

GALIT: THE FILIPINO EMOTION WORD FOR 'ANGER'

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I. Abstract:

Noteworthy semantic studies have been conducted to explicate anger concepts in different languages. One tool for such cross-cultural comparisons is the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), a set of 56 indefinable words or semantic primes developed by Anna Wierzbicka over a period of 35 years. Using this tool in analyzing emotion concepts through linguistic evidence such as literary excerpts, dialogs and interviews reveals the fact that while emotional universals allegedly exist, emotions are experienced and expressed differently. The use of the semantic primes allows the formulation of a detailed statement (otherwise known as explication) of the elements that compose the meaning or definition of a complex word. Semantic explications for anger words in different languages reveal marked differences in their causes, management and expression. It seems that "simple terms for emotion or for particular emotions in one language often do not translate into simple terms in another language" (Goldie 2000:90). For instance, the emotion words for anger such as the Anglo-Saxon *anger*, the Ifaluk *song*, the Chinese *nu* or the Polish *gniew* were found to be different from the Filipino *galit*. Using the NSM as a common measure or *tertium comparationis*, one can correctly and meaningfully compare as many different languages as possible. It provides a free language-independent framework by not relying on the English language hence avoiding ethnocentrism particularly of the Anglocentric perspective.

Although NSM is considered a technical artificial language, it is called natural because it has been taken or carved out of natural language, in this case from any object language. Because NSM is carved out of natural language, it is therefore explanatory and has a direct contact with intuition. In contrast, artificial languages such as the formulae of symbolic logic or the matrices of differential features, require an explanation and since they are comprehensible only via natural language, they have no direct contact with intuition. Wierzbicka (1980:3) said "Semantic intuition, even of ordinary language-users, is an empirical reality, and the semantic study of natural language, therefore, an empirical science." Thus, it can be said that the natural semantic metalanguage theory is both a theory of linguistic intuition and a scientific theory.

Developed on the basis of existing natural languages as a result of extensive cross-linguistic investigation, the NSM contains terms for identifying and referring to the elements of the object-language (words, sounds or letters, etc.) and, in addition, a certain number of special technical terms which can be used to describe the relation between these elements, how they may be combined to form phrases and sentences, and so on. In NSM, the terms for describing the concepts in the object language is the set of semantic primes, a small core of basic, universal meanings which are believed to be shared by all the languages of the world. The patterns of combinability are discussed in *Universal Grammar: The Syntax of Universal Semantic Primitives* (cf. Wierzbicka 1996:112-44).

II. The Natural Semantic Metalanguage

The latest version (Goddard 1998:327) of the lexicon of this metalanguage includes the following elements: Substantives: **I, you, someone, something, people**; Mental predicates: **think, know, want, feel, see, hear**; Speech: **say**; Actions, events and movement: **do, happen, move**; Existence and life: **be (there is/are), live (alive)**; Determiners and quantifiers: **this, the same, other, one, two, many(much), some, all**; Evaluators: **good, bad**; Descriptors: **big, small**; Time: **when, after, before, a long time, a short time, now**; Space: **where, far, near, under, above, side, inside, here**; Interclausal Linkers: **because, if, if...would**; Clause Operators: **not, maybe**; Metapredicate: **can**; Intensifier: **very**; Taxonomy, Partonomy: **kind of, part of**; Similarity: **like**.

The cultural scripts which compose these explications have a three-part structure. The first part, which is the Prototypical Cognitive Scenario describes the state of mind of a hypothetical individual, expressed by the component (sometimes a person thinks something like this...). It is followed by the component showing the feeling which comes as a result, for example, (because of this, X feels good). Lastly, the actual feeling of the experiencer (X) is compared to the hypothetical individual in the cognitive scenario ('X feels like this') (Goddard 1998: 95). It does not follow, however, that the emotion experiencer always undergoes the exact thoughts shown in the cognitive scenario. Wierzbicka clarified that the scenario serves only as a kind of 'reference situation' by which the nature of the associated feeling can be identified. Moreover, there are some emotion terms which involve such subtle differences between subclasses of emotion meanings that they require special forms of explication structures. Wierzbicka (in Goddard 1998:95) noted, "While formerly we simply used such labels as 'direct' vs. 'indirect' and 'formal' vs. 'informal', cultural scripts can show these differences in a much greater precision."

