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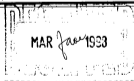
Readings in Philippine Sociolinguistics

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Bilingual communities: National/Regional profiles and verbal repertoires (1985)

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1. The Philippines

1.1 Language groups

The 1980 Census of the Philippines (National Census and Statistics Office 1983) shows a multi-ethnic population speaking various Austronesian languages of the West Indonesian branch, which are not mutually intelligible but are clearly related to each other under various sub-groupings. The clearest divisions are the Northern Group and the Central Group, with the Northern Group situated in Northern and Central Luzon, and the Central Group located in Central and Southern Luzon, the Visayas, and parts of Mindanao (Zorc 1984). Smaller groups may be found in Eastern Mindanao (Eastern Mindanao Group), Southern Mindanao and Sulu (Sama-Bajaw Group), the area around Laka Lanao (Danao language group), Central Mindanao (the Manobo Group), and the islands of Palawan (the Palawanese Group) (cf., Pallesen 1985).

Over time, these different communities have carried on relations largely through sea travel and in the process of trade and migration have mutually influenced each other. There seems to have been a Malay community near the mouth of the Pasig in Manila Bay which became the source of many Malay words in the Philippine languages (Zorc 1979b).

In addition, border areas (for example, areas where Tagalogs and Kapampangans lived side by side) resulted in mutual borrowing and influence (see E. Santos 1984). Moreover, Ilocano communities moved to the Cagayan Valley from the Northwest to the Northeast and to other parts of the Philippines. Gradually the Kapampangans lost much of their territory to the Tagalogs in the South and to Ilocanos in the North in areas now known as Tarlac and Nueva Ecija. In turn, Cebuanos migrated to North, East, West, and South Mindanao so that, in effect, even before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521, there were already three *lingua franca* in the archipelago: Ilocano in the North, Tagalog in the South, Cebuano for most of the Bisayas and the in-migrant portions of Mindanao; eventually, with the coming of the Spaniards a Central Philippine-Spanish pidgin emerged in Zamboanga as Chavacano. (A variety of

Chavacano was also spoken earlier in Ermita, Manila, and is still spoken in Ternate, Cavite; cf., Riego de Dios in press.)

Table 1A indicates the present number of households speaking various languages in the country, together with the extrapolated number of speakers based on the average number per household indicated by the census. Table 1B indicates the number of speakers of Pilipino and English as a first or second language, among the population of the country six years old and older.

1.2. Official Languages

The national *lingua franca*, Tagalog-based Pilipino, is rapidly spreading. The census shows that speakers of this language (as a first or as a second language) constitute 77.0% of the population six years old and older (38,925,000); this represents an increase of 21.8% from the last decennial census (1970) which listed 20,257,941 speakers of Pilipino. (Note that the 1970 census lists the total number of Pilipino speakers of all ages; the 1980 census lists only speakers of Pilipino six years old and older; the 21.8% increase is therefore understated, since it does not include first language speakers of Pilipino below six years of age.)

At the time of the National Language Law in 1936, based on the 1939 census three years later, only about 25.4% of the total population of 16 million spoke Tagalog (as a first language). As a result of its selection as the basis of the national language, Tagalog grew to its present levels, although the 1973 Constitution dis-established Tagalog-based Pilipino as the national language in favor of FILIPINO (as yet to be formed). In the meantime, Pilipino, English, and Spanish continue as official languages (see Gonzalez 1980).

English, the present language of wider communication, and the former colonial language under the American Regime (1898-1946), was reported in the 1980 census as being spoken by at least 64.5% of the population six years old and older. This represents an increase of over 19% from the last decennial census (1970). Again, this percentage of growth is understated, as the 1970 census listed 16,409,133 speakers of English or 44.7% of the *total* population, whereas the 1980 census lists only speakers of English six years old and older. However, the understatement here is relatively negligible, unlike the understatement for Pilipino, since the number of speakers of English six years of age and younger would be very small. (English in the Philippines is primarily learned in school rather than in the home, except for the relatively small number of homes where English is used and where, therefore, before school children learn English as a first language.) In spite of this increase in numbers and in percentage, however, there has been fear expressed that the quality of English language competence in the country is "deteriorating."

Table 1A
Ethnolinguistic Groups in the Philippines
and Their Extrapolated Numbers
1980 Census

Total Philippines	No. of Private Households	Extrapolated Number of Speakers for Each Household*
Aklanon	61,630	344,388
Agutayano	1,933	10,802
Apayao (Isneg)	4,144	23,156
Ata	3,151	17,608
Badjao	898	5,018
Bagobo-Guiangga	6,194	34,612
Banton	10,549	58,948
Batac	270	1,508
Banuanon	201	1,123
Bicol	479,472	2,679,289
Bilaan	17,722	99,031
Zambal (Bolinao)	24,612	137,532
Bontoc	12,590	70,353
Bukidnon	9,954	55,623
Cagayano	1,779	9,941
Cagayan de Oro	2,563	14,322
Calagan or Caragan	1,373	7,672
Caviteño	855	4,771
Cebuano	2,083,335	11,641,675
Chavacano	41,910	234,193
Cuyono	19,315	107,932
Dumagat	235	1,313
Davaweño	21,076	117,773
Gaddang	4,170	23,302
Hamikanon	64,962	363,008
Hiligaynon (Ilongo)	788,479	4,406,021
Ibanag	38,932	217,552
Ifugao	26,076	145,713
Ilanum	8,392	46,894
Ilonggot	821	4,588
Ilocano	886,319	4,952,751
Inibaloi	16,796	93,856
Isinai	749	4,185
Itawis	19,192	107,245
Ivatan	2,830	15,814

