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Readings in Philippine Sociolinguistics

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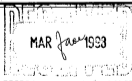
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Evaluating bilingual education in the Philippines: Towards a multidimensional model of evaluation in language planning (1990)

Andrew Gonzalez, FSC

The Context of Language Planning and Use in the Philippines

Language planning

Language planning, in the sense of a conscious effort to frame policy and to set down steps for implementation, did not take place in the Philippines until the passage of the National Language Law in 1936 under the Commonwealth government (see Gonzalez, 1980).

However, previous to this formal legislation, a Model of National Language Planning, the Spanish colonial government (1565 to 1898) had drafted many instructions on teaching the *indios* the Castilian language (see Bernabe, 1986 for a detailed account of language policy formulation during this period). However, with so few Spanish-speaking colonials (both peninsulars and insulars) during the period, concentrated only in the Old City (Intramuros) in Manila and in such Hispanized urban centers as Vigan in the North, Cebu in the Visayas, and Zamboanga in the South, there was really little opportunity to learn Spanish among the locals, although a pidgin Philippine-Spanish vernacular evolved, which has become creolized (Chabacano). In many remote areas, away from the urban centers, the only Spaniards available was the Spanish *frailé* who for evangelization purposes found it more advisable to learn the local language rather than to try to have the population learn his language. Moreover, not until 1863 did the Spanish colonial government really attempt to organize a system of primary schools. The first normal school for teachers — the main task of which was to teach Spanish — did not begin until 1865 at the Ateneo Municipal (for male teachers) and in 1868 at the Colegio de Santa Isabel in Naga (for female teachers).

At the end of the Spanish period, even by the most optimistic estimates, no more than 2.4% of the population could speak Spanish (see Gonzalez, 1980:3) — although there was an 'overlay' of Spanish in the content words of the Philippine languages including those languages of ethnic groups in the mountains who had been least touched by Spanish influence.

The rapid learning of English by Filipinos came through the mass-based elementary school system which the Americans established almost as soon as they arrived in 1898. The rewards for learning English, including social mobility, and the Filipino's own hunger for education explain the rapid learning of English although President McKinley's instructions to the second Philippine commission enjoined them to use the local vernaculars as languages of instruction. Since none of the languages in the eyes of the government had a sufficiently rich literature and adequate number of speakers to be used for education, the instructions, like the instructions of the Spanish monarchs on the teaching of Spanish in the previous regime, became a dead letter. English dominated the system, although intermittently, especially in the 1930s a plea for using the local languages as languages of initial education and literacy was sounded by different educational authorities of vision (see Sibayan & Gonzalez, in the press for an account of English language teaching during the American period).

By the time of the drafting of the Constitution of 1935, enough consensus had been built on the desirability of having a national language to be developed from one of the existing languages; in the meantime, the official language continued to be English.

With the passage of the National Language Law in 1936, the National Institute of Language was formed. Its founding commission selected Tagalog to be the basis of the national language. A grammar (in Tagalog) as well as a dictionary (actually, a bilingual Tagalog-English word-list) was ready in 1939, leading to the mandate to begin teaching Tagalog to senior high school students and to students in normal schools by 1940. In 1941, a law was passed making Tagalog (now called *Wikang Pambansa* or National Language) an official language by 1946, when the Philippines would be granted her independence.

With independence, Tagalog was taught as a subject from Grade 1 all the way to High School. The Institute of National Language was charged with the task of propagating, standardizing and cultivating the language. The period from 1946 to 1973 was marked, however, by disagreements with regard to the choice of Tagalog as the basis of the national language because of the larger numbers of Visayans (speakers of two related Visayan languages, Hiligaynon and Cebuano), which led to the repudiation of Tagalog-based Pilipino¹ as the national language by the 1973 Constitution. The latter constitution mandated that FILIPINO be the national language, a language to be formed from all existing Philippine languages; in the meantime, Pilipino and English continued as official languages. After the 1973 Constitution, the martial law government of Ferdinand E. Marcos declared Spanish to be a third official language, for legal purposes.

By the time of the 1987 Constitution, there was sufficient consensus that Tagalog-based Pilipino (so named in 1959 to lessen the objections

of the non-Tagalogs) be renamed Filipino after it had been enriched with lexical elements from the Philippine languages and from other languages, presumably English, Spanish and possibly Arabic. Filipino, thus, has been recognized as the national language. By 1987, however, Spanish no longer received official status but was declared by the Constitution to be voluntary, together with Arabic.

