

FOLKLORE AND COMMUNICATION

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THIS SHORT PAPER WHICH ATTEMPTS TO FORMULATE A THEORY OF FOLKLORE and communication may invite controversies for three reasons.

Firstly, because of its limited length and scope, it does not cover all types of traditional lores that may shed light on the relationship between folklore and communication. Secondly, its major generalizations are based only on my research findings on the folklore of Capiz, a province in Central Philippines, and, therefore, might fail to have universal application. And thirdly, it is purely descriptive and analytical in nature; no amount of comparison is made between the folklore of Capiz and that of any Philippine or foreign province.

Despite the risk it faces, however, this paper relates folklore and communication to one another. Specifically, it aims to: (1) show how folklore may be used as message in face-to-face and mass communications, and (2) describe the communication patterns on what I call "the folk level" of communication.

Part I discusses the first aim and Part II, the second. Part III summarizes the significant points of this paper and defines the conclusion reached by the discussions.

Literally translated, "folklore" means the wisdom or knowledge of the people. It also refers to the common orally transmitted traditions, narratives, arts, beliefs, philosophies, pastime activities, and festivals in all cultures. (See Leach 1949; Winich 1961: 217; and Clavel 1970 b: 46)

The term "folklore" was first introduced in 1846 by William Thoms, an English scholar, and, since then, has been used in many countries. Its synonyms are popular antiquities, popular literature, popular fiction, unwritten literature, floating literature, verbal art, oral literature, folk literature, and primitive literature. (Manuel n.d.: 2) Of these synonyms, the closest, it may be noted, is popular antiquities.

According to Alan Dundes (1965: 3), folklore "includes myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue-twisters, and greet and leave-taking formulas (e.g., See you later, alligator). It also includes folk costume, folk dance, folk drama (and mime), folk art, folk belief (or superstition), folk medicine, folk instrumental music (e.g., fiddle tunes), folk-songs (e.g., lullabies, ballads), folk speech (e.g., slang), folk similes (e.g.,

as blind as a bat), folk metaphors (e.g., to paint the town red), and names (e.g., nicknames and place names).

"Folk poetry ranges from oral epics to autograph-book verse, epitaphs, latrinalia (writings on the walls of public bathrooms), limericks, ball-bouncing rhymes, jump-rope rhymes, finger and toe rhymes, dandling rhymes (to bounce children on the knee), counting-out rhymes (to determine who will be "it" in games) and nursery rhymes.

"The list of folklore forms also contains games; gestures; symbols; prayers (e.g., graces); practical jokes; folk etymologies; food recipes; quilt and embroidery designs; house, barn, and fence types; street vendors cries; and even the traditional conventional sounds used to summon animals or to give them commands. There are such minor forms as mnemonic devices (e.g., the name Roy G. Biv to remember the colors of the spectrum in color), envelope sealers (e.g., SWAK—Sealed With A Kiss), and the traditional comments made after body emissions (e.g., after burps or sneezes). There are such major forms as festivals and special day (or holiday) customs (e.g., Christmas, Halloween, and birthday)."

Thus, folklore research involves tremendous amount of ethnographic data. The areas of folkloristic investigation given by Dundes represent a wide range of human experience, and include the conventional modes of human thought and action. The folklorist is an ethnographer at the same time, or vice versa, as he, like the latter, deals with the entire field of traditional culture.

The research data used in this paper are part of the huge body of folklore materials I gathered through interviews and participant observation in 1967, 1969 and 1970 in Capiz, one of the four provinces that comprise Panay, the sixth largest island in the Philippines. A first class province rich in folklore, Capiz is bounded by the Sibuyan Sea on the north; the province of Aklan on the northwest; the province of Antique on the west; and the province of Iloilo on the south and southwest. (For more information about Capiz see Bureau of Census and Statistics 1970; and Clavel 1970a and 1971.)

In studying Capisnon folklore, I assume the roles of both researcher and informant. As researcher, I am an outsider who sees Capisnon folklore with a critical eye, a scientist who lays on his laboratory table the folklore data he has gathered for analysis and evaluation. As informant (this writer is a native of Capiz), I am an insider who participates in the cultural activities of Capiz and may transmit to the next generations the folklore items he is learning from the old people.

I

The transmission of folklore from one generation to another is an indication of functional communication. What is communication? When is it functional? What differentiates effective from affective communication?

Simply defined, communication is the transfer of information from one individual to another through the use of symbols. It, therefore, involves a *source* of a given message, the *message* itself, a *channel* through which the message is transmitted, and a *receiver* of the message.

Communication is effective when the source *S* is able to put across his message *M* to receiver *R* through means *C*, which may be the vocal chord, a pencil and paper, or, in the larger scale, the radio or the press. When *S* says two plus two equals four, *R* should get the idea that if two items are combined with two more items there shall be four items all in all. If *R* understands fully the message and its implications, he should know, among other facts, that if the two combined items are taken from the sum of the four items, two items will be left. *S*, then, succeeds in making the desired impression on *R*'s mind.

When communication is carried out successfully to serve the purpose not only of transmitting ideas but also of satisfying, or creating new, psychological needs, it is affective. Communication, in this case, should be directed toward a goal other than the neutral process of transferring information, i.e., it should arouse or deaden emotions and stir the mind to thinking along predetermined lines.

Thus, communication is effective when, say, a speaker is able to convey his message to his listener, and affective, when the message leads the latter to react according to or in the manner the former desires or has predetermined. When it is both effective and affective, communication is functional.

David K. Berlo (1960:11-12) gives some related ideas. According to him,

Our basic purpose in communication is to become an affecting agent, to affect others, our physical environment, and ourselves, to become a determining agent, to have a vote in how things are. *In short, we communicate to influence — to affect with intent.* In analyzing communication, in trying to improve our own communication ability, the first question we need to ask is, what did the communicator intend to have happen as a result of his message? What was he trying to accomplish, in terms of influencing his environment? As a result of his communication, what did he want people to believe, to be able to do, to say? In psychological terms, what response was he trying to obtain?

The two types of communication are the face-to-face and mass communications. For our purposes, we may distinguish one from the other by pointing out their basic difference: The former elicits immediate response, technically called the *feedback*, from the receiver of the message, while the latter gets some response after some time. The reason is that in a face-to-face communication situation, the source of a message directly interacts with the receiver and the personal contact they have with one another facilitates the easy and immediate transmission or exchange of ideas; in a mass communication situation this is

not possible as the given message has to reach a big, and oftentimes scattered, audience.

Mass communication may be defined simply in two ways: communication by the mass media and communication for the masses. Any communication other than those by the media and for the masses is face-to-face communication, and it is done through the use of such faculties as speech and gestures. (For further discussion see Berlo 1960; Cherry 1957; Schramm 1963; Emery, Ault and Agee 1960; Hall 1959; and Clavel 1969a).

What is the relation of these two types of communication to folklore?

William R. Bascom (1965: 292-294) spells out four functions of folklore. He says that folklore "may mirror familiar details of culture, and incorporate common situations from everyday life." The second function is "that which it plays in validating culture, in justifying its rituals and institutions to those who perform and observe them." The third is "that which it plays in education, particularly, but not exclusively, in nonliterate societies." Finally, folklore "fulfills the important but often overlooked function of maintaining conformity to the accepted patterns of behavior" To these, however, I wish to add two more functions, which I observed in the course of my folklore gathering in Capiz. These two are the entertainment and the cathartic functions.

Let us examine the six functions by discussing Capisnon folklore as used in face-to-face and mass communications.