Kalamian	469	2,621
Kangkanai	32,591	182,119
Kalinga	13,619	76,103
Kalibugan	2,221	12,411
Kapul	1,974	11,031
Kene	4	22
Kulaman	137	766
Maguindanao	85,964	480,367
Malaweg	2,559	14,299
Mamanwa	293	1,637
Mandaya	6,539	36,539
Manguangan	60	335
Mangyan	22,574	126,144
Maranao	91,606	511,894
Masbate	54,871	306,619
Molbog	1,359	7,594
Negrito	503	2,811
Obian	141	788
Palanan	1,800	10,058
Palaweño	872	4,873
Pampango		
(Kapampangan)	238,715	1,339,939
Pangasinan	158,666	886,626
Pinalwan	7,664	42,826
Pullon-Mapun	3,275	18,301
Romblon	29,361	164,069
Samal	42,381	236,825
Sangil	1,029	5,750
Lineyte-Samaron		
(Waray)	342,987	1,916,611
Subanon	21,723	121,388
Sulu-Moro (Tausog)	82,737	462,334
Tagabili	7,783	43,491
Tagakaolo	8,368	46,760
Tagalog	2,552,561	14,263,710
Tagbanua	2,345	13,104
Tap	67	374
Tinggilan or Itneg	7,867	43,961
Tirurai	7,176	40,099
Yakan	13,604	76,019
Yakad	2,381	13,305
All Other Dialects	68,848	384,722
Non-Philippine		
Languages	19,835	110,838

*To get the total number of speakers, the number of households was multiplied by the average number of persons per household (5.588).

Table 1B
 Speakers of Pilipino and English as First or Second Language
 1980

	Number of speakers 6 years old and older	Population 6 years old and older	Percentage of speakers 6 years old and older	Total population	Percentage of total population
		38,925,000		48,098,460	80.927%
Pilipino*	29,998,000		77.0%		
English	25,000,000		64.5%		

*For Pilipino the number is probably understated, since there are many speakers of Pilipino as a first language below six years of age.

1.3. State of English

Various causes may be cited to explain the perception that English is not being mastered as well as it had been in the past (i.e. before 1946). The most obvious development is the sheer growth of numbers in the school system, through which English is learned for the most part. In 1940-1941 there were 2,063,971 pupils in the entire educational system; in school year 1984-1985, there are 14 million. This means that the number of teachers has grown from 43,716 in 1940 (Aldana 1949) to 406,285 (Gonzalez in press b).

With changes in Philippine society, and with the absence of American native speakers to act as models in the system, the most evident manifestation of this "deterioration" is the presence of Filipino-accented English or what is now known as Standard Filipino English (Llamzon 1969) or Philippine English (Gonzalez and Alberca 1978; Gonzalez 1982a; Gonzalez in press b).

Actually, this perception is most likely dubious so far as pronunciation is concerned, since a study by Gonzalez (1985) indicates that, contrary to such a perception, post-World-War-II Filipinos, when equalized with a comparable sample from the pre-war period (especially the first generation during the Thomasite period of the American regime—the first group of American teachers in 1901 came aboard the *U.S.S. Thomas*) manifest a better standard of pronunciation of American English than their predecessors, especially in intonation, and in the acquisition of certain critical sounds (the distinction between [i] and [ɪ], [f] and [v]) although no generation has ever really mastered [æ], [ə], [ð], [θ], [ʒ], [z] and American retroflex [r]. Certain polysyllabic words are

accented differently from American English. These latter features have been described as the "perduring" features of Philippine English.

A comparable trans-generational study for grammatical features is being undertaken at present by Thelma Jambalos (on-going) for oral English and by Estela Infante-Tan (on-going) for written English.

A study of contemporary English of the mass media by Gonzalez and Alberca (1978) indicates that recurring features of Philippine English are local rules for agreement, tense, tense sequence, article usage, and prepositional usage, as well as localized uses of the progressive, present perfect, and past perfect tenses.

From descriptions of language teaching problems in the literature before World War II (see, for example, the 1926 Monroe Survey of the Philippine educational system), it is clear that lack of mastery of pronunciation and problems with grammar are not new but have been recurring across generations. It is difficult, therefore, to prove deterioration for lack of baseline data (seeing that numbers/proportions are not comparable and that many more students survive the system these days than before, resulting in students with fossilized errors now entering college).

What is probable is that there has been language change in the sense that, since English has been adopted as one of the official languages of the Philippines, local features of pronunciation and grammar have become so common that they are no longer construed as errors (Gonzalez 1983a) but rather have become "legitimated" features of Philippine English. Language change is not necessarily deterioration but merely a process of development in the life of a language in a new milieu.

