
| RESEARCH ARTICLE

Revisiting Philippine Folklore: Ba-diw as Discourse of Ethnicity in the Nonfolklorist Humanistic Lens

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| ABSTRACT

This ethnographic literary critique of an old Ba-diw of the Ibaloy ethnolinguistic group in Southern Benguet, Philippines, was completed by adopting a humanistic lens of a nonfolklorist with the aid of discourse analysis. Serving as a revisit to Philippine folklore, this ambitious yet novelty ethno-critique focused on the language of Ba-diw as a discourse of ethnicity and taking inspiration from the radical views of the National Artist in Literature, Bienvenido Lumbera, the research proceeded by employing the contextualist theory, setting the Ba-diw in its rightful indigenous literary and cultural background and historicity. The critique probed into the distinct ethnolinguistic heritage of the Ibaloy, after which discourse analysis was conducted to examine the grammar of the Ba-diw as both an ethnic and aesthetic expression. This grammar highlighted in the ethnographic critique is the dynamic system of the basic elements of a language consisting of lexis, syntax, semantics, phonology, and cultural load. Recognizing the Ba-diw as an indigenous oral tradition, the researcher examined its language use as an expression of the identity, ideals, aspirations, worldviews, and lifestyle of the Ibaloy ethnolinguistic group being the dominant theme henceforth, a legitimate and unique contribution to the richness of Philippine folklore.

| KEYWORDS

Discourse of ethnicity, Ethnolinguistic literary critique, Ibaloy Ba-diw, Discourse analysis, Humanistic nonfolklorist lens

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1. Introduction

While so many unprecedented events have been happening in the world since the onset of the 21st Century, societies have not forgotten the proverbial wisdom of going with the flow of life. Even the most conservative of nations have begun to embrace the challenge of the times, and obviously, the most pressing is global participation. Lo and behold, cultural literacy has been catapulted into the global scenario as a most crucial element of the globalization matrix and process to serve as a congenial impetus to greater inclusivity, cooperation, and solidarity along the lines of world peace, security, and economic prosperity among all member nations. Scholars in the fields of Literature, Language, and Cultural Studies have taken a renewed interest in indigenous peoples and their cultures, particularly in their folklore, musicology, and native languages.

This author shares in the current excitement and momentum of the ethnographic investigation and research to revisit Philippine folklore with the Ibaloy¹ song as a focus of his ethnolinguistic or discourse critique. To relate the experience to the current norm and theme of scholarship, both local and international, the critique uses the discourse of ethnicity to look into the theme, language, and stylistics of the Ibaloy song while at the same time maintaining the humanistic approach to the analysis. Taking the expert's advice, this nonfolklorist's ambitious attempt to critique how the Ibaloy's worldview embodied in the song contributes to national identity as well as global communal life. He has opted to adopt the contextual theory of the professional folklorist as a guide. As a nonfolklorist yet ethnographic researcher and critic, the goal of the task in the very bed of thought and conceptualization is to give a fresh look at the Ibaloy song being an oral tradition and folk literature of the ethnic people of Southern Benguet, Philippines. Peripheral priority in the task included a review of the role of translation in the authenticity and survival of folklore through the decades. Just like the indigenous literature of the world, the critique sought to describe how much of the Ibaloy song is preserved

and how much of it is lost over time. Henceforth, the heart of this revisit of the Ibaloy song is a critical discourse of its theme, language, and translation with its categorization as part of the Ibaloy folklore, an ancestral oral tradition of the indigenous people of Benguet in the Cordilleras.

As an integral part of the literature reviewed in this ethno-discourse critique are the bodies of work on Philippine folklore since the early part of the 20th century. Some Western scholars, missionaries, and travelers collected and published a good number of indigenous customs, traditions, tales, songs, as well as vernacular languages from the different parts of the archipelago, especially during the colonial years. However, these stockpiles of research have given rise to controversial issues and debates such as cultural bias and prejudice by Western scholars, highlighting a stigma of a preconceived and backward culture of the indigenous communities. As Mellie Leandicho Lopez (2006) says about the early writings:

“These early works reflected cultural bias and attitudes of the non-Filipinos who collected them rather than the viewpoint and values of the Filipino people [...] treated in a condescending manner, characteristic of a period when arrogant and victorious colonialists wrote about colonized peoples” (2-3).