Language use

Life seldom follows legislation, however, especially on such matters as language. While Tagalog was not given constitutional legitimation as the basis of the national language until the 1987 Constitution, it had received some form of legitimation by the recognition of (Tagalog-based) Pilipino as an official language by the 1973 Constitution. Also, of course, the period from 1937 to 1973 saw the rapid spread of Tagalog-based Pilipino not only in the school system but through the mass media and the migration of people to the cities and to other areas of the country (Gonzalez & Postrado, 1976).

Thus, the number of speakers of Pilipino either as a first language or a second language went from 4,064,000 or 25.4% of the total population of 16 million in the 1939 census to 29,998,000 or 77% of the population six years old and over (38,925,000) in the 1980 census count (Gonzalez, 1985: 135-36). Accepted or not as the basis of the national language, Tagalog has spread throughout the archipelago; has developed a rich literature; has been used widely in the domains of inter-ethnic communication and everyday business transactions; and has continued to be taught in school both as a subject and, since 1974, as a medium of instruction for specific subjects because of the enactment of the bilingual education policy by the Department of Education in 1974 (Department Order No. 25, series 1974).

Several surveys (Gonzalez & Bautista, 1986) show that Pilipino has spread through the islands (77% of the population six years old and over in 1980 claimed that they spoke some conversational variety of Pilipino) and that by the year 2000, by simple extrapolation, 97.1% of the population is expected to speak it (Gonzalez, 1977). Presently, it is likewise expanding its domains. In Metro Manila and other urban centers, Pilipino is rapidly displacing English in inter-office communications, in the informal board meetings (where a code-switching variety, between English and Pilipino, is used), the mass media (including movies), print media, and interaction in business offices and commercial establishments (except at board meetings and the highest levels of management). Because of the influence of and instruction in English for writing purposes, letters were primarily written in English in 1968 (Otanés & Sibayan, 1969). But in a more recent survey done by Sibayan & Segovia (1982), many more letters as well as informal inter-office

memos are now written in Pilipino, another indicator of the expanding use of the language into new domains hitherto reserved for English.

The Bilingual Education Policy of 1974

During the period of student activism from 1969 to 1972, suddenly suspended by the declaration of Martial Law, one of the topics which the students constantly referred to was their 'miseducation' as a result of the use of English as the medium of instruction, a continuation, in their eyes, of the cultural and linguistic imperialism of the United States of America.

There were individual and institutional initiatives taken to use Pilipino as the medium of instruction in colleges and universities, even in fields such as science, and to use the language more and more in campus newspapers. Clearly, Pilipino was the language of the 'parliament of the streets' and the 'language of protest'. The Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN), an umbrella group of social activists of different political persuasions, had a program to use Pilipino in the future as the medium of instruction in schools.

Even with the declaration of Martial Law, in response to the clamor for a more nationalistic education, different language planners in the Department of Education had already talked about a bilingual education scheme. After a hurriedly drafted policy aimed towards the expanded use of Pilipino was enacted in 1973, a more systematic policy was promulgated in 1974 by the Department of Education after a nationwide survey of manpower and materials resources for bilingual education was completed.

The policy, enacted by the Board of National Education, upon the recommendations of a Technical Committee, stipulated that beginning in Grade 1 English was to be used as the medium of instruction for science and mathematics and Pilipino for all other subjects, with the major vernaculars as 'auxiliary' languages. A timetable was set, with some allowance for later implementation in non-Tagalog areas, but the stipulation was that by 1983-84, the first batch of students who had gone through 10 years of the bilingual education scheme in Tagalog-speaking areas was supposed to graduate.

Although there was talk of evaluating the scheme after a decade, it was not until a year later, in 1985, that plans were finally set for a nationwide evaluation of bilingual schooling.

The Bilingual Education Policy Evaluation Project

In the course of 11 years, from 1974 to 1975, there were ongoing (formative) evaluations of the policy and its implementation; these evaluations, however, were for the most part limited in scope to individual institutions and geographic areas and reported perceived

difficulties in implementation (Gonzalez, 1984) rather than objective measures of achievement in learning with the use of two languages as independent variables.