Perhaps the more important development is that, as a result of various changes in the educational system itself, one now comes across individuals who are, to use the term common in the literature of immigrants, especially in the Scandinavian countries, *semi-linguals*— individuals who, because of deprivation arising from structural imbalances in the society, can carry on neither basic communicative tasks in the second (dominant) language of the school (least of all higher cognitive activities necessary for success in the system) nor higher cognitive tasks in their first language.

In the Philippines, this development is systematic and is the result of government neglect through policy and of lack of funding of an entire system which has just grown too fast to be manageable. There are now indications, based on tests carried out by different agencies and learned societies, that the mastery of content and language skills among pupils in the system as well as among teachers has gone down. The problem is that even with the Bilingual Education Policy, which in effect has meant more use of Pilipino for content teaching, progress in Pilipino has not been impressive.

1.4. *Status of Pilipino*

In spite of more than ten years of expanded use of Pilipino as a medium of instruction in the system--at the primary and secondary levels for social studies and the social sciences and at the tertiary level for the social sciences on an experimental level--Gonzalez (1984) notes a plateauing effect in achievement; in other words, after a certain point, more exposure to and use of Pilipino does not necessarily mean higher cognitive skills in Pilipino. A group of researchers at the Division of City Schools of Manila (Navarro et al. 1984) call this a "saturation effect." Sibayan (1985) explains it more simply as the lack of a pedagogical idiom for Pilipino and the lack of intellectualization of Pilipino which still has to be developed as a language rich enough to handle technical materials.

1.5 *Domains*

The results of various surveys (Gonzalez and Bautista 1985) indicate that the domains of Pilipino are expanding, while the domains of English are contracting. Since 1974, both Pilipino and English have been used as media of instruction in schools, with only Mathematics and Science still under the domain of English, and all other academic subjects under the domain of Pilipino.

In business and industry, English is now confined to board room deliberations (and even here, some code-switching takes place if the board members are all Filipinos), official resolutions and their publication, and, of course, contacts with foreigners. The cocktail party, a cultural borrowing from America, is still for the most part carried on in English. For communications among the rank and file and even now among middle-management officers, Pilipino is used, with the code-switching variety more frequent among the latter. A recent development is the use of the code-switching variety in inter-office memos (Sibayan and Segovia 1984), whereas nationally fourteen years earlier, all written communications were largely in English (Otones and Sibayan 1969). In the mass media, there is use of vernaculars, especially in Cebuano and Chabacano-speaking areas, the topics confined to popular scientific procedures on farming. The rest of the programming on radio is, for the most part, in Pilipino for the rest of the country, with music both in Pilipino and in English and, in the case of a few announcers, with some of the announcing in the code-switching variety of Pilipino and English. On TV, prime-time telecasting consists of local live shows which are mostly in Pilipino with some code-switching in English, and by very popular series (the Philippine equivalent of American soap operas) which are entirely in Pilipino except when characters who use code-switching as part of their normal everyday repertoire are portrayed. Canned TV

shows are all in English, although these are now broadcast outside of prime time. While the English-language *Sesame Street* series was popular for some years, it has now been superseded by a local series, entitled *Batibot* (formerly *Sesame*), which is mostly in Pilipino. The cinema in English continues to enjoy popularity, and among those who can afford a Betamax machine, movies in English continue to be popular and to serve as a means of maintaining English. Because local copyright laws protect local movies more than foreign movies, Betamax movies of local films are more expensive than English ones, although the former continue to enjoy popularity even among the educated classes. In sheer volume, therefore, the English movies still predominate in Betamax tapes, although in downtown theaters, Pilipino-language movies attract more lower socioeconomic status viewers and hence a larger viewership.

The print media continue to be dominated by English, with five daily newspapers in English and only one newspaper in Pilipino. More telling is daily circulation, with the English dailies having a total daily circulation of 556,873 and the Pilipino dailies having a daily circulation of 170,975. Among weekly magazines, two magazines in Pilipino have a total weekly circulation of 271,099 while seven other English magazines have a circulation of 463,587; three magazines with certain articles in English and in Pilipino have a combined circulation of 213,942, while three vernacular magazines (Ilocano, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon) have a combined weekly circulation of 124,730 (*CMS Media Factbook: 1983-1984*; cf., Sibayan elsewhere in this volume, Kaplan 1982.)

A print medium which is highly developed in the Philippines is the comic book or *komiks*, which are all in Pilipino, with occasional English text if the character depicted is a foreigner, a *balik-bayan* (a returnee visiting from the States), or a high socioeconomic status Filipino. It is estimated that the weekly circulation of some forty-seven regular weekly *komiks* titles (serials) is 1,822,210 (in 1977-1978 when we had the best figures; *CMS Media Factbook: 1983-1984*); multiplying that figure by the average size of the households (5.588 in 1980), one then gets a conservative total readership of 10,502,731 weekly, or about 22% of the population. For literacy purposes and for maintenance of reading ability in Pilipino, *komiks* are indeed a powerful tool. (Cf., Marcelino 1980 for a study of the local *komiks* industry; his 1977 survey lists 45 titles published by 11 publishers, with a production of 2 million copies weekly, a regular weekly readership of 12 million, and a total weekly readership, regular and irregular, of 16 million.) In public life, at the Batasang Pambansa (national legislative body or Parliament), although English, Pilipino, and Spanish are considered official languages, English is used, with Pilipino spoken only by a few, more as a manifestation of ideological persuasion than for functionality.