Over time, Filipino folklorists and the researchers and students of Philippine Literature and Cultural Studies have found themselves in a constant debate regarding the authenticity and faithfulness of the existing and earlier works on the indigenous literature and cultures. Post-colonial minds began to question the real motives of Western scholars in their collections and anthologies of the Asian native cultures and thus their skeptical appreciation of translations made in the colonial periods. Concerns for real ethnographic work were presented in literary, linguistic, and cultural fora and assemblies, resulting in more aggressive dialogues and impetus for field work on the ground. But to this date, there is still much work to be done for the dearth of real scholarship, especially on the ethnic groups and oral literature of the Cordilleras. Whereas genuine attention and interest would have resulted from the incessant discussions of Philippine folklore and the ethics and implications of translation, there are a few names among the Filipino scholars who have extensively and intensively made their contributions to the oral literature of the Ibaloy as an ethnic or indigenous tribe. The difficulties and cost of travel and longer immersion into the villages of the Benguet Province could be possible constraints to many researchers aside from the sad reality of the Ibaloy material culture vanishing in favor of the influx of modern cultures and lifestyles pervasive among the younger generations of the communities. This seemingly novelty ethno-discourse research was therefore inspired by the present scenario to recapture the authentic texture of the Ibaloy song from the available sources and informants amid the threats of dying indigenous cultures in the region. The research done by Judith Batin (2015) on the Ifugao *HudHud of Dinulawan and Bagan at Gonhadan*, inspired by the published work of Francis Lambrecht in 1967, provided the foundational vantage point in the ethnographic thematic and discourse analysis of the Ibaloy song. Batin (2015) adopted the formalist-contextualist approach to the chants and found the significant connection and strong ties between the Ifugao's historicity and their *cosmos*, which helped shape and define their communal life as a people. Her study attempted to validate the epic, *HudHud* as a UNESCO-recognized ethno-linguistic masterpiece in Philippine folklore. She drew theoretical inspiration from Arsenio Manuel's paradigm on the Philippine ethno-epic to investigate the historical, cultural, and socio-political practices and traditions reflected or embedded in the *HudHud*. It is important to note, though, that this ethno-discourse critique of the Ibaloy song was limited to one existing extract of the original ethno-oral tradition, considering the difficult challenge of finding enough sources and reliable informants. Albeit the gargantuan hindrances, this ambitious venture was completed with the support of available empirical data and other pertinent documents on the folklore and folksongs as necessary features of indigenous folklore. Thus, the ethno-discourse made on the Ibaloy song served as a revisit of its true essence as an authentic legacy of the Ibaloy people to Philippine ethnolinguistic and literary heritage.

Despite the skepticism and misgivings about the pioneering works of Western scholars on the indigenous tribes of the Ibaloi and their oral literature, such a body of work provided a significant backdrop for the richness of the ethnic literary legacy in the Philippines. Dean Fansler's *Filipino Popular Tales* (1921) remains one of the most outstanding Philippine folklore collections both in terms of scholarship and range of materials from the American Regime. Other notable earliest works on Benguet folklore include H. Otley Beyer's *Origin Myths of the Mountain Peoples of the Philippines* (1913) and *Philippine Folklore, Customs, and Beliefs* (1992); Claude R. Moss' *Nabaloi Law and Ritual* (1920); Claude R. Moss and A.L. Froeber's *Nabaloi Songs* (1919) and *Nabaloi Tales* (1924); and Otto J. Scheerer's in-depth study on the Ibaloy language and origin in his books *The Nabaloi Dialect* (1905) and *Nabaloi Language* (1919).

As for the impressive works of Filipino eminent folklorists like Isabelo de los Reyes, Arsenio Manuel, Mellie Leandicho Lopez, Damiana Eugenio, Bienvenido Lumbea, Resil Mojares, and Rolando Tinio, these scholarships have largely contributed to the collections and interpretations of much indigenous literature in the Philippines or what Legasto calls as 'literature from the margin.' As regards the lyric oral tradition of the Ibaloy ethnolinguistic community in Baguio city and the Southern part of Benguet Province, among the acceptable writings are the works of Jose Maceda and Ramon Santos of the University of the Philippines-Diliman Campus². A few local researchers and teachers have likewise successfully conducted studies on the ground. One of the most notable writings is Wasing Sacla's *Treasury of Beliefs and Home Rituals of Benguet* (1987). The interesting list of dissertations on

the Cordillera folklore includes Ursula Carino Perez' *The Social World of the Iballoys* (University of Baguio 1979); Remigio Monroe's *Igorot Dances Associated with Rituals and Ceremonies: An Analysis and Interpretation* (Baguio Central University 1987); Sonia Celino's *Death and Burial Rituals and Other Practices and Beliefs of the Cordillerans* (University of Baguio 1990); and the seminal works of the linguist, Eufronio Pungayan of Saint Louis University³.