The use of folklore in face-to-face communication may be characterized by an excessive reference to proverbs and aphorisms in stressing moral points and in supporting popular arguments; a vivid description of traditions and customs and an assessment of their contribution to the stability of cultural life, as when a group or culture justifies its decision to reject a directed change; a constant submission to superstitions to allay fears of the unknown and the uncertain; a purposive assumption of roles to win prestige, as well as to spread goodwill, in the community; a delivery or execution of certain folklore forms to relieve a psychological stress or to bring about social cohesion and camaraderie; a dramatic narration of stories to entertain, joke, or scare people; and/or an enumeration of socio-cultural values to explain the uniqueness of a culture or a society, or to censor or sanction the behaviors of individuals in social situations.

To some substantial degree, the following case studies illustrate this.

Case I. Divina,¹ 19, works in a big department store. Oscar, 21, is her boyfriend, who fetches her every afternoon after working hours.

¹ Fictitious names are used in the case studies to protect the identities of the persons concerned.

One day, her mother, Mameng, 42, learns of the courtship affair. Since she knows that Oscar is married to a woman in Pan-ay, a municipality of Capiz, Mameng discourages her daughter to accept his marriage proposal. In the course of their argumentation, both lose their temper and Divina, at one moment, says: "Ngaa kon may asawa siya? Indi man ikaw ang magapangabuhì!" (What if he is married? You are not the one who shall live with him!)

Because of this show of disrespect, Mameng slaps Divina and tells her that she may marry any bachelor and she will not object. She explains that marrying Oscar is tantamount to committing a big mortal sin. But Divina retorts that no efforts of her mother can stop her from marrying Oscar.

When Teresa, Mameng's 38-year old sister, learns of the slapping incident, she sees Divina and assails the latter's behavior toward her mother. Teresa even invokes a Capisnon proverb: "Bisan tuktukon ang balahibo mo sing pinu-pino, indi ka pa gihapon makabayad sang imo utang nga kabalasilan sa imo ginikanan!" (Free translation: Even if your body hair is cut into very fine pieces, you cannot still pay your "debt of reciprocal favor" to your parent!) This means that whatever Divina may do for Mameng cannot pay for all the favors the latter has done for her, such as giving birth to her, rearing her, clothing her when she was a small girl, sending her to school, etc. Upon hearing the proverb, Divina keeps quiet. She does not say anything to disprove what the traditional Capisnon society believes to be the "truth" in it.

Besides describing a manner and a situation in which a proverb may be used to teach a moral lesson in a face-to-face communication, this case study reveals some traits of the Capisnon culture.

Firstly, it indicates the practice of monogamous marriage in Capiz and the existence of the Catholic belief in mortal sin. Secondly, there is an allusion to the *utang nga kabalasilan* ("debt of reciprocal favor") value. *Utang nga kabalasilan* is one's moral and social obligation to reciprocate, at the present or in the future, the favors and graces he has received from another. It is never fulfilled until the *kabalasilan* (reciprocal favor) is done to the latter. The *kabalasilan* is usually carried out voluntarily, but it may be demanded by its supposed recipient in such isolated cases as quarrels, betrayals and treachery which have the giver and the recipient of the *kabalasilan* as contending parties. Thirdly, the case study shows the closeness of kins in Capisnon culture. The aunt is also a "parent" and she has the duty to give needed advice to her nephews and nieces once their real parents fail to do so or when there exists no communication between them and their parents. Fourthly, the use of the symbol of body hair being cut into very fine pieces, reflects the Capiceños' skill and art in drawing from common things powerful images that suggest the nature and meanings of human relations in Capiz.

Case 2. Thelma and Myrna are gossiping when Rosing passes. Both notice that Rosing wears heavy make-up, as well as a new skirt whose hemline drops three inches above her knees. Their gossip topic shifts to Rosing's reputation.

Thelma tells Myrna that Rosing has had illicit relations with six different men and that, at present, she has another lover aside from her husband.

Myrna refuses to believe, saying that she knows Rosing, who hears mass daily, to be a deeply religious woman.

Thelma answers, quoting a Capisnon proverb: "Ang babae nga may asawa nga hinali magdayaw, nagabisyo." (Contextual translation: A married woman who suddenly uses various beauty aids, is having illicit relations with any man other than her husband.)

Then, she informs Myrna that Rosing made love with different men even when she was single. She reveals that two of Rosing's children have two different men, and not her husband, for their fathers. And she reminds Myrna about the popular gossip in the neighborhood that Rosing's eldest daughter, Leonora, is "mahulag." (i.e., has loose morals). She quotes another proverb: Ang mangga indi magbunga sang mayabas." (A mango tree will not bear guavas.)

Myrna does not still believe Thelma when the latter adds that Rosing is a sexually obsessed woman. But, when Thelma asserts that a daughter naturally follows in the footsteps of her mother, she starts to be convinced. Myrna says, "Santa santita pero maldita" (Saint-like but "tricky"), and engages with Thelma in more gossip about Rosing.

This is a case in which a person changes his impression of another on the strength of the "truth" contained in some proverbs. Myrna refuses at first to believe what Thelma is telling her about Rosing, but when she is told about the loose morals of Rosing's daughter, she changes her belief and subscribes to the "logic" that the daughter will not become a bad woman if the mother herself does not serve as an example or a precedent.

From the facts of this case, it is seen that honor and reputation are the concern of the whole family. In the traditional Capisnon society, the whole family is blamed for the misdeed of any of its members. In fact, one feels shame for any wrongdoing of even just a relative (especially if he is a close one) and gets embarrassed every time he hears the wrong deed being discussed in social gatherings. Without his liking it, he is identified with the guilty person and the community passes judgment on the moral core of his family tree, which, by the law of genealogy, also includes the latter as one of the descendants. If, in the future, he himself commits any crime his act will serve as a confirmation of the community's opinion about his family tree, which was actually formed after his relative had committed his own crime.

In short, in folk communities, like those found in the remote areas of Capiz, the moral reputation of a family may be described in terms of the frequency and nature of the crimes or misdeeds committed by its members and relatives.

Case 3. Berong wants to marry Leonarda, a woman from Jamindan. He suggests to her parents that they inform him, upon his making known to them his marriage proposal, if he can marry Leonarda and that if he can, they should allow him to marry her without any expensive preparations or celebrations.

But Leonarda's parents are conservative, and they oblige Berong to observe the traditional courtship and marriage customs.

Thus, one day, Berong brings his parents to the girl's house to give the *pabagti*, or *pahibalo*, (both words meaning, "notice"), which is oftentimes, but not always, a drinking party at the girl's home and where the visitors, i.e., the suitor and his parents, relatives and, possibly, friends, are the hosts. The *pabagti* may be done by a go-between, who may bring foods to the girl's house, by informing the girl's parents of the intention of a young man to marry their daughter. The *pasaka*, on the other hand, is the occasion on which a courting man formalizes his marriage proposal to his ladylove, with her parents.

But when the *pasaka* comes around, Berong is not yet given the answer to his marriage proposal. The traditional custom is for the girl's parents to make any marriage arrangement for her; the girl does not have any say on who should be her future husband. Thus, it is the girl's parents who attend to Berong. They tell him to return on another date for the *kasayuran* ("answer").

The *kasayuran* is the occasion on which the young man comes to know the answer of the girl's family to his marriage proposal. Except for isolated cases, there is no outright refusal. If he is not favored, he is asked to carry out impossible tasks or made to agree to impossible demands. But if favored, he is asked such reasonable requirements as a house for him and his bride, a wedding party to keep up the family's prestige, and the manpower needed during the wedding ceremony and party.

During the *kasayuran*, Berong learns that he may marry his girl. But he and his family and relatives which compose the *tiglalaki*, are asked by the *tigbabaye* (the girl's family and relatives) to come back again on another date for the *patanda* (registration for marriage with the office of the local civil registrar). The *patanda* is the last step to the *kasal* (marriage).

By following the traditional courtship and marriage custom, one gets some insights into Capisnon culture. When Leonarda's parents communicate to the *tiglalaki* that they oblige the latter to follow the traditional steps of courtship and marriage, they assume that the *tiglalaki* know the customs referred to, and so there is no need for them to enumerate said steps.