III. Anger Concepts

The Malay *marah*. *Marah*, described as brooding anger is said to be more appropriately described in English with the words 'offended and 'resentful' rather than with the word 'angry'. Goddard (1998:99) explained that the *marah* response has a "muted, restrained nature. To this effect, Goddard (1998:100) gave the following explication for *marah*:

X rasa marah (pada Y)

Sometimes a person thinks something like this (about Y):

Y did something bad

Y knows I do not want Y to do something like this

I feel something bad because of that

I want Y to know this, not because I say anything about it

Because of this, this person feels something bad

X feels like this

The Ifaluk *song*. *Song* is known as justifiable anger. Lutz (1988:301) explained that the main objective of the manifestation of *song* is "to change the situation by altering the behavior of the offending person." The direction of *song*'s expression is towards the anger-experiencer and not the guilty person, thus, the effect can be suicide rather than murder. Wierzbicka (1992: 147) wrote the following explication for *song*.

X feels song

X thinks something like this

This person did something bad

People should not do things like this

This person should know this

Because of this, x feels something bad

Because of this, x wants to do something

The Polish *złość*. *Złość* can be described as an emotional and explosive anger. Klos Sokol (1997:100-1) wrote, "When chewing over the reasons for these occasional public frays, many Poles say their temperament is emotional and explosive 'like the Italians'. A confrontation can billow to dramatic proportions and just as quickly blow over. The preliminary explication given by Kornacki (2002:2) for the anger concept *złość* is as follows:

X feels *złość*

X thinks something like this

X felt something bad

Because X thought:

Something happened

I don't want this

Because of this, X wants to do something (bad) now

The Anglo-saxon *anger*. In the explication for *anger*, Wierzbicka (1992:569) noted that what is involved is the personal will of the experiencer, rather than an objective evaluation; that the feeling is towards the culprit, and that the feeling is directed toward the guilty person and it leads to an urge to do something bad to that person.

X feels *anger*

X thinks something like this

This person did something bad

I don't want this

I would want to do something bad to this person

Because of this, x feels something bad toward Y

Because of this, x wants to do something

IV. Semantic Explication of the Filipino *Galit*

The concept *galit* is specifically unique. It may contain shades of similarities with other anger words but is never identical. The semantic explication of *galit* can be:

X feels *galit*

X thinks something like this

(a) **Someone (Y) did something bad**

(b) **I do not like this**

(c) **It is not always good to say:**

(d) **You did something bad**

(e) **I can do other things to let Y know**

(f) **If I tell this to Y, Y can feel bad**

(g) **I do not want Y to feel bad**

(h) **If Y knows he did something bad**

(i) **And Y does it for a longer time**

(j) **I can do something bad because of this**

(k) **If Y does something bad to make people think and say about me:**

(l) **This person (X) is bad**

(m) **I can do something bad to Y because of this**

V. Discussion

Anger is considered to be a physiologically based primary emotion and is universally found in all cultures. However, there are significant differences in the emotional experience from culture to culture. It appears that the central feeling involved in the emotion is essentially the same. The main differences, however, lie in the triggering factors or sites of this emotion and in the way this emotion is managed and expressed.

The first and most important element in the Filipino *galit* is that its source and cause is a person, thus the first two components **(a) Someone (Y) did something bad** and **(b) I do not like this**. Seldom, or never at all, will a Filipino be angered by a situation or thing by its very nature. If it involves a situation or thing, it is attributed to a particular person, the word **someone** in the explication referring to a person with adequate mental and emotional potential making him absolutely responsible for his words and actions. For instance, a lost key will not, in itself, cause the emotion of anger. Only when a person is pinpointed can the blame be channeled towards this person and *galit* can arise. Most likely a person can say in anger, *Nawawala ang susi sa kotse. Sino ba ang kumuha?* 'The key to the car is missing. Who took it?'. On the other hand, to refer only to the lost key without pinpointing anyone, one can say *Nawawala na naman ang susi ko. Nakakainis.* 'My key is lost again. It's so annoying.' It is important to note that when one is annoyed, one can say he is. However, when one is experiencing *galit*, he does not say so. Saying it makes him sound as if he is not, or as if he does not mean it. There is a relation between the Filipino *galit* and silence. These phrases with the word *loob* (noun) meaning "inner self" and *loob* (adjective) meaning "internal" imply that the venue of anger is in the mind or heart. There, the Filipino *galit* is perceived, formed, appraised and can reside unexpressed. The following phrases show that the negative emotions similar to anger are experienced interiorly.

ngitngit ng loob – *ngitngit* means fury, the phrase means internal fury

pait ng loob – *pait* means bitter, the phrase means internal bitterness

sama ng loob - *sama* means bad, the phrase means ill-feeling

hapdi ng loob- *hapdi* means pain, the phrase means feeling of hurt

The following proverbs attest to the Filipinos' preference for silence and a non-confrontational attitude in dealing with hostile situations.