Undeniably, the existing plethora of research on the Ibaloy folklore still lacks the necessary amount of scholarship on refurbishing the authenticity of translation work made by the Western ethnographers during the colonial era in the Philippines. Given the limited in-depth studies of Filipino folklorists on the Ibaloy oral tradition, this researcher attempted to look into the Ibaloy song from the perspective of a nonfolklorist but of an insider being a native of the Bokod, Benguet, Philippines, as well as a discourse analyst of the indigenous song. The *Ba-diw*⁴ of Benguet inspired this nonfolklorist's interest in the ethno-discourse of the Ibaloy song.

Discussions on orality, oral tradition, and oral literature have made the *Ba-diw* a good subject of further scrutiny by scholars. As a lyric poem, the original form of the *Ba-diw* is meant to be recited by a leader and then sung in chorus with the plaintive melody of its one original and traditional tune. The language of the *Ba-diw* is not the everyday language used in ordinary conversation. Although it is supposed to be poetry-spoken, it has a special poetic grammar, even so, complicated with archaic or classical vocabularies and expressions. Unfortunately, the singers of the *Ba-diw* are swiftly decreasing from the threats of change, sophistication, and other socio-cultural factors. Musicologist Ramon Santos describes the *Ba-diw* as "extemporized leader-chorus style poetic verses," while other scholars consider it as a ceremonial song for the dead that is rich in tonal nuances.

Foremost Philippine literary icon and scholar Bienvenido Lumbera (1997) explains that the empirical inquiry on vernacular literature has been a tough challenge among folklorists and researchers and calls it metaphorically "rugged terrain" because there is little light and the few maps to the empiricist's investigation that exist are often unreliable. Lumbera's *Reevaluation* (1997) enumerates three problems that a critic has to face. First is the "problem of materials." The second is the "problem of men." Third, and "most crucial," is the "problem of methodology."⁵ Lumbera explains that scarcity of existing data, willing and conscientious researchers, and principled methodology of investigation serve as the stumbling blocks to authentic ethnographic efforts on the Banquet's ethno-culture and heritage. His criticisms of previous scholarships in the field focus on biased preference for "western methodologies" that these Filipino scholars have become more equipped in studying foreign works rather than their own people's vernacular writings. His solution to this dilemma is a methodology more attuned to the vernacular. Lumbera asserts that the work is primarily "humanized," the work in the realm of the author, putting him in the context of the situation, and the work investigated in its real situation in context, that is, its genuine local setting. Lumbera likewise highlights the importance of the folklore as situated in its rightful history, which includes the local-regional and national frameworks, or situating the text "within the framework of literary development in the country as a whole" (87-93). Lumbera has thus far contributed so much to the legitimization of the study of regional literature in the academe. And as long as his methodology is progressive and radical in its inclusivity of the regional ethno-heritage to the national literary pride, his works would continue to promote and consolidate a great narrative of the nation. As Caroline Hau (2000) articulates in her book *Necessary Fictions: Philippine Literature and the Nation, 1946-1980*: "The nation is an unfinished revolution" (281). National literature is, therefore, the story of a continuing revolution that reconstructs and redefines the dominant notion of a nation while it rediscovers what matters most to the Filipino people and ultimately brings to the fore the collective Filipino worldview. Inspired henceforth by Lumbera, this National Artist's exemplary works and thoughts, this researcher ventured into a critical revisit of the Ibaloy song with the hopes of reconciling the authentic texture of the folklore to the Filipino identity and consciousness situated in a much larger context, the world.