Here, the custom (folklore) is the message (communication) itself and the *tiglalaki* should react to the message by following the custom. A deviation from the custom constitutes a misunderstanding or a gross ignoring of what the message the *tigbabaye* want to transmit to the *tiglalaki*.

Case 4. Toyang, 50, cancels her banca trip to the barrio of her husband's birth, because she had a bad dream the previous night. She tells those who fetch her that she cannot go with them because of her dream. She refuses, however, to narrate her dream, for she believes, as it is traditionally believed, that a bad dream will come true once it is revealed.

She dreamt that she was riding in a banca and that she wanted to cross a river. But in the middle of the river, the banca capsized and she almost got drowned.

That the dream is an omen is Toyang's belief. In fact, to prevent its fulfillment, she woke up early that morning, went to their stove, and picked up a pinchful of ashes. She looked around and when she found that nobody was watching her, she throw away the ashes at the same time whispering, "Indi

tani matabo ang akon gindamngo." (I wish my dream wouldn't come true). Upon doing this, the *tigbalaw* (protection against evil forces, such as those that will bring about the accident Toyang saw in her dream) is supposed to happen.

The dream in this case study is thought to be an omen, an indication that something bad will happen to the dreamer. The Capiceños believe that bad dreams, especially those about deaths and accidents, should not be revealed; otherwise, the dreams will come true.

Thus, Toyang refuses to tell her dream and, instead, manifests the superstition about it. The ritual she performs immediately after waking up has a psychological function to her. By performing it she firmly believes that the accident she saw in her dream will not happen anymore. In short, culture creates its own psychological solutions to, or protection against, building fears of the unknown and the uncertain.

Case 5. Soling, 50, is a fishpond owner and is respected in her neighborhood. She serves as sponsor in baptisms, marriages, and confirmations. But above all, she acts as an effective arbiter.

Because of her good reputation, people heed her advice and respect her dispositions.

Thus when two brothers, Merto, 26, and Arturo, 22, have a fist fight and nobody in the neighborhood dares intervene, Soling appears, separates them from one another, and, after they have brought their case to her, she asks them to follow her decision on the case, shake hands and forget what has happened.

Talking to Arturo, she paraphrases a Capisnon saying: "Respetuhon mo ang magulang mo kay wala ka matabo kon nagbalabag siya sa imo iloy sang siya ipanganak." (Contextual translation: You should respect your elder sibling because you never became a human being if he caused your mother's death when she delivered him.)

Also, when Tikmo pursues Sergio with a bolo, it is Soling who succeeds in stopping him and taking the weapon away from him. She is able to convince the two men, who happen to be first cousins, to settle their case amicably.

These are only two of the many instances where Soling shows her influence among her neighbors.

The role of arbiter is traditionally given to the individual in the community who is known for his wise decisions and who can command respect from his fellowmen. In Soling's case, the prestige factor lies in her successes in pacifying warring parties and in making them reconcile with each other. She spreads goodwill by offering her services to their community when needed.

The saying Soling paraphrases, gives an example of the "logic" of the Capisnon mind. While it suggests that the elder sibling has contributed to giving life to the younger ones, it shows the Capiceños' "cause-effect" frame of thought. Arturo could not have been born if Merto had "refused" to leave their mother's womb when she was delivering the latter.

This "logic" also confirms the folkloricity of the saying. As can be noted, the saying refers only to natural birth, i.e., without the aid of any medical operations. Since it does not consider any medical aids, such as an operation, in delivering babies, it can be argued that the fact that it is still used today, when the majority of the Capiceños have had undergone some medical treatment at one time or another, indicates continuous transmission from one generation to another, and that the generation that first transmitted it did not have any knowledge of such aids.

Case 6. Nelson, 19, of barrio Dumulog in Roxas City, is sitting by the window of their nipa hut. He is sad, because his girlfriend, Marita, 17, left for Manila a week ago to continue her studies in a big university there.

It is already 9 o'clock in the evening; yet, he does not feel sleepy. He wonders what Marita is thinking and feeling about at that time.

To entertain himself, he hums "Dandansoy," a Visayan folksong. Then, he overhears some laughter of a group of men drinking tuba at a nearby *sari-sari* store. He leaves the hut and joins the group.

Nelson finds his friends joking one another. He joins and laughs with them and, after a while, suggests that they all sing some folksongs to make the group livelier. They sing a number of folksongs, which include *composos* (ballads) and bawdy songs. They crack jokes and narrate traditional stories in between the songs.

After the third song, Nelson totally forgets all about his girlfriend. He gets absorbed completely in his singing and as he sings far into the night he can feel his group's camaraderie.

Nelson's case might appear common, but the reason I am giving it here is that it offers some details of Capiñon daily life.

In the evening, barrio stores become the hang-outs of men, who love to sing and crack traditional jokes while tasting the afternoon tuba or such bottled drinks as *Ginebra San Miguel* and *Tanduay*. Most of these men are farmers, wood-cutters, office workers, the unemployed laborers, and professionals. On some occasions — especially during election time — politicians from the *poblacion* join them. Generally, Capiceños are strong drinkers.

It is on these drinking occasions that an outsider may get some insight into the barrio life of the Capiñon folk. For when the gathered men start to feel the influence of their drink, they sing, recite native verses, or crack jokes. The nature and process of the men's group dynamics may be determined, by observing and analyzing how they exchange, entertain, reinforce or censor one's ideas in the course of their conversation. The observer may even note that in supporting their arguments the men invoke local proverbs and aphorisms and when this is done, objections are minimized, if not overruled. Men's conversation pieces in social gatherings, such as a drinking party, in the barrio,

include sex and women, adventures, courtship problems, politics, news of the day, familial conflicts, and character assassinations.

A drinking party, in short, helps maintain group solidarity and fraternity and lends itself as an opportunity for one to release his tensions. Like what Nelson does, one may subdue his mental agonies during the singings or may undergo some catharsis by directing some jokes to another.

Case 7. Lita, Mario and Rico are social science researchers from the University of the Philippines in Quezon City. They are conducting interviews among the Taga-bukids (or Sulods; see Jocano 1968), a cultural minority, of Takayan, Tapaz.

To establish rapport with their informants, Rico distributes several packs of cigarettes and two big bottles of *Tanduay*. He has gathered from people at the *poblacion* that the Taga-bukids like cigarettes and hard drinks.

But when he gives a pack of cigarettes and a shot of *Tanduay* to Mulong, the latter's mother, Trining, with whom Rico and his two companions are staying, subtly stops him, saying that, together with *pagsaot* (dancing), *pag-inom* (drinking) and *panigarilyo* (smoking) are *mga entrada* (vices) among the Taga-bukids. But Mulong, who does not want to embarrass Rico, their visitor, accepts the offer.

Thus, in discouraging the execution of an unwanted act or in censoring the same, one may enumerate the inevitable cultural repercussions of said act. But the manner of censorship greatly depends on the social position of the one whose behavior is to be censored and/or that of the censor. Trining indirectly stops Rico from giving cigarettes and a shot of *Tanduay* to her son, because Rico is her visitor. If he were a relative, she might probably use direct and harsh language.

In Capiz, while folklore constitutes a seemingly inexhaustible source of ideas that may be transmitted in face-to-face communication, it takes an insignificant part in the broadcast programs of the three local radio stations and in the printed items of the two community newspapers.

As of August 17, 1970, the radio stations run one folkloristic program each. Featured on the programs are folksongs from the different provinces of the Philippines, but of these folksongs, only very few are from Capiz. Aside from folksongs, no other folklore forms are regularly communicated to the Capiceños through air waves. Poems are read over one of the stations but since their authors are known they are literature rather than folklore.²

In the past, however, "Supermarket" and "Call Me," two regular programs of DYRX which were highlighted by public participation, entertained riddles and traditional jokes from phone callers.