(1) *Huwag gambalain ang pananahimik*

Ang aking damdaming may kimkim na galit. (Cruz 1991:125)

'Do not disturb the silence

Of my heart that is nurturing *galit*.'

(2) *Kung ikaw ay nagagalit, ikaw ay tumahimik.* (Esto 1996:124)

'If you are *galit*, keep quiet.'

Filipinos put a premium on peace. They avoid conflict whenever possible and when it exists they try to settle it in a non-confrontational way. Frank Lynch S.J. (1979:37), an American priest-anthropologist who lived in the Philippines, said, "The Filipino is likely to seek interpersonal harmony by a blurring of the differences, and by agreement not to disagree – at least openly. The American rates 'integrity' (defined as 'let your speech express your mind exactly') higher than interpersonal tranquility, whereas the Filipino sees no reason why conflict should be courted when silence or soft speech will preserve the peace.."

Normal reactions to *galit* also vary. One main factor that causes the variations is the relationship existing between the offender and the *galit*-experiencer. There is a difference in displaying anger to a member of the in-group and to one who is not. To an in-group member, where unconditional acceptance is assured, one can simply express one's feeling of anger. A

respondent said, (#7) 'It depends whether the person is my relative, say, my son, husband or another who is my superior. If he is my kin, I openly declare that I was hurt or angry but if he is my co-employee, a superior or not, I just keep silent, keep it to myself and usually cry.' The following components may be stated thus,

(c) **It is not always good to say:**

(d) **You did something bad**

Table 1. Differences of *Galit*-Management in Relation to In-group Members and In-group/Outer In-group or Out-group Members

With in-group members	With out-group / outer in-group members
1. one (except younger to older people) can freely express ' <i>galit</i> '	1. one hides, keeps quiet, cries, or uses other means
2. expects the other to listen to him	2. fears that the other may get angry if he says something
3. uses verbal and non-verbal means of expressing <i>galit</i>	3. uses non-verbal modes of expression or indifference
4. expresses <i>galit</i> outright	4. waits until <i>galit</i> has passed before expressing it

To outer-in-group or out-group members, some of the reasons given why Filipinos delay or withhold the expression of anger are as follows:

1. To preserve one's impeccable image or *mukha*.

How one will appear before others is important. Poise, which means for a Filipino, personal dignity, is valued. For example, one can try to appear at ease through a smile.

Roces (1985:18) said, A smile is the best way out of having to say something that could create controversy. An awkward situation requires a smile because the air is charged with potential conflict and you are expected to smile in return to defuse the situation and clear the air.

(3) *Ang nagagalit na tao ay nagmumukhang kabayo.* (Silverio 1999:139)
'An *galit* angry man looks like a horse.'

(4) *Ang magandang masungit,*
Sa tingin ng iba ay pumapangit. (Mendoza 1998:68)
'One who is beautiful but boorish
Looks ugly in the eyes of many.'

2. Anger as a sign of emotional and mental immaturity.

The uncontrolled display of anger is not encouraged. Only the person who does not get angry easily is deemed to be broadminded and sensible.

(5) *Taong mabagal magalit*
Taong may dakilang isip. (Silverio 1999:127)

'A person who is slow to *galit*
Is a person with a great mind.'

(6) *Ngunit ang madaling pagkagalit ay tanda ng kamangmangan.* (Esto 1996:187)
'Sudden *galit* is a sign of ignorance.'

3. Anger as a cause of evil things.

A respondent (#10) expressed the view that one's anger 'narrows one's perspective. It kills empathy, charity and joy. It justifies deliberate actions that may take the form of revenge,

fraud, violence, or murder.' the following proverbs attest to the various evils the presence of anger is supposed to bring.

(7) *Ang pagkagalit ay nagdadala ng maraming kasamaan.* (Esto 1996:124)

'Being *galit* brings with it many evils.'

The example that follows shows the effect of direct confrontation. The woman is relating to a friend a previous meeting with a man named Manalang.

(8) "A man named Manalang - I kept calling him Manalo. After the tenth time or so, the young man rose from his seat and said suddenly, "Pardon me, but my name is Manalang, Manalang." You know, I never forgave him."