In 1985, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports accepted the offer of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines to carry out a nationwide evaluation based on achievement measures and funded the project, together with other international and national funding agencies (see Gonzalez & Sibayan, in press). The model for evaluation was multidimensional and necessitated both achievement test data and perception data from key members of various sectors of the Philippine national community; the studies composing the evaluation consisted of four separate though related studies.

The core of the study tested a national sample of Grade 4, Grade 6 and Fourth Year High School students (the leaving stage at the end of secondary education) in Pilipino and English as language subjects and in Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies as content subjects. The tests for Mathematics and Science were in English, whereas the tests for Social Studies (*Araling Panlipunan*) were in Pilipino, since this language had been used as the medium of instruction for this subject.

Since the evaluators, however, were aware that test results alone would not yield conclusive results on the effects of bilingual schooling, other factors had to be included as variables.

With length of exposure to bilingual schooling as an independent variable, achievement test results in language and content subjects and indices of anchorage to the country (as a measure of nationalism) were considered dependent variables, with the following other factors as intervening variables: the type of community from which the students came (whether Metro Manila or outside Metro Manila--whether rural or urban--whether the community was open to migrant influences or not), teacher factors (the teachers' own competence in the subjects which they were teaching as measured by proficiency tests, their linguistic nationalism and permanency indices measured by five point attitudinal scales); school factors--measured by a team which visited each school involved (whether or not the schools were private or public; whether they were rated by the division superintendent as excellent or poor; institutional characteristics such as the quality of language departments, of library holdings, or laboratory facilities; the attitudes of administrators and faculty towards the bilingual education program; and the quality of teaching as indicated by classroom visitations).

By statistical methods of partialling out and by regression analysis, the team of evaluators was able to determine which factors had the most impact on achievement and permanency indices, which were the best predictors, which explained the greatest amount of variance. Canonical correlations were likewise computed to clarify the relations between

clusters of factors, for example, English language skills and achievement in other content subjects.

In three accompanying studies by research teams working under the direction of the evaluation team, parents, administrators, and students were interviewed to obtain indicators of extent of implementation of the policy at the tertiary level; likewise, key officials of government and non-government agencies were interviewed and asked about their awareness and perception of the education department's language policy and the role they perceived for themselves in implementing this policy. Finally, officers of scholarly societies, both language oriented and non-language oriented, were interviewed as members of the 'lead' population on their activities contributing to the implementation of policy and their perceptions about the future language scenario in the country.

Main findings

The main findings of the evaluation were: length of exposure to the bilingual education program (measured by number of years of implementation) was not a significant predictor of student achievement; neither was it a significant predictor for students' anchorage to the country. By partialling out certain factors, it was found that the bilingual education policy (which in effect results in more use of Pilipino) favored only Tagalog and Manila students. The type of community, not the ethnolinguistic affiliation of the students, had more impact on achievement; living in urban Metro Manila, and an open community were plus factors in achievement of students. The main predictor of student achievement for all subjects was found to be socio-economic status. For Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies, the proficiency of the teachers in their respective subjects was the second most important predictor. Among the findings based on interviews, what emerged was the refusal of Filipinos to equate nationalism with medium of instruction choice. They have accepted Pilipino as the linguistic symbol of unity and national identity, but they refuse to equate mastery of Pilipino with nationalism and still less do they consider their nationalism measurable by the proportion of English or Pilipino used as medium of instruction, although the use of two languages has now been accepted. Filipinos from all sectors and all age groups are of the opinion that Pilipino can be learned as a language not only in school and therefore see less urgency for its expanded use in education, especially for social science subjects at the secondary and tertiary level, where the lack of terminology and difficulties with translation create problems for its use as a medium of instruction, at least for the short term.

Some unexpected findings

Some interesting and unexpected findings of the evaluation are:

(1) The bilingual education program, using both Tagalog-based Pilipino and English, yielded learning dividends and advantages only to Tagalogs and Metro Manilans (where the lingua franca is Pilipino), thus widening the gap between Manilans and non-Manilans on the one hand and between Tagalog and non-Tagalogs on the other hand. Initially, the working hypothesis of the evaluation team was that ethnolinguistic membership was the main cause of advantage, namely, being Tagalog. However, more than ethnolinguistic membership, type of community predicted success. The formula for success in Philippine education is to be a Tagalog living in Metro Manila, which is highly urbanized, and studying in a private school considered excellent. And of course, the formula for failure is the opposite: being non-Tagalog, studying outside of Metro Manila, in a rural setting, in a public or government school considered sub-standard!