In public speeches, the President [Ferdinand E. Marcos] usually begins in Pilipino, then repeats the content in English. On some

occasions, after the token opening paragraphs, everything else is in English. Depending on the occasion, however, and the audience, there can be a different proportion of language switching. On the days of National Language Week, he will use Pilipino totally, for symbolic purposes. On Labor Day and similar occasions, where the audience is mostly lower and lower-middle class, there is an alternation of paragraphs between English and Pilipino throughout the speech.

Most other public functionaries, except those gifted in Pilipino, and then only for occasional purposes, give their addresses totally in English.

In courts of law, a survey by Suba (1978) indicates a difference of preference among judges and lawyers (who prefer English) and plaintiffs and defendants (who naturally prefer Pilipino for their testimony) since most of the litigants in the surveyed court rooms (Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija) were from lower and middle-classes, groups which are Tagalog-dominant.

In general, what surveys indicate is a further stratification of social classes in the Philippines with language as one indicator of this stratification. People from the upper and middle echelons of business prefer more English than Pilipino, while the rank-and-file in most companies see the value of Pilipino and, outside the Metro Manila area, the local vernacular as well (Fabregas 1982). Nevertheless, these same surveys show that for success in Philippine business and in the professions, the Filipino needs to be multilingual (the local vernacular, Pilipino, and English) and not merely bilingual (Pilipino and English).

He needs the local vernacular as a badge of ethnic identity (unless he is a second-generation immigrant into an urban center); Pilipino for his national identity but likewise for negotiating transactions at one level of his professional life; and English for the scientific and terminological needs of his profession (e.g., medicine, law, engineering), and to carry on official business in government (e.g., courts of law), and at the higher levels of the business hierarchy. He needs Pilipino for dealing with labor and with his rank-and-file employees and, if he is in the retail trade, with the average customer patronizing his establishment. If he lives outside of Manila in a non-Tagalog area, he will likewise need the local vernacular more than Pilipino for these transactions.

1.6. *Code-switching*

The extensive use of a code-switching variety of Pilipino and English in the national mass media and in certain domains of life in Metro Manila even among high socioeconomic status groups yields important insights into patterns of language use and possible future trends in Philippine

society which bear careful watching and monitoring (Barrios, et al. 1977).

Depending on which language predominates, one has either *Engalog* (beginning as English and ending as Tagalog) or *Taglish* (beginning as Tagalog and ending as English). Respondents queried on their use of this variety (Pascasio 1980) aver "more English than Tagalog" or "more Tagalog than English" depending upon the interlocutor, which has been found to be the most decisive element in the choice of codes or code-combinations. Thus one uses more English than Tagalog with one's friends if one comes from a high socioeconomic-status school and even more with one's teachers and superiors in informal discourse, but one uses more Tagalog than English when communicating with persons of a lower social and economic status. In either case, to exploit the possibilities of both languages to gain a certain rhetorical effect, one must have relatively good mastery of both codes. That is why this code-switching variety is really confined only to the better educated students from elite schools and may be considered a Greater Manila edulect (Bautista 1980) among tertiary-level students.

Clerics use this variety in their sermons likewise as a means of establishing rapport with an audience and to show their sympathy for their needs and their tastes. Teachers will do the same in class to show their students that they are "with it" and that "they groove" with their students. Among themselves, at least with fellow students of high socioeconomic status and especially during student political rallies, students use this code-switching variety extensively, again to show peers that the speaker is a nationalist. Actually it is an affectation, since the genuine nationalists from the lower socioeconomic classes use only Pilipino with some English loanwords. Because of the popularity of this variety, radio announcers and TV hosts who wish to make their participant guests at ease use this type of code-switching.

Of a different purpose, not to establish rapport or solidarity with a group with which one wishes to show sympathy, is the code-switching which takes place in all Philippine classrooms as reported and witnessed by Sibayan, et al. (1983) and observed closely for one region by T.S. Santos (1984). These studies show that classroom teachers use both Pilipino and English in Tagalog-speaking regions to explain unfamiliar concepts and principles and to manage the class since in the early years of elementary schooling few of the children command enough English to carry on basic communication in the classroom. As the children ascend to the upper levels, of course, there is more English than Pilipino. One curious development, however, as a result of the Bilingual Education Policy of 1974, is that in non-Tagalog speaking areas, a switch is made between the vernacular and English, depending on which of the two official media of instruction (Pilipino and English) is to be used. The irony of the situation is that, because of the lack of an adequate Pilipino

pedagogical idiom in non-Tagalog areas, teachers sometimes have to switch to English (not the vernacular) in a Pilipino class to teach or explain a concept in social studies for which they lack suitable language in Pilipino. In an English-medium class, a switch to the local vernacular (not Pilipino) is resorted to in order to explain a difficult concept.