He laughed with her.

"The best thing to do under the circumstances, I have found," she pursued, "is to pretend not to hear and to let the other person find out about his mistakes without help"(Croghan 1975:20-21).

In the following dialogue, Joy, an interviewee, explained why she let her anger pass without expressing it to the person concerned.

(9) Joy: *Pinapalampas ko na lang. Kasi kapag galit ka, baka kung ano pa ang masabi mo. Kasi minsan pag sinabi mo, baka magalit din. Ayoko ng may kagalit.*

'I just let (*galit*) pass. Because if you are *galit*, you might say something bad. Because, sometimes, if you say it, the other person might become *galit*, too. I don't want someone to be *galit* with me.'

This scene demonstrates how anger is shelved when it is at its height. There are many proverbs in Filipino which sanction the open expression of anger until it has subsided when one can then safely express it without antagonizing others.

(10) *Ang galit mo sa ngayon,
Bukas mo na ituloy.* (Silverio 1999:20)

'If you are *galit* today,

Express it tomorrow.'

The respondents agree with this proverb for the following reasons: (#25) 'By tomorrow, anger has cooled down and the person can make decisions which he would not regret later as he would if he made decisions while angry', (#3) 'It gives you time to think or reflect which prevents you from doing harm to the person you are angry with'.

Yet the fact remains that Filipinos have qualms about expressing the truth if it can hurt somebody. Lynch (1973) considered "social acceptance as the most important of the basic aims that motivate and control an immense amount of Filipino behavior. Put negatively... social acceptance is had when one is not rejected or improperly criticized by others." The very avoidance of expressing animosities is to a great extent a manifestation of the fear of losing SIR or smooth interpersonal relation. It is not dishonesty per se because dishonesty is even considered as one cause of anger. But generally, Filipinos prefer a pleasant truth which can be expressed in several ways. In terms of *galit*, the following are the forms of expressing to Y that he did something wrong stated in the components **(e) I can do other things to let Y know**:

There are four main behavioral reactions which may follow once anger has been provoked. According to Power and Dalgleish (1997:322), these are "physical antagonism, verbal antagonism, passive aggression and avoidance withdrawal." Two more behavioral reactions appeared as an offshoot of this study on the Filipino *galit* namely verbal expression without antagonism; and changes in tone, facial expression and body language.

Table 2. Percentage of 124 Filipino Respondents' Reactions to Anger-Causing Situations

Non-confrontational Techniques	Confrontational Techniques
31% - Avoidance Withdrawal	17.2% - Verbal antagonism
24.1% - Verbal expression without Antagonism	6.9% - Passive aggression
17.2% - Changes in tone, facial expression and body language	3.4% - Physical antagonism
72.3% - Total	27.5% - Total

The result shows that the most preferred way of reacting to anger is through the use of non-confrontational techniques with a total of 72.3 %.. This includes avoidance withdrawal (31%) which include ignoring or evading the person who is the cause of the anger felt, withdrawal from the anger-causing situations such as keeping to oneself the hurt, crying silently, becoming indifferent and being quiet. The second preferred form of expressing anger is verbal expression without antagonism (24.1%) which involved composed and courteous dialogue made during or after the angry feelings have subsided. Others (17.2%), to convey an angry message, remained silent and employed facial expression and body language or talked with a raised voice tone and increased volume.

Forms of Responses

a. Withdrawal of Customary Cheerfulness.

Roces (1985: 211) said, "Since Filipinos are not allowed to express anger or resentment, sublimated hostility takes the form of sulking and withdrawal of customary cheerfulness in the presence of the one who has displeased them. These are signals for the offender to restore goodwill, not necessarily by talking out the problem, but by showing concern about the wounded person's well-being. If the silent treatment goes unnoticed, then a few grumbling sounds, a door slammed, a foot stomped, and barely audible mutterings under his breath – a more audible form of sulking or *nagdadabog* – follow. It is important to respond to these changes of behavior with friendly overtures or relations will deteriorate. Filipinos allow a bit of time for “cooling off” before responding."

This form of sulking, called *tampo*, usually involves silence as a chance to cool off and as a signal to let others know that one is angry.