The coverage and treatment of folklore in the community journalism are equally lamentable. The official publication of Capiz, *Ang*

² Literature may be easily differentiated from folklore by remembering this general rule: All written and unwritten works whose authors are known are literature, while all written and unwritten works whose authors are unknown are folklore.

Budyong (The Tambuli), has, at the time of this writing, not published any folkloristic article, since its regular feature on the legends of Capiz towns was killed last March 1970. The other newspaper, *Capiz Kasanag* (Capiz Light), has not also run any folkloristic article, since its first issue on June 15, 1969.

In this case, we shall limit our discussion of mass communication in Capiz, to the three radio stations.

Judging by the time allotted to and format of the folkloristic programs of the stations, the use of traditional lores in mass communication in Capiz is not only inadequate but limited. The following are the radio programs and their broadcast schedules:

TABLE I

TABLE SHOWING THE FOLKLORISTIC PROGRAMS BROADCAST FROM CAPIZ

RADIO STATION	NAME OF PROGRAM	FORMAT OF PROGRAM	BROADCAST DAYS	BROADCAST TIME	TOTAL NO. OF MIN./WEEK
DYRO	<i>Tokno kag Punay</i> (Tokno and Punay)	Taped folksongs sung by a man (Tokno) and a woman (Punay)	Mon. to Sat.	8:15-8:30 p.m.	90
DYRX	<i>Tuhoy Sa Imo</i> (About, or For You)	Native poetry (of known authors) and music	Mon. to Sun.	2-3 p.m.	420
DYVR	<i>Panaghoy Sang Dughan</i> (Lament of the Breast)	Folksongs, Popular songs, and dedications	Mon. to Sat.	2-3 p.m.	360

Table I shows that 870 minutes are devoted to folkloristic programs and that among the many folklore forms only folksongs are broadcast by the three radio stations. During the actual broadcasts, no background information—be it historical or cultural—is given before any folksong is aired. The only informaton pieces mentioned, if any, are the title of the folksong, the name of the singer, and sometimes, the name of the composer or of the recording studio that produced the folksong into a record.

Broadcasts in all three radio stations start at 5 a.m. and end at 11 p.m.—each station covering 18 hours of broadcast service. Of the 378 broadcast hours of the stations in a week, only 14.5 broadcast hours (870 broadcast minutes) are allotted to folkloristic programs, which re-

present only 3.8% (approximated) of the total air time of the three stations. This percentage is statistically insignificant.

An interview with the program directors of the three stations revealed that their respective station managements agree with the idea that there should be more air time for folkloristic programs. But the costs of air time and the absence of sponsors are problems to reckon with.

Furthermore, the listeners' tastes for radio programs are changing. A folkloristic program may win a considerable audience size during the first few weeks of operation, but experience has shown that this size shrinks as the time goes on. The stations determine program listener-ship, its size, nature and people involved, through surveys and content analyses of reaction letters sent in by the listeners.

Let us take the following case study to understand the functions and development of a now defunct folkloristic program.

Case 8. "Magsugilanon Kita" (Let Us Tell Stories) was a program over DYVR. It was first heard on the air on March 23, 1970 and was last heard on July 24, 1970. Program format: live story-telling, with background music. Broadcast days: Monday to Saturday. Broadcast time: 6:30-6:55 p.m.

The program was sponsored by the station.

Target listeners were the children and those who were interested in folk tales. Folk tales taken from books and other publications were narrated in the Capisnon, the dialect of Capiz, to ensure utmost effectiveness of communication.

To invite many children to listen to this program, the program director scheduled another children's program just before it. This was "Tsikiting With Love," which entertained phone calls from children, who wished to dedicate certain songs to, or to greet, their loved ones. Phone calls were put on the air and phoning children were thrilled to know that their voices could be heard over the radio.

Despite this "attraction," the program "Magsugilanon Kita" was killed after four months of existence.

During the first two months, audience response was encouraging. There was a weekly average of 10 reaction letters. For example, a number of parents wrote that since the day the program was first heard on the air, their children had been coming home early to listen in; they used to worry about their safety as the latter always stayed out up to the latest hour of the evening. They also thanked the lady announcer for her pieces of advice, which she derived from the moral lessons of the stories she read, and gave before closing her program.

The listeners were, also, encouraged to send in stories that might be read on the air, and, during the first four weeks, there was a daily average of one folk tale.

After the third month, however, the trends were getting worse and the station was receiving very few reaction letters and contributed folk tales.

Thus, the announcer had to cull folk tales from various publications. At this time, the result of an informal survey conducted by the station showed that the program was losing its popularity even among the children, its target audience.

Finally, on July 24, 1970, the program ceased to be heard on the air. According to the program director of DYVR, the reason was two-fold: dwindling audience and lack of program materials.

I interviewed 200 regular listeners (whose ages ranged from 6 to 58 years) of "Magsugilanon Kita" to determine what they would have suggested, if the DYVR research team had asked them for remedial measures to prevent the dissolution of the program. The results of my interview are as follows:

- 70% suggested the "soap opera" style (i.e., complete with dialogues and background sounds) of presentation.
- 10% suggested the giving of some prize to the best folk tale sent in, to be judged by the staff of DYVR.
- 8% suggested that the programming techniques be improved (such as the proper time for plugging in the background music, fewer advertisements, varied intonations and volumes of the announcer's voice, etc.)
- 6% suggested that the broadcast time be changed to 8 to 8:25 p.m., when most children had already taken their supper.
- 4% suggested that the advertisements be aired only before and after the program.
- 2% no comment.

The children who suggested the "soap opera" style said that such style is "makalilingaw" (entertaining) and not "makatalaka" (boring). The older people (25 years and above) said that with such style they could identify better their dreams, sorrows, happiness and hopes with those of the principal characters of the stories read on the air.

Incidentally, the most popular radio programs in Capiz, as the three local radio stations claim, are the "soap operas," both in Tagalog and in Ilonggo. Of the 140 respondents who suggested the "soap opera" style, 103 were regular listeners of such programs.

In Capiz, the use of folklore in mass communication, is, in short, limited and, in effect, fails to generate among the Capiceños a love for the local cultural heritage. It is characterized by a great preference to folksongs for entertainment, at the expense of other folklore forms; an absence of commitment on the part of the mass media to deepen and make relevant to life the meanings of the traditional lores, by pointing out, for example, how these lores may help anyone in solving his daily problems; lack of public support; and significant modifications made in the original style and content of a given folklore form, to adapt this form to the tastes and intelligence of a mass audience.

Folklore and communication are, therefore, related to one another as the former may constitute the message of the latter. Furthermore, for folklore to exist as such it should undergo the process of communication; meaning, it should among other requirements, be able to pass the test of traditional transmission. The building up of folklore is possible only when there are words or systems of symbols which a given generation can use in communicating to succeeding generations, bodies of popular knowledge that have been gained through the years.

In this sense, folklore is a product of communication, and the fact that it is transmitted from one generation to another is an indication of its usefulness to man, as well as of its durability in time, despite the constant flux of changes that characterize his economic, social, political, and cultural environments.

II

One may be able to understand folklore completely and deeply, if it is communicated to him on what I call the "folk level" of communication.

Before we determine this level, let us first know what "folk" and "folk culture" mean. The desire to communicate on the folk level may result from the knowledge of the personality of the folk and the characteristics of a folk culture.

Webster's New International Dictionary defines folk as follows: "Collectively, the masses of people of lower culture in any homogeneous social group as contrasted with the individual or with any selected class; in a people bound together by ties of race, language, religion, etc., that great proportion of its number which determines the group character and which tends to preserve its characteristic form of civilization, its customs, arts and crafts, legends, traditions, superstitions, etc. unchanged from generation to generation."

