may make as many or as few groupings as you like and you may place as many or as few cards in each grouping as you like.

*Nakasulat sa mga papél na itó ang mga pangalan na ginagamit para sa mga taong may kaugnayan o relasiyón sa inyó. Pagsamá-samahin ninyó ang mga pangalan/papél na sa pag-aakala o pag-tisip ninyó ay dapat magsama-sama. Maaaring ayusin ang mga itó sa kahit iláng tumpók na gusto ninyó. Maaari rin ninyóng pagsamahin ang iláng pangalan/papél.*

- What is the reason or idea that you had when you were grouping or sorting the cards?

*Anó pò ang katuwiran kung bakit ninyó pinagsama-sama ng ganyán ang mga pangalan/papél?*

## C. MULTI-LEVEL SORTING OF FURNISHED KIN TERMS

- These cards contain tagalog reference terms for people which designate relationship. Group those cards/terms which "seem to belong together." You may make as many or as few groupings as you like and you may place as many or as few cards in each grouping as you like.

*Nakasulat sa mga papél na itó ang mga pangalan na ginagamit para sa mga taong may kaugnayan o relasiyón sa inyó.*



## APPENDIX D (continued)

*Pagsama-samahin ninyó ang mga pangalan/papél na sa pag-aakala o pag-iisip ninyó ay dapat magsama-sama. Maaaring ayusin ang mga itó sa kahit iláng tumpók na gusto ninyó. Maaari rin ninyóng pagsamahin ang iláng pangalan/papél.*

2. Examine each group carefully and separate a new group or groups which can be made from each.

*Pakitingnán ninyó ang bawat tumpók at ihimaláy ninyó iyóng inákala ninyóng maaari pang gawing isáng tumpók din.*

[The groups are subdivided until the informant cannot or will not break them down further.]

3. Combine the groups which "seem to belong together."  
*Pag-isá-isahin ninyó ang mga tumpók na sa inyóng palagáy ay maaaring magsama-sama.*

4. What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

*Anó pò ang katuwiran kung bakit ninyó pinagsama-sama ng ganyán ang mga tumpók?*

5. If we put all these names together, on what basis may that be done? What name(s) or word(s) would you use to describe this group?

*Maaari bang pagsamá-samahin natin ang lahat ng mga itó? Bakit namán kayó maaaring gawin natin iyón? Anóng pangalan o mga pangalan, salitá o mga salitá ang maaaring itawag sa tumpók na iyán?*

## D. RECALL AND SORTING OF KINSMEN OR KIN NAMES

1. I will show you each of these cards one at a time. Would you please give me the complete baptismal name of the first person whom you remember as soon as you see the card. You may give one name only, as when the card says *iná*; or two names, as when the card says *pinsan*. Please tell me how you address them, and how each of them is related to you.

*Ipakikita kong isá-isá sa inyó ang mga pangalang nakasulat sa mga papél na itó. Maaari pò bang ibigáy ninyó sa akin ang buóng pangalan ng unang taong maaalaala ninyó pagkikita ninyó sa bawat papél? Pakisabi din ninyó sa akin kung anó ang tawag ninyó sa kaniyá, at kung paano kayó naging magkamag-anak.*

2. Sort these names into piles or groupings which "seem to belong together." Sort them into as many or as few groupings as you like.

## APPENDIX D (continued)

*Pagsamá-samahin ninyó ang mga pangalang sa pag-aakala ninyó ay dapat magsama-sama. Maaari kayóng gumawá ng kahit iláng tumpók.*

3. Examine each group carefully and separate a new group or groups which can be made from each.

*Pakitingnán ninyó ang bawat tumpók at ihiwaláy ninyó iyóng indakala ninyóng maaari pang gawing isáng tumpók din.*

4. Combine the groups which "seem to belong together."

*Pag-isá-isahin ninyó ang mga tumpók na sa inyóng palagáy ay maaaring magsama-sama.*

5. What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

*Anó pò ang katuwiran kung bakit ninyó pinagsama-sama ng ganyán ang mga tumpók?*

6. If we put all these names together, on what basis may that be done? What name(s) or word(s) would you use to describe this group?

*Maaari bang pagsamá-samahin natin ang lahat ng pangalang itó? Bakit namán kayó maaaring gawin natin iyón? Anóng pangalan o mga pangalan, salitá o mga salitá ang maaaring itawag sa tumpók na iyán?*

## APPENDIX E

Table 3. Referential kinship terminology used in the furnished list.