2. Methodology

This ethno-discourse critique of the century-old *Ba-diw* (Ibaloy song) adopted a discourse and stylistic analysis of the folklore given the original documentation and English translation from Moss and Froeber (1919). The perspective proceeded with an insider's ethnographic lens though technically nonfolklorist but more of the humanist as advocated by Lumbera (1991, 2000) and, likewise, proceeding from the notions of a participant agent of the narrative - literary critic and socio-cultural participant being a member of the Ibaloy ethnolinguistic group. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis of linguistic relativism and culture, as well as Wardhaugh's notions on language and behavior, served as essential cognates of the discourse analysis or DA theoretical framework in informing the conceptual framework of the ethnographic literary critique, which put the Context Theory as the primary lens in probing the Ibaloy song, specifically the *Ba-diw*, as an indigenous artifact of the Filipino identity and consciousness. The principle of discourse analysis, that is, "the study of language in use or language above the sentence" (Djonda, 2014), was operationalized in the aspect of examining how the forms of language worked to send across the message or theme of the Ibaloy song. Given the very limited availability or hardly any written text on the original Ibaloy song being greatly oral tradition, the researcher looked into the sample of the written translation from the original oral composition and from the actual tribal communal performances as well as those made available in the Youtube. Moreover, the narrativization of the song as a crucial part of the discourse analysis in the critique drew inspiration from Leonard Shankar Rozario's (2006) research on the Garo Folktales of Bangladesh, which he successfully defended at the University of Missouri, the United States of America where he found that the structural structure of

the folktales bears the worldview of the Bangladeshi ethnic tribe, the Garos living in the Madhupur Forest in the District of Tangail, 150 kilometers north of Dhaka, the country's capital. These Garo folktales are animal stories as glimpses of the indigenous people of life and the world. Rozario (2015) employed the narrative analysis of the Garo folklore focusing on the specific grammatical forms and the cultural themes embedded in the tales. In the ethno-discourse critique of the Nabaloi song, the relationship of language and culture in the creation or composition of the song served to set the work in proper context. Batin's (2015) socio-cultural and linguistic or formalist approach to the *HudHud* chants also helped the direction of the investigation.

The research procedure took off from descriptive profiling of the Ibaloy tribe, including a brief history of their ancestors and migration during the pre-colonial times. From the socio-cultural frame, discourse analysis probed the structural or syntactic forms of the Ibaloy song, specifically on the lexis or word choice, the phrasing or word order, the stylistic elements and strategies, and, very importantly, the theme of the song. The original song in the vernacular Ibaloy language was compared to the English translation. Live and recorded performances of similar songs were viewed to capture the collective emotive experience, and interviews with informants from the tribe were conducted to be more intimated with the communal tradition though the researcher is a native of the Ibaloy ethnolinguistic group. The relative advantage of conducting the ethno-discourse critique on the Ibaloy song from the vantage point of an insider expedited the discourse analysis, especially of the theme, knowing firsthand and substantially the beliefs and value system of the Ibaloy tribe.