(2) Using regression analysis, it was discovered that language factors (Pilipino and English) were responsible for 45% of the variance in results; however, when only Pilipino was considered, independently of English, the percentage of variance explained was much, much smaller. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that Filipinos at present, even those learning social science content with Pilipino as a medium of instruction, have to depend on English for their learning! This is easily explained by the fact that up to now, social science teachers in secondary schools who learned their social studies content in English think in English and translate the lesson into Pilipino; moreover, all references except for the textbook are still in English. Hence switching to the indigenous language in a post-colonial situation will not be enough to develop a language, as the language itself will have to undergo the process of cultivation (or elaboration), one specific aspect of this cultivation being its intellectualization or its use as a language of scholarly discourse.

(3) The very high canonical correlations between English and Pilipino language skills which were found indicate a transfer of skills from one language to another, mostly English language skills transferring to Pilipino, although across levels in the educational system (from grade 4 to Fourth Year High), there was an indication of the increasing proportion of Pilipino language skills transferring to English, thus indicating a trend towards genuine bilingualism, which, based on the data, peaks in Grade 6.

Another unexpected finding was that students achieving well in English likewise achieved well in Pilipino. On the other hand, there were hardly any cases of pupils achieving well in Pilipino but achieving poorly in English; thus, at least for the present, the transfer of skills seems to be mostly in only one direction, from English to Pilipino.

(4) Although previous attitudinal and motivational studies demonstrate that it is difficult to learn a second language unless one's attitude is integrative, the test results indicate that even non-Tagalogs, especially Cebuanos, who are not particularly enthusiastic about Tagalog, do learn it—undoubtedly for purely utilitarian reasons—for the best achievers in Pilipino after the Metro Manilans and the Tagalogs were the Surigao-Cebuanos and Kapampangans followed by Pangasinenses. Undoubtedly, one reason would be the challenge posed to non-Tagalogs to achieve well, being the underdogs.

(5) Schools which are excellent do a good job of teaching both Pilipino and English; in other words, the bilingual education policy can be implemented provided that the institution has the necessary features of a good institution. While the good schools of the country are concentrated in Manila and urban areas, there are nevertheless good schools even in remote areas (one such school was reached by helicopter by the accrediting group because it was not accessible by road).

(6) Pilipino has by now been accepted by most of the citizens of the Philippines as the linguistic symbol of unity and national identity; its status as the national language is no longer in question. Hence, the selection phase of language development is no longer an issue, as it was in the constitutional conventions which drafted the 1935 and the 1973 Constitutions. However, acceptance of Pilipino as the national language is not equated by the majority of Filipinos, in fact, by most of them, with the necessity for its mastery (the counter claim is made that one can be a nationalist and still not master Pilipino) and least of all with the necessity of using it as the sole medium of instruction. The Filipino accepts the use of two languages; s/he sees the need for the maintenance of English for economic reasons and see the limitations of Pilipino as a language of higher cognitive activity at this stage of its development.

(7) In implementing language policy, not only the Department of Education should be involved but all departments of the national government, which should be made aware of the policy and mandated to implement it within their particular spheres of influence. Most necessary as co-operating agencies are the Professional Regulations Commission and the Civil Service Commission, which are charged with testing and certifying future professionals and civil servants. Likewise, all

scholarly organizations, which represent the 'lead' population in language use, must likewise be recruited for the national effort.

(8) The parents were more optimistic than faculty, administrators and officers of government and non-government agencies about the state of competence of the present generation in English and Pilipino; all other groups (except for the parents) saw a 'deterioration' in English competence.

(9) The Filipino community in general is quite sophisticated about its views on the effects of bilingual education, for while the officers of government and non-government organizations and scholarly societies saw a 'deterioration', they did not necessarily ascribe this achievement gap to the bilingual education program alone but to system weaknesses of the educational system which have been allowed to develop during the post-war period. Most pessimistic and most condemnatory of the program are English teachers (who feel that more time for Pilipino has resulted in less time for English) and administrators who are worried about the standing of their institutions in achievement tests.

(10) Scholarly societies are more optimistic about the future of Pilipino as a language of scholarly discourse, except for legal societies which cannot conceive of the exclusive use of Pilipino in the legal domain in the future.