In other words, the folk are those people in a culture who are still guided by its traditional laws, customs, beliefs, philosophies, and activities, and who observe, honor and tend to preserve the same even at the onset of constructive influences from other cultures. They are easily given to resisting any change that leads to the replacement with new ones, of items deeply ingrained in their culture.

The way of life of these people whose thoughts and behaviors are largely, if not wholly, predetermined by traditions and centuries-old customs (e.g., popular habits, speeches, beliefs, and such material traits as ritual objects, tools, body adornments, and containers) is called a folk culture. A folk culture is conservative and the people having it are small in number and more or less homogeneous in character. Furthermore, the people behave in accordance with their traditions and customs, which may explain the slow occurrence of change, both material (e.g., change in building types) and non-material (e.g., change in popular beliefs), in folk culture.

But, as Ralph Linton (1964:283) suggests, a folk culture does not systematically reject all changes. "Folk cultures," he says "are borne by small, closely-integrated social units or by aggregates of such units which have already worked out satisfactory mutual adjustments. In such cultures, new items are not appearing with great frequency and the *society has plenty of time to test them and to assimilate them to its preëxisting patterns*". (Italics supplied).

Given the definitions of folk and folk culture above, what is the folk level of communication?

The folk level of communication refers to the degree of difficulty of a given message or messages beyond which said message or messages are unintelligible and meaningless to the average member of a folk culture. It may also mean the over-all success in conveying to the average member of a folk culture, any symbols, such as signs, signals, words and other sounds, etc., whose meanings and cultural implications are determined by customs and traditions rather than by any scholastic or academic learning and understanding. Beyond this level, no message is easily understood by the folk, for such message must be a product of an intellectual culture; or, because the channel through which the message is transmitted is incomprehensible to the folk. The ability of the source of the message to express his ideas clearly may also contribute to the failure of communication.

Communication on the folk level may be carried out in both face-to-face and mass communication situations. For it is the content and the receiver, more than the source and the channel, of the message that decisively determine whether communication is done on this level.

Because it is the message and its receiver that matter most, communication on the folk level may not necessarily mean communication on the intelligence level of the masses. The masses may possess advanced culture and, as such, make little use of folklore in their everyday life and activities. In this case, the characteristics of communication on their level are not the same as those on the folk level.

If the given masses are composed of those people we have earlier identified as folk, then, the appropriate communication level for them may be called either the folk or mass, level. Folk level may or may not mean mass level, as the folk may or may not be the masses.

All this results from the fact that while the intellectual sophistication of the folk remains more or less the same, that of the masses varies with their creative and scientific achievements.

Generally, however, communication on the folk or the mass level may exist among any of what Ralph Ross and Ernest Van Den Haag (1958:169) call "folk," "high," and "popular" cultures. The basic reason is that some characteristics of each culture type are found in the other.

Explaining the three culture types, Ross and Van Den Haag claim that:

This threefold classification is meant to be exhaustive. However much cultures differ, they fall into one or more of these types. For instance, all American Indian cultures were folk cultures; and Europe had a combination of folk and high cultures in antiquity and from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. Note that folk cultures fall in the first half of the usual dichotomies (Weber's "traditionalistic-rationalistic;" Tönnies' "community-society;" Redfield's

“folk-secular;” Becker’s “sacred-secular”). The second half of the dichotomies is *one* characteristic of all popular cultures. High cultures, finally, straddle the dichotomies by growing from the first into the second half. But the process affects only a small stratum of society — unless it is spread through industrialization. When this occurs, popular culture replaces both high and folk culture. Finally, note that some elements of each culture type are usually contained in the other. Thus, whenever there was an urban proletariat, or some form of mass production, there also were elements of popular culture. But they did not prevail until the machine age came.

How big is the share folklore takes of the daily conversations of the Capisnon folk?

For illiterate communities, like those found on the mountains and mountain ranges of Tanganghen, Siya, Maramat, Bato-Bato and Minan in the municipality of Tapaz, and even most of the near illiterate mountain people of Takayan in the same municipality, folklore constitutes a great part of the topics discussed everyday. For example, in Takayan, where, at the time of this writing, there are already seven transistor radios owned by seven families and where the *Hiligaynon* and the *Bisaya*, two vernacular magazines, are the popular reading materials of the literate, I found that folklore is the core of daily conversations among young and old male Taga-bukids. Table II gives my estimates of the percentages of folklore in the conversation ideas of 28 groups, each of which had an average of five members. Seven groups for every age class indicated in Table II were observed as regards their conversation topics spontaneously covered in an hour.

It must be pointed out that the data entered in Table II are the impressions I gathered in the course of my research in Takayan during the early part of 1970. But the percentages should be taken with some reservation, since I determined them by approximation. During my research, I did not solve for any percentages, because my main purpose, besides collecting folklore, was to take note of the male Taga-bukids’ different conversation topics and their frequencies in an hour. I became interested in the percentages of folklore in the Taga-bukids’ conversation ideas, only when I started to write this paper.

Unfortunately, because of time limitations and the fact that one reaches Takayan after a continuous hike of 11 hours on several mountains and mountain ranges, I could not go back to the Taga-bukids and get the information I needed.

Does folklore also compose the greatest bulk of conversation ideas among the literate Capiceños?

To determine the percentages of the different conversation ideas in an hour among the literate male Capiceños, I secretly installed a working tape recorder beside a total of 48 groups in Roxas City, while they were informally conversing with one another during drinking

sprees, birthday and wedding parties, and incidental meetings at the barber shops and the *sari-sari* stores. These groups represent the four age classes shown in Table III, with the proportion of 12 groups for each class. I should have used this method of secretly planting a tape recorder, among the conversing Taga-bukids, but when I was in Takayan to gather folklore data, I did not foresee the present task of writing a paper on folklore and communication with the same purposes and scope as the ones here indicated. Hence, the non-application of the method.

All in all, 250 young and old males from Roxas City were included in the study, which was conducted in August 1970. All literate, they had full access to information disseminated by the press, radio, and motion pictures. Those whose ages ranged from 8 to 12 years were elementary pupils; the average educational attainment of the rest was complete high school work.

No group studied happened to be composed of persons with the same profession or educational attainment. The groups may be considered "heterogeneous," since each was characterized by differences in age, academic background, interests, and persuasions.

The percentages of the different conversation ideas were, initially, determined by taking note of the topics discussed, their frequencies, and the numbers of minutes and seconds spent on each topic. Since there were 48 groups and observation of each lasted for an hour, the total number of hours spent on taping their conversations equals 48. On the average, if in an hour, 25 of, say, 50 minutes (assuming that 10 minutes are spent on pauses and any other occasional silence, a factor not considered in the computations) are consumed in discussing or referring to folklore, 50% is written under the column "Folklore" in Table III. The frequencies of the topics are not shown because, in this paper, we are more interested in the amount, rather than the frequency, of the given conversation ideas or topics.

Other pertinent results of this particular study of male Capiceños in Roxas City, are given, too, in Table III.

What do Tables II and III say about the use of folklore?