Llamzon (1969; 1984) cites evidence for the existence of first-language speakers of English among affluent families in Metro Manila who speak to their children in English. Undoubtedly, such families exist and in effect present the beginnings of a Philippine variety of English as a first language (in other words, a Philippine English creole—not two languages but the original foreign language mixed with local features and now “creolized” by being learned as a first language). However, careful observation will show that in these families, while parents provide models for a local variety of English, maids and yayas (nursemaids) continue to use the local language with the children so that in effect the children grow up bilingual. These families constitute a very small minority and exist only among upper socioeconomic status groups with well-educated parents in urban areas, especially in Metro Manila. Additional evidence for the existence of a small number of first language speakers of English among affluent families can be found in Gonzalez and Bautista (1985).

More interesting from the point of view of language change and from the point of view of constituting evidence for the beginnings of creolization are the uneducated varieties of English spoken by yayas (nursemaids) and bar hostesses in places in the Philippines where American military bases are located (Subic, Zambales and Angeles, Pampanga). Among such speakers, as Bautista (1982) observes, the important variable is the level of education so that in speaking of -lects in the Philippines, it is better to speak of *edulects* than to use the sociolectal terms such as *basilect*, *mesolect*, and *acrolect*.

1.7. *The Verbal Repertoire of Filipinos*

One must speak of the Philippines as multilingual rather than as bilingual, since there is hardly such a person as a monolingual Filipino. Even among smaller cultural communities isolated from the mainstream of Philippine life, continuing contacts with coastal lowlanders and urban dwellers force the average Filipino, no matter of what socioeconomic status and however isolated, to speak the regional *lingua franca* (Ilocano in the North, Tagalog in the Central areas, and Cebuano in the Visayas and Mindanao). In addition, through the mass media, especially the transistor radio, which is now ubiquitous, and the TV, which is now found in most urban areas, Tagalog-based Pilipino is fast becoming the national *lingua franca*.

Most Filipinos attend school at least for a few years (dropping-out beginning in grade 4 and continuing through grades 5 and 6; by the end of grade 6, one-third of the elementary school cohort has dropped out of school—cf. Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports 1982). However, during this period, the children hear the vernacular used initially, then are taught in Pilipino and in English. The educational system needs national measures of achievement and proficiency administered annually at the 4th grade level to find out what competence is attained in these two languages after four years. The indicators are that, in rural areas, the threshold level of English is not attained by the end of grade 4 but that, under optimal conditions in cities, it may be attained as early as the middle of the third year of schooling (at least in Metro Manila among children in affluent schools). In non-Tagalog areas, under optimal conditions, Pilipino can be learned as early as the middle of the second year, although in isolated areas it is not finally attained for basic communication (Lingan 1981). However, any child who has had some schooling has been exposed to Pilipino and to English, so that according to the 1980 census, 29,998,000 or 77.0% of the population six years old and older claim to speak Pilipino as a first or second language and 25,000,000 or 64.5% of the population six years old and older claim to speak English (see Table 1B).

Thus, as a minimum, every Filipino is at least bilingual in his mother tongue (a vernacular) and the regional *lingua franca*; in addition he learns Pilipino and English in school, thus making him quadrilingual if he stays in school long enough to learn English (because he can learn Pilipino outside the school). And if he goes to college, he takes two years of Spanish, which provides hardly enough exposure to gain even a conversational mastery.

How the Filipino exploits the resources of all these languages for communicative effectiveness, however, depends on his talent and versatility. This is an individual accomplishment. Moreover, in describing the verbal repertoire of the average Filipino, one must consider various possibilities, since few Filipinos have mastered any code sufficiently in all its skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), or in all the skills to an equal degree, or in all style registers, and tonal/attitudinal variations. What seems to be the guiding element is pragmatism or utility.

Thus the Filipino develops various -lects for different purposes; not -lects of the same language, but -lects of various languages or codes. He will be intimate in the vernacular, familiar in Tagalog, casual in Pilipino or English, formal in English (formal in Pilipino only for certain national day celebrations for purposes of rhetorical effect), and frozen in English. Gonzalez (1982a) calls attention to the stylistic under-differentiation of Philippine English used in the mass media and states that the average educated Filipino has mastered really only one style—the formal or frozen style in speaking and in writing—with a very uncertain mastery of informal

or colloquial English, to the point of embarrassing stylistic switching at inappropriate moments. The Filipino is usually unable to maintain a colloquial variety when trying to be informal. Yet a few gifted Filipinos have mastered the English literary language well enough to write like the best native speakers (Gonzalez 1983b). Along the dimension of register or academic dialect, obviously the Filipino has to use English for his academic (especially scientific) register but, as a result of the school policy on bilingual education, he is likewise learning to build up an academic register in Pilipino in the social sciences and to expand (almost exponentially) the literary register in Pilipino. In some centers, the literary register in the local vernacular (especially Cebuano and Ilocano) continues to be developed.

Finally, the repertoire is used for various domains: the mother tongue or vernacular at home; Pilipino and the local vernacular in the community; Pilipino with non-locals in a non-Tagalog speaking community; Pilipino in the mass media together with English; English in professional communications; English for international contacts with ASEAN and the world; English and Pilipino in the classroom for science and mathematics and for the social sciences.