3. Results

The Ibaloy is an indigenous ethnic group who found a permanent settlement in the Southern Eastern part of Benguet Province of Northern Luzon, Philippines. Their point of origin is traced to Lingayen, Pangasinan, and the coasts of Ilocos. This ethnic group belongs to the larger indigenous people known as the Igorot or *Igudut* (hill-dwellers) living in the Cordillera of Central Luzon. Ibaloy or Inibaloy serves as the native language or the mother tongue of the tribe. Linguistically, the term Ibaloy, when broken into its structural and morphological constituents, would highlight the prefix *i-* and the derivational lexeme, *badoy* (*badey*), which means house put together. They form the semantic equivalent of "people who live in houses" (Wikipedia). Essentially, the tribal name is very much evident in their real life context with their houses or *baley* or *baeng* so unique in architectural construction. These are built near their farms, having five foot posts or *tokod* and having only one room without any windows. Construction materials include pine trees and bark bamboo with cogon grass as roof or *atep* for the poor members of the tribe. The material culture of the Ibaloy is quite impressive and most striking is their mummification process, where they use pounded guava and patani leaves on the whole work, which takes two months to one year until the cadaver is hardened. This tradition of the tribe strongly suggests their superstitious beliefs and intimacy with nature, believing that their ancestors forever dwell in the mountains and that *anitos* or *banig* can be hostile, those who cause calamities, and the *ka-apuan* who cause either illness or blessings among family members. The indigenous group is convinced that there are indeed immortal beings or the supernatural in their locality and in the world in general. They look at *Kabunian* as the supreme deity and serve as the giver of rice. From this belief is the strong value attached by the tribe to growing rice in their communities for their life sustenance. They also exhibit a natural sense of humor through their belief in the moon deity teasing *Kabunian* for remaining unmarried, without a spouse, yet they likewise believe in the existence of the child of *Kabunian* with a mortal woman that is split into lightning and thunder. Moreover, the Ibaloy also looks at *Matono* as a brave woman who took a journey into the netherworld and discovered what causes poor harvests and earthquakes. Interestingly, they look at *Kabigat* into a duality of persona where one causes the water to rise, journeying into the underworld and retrieving trees of the middle world, and the other where the water is believed to empty, teaching *Matono* how to safely get trees from the underworld. Yet, the Ibaloy have a clear concept of their mortal ancestors, like *Labangan*, the man who got the first grain of rice for mankind from the supreme deity, *Kabunian*. Further, they also believe in the co-existence of man and woman from the bed of creation with *Labangan's* wife. The Ibaloy people likewise possess a very interesting myth of two blind women who were driven out of their village because of poverty; that one, out of her hunger, was fed by a woman who came from a rock, giving her a sack of rice, and the other was given a bottle of water. From these gifts came the rice harvests of mankind and the bottle of water from the flowing streams, both gifts aiding the rest of mankind. Because of their strong beliefs in the *anitos* and *kaapuan*, the Ibaloy look at mountains as very sacred places, so Mt. Pulag, the second-highest mountain in the Philippines, serves as a "culturally important area" for the ethnic group. They consider the mountain as the place where spirits join their ancestors. To appease their angry *anitos*, the Ibaloy make their offerings, rituals, and sacrifices. One significant feature of these activities is the playing of instruments considered very sacred by the tribe like the *kodeng* (Jew's harp), *kulesheng* (nose flute), *kalsheng* or *kambitang* or native guitar, and the bamboo string instruments such as the *solibao* (drums), and the *kalsa* (gongs). This inherent musicology of the Ibaloy is closely tied to their religious beliefs that delighting the spirits requires constant playing of the instruments like in the *canao* feast. Part of their aesthetic heritage is for elders to have tattooed arms as status symbols or signs of prestige. Clothing artifacts include the G-string or *kuval* for men. Apart from securing their villages and communities, the Ibaloy tribe likewise thrives in hunting aside from farming and fishing, so they value their traditional weapons of the *kayang* (spear), the *kalasai* (shield), and the *papa* (war club) as well as the cutting tools, farm tools, and rice pounding implements.

Given the backdrop of the profile, traditions and beliefs of the Ibaloy, the ethno-discourse research proceeded with the discourse analysis of the Ibaloy song as follows:

Original transcript of an Ibaloy Song "Orangak Alid Baybay"
as recorded by Moss and Froeber (1919)

1. Orangak alid baybay; orangak alid baybay.
2. Orangak chi sepjiakto; orangak chi sepjiakto.
3. Kuanko, sasengunko; kuank sasengunko.
4. I chanum i waswasto; I chanum i waswasto
5. Ji angulot i waswasto; Ji angulot i waswasto.
6. Sorangto, sorangto; Sorangto, sorangto.
7. Sidanko chua'n singi; sidanko chau'n singi.
8. Simbik i mabdin bii; simbik i mabdin bii.
9. Insabik i kalonto; insabik i kalonto.
10. Ji agontolotolok; ji agontolotolok.
13. Sorangko ni bayingko; sorangko ni byingko.
14. Ta tobako kinkauko; ta tobako kinkauko.
15. Dangdang i inakanto; dangdang i inakanto.

English Translation of the Ibaloy Song (Moss-Froeber 1919)

1. I am a fish for the ocean; I am a fish for the ocean
2. I am a fish for its shore; I am a fish for its shore
3. I said, "I will go against the current"; I will go against the current
4. The water, the flowing water; the flowing water
5. But the mud in the water; but the mud in the water
6. For this reason; For this reason; For this reason; For this reason
7. I went against the current of two brooks; I went against the current of two brooks
8. I found a pretty mate; I found a pretty mate
9. All night I tried to enjoin her; all night I tried to enjoin her
10. But she would not agree; but she would not agree
11. Until crowed the cock; until crowed the cock.
12. But she would not agree; but she would not agree.
13. On account of my shame; on account of my shame;
14. Then tobacco I requested; then tobacco I requested
15. A cigar I was given; a cigar I was given.