Table II shows that in a geographically isolated, near illiterate community, like the Taga-bukid society, folklore assumes the largest portion of messages in face-to-face communication. In such social unit, folklore serves as the main source of ideas and as some sort of reference point of all communications. Good ideas are those that are sanctioned by or related to traditions and customs, and bad ideas are those that undermine or tend to undermine these. Folklore is strong among illiterate and near illiterate peoples, because it is believed to be the best modes of thought and behavior of their forefathers. They regard their forefathers' wisdom as immense and profound, and a product of long years

TABLE II

TABLE SHOWING THE APPROXIMATED PERCENTAGES OF CONVERSATION TOPICS AMONG THE MALE TAGA-BUKIDS

PERCENTAGES OF CONVERSATION TOPICS COVERED IN AN HOUR

Ages (In years)	Folklore	Gossip and/or Criticisms	Information fed by the radio and the <i>Hiligaynon</i> and the <i>Bisaya</i>	Government (municipal and/or national)	Economics (e.g., rising prices, kaingin, money, etc.)	Others
8-12	Between 70-75% (Games, children's songs, riddles, tradi- tional jokes, beliefs, dreams, etc.)	Between 0-5% (on friends' embarrassing mistakes and physical features)	Between 0-1% (jingles and soap operas)	0%	Between 5-10% (kaingin, foods)	Around 9% (fears, likes, dislikes, dreams, ambitions)
14-18	Between 45-50% (courtship and mar- riage, adventures, traditional jokes, be- liefs, dreams, etc.)	Between 0-10% (on friends' embar- rassing mistakes and physical fea- tures, others' fail- ures in life, etc.)	Between 0-1% (soap operas and current events)	Between 1-2% (indifference of gov't toward their plight)	Between 10-25% (kaingin, money, rising prices, etc.)	Around 12% (personal and fam- ily problems, awk- ward mannerisms, undesired physical features, etc.)
25-35	Between 30-40% (traditional prac- tices, marriages, jokes, ancestors, etc.)	Between 0-4% (censoring one's behaviors and ideas)	Between 0-1% (soap operas and current events)	Between 1-10% (indifference of gov't toward their plight, land- grabbing, etc.)	Between 40-45% (kaingin, money, rising prices, marketing, etc.)	Between 1-10% (personal problems, ambitions for children, etc.)
45-60	Between 35-40% (traditional customs, such as marriage; agriculture, folk medicine ancestors, jokes, dreams, etc.)	Between 0-4% (censoring one's behaviors or ideas)	Between 0-1% (soap operas and current events)	Between 1-15% (indifference of gov't toward their plight, land grab- bing case, etc.)	Between 35-40% (kaingin, money, rising prices, marketing, etc.)	Between 1-10% (family history, per- sonal experiences, community problems, etc.)

TABLE III

TABLE SHOWING THE PERCENTAGES OF CONVERSATION TOPICS AMONG THE MALE CAPICEÑOS IN ROXAS CITY

PERCENTAGES OF CONVERSATION TOPICS COVERED IN AN HOUR						
Ages (in years)	Folklore	Gossip and/or Criticisms	Information fed by the radio and the <i>Hiligaynon</i> and the <i>Bisaya</i>	Government (municipal and/or national)	Economics (prices, money, etc.)	Others
8-12	38% (games, beliefs, tra- ditional jokes, chil- dren's songs and rhymes, and dreams)	10% (on others' embarras- sing behaviors and physical features)	15% (movies, current news, advertise- ments, jingles popular songs)	3% (demonstrations, hero-worshipping of admired politicians)	30% (money, foods, personal articles, such as shoes, clothes, and socks)	4% (dreams, likes, dis- likes, ambitions)
14-18	5% (traditional jokes, dreams, folksongs, and riddles)	15% (on others' failures and/or experiences in sex, and their em- barrassing physical features)	10% (student demon- strations and other current events, movies)	15% (graft and corrup- tion in the govern- ment, hero worship- ping of admired politicians, beauty of Mrs. Marcos)	15% (money, rising prices, newly bought personal effects)	40% (sex, women, court- ship, adventures, so- cial parties, latest fashion in clothes and haircut, person- al experiences)
25-35	8% (traditional expres- sions, jokes, folk- songs, puzzles)	12% (on others' illegal means of livelihood and mistresses)	15% (current news, movies)	20% (corruption of both local and national governments, politi- cians' broken and fulfilled promises)	30% (money, rising prices, marketing, financial problems)	15% (education of chil- dren, praises for wives and children; sex, ambitions, per- sonal experiences)
45-60	15% (traditional prac- tices and expressions, proverbs, jokes, sto- ries, folksongs)	9% (on others' mistres- ses and their chil- dren's failure or suc- cesses in life, and illegal means of live- lihood)	20% (current news, movies, radio commentaries)	21% (corruption of both local and national governments, politic- al influences, and political acquaint- ances and friends)	25% (money, rising prices, financial problems)	10% (education of chil- dren, praises for children, wives, and grandchildren; sex, good or bad luck in life, adventures in life, physical ailments)

of varied experiences. So, they presume that the latter could not have committed errors in choosing, creating, and preserving said modes.

Folklore is even stronger among illiterate and near illiterate peoples if it is attributed to the workings of the gods or culture heroes. Its strength is based on the belief that the acts and thoughts of gods or culture heroes are sacred and that their first acts and thoughts were decisive as these were the original molders of life and culture.

In contrast, Table III indicates that in a literate society, where the mass media exert powerful influences, folklore enjoys a small part in the communication activities of the people. For in this society there are more sources of ideas, including the various mass media, books, and outdoor advertisements. Besides, education discredits the workings of the superstitious mind. There is a significant correlation between the decreasing use of folklore in daily life and the emergence of scientific, questioning minds. Folklore can thrive better in a mind that is "tradition-ingrained" than in a mind that is trained by academic institutions.

The mind that is "tradition-ingrained"—that is, the mind tutored by no cultures except that in which it is born and grows—is naive and superstitious, primarily because it lacks the adequate scientific exercises or training of the intellectual mind. It is naive, because it functions according to traditional lines of thinking and superstitious, because it believes that life and the physical world are influenced, if not totally under the power, of supernatural beings.

Entered in both Tables II and III are the specific folklore forms transmitted from one another in big quantity, by near illiterate Capiceños in Tapaz and by the literate ones in Roxas City. These forms are proverbs and aphorisms, folksongs, riddles, traditional jokes and practices, beliefs, folk medicine, customs, oral narratives, dreams, and children's songs and rhymes.

What are the communication patterns on what we have earlier called the "folk level"?

In this paper, the term "communication pattern" refers to a specific way of transmitting information that is observed by a culture. A knowledge of communication patterns is useful to the student of folklore and communication, for his awareness of the existence of such patterns will enable him to know how one will react to given folkloristic communications under certain circumstances.

Communication patterns on the folk level—at least in Capiz—are characterized by an excessive use of folklore by the older people in interacting with the younger ones and an arbitrary reference to customs and traditions in checking one's behavior, in giving cultural sanction to his choices and decisions, and in perpetuating power, goodwill, influence, and prestige.

In Capiz, folkloristic communication, generally, flows from the old to the young, and from the people to the government. In a Capisnon barrio, the people, rather than the government, are the makers of public opinions, which are oftentimes, but not always, based on the local folklore.

Thus, the older person, schooled or not, is presumed to have learned much from experience. He gained his learning through interactions with and observation of people inside, as well as outside, his neighborhood. His movings from one community to another have made him aware of cultural differences, and developed in him deeper insight into human nature and affairs. He is, in his own right, an authority of the culture in which he has long lived.

It is usually held that the younger person, since he was born later, knows less about life. Between a schooled younger Capiceño and an unschooled older one, the latter is regarded as more knowledgeable about life and its challenges. The Capiceños traditionally believe that all ideas and situations described in books do not tell or reflect all about life, and so even a university-educated youth should learn from the old people. The best and lasting learning is drawn from daily experiences. No books describe all truths discovered in actual life.

Capisnon society, moreover, puts heavy stress on filial piety. Children are duty bound to demonstrate their love and affection for their parents—in whatever way under any circumstances. The Capisnon family is a closely-knit social unit. Its members must share its joys and sorrows, and are held responsible for its identity and reputation.

These two cultural characteristics—belief in the wisdom of the old and filial piety—conclusively affect folkloristic communication patterns in Capiz.

For example, proverbs and sayings are supposed to be quoted by the old in teaching or in assailing the untoward behaviors of the young, and not vice versa. These are wise thoughts of long ago and the latter should learn them and their meanings from the former, who are more knowledgeable authorities of folklore.