In thus speaking of the verbal repertoire of the Filipino in a multilingual setting and in differing domains, one must avoid simplifying a very complex picture and overlooking varying sets of skills used differentially according to the individual aptitude of the language learner and the language user. The consequent patterns of use are, then, a product of circumstance and interlocutor and, of course, speaker.

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The study provides an analysis of the variety of English used by *yayas* (caretakers of children) in an affluent nursery school. Based on the data, the most significant variable seems to be the level of education of the *yaya*, which then explains how far from or how near to the standard her language is. Hence, rather than speak of -lects based on social status, the study makes the important point that, since education is the main explanatory variable, it would be better to speak of *edulects* in the Philippines rather than of -lects based on social levels.

CMS media factbook: 1983-1984. Manila: Association of Accredited [Philippine] Advertising Agencies.

This bi-annual publication of facts about the mass media includes valuable current information on local newspapers and

their circulation, radio and TV programs, and the languages of broadcasting. It is lacking information, however, on movies (number of local films produced each year, their viewership, number of foreign films imported, their viewership), comic books (*komiks*), and printed books. The publication is intended primarily for advertising agencies and concentrates on rates. For monitoring the growth of certain publications, keeping in mind the language(s) used, it is invaluable. For example, for comic books, it gives more conservative figures on readership than do many mass media people in passing comments on the number of *komiks* readers.

- Fabregas, R.O. 1982. *Language use, needs, and attitudes of people of certain occupations in a Pangasinan setting*. Manila: Philippine Normal College-Ateneo de Manila University-De La Salle University Consortium. Ph.D. diss.

Fabregas studied fifteen pairs of representatives of different occupations at various levels (professional, semi-professional, non-professional) using a background questionnaire and a structured interview asking about the languages used for various transactions; she tested reported data against actual use in family situations using half the sample and found general congruence. The study dramatizes an important finding in Philippine life: one needs the vernacular, Pilipino, and English, in varying proportions depending on one's professional status, with English naturally needed for occupations using science data (for example, medicine). However, the most basic need of all for survival in a Pangasinan community is the local vernacular, which all must learn. Pilipino is used only with strangers and with those new to the community who do not speak the local language (Pangasinense).

- Gonzalez, A., FSC. 1980. *Language and nationalism: The Philippine experience thus far*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

This volume contains the most detailed and comprehensive account of the national language movement in the Philippines thus far, and uses nationalism as the common thread running through the Filipino's continuing search for a linguistic symbol of unity and nationhood. Valuable data based on census figures are provided for comparison and for tracing the growth in the numbers of Pilipino and English speakers in the country.

- Gonzalez, A., FSC. 1984. Evaluating the bilingual education policy. In Gonzalez, A. (ed.). *Panagani--language planning, implementation and evaluation: Essays in honor of Bonifacio P. Silayan on his sixty-seventh birthday*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. 46-65.

The author distills the findings of several studies done on the implementation of the bilingual education program in various institutions, districts, division, regions, and (where available) nation-wide, using mostly master's theses and doctoral dissertations submitted at various centers in the Philippines. He deplors the lack of baseline data and (as of the date of publication of the essay) the lack of effort (since remedied) by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports to undertake a systematic evaluation of the policy using test results and indirect indicators of achievement. He also proposes a model for evaluating the program.

- Gonzalez, A., FSC. 1985. English across generations: Phonology. *Dialogue*. 20.1.1-25.

This study tested 15 males and 15 females each from five generations of Filipinos for features of pronunciation and tested for significant differences using ANOVA. Contrary to earlier impressions, post-World-War-II Filipinos have acquired certain segmentals better than their earlier and older counterparts, in spite of the fact that the earlier generations were exposed to American native speakers as models. The main contribution of the aural-oral method is the acquisition of intonation. Certain phones not acquired by any generation of Filipinos are then described as the perduring features of Philippine English pronunciation. The study represents a pioneering attempt to discover an empirical basis (or lack of basis) for claims about pronunciation change and linguistic "deterioration." It is expected that it will be followed up by an inquiry into morphology, into sentence structure, and into composition writing.

- Gonzalez, A., FSC. In press b. *Studies in Philippine English of the mass media*. Singapore: Regional Language Centre. [Regional Language Centre Monograph Series.]

The monograph compiles several papers by Gonzalez and by Gonzalez and Alberca on Philippine English of the mass media and presents them in a systematic manner: phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax. Two (formal and informal) styles are described, oral and spoken, including occurrences of style

mixing. A beginning discourse analysis (using Philippine literature in English) is attempted in describing the distinctive features of this variety of English in an Asian setting; an attempt is made to do crude frequency counting to qualify features for inclusion and to differentiate formal and informal style.

Gonzalez, A., FSC. and M.L.S. Bautista. 1985. *Language surveys in the Philippines (1966-1984)*. Manila: Research Center, De La Salle University.

The authors systematically provide abstracts of language surveys done on the Philippines (some seventy studies) and distill the major findings of each survey. Findings on language use patterns, attitude and motivation, acquisition and learning, and language planning are discussed in individual chapters. An integrative essay by way of summary and conclusion, pointing out innovative findings in substance and methodology and indicating new directions in inquiries of this genre is provided. The second part presents the summaries of each major survey, using a predetermined grid.