The lexis or word choice in the song represents the three linguistic universals of Chomsky, which are the conceptual, perceptual, and social categories in language, and which are substantially discussed in the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (1956, 1996). The concept of bodies of water as the ocean and brooks, the concept of living things and life forms like flowing water, fish, crowing cock, pretty mates, and nonliving inanimate objects such as tobacco and cigar are representative of the extent of awareness and consciousness of the ethnic tribe of their physical realm or the material world. Moreover, the concept of the fish can also be the Ibaloy's understanding of a supernatural whose power bequeaths blissful existence (the ocean). This discourse expression of their conceptual ability paired with their perception of nature, which is sharply philosophical, nature as both good (flowing water) and

bad (muddy water), complemented by their social and cultural apprehension of shame or rejection by the pretty mate, in this imagery of a woman (social category of role-the subject) being wooed, and the suitor (social category of role-the agent), the understood speaker or narrator in the song, a man (social category of role-the typical). The lexical quality of the song's grammar strongly expresses a degree of civilization of the indigenous tribe for their recognition of both the local environment (immediate) and global realm (worldview), with the syntactic sophistication of their awareness of the duality of life being inevitable (philosophical theme), the peaceful ("I am a fish of the ocean; I am a fish of the ocean"), and the conflict of life (I said," I will go against the current; I will go against the current"). While most of the phrasing of the song takes a simple sentence construction with the word order following the subject-verb-object of the English syntax, the semantic quality of the song is not that naive, ordinary, and plain mediocre as the complication arises with the presence of irony and metaphors from the first line to the end of the song. The stylistic manipulation of simple syntax, repetition, cycles of time as in night time and daybreak, the artifacts of leisure and saving face (tobacco and cigar) with politeness strategy (request) all together bring the intelligence and natural wit of the ethnic people contrary to how they have been portrayed in print (such as the Elementary books being circulated by the Department of Education), and the arts for ages as totally primitive or savage and without any form of civilization (such as Igorots who are dark with curly hairs and tails). The distinct use of the pronominal *I* represents the concept of the self and the concept of a group, a strong indication of self-concept and societal life (the tribe as community). Even the stylistic use of linguistic segmental (vowels, consonants) and the supra-segmentals (intonation, stress, juncture, pitch) in the song is evident of a civilized tribal group with a sharp and sensitive sense of music as effective communal or tribal bonding and expression of their most intimate desires and aspirations. There is also the marked unitary cohesion and coherence of the narrative or the story embedded in the song as it proceeds from a narrator's discourse and from a setting (I am a fish from the ocean; I am a fish from the ocean) to the complication (I went against the current of two brooks; I went against the current of two brooks), then on to the climax (lines 8, 9, and 10: I found a pretty mate; I found a pretty mate; All night I tried to engage her: all night I tried to engage her; But she would not agree; but she would not agree), until the denouement (lines 12-15: Until crowed the cock; until crowed the cock; On account of my shame; on account of my shame; Two tobacco I requested; two tobacco I requested; A cigar I was given; a cigar I was given). Basically, the Ibaloy song consists of the elements of storytelling, thus a narrative in a lyric genre, quite striking linguistic creation of an ethnic tribe. Moreover, the discourse markers of rising and falling intonation, the rhythm of repetition, and the pauses or juncture in between the lines of the song serve as linguistic evidence of the original or primeval speech community of the tribe, manifesting the existence of an artistic or subliminal form of expression, songs, and chants, supplementing a more practical day-to-day rhetoric, the aesthetic reserved for rites and other special occasions of the community. The stylistic use of the number two and the culturally loaded tobacco and cigar add to the philosophical and cultural texture of the Ibaloy song, with the number two representing the bipolarity of life, the tobacco as familiar comfort or source of relief to the locals, and the cigar as cold treatment coming a stranger, all these as a reiteration of the theme of the song. From observing the actual or live performances as well as viewing the taped or recorded versions of how the Ibaloy people chant their ritual song, it can be clearly noticed how the song conveys the most intimate connections of the ethnic people to their ancestry, their heritage, their realm, and the world in general through their verbal and multimodal or paralinguistic nuances such as facial expressions, gestures, body language or kinesthetics and kinesics plus of course the tonal melody of the song. The Ibaloy people are emotional people, warm, aggressive, passionate, and romantic, thus their bright choice of colors for their native clothes and jewelry. Their orality and lifestyle bind them as a distinct united tribe, and hence, the narrative in their song expresses these concepts of unity and heritage. Additionally, the clothing artifacts the group wears in the ritual help convey how they look at themselves and the world. The researcher wanted to validate this discourse analysis of the Ibaloy song and thus looked for reliable informants among the more senior members of the tribe. Being a native of the ethnolinguistic group, he did not encounter many difficulties in gathering the necessary "eye witness" testimony and thoughts on the song.