Kin term	English equivalent most commonly suggested by informants	Kinsmen covered by the term
Lolo	'grandfather'	grandfather; grandparent's brother; grandparent's sister's husband; grandparent's male cousin; grandparent's female cousin's husband
Lola	'grandmother'	grandmother; grandparent's sister;

## APPENDIX E, Table 3 (continued)

Kin term	English equivalent most commonly suggested by informants	Kinsmen covered by the term
		grandparent's brother's wife; grandparent's female cousin; grandparent's male cousin's wife
Apó	'grandchild'	grandchild; sibling's grandchild; cousin's grandchild; spouse's sibling's grandchild; spouse's cousin's grandchild
Amá	'father'	father
Iná	'mother'	mother
Anák	'son; daughter'	child
Tiyo	'uncle'	parent's brother; parent's sister's husband; parent's male cousin; parent's female cousin's husband
Tiya	'aunt'	parent's sister; parent's brother's wife; parent's female cousin; parent's male cousin's wife
Pamangkin	'nephew; niece'	sibling's child; cousin's child; spouse's sibling's child; spouse's cousin's child
Pinsan	'cousin'	cousin (indefinite lateral extension)

APPENDIX E, Table 3 (continued)

Kin term	English equivalent most commonly suggested by informants	Kinsmen covered by the term
Kapatíd	'brother; sister'	sibling
Kuya	'elder brother'	elder brother
Ate	'elder sister'	elder sister
Asawa	'husband; wife'	spouse
Biyenán	'mother-in-law; father-in-law'	spouse's parent
Manugang	'son-in-law; daughter-in-law'	child's spouse
Bayáw	'brother-in-law'	spouse's brother; sister's husband
Hipag	'sister-in-law'	spouse's sister; brother's wife
Bilás	'co-brother-in-law'	wife's sister's husband; (sometimes: spouse's sibling's spouse)
Balae	'co-parent-in-law'	child's spouse's parent
Ninong	'godfather'	godfather; godmother's husband
Ninang	'godmother'	godmother; godfather's wife
Inánák	'godchild'	godchild; spouse's godchild
Kinákapatíd	'godbrother; godsister'	godparent's child; parent's godchild
Kumpadre	'compadre'	child's godfather; child's godmother's husband; godchild's father; spouse's godchild's father

APPENDIX E, Table 3 (continued)

Kin term	English equivalent most commonly suggested by informants	Kinsmen covered by the term
Kumadre	'comadre'	child's godmother; child's godfather's wife; godchild's mother; spouse's godchild's mother

## APPENDIX F

Table 4. Sort of terms listed in free recall by one informant with the same informant's sort of the furnished terms.

Sort of terms listed in free recall	Sort of furnished terms (Sort 1)
<b>PILE A</b>	<b>PILE A</b>
ninong	ninong
ninang	ninang
inának	inának
kinákapatíd	kinákapatíd
kumare	kumadre
kumpare	kumpadre
<b>PILE B</b>	<b>PILE B</b>
manugang	manugang
biyenán	biyenán
bilás	bilás
balae	balae
hipag	hipag
bayáw	bayáw
<b>PILE C</b>	<b>PILE C</b>
ambá (grandfather, great-grandfather)	lolo
pupò (grandmother, great-grandmother)	lola
impò (grandparent)	apó
apó	
apó sa tuhod (great-grandchild)	

## APPENDIX F, Table 4 (continued)

Sort of terms listed in free recall	Sort of furnished terms (Sort I)
PILE D	PILE D
tiyo tiya pinsan pinsan makalawá (second cousin) pinsan makatló (third cousin)	tiyo tiya
PILE E	PILE E
anák batà (children; always pl.) ináng (mother) ináy (mother) tatà (father) itáy (father)	pinsan
kaká (elder sibling) kuya (elder brother) ate (elder sister) kapatíd asawa maybahay (wife) tao (husband) pamangkin	PILE F
PILE F	anák iná amá kuya ate kapatíd asawa pamangkin
kasintahan (sweetheart) kasundò (sweetheart) katrato (sweetheart) kalaguyò (mistress)	

# Private Transitory Ownership of Public Property: one key to understanding public behavior: I-the driving game\*

RICHARD L. STONE

In a series of articles and two books, the anthropologist Hall (1959, 1963, 1964, 1966) has developed a theory of cultural use of space which he terms *proxemics*. Basically, Hall's theory is this: man has a uniform way of handling distance from his fellows. Furthermore, man's sense of space and distance is not static, but instead, is dynamic because it is related to action—that is, what can be done in a given space—rather than what is seen by passing-viewing. Hall (1966:107-8) feels that we should

think of man as surrounded by a series of expanding and contracting fields which provide information of many kinds. . . . We can then begin to learn about human behavior, including personality types. Not only are there extroverts and introverts, authoritarian and egalitarian, Apollonian and Dionysian types and all the other shades and grades of personalities, but each one of us has a number of learned situational personalities. The simplest form of the situational personality is that associated with responses to intimate personal, social, and public transactions.

Most of us are unaware of our structuring of space because it is an unconscious pattern of behavior—undoubtedly deuterolearned throughout our socialization process. Yet as we come into contact with different cultures, we find ourselves annoyed,

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