The following are some of the most popular proverbs and sayings (and their free translations) from Ivisan and Roxas City, two municipalities of Capiz:

1. Ang nagabantay sang ikog sang iban
Wala kabalo siya may ikog man. (Ivisan)³
(He who watches the tails of others, does not know he also has one.)
2. Ang kilat wala ginahadlukan,
Apang nagapili sang iya lukpan. (Ivisan)
*(The lightning fears no one,
But chooses whom it will strike.)*

³ Proverbs 1 to 3 were reported by Rodolfo Babas, 46, a public school teacher of Ivisan. He learned them from the old people of the place.

3. Ang tudlo sang tawo wala nagapalareho. (Ivisan)
(Man's fingers are not equal.)
4. Ang huya sang tawo dili mabayaran,
Perlas, diamante, kag mga bulawan. (Roxas City) ⁴
*(Man's shame cannot be paid for,
Pearls, diamonds, and gold.)*
5. Masagang ang suba,
Indi ang baba. (Roxas City)
*(You can stop the river,
But never the mouth.)*
6. Kon diin ang kalamay,
Yadto ang subay. (Roxas City)
*(Where the sugar is,
There the ants are.)*

These proverbs and sayings are, usually, cited as moral lessons. Thus, above, Teresa in Case 1 and Soling in Case 5 quote Capisnon proverbs while giving moral advice. The power of proverbs, and of sayings, lies in the fact that the persons to whom these are addressed, know and subscribe to their meanings. Mameng and Soling are saved from giving long moral discourses, which are actually unnecessary upon referring to the proverbs.

Because of respect for their ages and trust in their acquired wisdom, the young oftentimes do not question the dispositions and judgments of the old. If both use folklore in communicating to each other, the former can freely use such folklore forms as folksongs, pleasant traditional jokes, folk tales and riddles, but moralizing by quoting proverbs and sayings is the function of the latter.

As we have mentioned, in a Capisnon barrio, opinions flow from the folk to their government. In many communities in Capiz, the free opinions of barrio councils are the results of consultations with the old men, who are knowledgeable about traditional affairs, and the decisions of these councils may be based on "public opinion."

Oftentimes, if a controversial issue is at hand, before it is decided upon by a given council it first develops into a favorite conversation piece of the folk. During barrio meetings, shaky arguments of the one side of the issue are even entertained by the council to encourage free and fearless expression of ideas. This is one of the ways the council uses to determine "public opinion."

Public discussions, such as those carried on during barrio meetings, are replete with traditional views, which might sound repetitious to the outsider or even to the critical insider. Proverbs and sayings come handy in briefly expressing arguments whose explanations ordinarily entail so much time and effort.

⁴ Sayings 4 to 6 were reported by Librada Medina, 67, of Barrio Cagay, Roxas City, who learned them from her mother.

Communication of folklore in face-to-face communication is not limited to situations involving both the old and the young or only the old. For children may also transmit folklore from one another. In Capiz, riddling is most popular among children, who may do it any time of the day, be it during their rest periods, after supper, at bedtime, or at playtime. Here are some of the Capisnon riddles, which may be communicated, also, to a mass audience:

1. Dunot na ang kulon,
Hilaw pa ang kan-on.
— Luto nga mayabas⁵
*(The pot has already rotten,
Yet, the rice is still uncooked.)*
— Ripe guavas
2. Ano nga sari sang guyom
Ang indi makasaka sa lubi
— Patay nga guyom
*(What kind of ants are those
That cannot climb a coconut tree?)*
— Dead ants
3. Nagalakat nga wala nagabantay,
Nagadalagan nga wala sing tiil.
— Barote
*(It is walking without anybody watching it,
It is running without feet.)*
— Banca
4. May moskitero na gid ako,
Pero ginakutot pa gid ako.
— Baksat⁶
*(I already have a mosquito net,
Yet, it still bites me.)*
— Bedbug
5. Indi man sapat, indi man tawo,
Pero sari-sari ang ginabiste?
Halayan
*(It's not an animal, neither it is a man,
But it wears different clothes.)*
— Clothesline

Among grown-ups, riddling is an opportunity for exhibiting one's knowledge of many puzzles. On this occasion, one may gain the admiration of his companions, if the latter fail to solve the puzzles.

Take, for example, the following puzzles, which demonstrate the depth of the native thought:

6. Naglakat ang duha ka amay kag duha ka anak;
Nakasugata sila sang nagabaligya sang itlog;

⁵ Riddles 1 to 3 were reported by Merlinda Basa, 21, of Roxas City, who learned them from her aunt, Ramona Medina, 68, of the same place.

⁶ Riddles 4 and 5 were reported by Pilar Clavel, 51, of Roxas City, who learned them from her mother, Purin Solidum, now deceased.

Nagbakal sila sang tatlo, tapod man sila tig-isa.
 Ngaa nagtapod sila kay tatlo man lang ang ila ginbakal?
 Sabat: *Kay man ang naglakat tatlo lang.*

*Sila amo ang lolo, tatay, kag apo.
 Ang lolo kag tatay pulos "amay" kag
 ang tatay kag apo pulos man mga "anak.")⁷*

Two fathers and two sons took a walk;
 They met a seller of eggs;
 They bought three eggs, and got one each.
 Why did they all have a share of one egg each
 when they bought only three eggs?

Answer: *Because there were only three
 persons who took a walk. They were
 the grandfather, the father, and the
 grandson. The grandfather and the
 father were both "fathers" and the
 father and the grandson were both "sons."*

7. Nagpanaw et tatlo ka tawo. Pag-abot nanda sa puno kahoy, naturugan sanda. Dayon, ang una nagbugtaw manug-obra sang santos; nagpensar nga, "Mayad pa mag-obra ako santos."

Dayon, sang pagkamhan ka santos, ginbutang na sa urunlan nanda. Dason nga nagbugtaw, sastre. Dayon, nagpensar naman siya nga, "Mayad pa nga obrahan ko et bayo iyang santos ha."

Sang may bayo na ang santos, ginbutang na duma sa uluhan nanda. Dayon, dason nga nagbugtaw paratero. Nagkuon et paratero nga, "Babae man daad ya ha iyang santos ha, pero waay et mga aritos kag singsing. Nagsiling siya nga, "Mayad pa nga obrahan ko et mga alahas nga gamit na sa lawas niya." Dayon, sa pagtapos niya obra, naturugan naman sia.

Sang urihi, nagbugtaw sanda nga tatlo. Dayon, ang santos sa urunlan nanda matahom na nga babae kag naghambal na sia. Karon, gusto sang nag-obra sang santos nga tanamay mangasawa, amo man ang paratero. Gusto sang sastre sia man.

Karon, sin-o nanda nga tatlo nga nag-anok sang babae?⁸
 (Free translation:)

Three men were walking. When they reached a tree, they went to sleep. Then, the maker of sacred images woke up; he said, "It's better to make a sacred image."

Then, when the image was made, he placed it on the ground near their heads and went to sleep. The

⁷ Reported by Josefa Bartolo, 58, of Barrio Cagay, Roxas City, who learned it from the old people of the barrio when she was a small girl.

⁸ Narrated by Romulo Diaz, 33, a barrio councilor of Takayan, Tapaz, who learned it from Zeny Galagati. The text is unedited, i.e., as was delivered by Diaz. It is here given unedited for the use and reference of those who might be interested in the linguistic structure and characteristics of the dialect of the people who call themselves the *Taga-bukids* and whom Jocano (1968) identifies as the Sulods. The spelling is adapted to the current Hiligaynon alphabet. The Sulods, or Taga-bukids, are one of the Philippine Cultural Minorities. (See Clavel 1969 b: 5)

next one to wake up was the tailor. Then, he thought, "It's better that I make a dress for that image."