Ramos and Goulet (1985:466) clarified that *magtampo* is usually translated as ‘to sulk’ but it does not quite mean that. ‘Sulk’ seems to have a negative meaning which is not expressed in *magtampo* which is a way of withdrawing or expressing hurt feelings in a culture where outright expression of anger is discouraged. For example, a child who feels hurt or neglected may show *tampo* by withdrawing from the group, refusing to eat, and resisting expressions of affection, such as touching or kissing, by the members of the family. A woman may also show *tampo* if she feels jealous or neglected by her loved one. The person who is *nagtatampo* expects to be *aamuin* 'cajoled' out of the negative feelings one is going through. Usually, people with *tampo* are left to themselves until they are ready to be cajoled out of the cause of their *tampo*.

People know when someone is angry if the person is more quiet than usual, ignores one or gives a cold shoulder, and when asked answers in a very formal, polite manner. At other times, this person talks very indirectly or makes *parinig*.

b. Through *Parinig*

Pagpaparinig, literally meaning, trying to let others hear what one says. The person who wants to say something unpleasant stays within earshot of the person whom he wants to address it to, says what he has in mind but all the while acting as though he is addressing it to no one.

c. Through Non-Verbal Means

A Filipino can also communicate through non-verbal means or through *pakiramdaman*. *Pakiramdaman* enables a Filipino to feel his way through the correct meaning of non-verbal language. This is the ability to sense via social feelers, which he has developed and grown quite accustomed to, in his relationships with others. A Filipino who does not have this is called *manhid*, a word which means uncaring, insensitive and thoughtless.

d. Use of a Go-between

There is the use of the go-between, or a third person, an intermediary who tries to effect a reconciliation. Ramos and Goulet (1981:469) said that "it is not considered meddling and is a socially approved way of helping patch up disturbed relations." Thus, reconciliation is effected without the need for a direct face-to-face confrontation and a probable loss of face which Filipinos abhor and, thus, avoid.

e. Using Indirect Means or Euphemisms

Filipinos are especially sensitive to public criticism because of *amor-propio*. What is regarded as constructive criticism can be an insult to Filipinos. In an assembly, for instance, if the presiding officer wants to announce publicly a wrong done, he begins his statement by saying,

- (11) *Batu-bato sa langit, ang tamaan huwag magagalit.* (Roces 1985:39)
'Stone from heaven, whoever gets hit must not be *galit*.'

Since it is addressed to all, the statement loses its sting even if it hits the target. This clearly shows the point that one avoids direct confrontation as much as possible. Hornedo (2000:42-3) said, "He can try to preserve good personal relations at the expense of truth. He uses euphemisms to avoid the frankly harsh. So he says, *Siguro nga* 'Maybe' even when he knows it is not true. Half-truths and white lies are justified as an effort to avoid conflicts or pacify heightened negative emotions."

f. Through Teasing

In the family or among friends, one way to express objections or grudges is by teasing. Roces (1985:173) remarked "Teasing remains throughout life a basic tool for otherwise unacceptable expressions, for control, and for 'feeling out' another's reactions. Teasing reveals children's or parents' attitudes and views without openly discussing sensitive issues such as grooming habits, low school marks, choice of sweetheart, greed, laziness and so on."

g. A Change in One's Way of Speaking

When one speaks with a tone of voice that is slightly higher than usual, the first question is, 'Is he angry?' Moreover, an angry person will also speak in monosyllables; the melodious lilt of the words consisting of a prolongation of the vowel sounds and a gentle rise in pitch at the end of a sentence gone. An interviewee relates how his voice tone is indicative of his emotion.

- (12) Fred: *Sa pamilya, oo, pero hindi ko naman sinasabing 'Hoy, galit ako!', pero mahahalata na lang sa mataas na boses.* 'In the family, yes, but I do not say, 'Hey, I'm *galit*' but in my voice you will recognize it by my raised voice.

Nowadays, children have more freedom to express what they feel. For the most part however, this is true only among equals. An expressed *galit* to an authority can be interpreted as disrespect which is hurtful to the *amor propio*. However, in situations where the honest

expression of *galit* is allowed, there is still a deep regard to keep the peace by not hurting the other person. Thus, the component:

(f) If I tell this to Y, Y can feel bad

(g) I do not want Y to feel bad

A mother can behave in this way as shown by the next example:

(13) A: *'Yon ang dapat mong pagsikapan, kung saan ka nahihirapan. Magpaturo ka sa kuya mo. Magaling kang bata...O gusto mo bang magmeryenda? Ipagluluto kita ng ginatang munggo.* 'That is what you should study more, where you find it difficult. Ask your older brother to help you. You are a bright child...Oh, do you want to have a snack. I will cook *mung* beans in coconut milk for you.' (Ramos & Goulet 1981:314)