(11) Little significant impact was created by the Bilingual Education Program on achievement or on indices of anchorage to the country. In other words, the Philippine experience shows that it is not programming and allocation of time or subjects which will spell success or failure in learning but such factors as socio-economic status, overall quality of schools, competence of the faculty. Nor should the extended use of Pilipino (which is one result of the bilingual education policy) be expected to engender greater nationalism and anchorage to the country. On this latter matter, economic imperatives more than nationalistic aspirations determine decisions, *pace* to Philippine ultranationalists and leftists.

(12) In developing a post-colonial indigenous language as the national language and as the language of scholarly discourse to develop special registers for classroom use, implementation should not start at the bottom, in primary school, but at the tertiary level, the university, where a creative minority of scholars who are both linguistically versatile and knowledgeable in their fields can do the necessary pioneering work in translation and production of research in Pilipino so as to be able to create an intellectualized variety of the language.

Policy reformulation

On the basis of the findings of the evaluation, the Department of Education, Culture and Sports organized a series of workshops and consultations to draw up a revised scheme. This was finally formulated on 21st May 1987 as Department Order No. 52, known as 'The 1987 Policy on Bilingual Education' with its implementing guidelines spelled out in another Department Order (Department Order No. 54, series 1987).

Essentially, the 1987 policy remains the same as the 1974 policy except that the major vernaculars (specifically the regional languages) have been restored as languages for initial schooling and literacy in areas where in the judgement of the Regional Director, the students entering Grade 1 do not know Tagalog-based Filipino sufficiently to use it as a medium of instruction. These regional languages will therefore serve as transitional languages. Moreover, discretion has been given to the Regional Director to decide on local adaptations of curricula and on the timetable, provided the plan is submitted to the General Office of the Department in Manila. More important, the burden of intellectualizing Filipino has now been turned over to tertiary level institutions, universities, using a filter-down model of language cultivation, supported not by coercion but by a proposed system of incentives. Auxilliary studies necessary for proper implementation (e.g. a revised co-ordinated curriculum for Filipino and English to avoid needless repetition and to provide for planned reinforcement and the transfer of skills from one language to another; a body of materials and techniques for teaching Filipino to non-Tagalogs; a body of materials and techniques for retraining teachers who hitherto have used English for teaching social studies to enable them to teach the same subjects in Filipino; a restructuring of pre-service education courses in Colleges of Education and Normal Schools to reflect the bilingual scheme and for the students to take their undergraduate courses in Filipino) have been planned and an appropriation made to fund these programs.

Implications*Some theoretical and methodological innovations*

Based on the Philippine experience and the unexpected and somewhat surprising findings of the evaluation, and their rich theoretical and practical implications, future evaluations of systems-wide programs implementing language policy must develop a multidimensional model to make sure all relevant and significant factors impacting on results are taken into account.

Not only must one's equations include as many possible dimensions as possible to obtain a fair description of what real impact a program has had, but likewise the evaluation exercise must use not only one single model but a bundle of studies using different models to take into account not only quantitative data (test results) but qualitative perceptions of both implementors, clientele and beneficiaries (or victims) of such programs. In-depth interviews therefore on perceptions, which ideally should be verified by empirical data of a more objective nature, are needed to obtain a holistic account of the impact of the scheme on the learning process.

Such evaluation must likewise take into consideration not only the views and perceptions but also the behavior of administrators, teachers, parents, representatives of scholarly societies, and officers of key government and non-government agencies if language planning is to succeed. Moreover, in predicting success, community type (whether metropolitan or not; whether urban or rural; whether closed or open to migrants and therefore a 'melting pot') must be considered. Socio-economic status has already been discovered in previous studies to have a crucial influence on achievement, but other economic factors which have to do with motivation and the language of aspiration for social mobility must likewise be considered. In the Philippine case, one foresees that even with the drumbeating of die-hard nationalists and pro-Filipino advocates, the general public will continue to want to learn English as long as English is economically rewarding, and the public will therefore demand the maintenance of English in the system not only as a language subject but as a medium of instruction, for pragmatic, instrumental, and financial reasons.

Finally, evaluation cannot be done from the comforts of one's office based on test results administered by evaluators in the field. In addition to final product measures, the process itself must be observed first-hand, through visitations of institutions and most important of all, through classroom observations of even remote schools whether both media of instruction are in use, to gauge real results and to contextualize the numbers that will be churned out by the test results.