Llamzon, T. 1984. The status of English in Metro Manila today. In Gonzalez, A. (ed.). *Panagani—language planing, implementation and evaluation: Essays in honor of Bonifacio P. Sibayan on his sixty-seventh birthday*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. 106-121.

The survey attempts to replicate for the Metro Manila area the survey done in 1968 (reported in 1969) by Otones and Sibayan. However, the irretrievability of the raw data for the earlier survey makes comparison and measurement of sociolinguistic changes difficult or impossible. The study indicates the growing expansion of the domain of Pilipino and its more frequent use in letter writing. It gives interesting indications that only 45% of householders and 50% of teachers of Manilans are native Tagalogs (the rest being migrants speaking non-Tagalog languages). In addition, a significant (though still comparatively small) number of households use English predominantly, not only among high SES families but even among highly motivated teachers who wish their children to learn English well.

Marcelino R.R. 1980. *Komiks magasin script-writing: Teach yourself, Book 1*. Manila: Communication Foundation of Asia.

The study describes the comic book (popularly known as *komiks*) industry in the Philippines, the titles (as of a certain date), the

circulation, the prices, and the readership. These comic books are all in Pilipino and constitute perhaps the most powerful tool for disseminating that language throughout the country.

National Census and Statistics Office. 1983. *Philippines (Republic) Bureau of Census and Statistics: Census of the Philippines and housing*. Manila: National Economic Development Authority.

The latest decennial census of the Philippines contains data on the number of households speaking a native language, based on a 20% sample of households: it also contains data on the numbers of speakers of Pilipino and English (as a first or second language). Unlike previous censuses (1903, 1918, 1939, 1949, 1960, 1970) the number of speakers of particular languages is not given; only the number of households is given. Thus, one must extrapolate by multiplying the number of households by the average number of household members to obtain figures for comparison with previous censuses.

Navarro, J., et al. 1984. The relative effectiveness of different bilingual education programs in the elementary and secondary schools in Manila. Manila: Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports, Region IV, Division of City Schools. [Manuscript:]

A well-conceived and executed longitudinal experiment involving different classes in the city schools of Manila using various models of bilingual programs. Contrary to expectations, in the long term, at the end of sixth grade and at the end of fourth year high school, the student with more exposure to English achieved better results in English and Pilipino. The effect on achievement in English was expected; what was not expected was the achievement in Pilipino, which was superior to (or at least equalled) achievement of groups with more exposure to Pilipino. The tentative first conclusion is that education in a developing language in the process of cultivation and standardization results in a "saturation effect"; that is, more exposure to the language will not mean more achievement, since the materials to educe achievement (in terms of highly intellectualized materials and better testing instruments to measure higher cognitive skills in the developing language) are still not available. The second major conclusion (also tentative) is that, after a student has reached a certain threshold of competence in the medium of instruction (for learning content), the language of instruction is no longer crucial. Still a third conclusion seemed to be that there is a transfer of training possible from one language to another (be

it first or second, provided the desired threshold has been reached) so that one can learn something in a second language, be tested over that content in one's second language, and achieve equal or even superior results to those of a student who learned the same content in his first language.

- Pallesen, K. 1985. *Culture contact and language convergence*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. [Linguistic Society of the Philippines Monograph Series no. 24]

This comprehensive study of the Sama-Bajaw languages in the Philippines (originally a dissertation done at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1977) uses phonological, lexical, and grammatical data to sub-group the varieties of the language group and to differentiate them from neighboring languages including the Eastern Mindanao languages (which include Sulu as well as languages spoken by close neighbors of the Sama-Bajaws). The Sama-Bajaw group exhibits many structural characteristics not found among the Philippine languages and hence may constitute a group apart from the Philippine languages.

- Riego de Dios, I., RVM. In press. *A Chabacano-English dictionary*. Manila: Studies in Philippine Linguistics.

A voluminous Chabacano-English dictionary of 6,000 word entries, this study was originally presented as a Ph.D. dissertation of the Philippine Normal College-Ateneo de Manila University Consortium. The dictionary contains a short grammatical sketch of a central Philippine-Spanish creole and gives entries from its three varieties according to place (Cavite City, Ternate, and Zamboanga). Most of the terms are from Zamboanga City, where the language is alive and well and is the first-language of a group of speakers. The study is non-committal on the Philippine base of the original pidgin, since Cebuano and Tagalog are so similar in structure that it is difficult to make a conclusive statement as to which constituted the original partner of Spanish. Moreover, the varieties show no difference in structure but do show differences in a relatively small number of lexical items.

- Santos, E., SDB. 1984. *Changing linguistic boundaries of Kapampangan: Implications for language policy, planning and implementation*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University. M.A. thesis.

Santos' M.A. thesis traces the boundaries of Kapampangan, a Central Philippine language that for centuries has existed proxi-

mate to Tagalog and Ilocano. Using historical and census documents, Santos shows the changing boundaries of Kapampangan, its loss of territory to Tagalog in the South and its unexpected gain in speakers (and relatively stable boundaries) in the southern part of Tarlac. The study brings up interesting questions on language growth, maintenance, and decay in the Philippines.