When the image had a dress already, he placed it on the ground near their heads. Then, the jeweler woke up. He said, "The image looks like a woman, but it does not have earrings and a ring. He said, "It's better that I make jewelry which she can put on." Then, after working, he went to sleep again.

Finally, they all woke up. Then, the image near their heads turned into a beautiful woman, who could talk. Now, the maker of sacred images wanted to marry her, so did the jeweler. So did the tailor.

Now, who married the woman?)

The answer to this puzzle reflects some detail of the Taga-bukid culture: The jeweler married the woman, because he offered her jewelry. The woman regarded the maker of sacred images as her father (because he "created" her) and the tailor, her mother (because he took care of her by making her a dress, a recognized duty of the woman in the Taga-bukid society). In the Taga-bukid culture, a "paskwa" (gift) is a young man's way of expressing love for a girl. Thus, the woman in the puzzle believed that the loves of the maker of sacred images and the tailor were equivalent to parental care and affection. It was the jeweler that was really wooing her.

Like the first puzzle, this second puzzle is a challenging intellectual exercise. The only clue to its answer is the use of the symbols of the creations of the image, the dress, and the jewelry. These symbols should be interpreted in the light of what the Taga-bukids consider the appropriate expression of a man's love for a woman. Otherwise, one will be at a loss for an answer.

This and other puzzles from the Taga-bukids seem to show that the complex, or what we in our culture might call "intellectual" or "sophisticated," ideas of a near illiterate society may be expressed in folklore through symbols whose meanings are culturally defined by its members. Because of their exclusive definitions and implications, these symbols are oftentimes confusing, if not unintelligible, to outsiders.

Traditional expressions may also be included in messages that are transmitted in communication situations. In Capiz, there is, above anything else, one word that is the most widely used expression. This is *Hay* [Hay²], which is used in both face-to-face and mass communications.

It might even be said that the Capiceños can easily be singled out in a group composed of Tagalogs, Ilokanos, Ilonggos, Cebuanos, Zamboangeños, Antiqueños, and other provincial people, because of their excessive use of *Hay*.

Hay may mean the English *so* or constitute the Capisnon equivalent to the Tagalog "*e*" in the sentence,

Hay, nano karon? (So, what now?)

The Tagalog translation of this interrogative statement is,

E, ano ngayon? (So, what now?)

If used alone as a question, Hay may mean the same sense as that contained in the interrogative statement, "What happened?" Thus, when one had asked a boy to run an errand for him and he would like to know upon the latter's return whether the errand had been accomplished, he might simply ask, "Hay?," and the errand boy would understand that he wanted to know whether something unfavorable had happened with the errand, or whether everything had been carried out as desired.

When one is asked such question as "Why did you not come to the party last night?" or any question that calls for some rationalization, he may say, while still groping for an answer, the simple expression, "Hay," and he communicates acceptable ideas like "Because there was a good reason behind it" and "I had to — for some good reasons." In this case, Hay means "because" plus the imaginary reasons the questioner may think as the person asked has given just an open-ended answer. Sometimes, only "Hay" is answered to such question, because the questioner is presumed to know the answer to his question.

In greetings, Hay means "How are you?" or "Where have you been?" Of course, like in the other cases pointed out above, the intonation used while pronouncing "Hay," as well as the occasion on which the expression is delivered, determines its specific meaning or meanings.

The expression, given the proper intonation, may also mean somewhat like the statement, "You see — I told you so!" Thus, one may subtly blame another by saying, "Hay," if the latter had insisted on and failed in doing a certain task, which the former had declared impossible for the latter to do.

As an interjection, Hay means "Look Out!" plus the ideas derived from what the occasion on which it is used, suggests. For example, a playing child is warned by his mother not to come closer to the figurines on the table, lest he removes and breaks them. If he accidentally pushes the table and the figurines start to shake because of the impact, the mother may impulsively shout, "Hay!" She actually wants to say that the child should look out, for the figurines may start to fall down and break into pieces.

In brief, the interjection, "Hay!," is used when a warning has been ignored or forgotten, and its complete meaning is suggested by the cir-

cumstances around which it is used. In our example, it means something like, "Look out! You have moved the table!" The child, who receives the message, "Hay!," should associate it with the previous warning of staying away from the table, to get his mother's intended idea.

Finally, Hay may be an expression of impatience. Hence, such statement as "Hay, wala ka pa gihapon katapos?" (*Hay*, are you still not through with your work?)

Our short and passing discussion on this Capisnon traditional expression implies that a culture may develop in its language one-word expressions — with intonations varying with their uses — whose meanings are understood particularly by its members and, probably, by those of other cultures that had been informed about the meanings. We might even theorize that one strong indication of the close relationship between folklore and communication is the intelligibility and understandability in communication situations of such traditional expressions and their corresponding intonations. It also appears that the intelligibility and understandability of these expressions and intonations result from their having been communicated on the folk level.

III

Let us summarize our discussions by enumerating the significant points we have established. These points, as I have earlier said, are mainly based on my research findings on the Capisnon folklore. Thus, the usefulness and merits of this paper should be judged according to the applicability and validity of the following generalizations abstracted from the discussions above:

1. In a folk society, folklore and communication cannot be dissociated from one another. Folklore cannot exist without communication, and communication content (message) consists mostly of folklore.

2. The close relationship between folklore and communication is evidenced, among other cultural traits, by the intelligibility of generations-old, one-word expressions and their intonations that vary according to the occasions on which said expressions are used, as only the cultural phenomenon of attaching traditional meanings to both expressions and intonations can account for their communicability.

3. Folklore is most easily understood in a communication situation, if transmitted on the folk level of communication.

4. The folkloricity of expressions, sayings, oral narratives, and riddles may be determined by such features of the message as intonations, words used, and logic. This technique may be included in the so-called linguistic test of folkloricity. (See Manuel n.d.: 13)

5. Complex ideas of folk communities may be expressed in a symbolical language, whose range of meanings is largely defined by the conventional use of the language in time and space, i.e., under certain circumstances, and may be checked by referring to customs and traditions.

6. Generally, the use of folklore in face-to-face communication may be characterized by:

(a) an excessive reference to proverbs and aphorisms in stressing moral points and in supporting popular arguments;

(b) a vivid description of traditions and customs and an assessment of their contribution to the stability of cultural life, as when a group or culture justifies its decision to reject a directed change;

(c) a constant submission to superstitions to allay fears of the unknown and the uncertain;

(d) a purposive assumption of roles to win prestige, as well as to spread goodwill, in the community;

(e) a delivery or execution of certain folklore forms to relieve a psychological stress or to bring about social cohesion and camaraderie;

(f) a dramatic narration of stories to entertain, joke, or scare people; and/or

(g) an enumeration of socio-cultural values to explain the uniqueness of a culture or a society, or to censor or sanction the behaviors of individuals in social situations.

7. Generally, the use of folklore in mass communication may be characterized by:

(a) a great preference to folksongs for entertainment;

(b) contextual modifications of folklore forms, that is, the folklore as transmitted by an informant is altered to adapt its content and style of presentation to the tastes and intelligence of a mass audience; and

(c) the conditional existence of folkloristic radio programs. Meaning, such programs may be killed in the absence of support of the public, advertisers, the state and/or even the radio stations themselves that air them.

Although this paper merely attempts to formulate a theory of folklore and communication, I wish to submit that folklore and communication contribute to the preservation of the cultural heritage of a society and constitute a means by which that society can make itself known in the world community of societies. A society's cultural identity is largely determined by its folklore, and unless said folklore is persistently communicated that identity will soon be lost.

In related terms, for a society to continue to exist according to the visions of its culture heroes and the wisdom of the ages, it should see to it that its folklore is transmitted successfully from one generation to another. Today, of all the means to attain this end, face-to-face and mass communications are, undoubtedly, the most effective.

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