Sociolinguistic implications

Taking a holistic view and assuming long-term considerations, more general implications for language planning and language use may be gleaned from the 11 years' experience and its formal summative evaluation.

Perhaps the most important insight that can be gleaned is that two languages, one indigenous, the other one exogenous (a colonial language), can be learned by a school population provided these languages are taught well. Good schools did an excellent job of teaching both

languages well, and poor schools did a poor job of teaching the two languages.

One factor that consistently explained the variance was the socio-economic level of these schools; in other words, success in Philippine academic achievement depends on being in Manila and studying in an excellent private school that charges high tuition.

Filipino as a language of scholarly discourse can be developed in a good school with adequate teaching materials and a linguistically versatile and subject-competent faculty, but until the language has been adequately intellectualized (best done at the tertiary level in universities), more time devoted to it does not result commensurately in higher attainment of language skills for higher cognitive activity. A plateau of achievement in Pilipino was reached, with little improvement beyond this plateau. As long as the local indigenous language is not yet sufficiently developed, then the transfer of skills is more from the developed dominant language (English) to the less developed language (Filipino) than the other way. Clearly, language is a major factor in predicting achievement, but the language which predicted success was English more than Pilipino even for the subject (*Araling Panlipunan*/Social Studies) taught in Pilipino, simply because in this transitional period, materials in English and the training of teachers have been in English rather than in Pilipino.

Thus, in a bilingual scheme where the two languages are not at the same level of cultivation and do not command the same social prestige (unlike the more or less equal status of French and English in Canada, for example) the indigenous language in the process of intellectualization and cultivation is bound to suffer in comparison with the hitherto dominant and socially and economically rewarding language in the system, even if more time is given to the indigenous language in the school curriculum.

To succeed in the second language requires resources which often most schools in a developing country do not have. Those who suffer in the process will be the less culturally advantaged in society and they may end up in a state of semi-lingualism by not mastering either English or Pilipino and therefore be unable to carry on higher cognitive activities in any language.

Hence, the success or failure of any language policy depends on the education system itself, which in the Philippines, because of circumstances specific to it, is badly in need of improvement especially at the secondary level.

Language planning and language policy formulation cannot be done in a vacuum but must take the entire context of the system into account and make plans for compensatory programs so that those less advantaged will not suffer from any change or innovation; this applies specifically to minority language speakers (in this case, non-Tagalogs), who are bound

to be even more disadvantaged with the increasing dominance of the language of the majority.

Moreover, perhaps as a caveat to those planning drastic changes in any system because of the imperatives of nationalism, it must be emphasized that the utility of a language as a learning tool (in this case, an indigenous one) depends on the state of its cultivation. Hence, side by side with school language formulation should be a larger well-planned and systematically funded program of language cultivation for the entire organizations, involving all ministries, government and non-government society, learned societies, and the universities and their scholars. The problem, of course, is that the cultivation of a language even for registers referring to concrete social realities closer to the speakers than the more distant abstract realities of science and mathematics, takes about a generation to develop. Few countries in the process of nation building have the luxury of waiting for a language to develop before using it as a medium of instruction. In such a case, one can hope at best that the two phases of language development, the expansion of the language as a medium of instruction in the system and the cultivation and intellectualization of the language as a language of scholarly discourse, will be in tandem; otherwise, there will be a repeat of the Philippine situation and its less than felicitous consequences.

In countries contemplating a bilingual education scheme, where the status and stage of development of the two languages is not the same because of a post-colonial situation, the experience of the Philippines should be carefully weighed lest the same mistakes be committed.

Nationalism alone cannot make up for the intellectual immaturity of a language in the process of development. Nor is nationalism sufficiently strong in some polities to take priority over economic needs. To equate nationalism and love of country with loyalty to a national language can be a questionable juxtaposition which the majority of the society may not accept. In other words, language is only one among many indicators (and sometime a weak one) of nationalism.

Note

1. In this paper, for purposes of clarity, FILIPINO, the approved national language of the Philippines since the ratification of the 1987 Constitution is defined as Tagalog-based Pilipino enriched with lexical items from other Philippine languages and other languages. In referring to the languages, PILIPINO is used for legislation and policy enacted and events which occurred before 1987 and FILIPINO for those which took place beginning in 1987.

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