Santos, T.S. 1984. Classroom language use in selected public elementary schools in region III. Manila: De La Salle University. D.A. diss.

The author, with a team of colleagues, visited classes covering various subjects throughout the entire region, which is multilingual, and observed patterns of language use and code-switching at various grade levels and in different subjects. English predominates as the students go up in grade level; there is more use of English than Pilipino and less code-switching in non-Tagalog areas, which indicates that Pilipino and code-switching between Pilipino and English will expand faster in urban Tagalog-speaking areas than in rural areas because of the presence of Pilipino as a competing language. Likewise, in those places where code-switching had to be resorted to for explanations, teachers and pupils spontaneously turned to Pilipino and not the other local vernaculars (Ilocano and Kapampangan), thus indicating the predominance of Pilipino and the high degree of bilingualism in Pilipino among the children in this region.

Sibayan, B.P. 1985. Reflections, assertions and speculations on the growth of Pilipino. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*. 13.1.40-51.

The author traces the historical development of Tagalog-based Pilipino as the national language of the Philippines, its choice, standardization, dissemination, and cultivation. He demonstrates the need at this time for its intellectualization and modernization at the tertiary level, in colleges and universities, and makes a plea for the development of a pedagogical idiom of the language to be used as a medium of instruction at different levels of the system. It is this lack of an idiom that is causing its relative ineffectiveness as a medium of instruction after the primary grades.

Sibayan, B. P. and L.Z. Segovia. 1984. Language, identity and socioeconomic development. Singapore: Regional Language Centre. [Occasional Papers No. 32]

This volume contains several papers on language and socioeconomic development and language and identity, perceptions and patterns of bilingualism and multilingualism, typology of bilingualism, and strategy and structure of bilingual education in the Philippines. The authors surveyed different levels of staff in different types of companies in Manila and queried them on their perceptions of language needs for employment, advancement, and social mobility. The survey used carefully stratified random sampling (although without use of tests of significance) and shows that one cannot be monolingual in the Philippines and succeed; that more and more, one needs Pilipino and not merely English for social and professional advancement in a company; that the domains of English are becoming restricted, and that, in inter-office memoranda among peers, the code-switching variety of English and Pilipino is now used (a recent development, since formerly only English was used in writing in such a domain). Other uses of code-switching are indicated.

The studies on language-and-identity measure the extent of Filipinos' perceptions of ethnicity side by side with their perceptions of themselves as members of a larger polity (hence, Filipinos) and the extent of their identification of national language (Pilipino) with national identity. Indirectly, among in-migrants into Metro Manila and other urban areas, there are indirect indicators of de-ethnicization. Overall, there is a strong adherence among non-in-migrants to their ethnic identities without any conflicts with their national identities as Filipinos, but less identification as Filipinos with views on Tagalog-based Pilipino and its use, especially as medium of instruction.

The other studies describe the Bilingual Education Program in the Philippines and characterize its structure, purpose, and type.

Sibayan, B.P., et al. 1983. Project NTR: The Philippine report. Manila: Philippine Normal College. [Manuscript.]

Sibayan, et al. observed classrooms in urban and rural Tagalog and non-Tagalog areas and found that no class is really monolingual. Classes in the Philippines, no matter what the prescribed language is for the specific subject under the Bilingual Education Policy, manifest extensive code-switching among the local vernacular, Pilipino, and English. The most spontaneous and lively classes were, of course, those in Pilipino among Tagalogs; among non-Tagalogs, there was switching to the

vernacular and to English when something could not be explained adequately in Pilipino.

- Suba, S.B. 1978. Mga saloobin ng tatlong pangkat tungo sa paggamit ng Wikang Pilipino sa hukuman [The attitudes of three groups towards the use of the Pilipino language in court]. Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija: Araullo Lyceum. M.A. thesis. [In Pilipino.]

This study is the first of its kind; it tries to query judges, clerks of the court, defendants, and plaintiffs in a provincial court of law in a Tagalog-speaking area on their preferences for which language to use in court. Expectedly, the judges and clerks of the court, used to legal English, preferred English, while defendants and plaintiffs, from lower socioeconomic classes, preferred Pilipino, since they could communicate their testimony better in Pilipino. The study is valuable in focusing on a domain (the legal domain) where language becomes an important element in carrying on transactions and where most resistance to Pilipino is likely to be found even in the future, at least among legal staff and judges, because of the difficulty of formulating laws and briefs in Pilipino.

- Zorc, R.D. 1979a. An etymological, bilingual dictionary--esoteric or essential? *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*. 10.1-2.63-73.

This study contains the most comprehensive discussion of cultural content inferrable from the Philippine language family and the speakers of the various languages based on linguistic reconstruction and borrowings.

- Zorc, R.D. 1984. The genetic relation of Philippine languages. Paper presented at the Fourth International Austronesian Conference. Suva, Fiji.

Zorc is the most knowledgeable scholar at present on the subgrouping relationships and features of the Philippine languages. This paper represents his latest family-tree, based on his own extensive data and reconstructions and on the works of other Austronesianists (notably R. Blust).

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[Other entries were omitted in the offprint which was used as basis for the typesetting of this article. -Ed.]

CHAPTER 2

Languages in Contact