After giving the child a mild reprimand for not doing well in some of the subjects at school, the mother suddenly changes the topic by offering her "child her favorite *meryenda* 'snack' to indicate that the reprimand is over and that she does not want him to dwell on it" (Ramos & Goulet 1981:315). This is especially observed if the relationship is between a superior and subordinate. The superior is responsible for keeping the peace by not pulling rank. After a reprimand is given to the subordinate, the superior tries to restore the previous friendly relationship by such devices as giving excuses for why the reprimand had to be made, changing the subject, asking about the person's family, or indicating in some other way that the unpleasant situation is over and should be forgotten."

Thus, angry words are better left unsaid. An angry person counts on the other's sensitivity to perceive and address the real issues appropriately even if nothing is expressed by both parties. However, in situations when the non-verbal expression of anger is disregarded, one employs verbal expression which can acquire the potential of confrontational or aggressive verbal behavior. For instance, if after some time, a person still persists in doing something bad, despite the verbal or non-verbal messages sent out by the person affected, the latter is forced to take action. Thus, the next component is:

(h) If Y knows he did something bad

(i) And Y does it for a longer time

(j) I can do something bad because of this

Usually a mother counts to a certain number or she exhibits a certain non-verbal expression to correct her children's misbehavior for them to correct their behavior before she unleashes the punishment.

However, anger can also be expressed immediately as a reaction to a hurt *amor propio*. Thus, the explication

(k) If Y did something bad to make people think and say about me:

(l) This person (X) is bad

(m) I can do something bad to Y because of this

The components **(k) If Y did something bad to make people think and say about me: (l) This person (X) is bad** refer to the direct attack on a person's *amor propio*. If the person said or did something which attacked the one thing that a person values most, in this case, *amor propio*, it is considered a brutal unmasking similar to physical assault.

(14) One interviewee, Fred, aired his view, *Hindi naman ako marunong magalit. Pero pag hiniya ako sa ibang tao. Naku, magagalit ako. Sasabihin ko sa kanya. Brad, dahan-dahan ka naman sa pagsasalita. Pag patuloy pa rin siya. Susuntukin ko na siya.* 'I don't know how to be *galit*. But if he embarrasses me before other people. Naku, I will be *galit*. I will tell him, 'Brad (brother) slow down in saying things.' If he still continues, I will strike him.'

In the above example, the man expressed his displeasure in a mild manner saying 'Brad (brother), slow down in saying things.' If a Filipino male is easily angered and gets mad often, he can be called *pikon* from the Spanish '*picon*' which means easily piqued. If this expression remains unheeded, only then the man starts to manifest his physical anger. "The incapability to be angry, one characteristic favored by Filipino males, is listed as the ego-ideal for men among such other traits as cool, cautious, pleasant, relaxed to the point of being rather easygoing and, to repeat, incapable of anger except when his *amor propio* is provoked," Lapuz (in Roces 1985:197) underscored.

The Filipino anger can be called *passive aggressive* (Bergado 1983:2). *Galit* is thus characterized as patient and long-enduring but only up to a point. It can be succinctly described as *passive-aggressive* making *galit* different from other forms of anger in other cultures. The Malay *marah* and the Ifaluk *song* both contain *pakiramdaman* components making them similar to the Filipino *galit* but without the retaliatory aspect expressed in the *galit* component **(m)** and the *amor propio* components **(g)** and **(h)**. Thus, the Ifaluk experiencer of *song* that wants to change the situation by altering the behavior of the other person as shown by the component **People should not do things like this** might even resort to suicide than murder while a *galit*-experiencer focuses on one's feeling as a result of the action of another shown in *galit* components **(a)**, **(b)**, **(m)**. The Polish *żłość* which is the most explosive and emotional shown in the component **Because of this, X wants to do something (bad) now** and the English *anger* **I would want to do something bad to this person. Because of this, X feels bad towards Y. Because of this, X wants to do something** have nothing to do with *pakiramdaman* elements. The concepts *żłość* and *anger* allow no time for brooding but are akin to the retaliatory concepts in *galit* in the event of *amor propio*. *Galit* bears a semblance to *marah* and *song* on account of its brooding time, while its aggressiveness can be seen in *żłość* and *anger*. Obviously, the concept *galit* encompasses the passive and aggressive dimensions of the emotional concept.

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