4. Discussions

While the length of the Ibaloy song is typical of most Philippine folksongs, which are relatively short and repetitive, its unique texture of authenticity, beauty, and worldview is evident in its lexis, syntax, semantics (thematic value and relevance), and cultural load, in other words, possessing a dynamic discourse of civilization from the eyes of a mountain people even before the period of colonization in the country. The grammar of theme in the song is evident of the critical consciousness of the Ibaloy tribe in Benguet of the cycle of life, its duality, human nature, human emotions and values, and very importantly, the relationship that exists between men and nature or the physical world as seen in the fourteen lines of the song where the speaker or the narrator compares himself to a fish that dwells in an ocean (first line), living peacefully and contently (second line-I am a fish for its shore) but then has to discover and explore further the world (third and fourth lines), encountering the undesirable (fifth line), and the excitement of choice to continue the adventure or not (seventh line), until the finding of the desirable (eighth line) which eventually leads to his courtship by night time (ninth line), his rejection (tenth line), and saving face by daybreak (lines 12-13) with the notions of tobacco as comfort while the cigar as confirmation of rejection and dejection by the woman (last line). The results of the discourse analysis of the song suggest and imply that the earliest Ibaloy people had a balanced view of life and the world being a place of peace, contentment, and security but at the same a place of failure, challenge, and sorrow. Moreover, they also exhibited a deep understanding of other possible worlds (the world of abstractions or ideas and the supernatural realm) as suggested by how their

ethnic song narrated a story of simple life then a complex situation, the need for choice and decision, and finally, dealing with the consequence and acceptance of fate. Their sense of humanity or humanism overflows from the beginning to the end of the song, showing how a human being is at peace with his birthright, in rightful control of his environment, until he decides to learn more about his environment, the aspects and facets of life, going through the time cycle and the experience of wonder and shock from the adventure and taking a risk for the conquest of love. While the Ibaloy forefathers settled and lived in the Southern Cordillera mountains, their history of origin and theory of migration points to Lingayen, Pangasinan, and Ilocos coasts, provinces which Philippine history has recorded close contacts with other ethnolinguistic groups and even bartering trades with the Chinese even before the coming of the Spanish conquistadores in the islands. It is henceforth possible that the early Ibaloy tribe had social encounters with other ethnic groups before they migrated and settled in the Southern Cordillera range. How the song begins is faithful to the points of origin and the source of living of the ethnic tribe coming from the lowlands and coastal places until their dwelling in the highlands of the Cordillera.

The song in its English translation might have lost some degree of its original texture in form like a few lexical and phonetic lapses from the vernacular composition to the English vocabulary, as words do have their shades of meaning no matter how the synonymy of pairing, nevertheless, the texture of theme appears to have retained its richness and appeal not just to Filipino readers but universally. The aesthetic or literary quality of the Ibaloy song as an expression of ethnicity is undeniable. The Ibaloy tribe sees themselves in their lands, in harmony with nature and in co-existence, while also recognizing the complications of life and the world, which require courage, taking risks, seeking adventures, making choices, accepting defeat, and moving on with life. The stylistic use of repetitions as an emphasis of conviction reflects the inherent determination of the Ibaloy, and the drama of love and rejection, saving face, and felicitous language symbolized by the tobacco and cigar are culturally loaded discourses of a people living life with all its givens. The socio-cultural context of the song from which the linguistic universals of concept, perception, and social categories were derived is genuinely a local consciousness, but its breath is broadly a universal experience, affirming the relatedness of humanity despite living in different regions and continents of the world (the broader theme of the song). Furthermore, the narrative embedded in the song speaks of the natural proclivity of the Ibaloy tribe for the wilds, the hunting, the fishing, the farming, the adventures symbolized by the ocean, the fish, the flowing waters, the muddy water, and two brooks whereas the narrative of their ability to withstand ordeals and the trials in life are symbolized by the time cycle of night and day, and the tobacco and cigar. Also, their romantic nature is imbued in the narrative with the man in search of his destiny, finding his pretty mate after encountering the muddy water and the riddle of the two brooks. Wardhaugh's language and culture (2002) and the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis of linguistic relativism (1956; 1996) repeatedly articulate the dynamic relationship between culture and language behavior, both shaping each other over time, and the Ibaloy song is good evidence of ethnic discourse, how the early Ibaloy people lived and what worldviews they had. Their oral tradition, as seen in their early song, reveals a tribe that had a remarkable level of civilization, emanating from a clear concept of the self, the distinct use of the pronoun *I* (lines 1,2,3,8,9,13) as a human being, and of a unique identity of a community of people living together despite the threats of conflicts and difficulties, the metaphorical merit of the pronominal *I* extended to a collective *I*. With Lumbera's (2000) thoughts on the study of Philippine folklore, the results and findings of this ethno-discourse critique on the Ibaloi song as a discourse of ethnicity pose a challenge to future researchers to look more closely into the discourse forms embedded in ethnic literature, and develop methods of inquiry more culturally attuned to the local context. The pragmatic implicature of adopting the nonfolklorist vantage point might be a controversial issue, yet it is a refreshing revisit into the beauty and richness of the country's indigenous literary heritage as it does not focus too much on Western methods of inquiry which are too technical but more on the humanistic appreciation of the discourse, aesthetic and philosophical anchored on the real cultural context of the oral tradition.

5. Conclusion

This investigation focused on the language of *Ba-diw* as a discourse of ethnicity, its theme, language, and translation with its categorization as part of the Ibaloy folklore, an ancestral oral tradition of the indigenous people of Southern Benguet in the Philippines. The century-old *Ba-diw* provides an authentic experience of true Philippine folklore in spite of what might have been lost in translation works. The critique probed into the distinct ethnolinguistic heritage of the Ibaloy and examined the grammar of the Ibaloy Song as both an ethnic and aesthetic expression. This grammar highlighted in the ethnographic critique is the dynamic system of the basic elements of a language consisting of lexis, syntax, semantics, phonology, and cultural load. Recognizing the Ibaloy Song as an indigenous oral tradition, the researcher examined its language use as an expression of the identity, ideals, aspirations, worldviews, and lifestyle of the Ibaloy ethnolinguistic group being the dominant theme henceforth, a legitimate and unique contribution to the richness of Philippine folklore. This ethno-discourse critique serves the purpose of a revisit to the ethnic literary pride of the Philippines. Since this investigation is limited to textual-discourse analysis of the *Ba-diw*, documentation, and description of more songs may be considered in order to establish a bigger corpus and more in-depth analysis.

Endnotes

1. One of the foremost ethnolinguistic communities in the Southern Cordillera Region and widespread in some parts of Nueva Vizcaya, Quezon, and La Union.

2. Prof. J. Maceda has devoted much of his time to ethnomusicological studies of the music of The Philippines and Southeast Asia. He has done field music research throughout The Philippines and in eastern and western Africa, Brazil, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam and has written extensively about this research for publications in Canada, Germany, Malaysia, The Philippines, the UK, and the USA. Prof. R. Santos is a composer, conductor and musicologist. He is currently the country's foremost exponent of contemporary Filipino music. A prime figure in the second generation of Filipino composers in the modern idiom, Santos has contributed greatly to the quest for new directions in music, taking as basis non-Western traditions in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Sources: <http://upethnom.com/> and <http://ncca.gov.ph/>

3. Prof. Eufronio Pungayan is an Ibaloi native; a visiting professor of Literature, Philosophy, and linguistics at Saint Louis University, University of Baguio, and the University of the Philippines-Baguio City. He has published several research works and articles, mostly on the Ibaloi language, literature, philosophy, and culture. One of his notable articles is *The Temper and Charisma of the Ba-diw in Three Ibaloi Towns*, published in Saint Louis University Research Journal, vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1983.

4. [bã'diw]

5. No page numbers were supplied for the quotations in this paragraph since the edition I used as the main reference was accessed online.

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