

# The Language Planning Situation in the Philippines

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The article begins with the language profile of the Philippines based on census data and the sociolinguistics and historical literature of the languages (local and second, largely English) in the country. The uses of the languages in various domains, especially in the field of education are described, and current policy on the Philippine version of bilingual education discussed and evaluated. In the third section, on language policy and planning, a historical sketch of language planning from laws enacted, revised and policies implemented is given. The prospects for the future are weighed and some guesses and estimates made on the future of the local languages and the second language, English.

## Part I: The Language Profile of the Philippines

### National/official languages

The national language of the Philippines is *Filipino*, a language in the process of modernisation; it is based on the Manila lingua franca which is fast spreading across the Philippines and is used in urban centres in the country.

*De jure*, it is named in the 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines as a language that will be enriched with elements (largely vocabulary) from the other Philippine languages and non-local languages used in the Philippines. *De facto*, the structural base of Filipino is Tagalog, a language spoken in Manila and in the provinces of Rizal, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Quezon, Camarines Norte to the south of Manila and Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and part of Tarlac to the north of Manila. The enrichment has been going on as the language spreads itself through the mass media and as a medium of instruction in schools at all levels. The vocabulary enrichment comes from the Philippine languages other than Tagalog and from second languages spoken in the archipelago, largely English and earlier, Spanish, together with Arabic and Sanskrit as remnants of an earlier political period when the islands maintained contact with Malay culture in the south (largely Borneo) and Malacca in the west.

In 1959, Tagalog, which was renamed *Wikang Pambansa* (National Language) by President Manuel L. Quezon in 1939, was renamed by the Secretary of Education, Jose Romero, as *Pilipino* to give it a national rather than ethnic label and connotation. The changing of the name did not, however, result in better acceptance at the conscious level among non-Tagalogs, especially Cebuano Bisayans who had not accepted the selection of Tagalog by the National Language Institute in 1937 as the basis of the national language. The opposition continued, and shortly after the renaming of *Wikang Pambansa* as *Pilipino*, a query came from Hiligaynon Bisayan Congressman Inocencio Ferrer challenging the

constitutionality of the choice of Tagalog as the basis of the national language and the subsequent naming of Tagalog-based *Pilipino*, which was considered a subterfuge on the part of the Institute of National Language (renamed as such in 1939 from National Language Institute). In the sociolinguistic history of the Philippines, this period of the 1960s was known as the period of the 'National Language Wars' which ended temporarily only when the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the national language agency (see Gonzalez, 1980a). In the next decade, soon after the election of members of a constitutional convention to draw up a new Constitution, in 1971, the language issue was revived once more, especially by the Cebuanos; a compromise solution was a 'universalist' approach to the national language, to be called Filipino (with an / f / rather than a / p /, to represent those Philippine languages with the voiceless labiodental fricative — the Northern group of languages on the island of Luzon, as well as the 'universalist' rather than 'purist' approach of accepting phonological units and other features from other Philippine languages and from second or foreign languages, in this case, Spanish and English).

When another Constitution was drawn up by a Constitutional Commission of 50 appointed by President Corazon C. Aquino in 1986, given the political temper of the times (the exhilaration from having expelled the Marcos dictatorship and the promise of a new order under Aquino's 'bloodless revolution'), regional loyalties yielded to national consensus; there was near unanimity on the issue of language, even among Cebuanos. The 1987 Constitution stated that *Filipino* is the national language of the Philippines. What was still supposed to be in the process of formation as an amalgamated language in the 1973 Constitution was now accepted as an existing language to be enriched further and to be developed as a language of science and scholarly discourse. Moreover, (Tagalog-based) *Pilipino* and English would continue as official languages until such time as Congress declared otherwise. Finally, the constitution (Article XIV Sections 6–9) permitted and implicitly encouraged the use of Filipino for science instruction (still largely in English). The teaching of other languages (Arabic and Spanish) was considered voluntary; in effect it took a Constitutional provision to supersede the then existing law on the mandatory teaching of Spanish (12 units at the collegiate or tertiary level), a development that is now being challenged by the *Confederacion de Profesores de Español* (Gomez de Rivera, 1997) without much success.

A new law (Republic Act No. 7104) followed the provision of the Constitution of 1987 on the creation of a language agency to develop the national language and to maintain and preserve the other indigenous languages of the Philippines. This agency, known as the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* (Commission on the Filipino Language), has been in operation since 1992 and has superseded the Institute of National Language (renamed as *Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas*, Institute of Philippine Languages, in 1987), and earlier called (from 1936 to 1939) the National Language Institute. The work of the new Commission has been sociolinguistic in nature: to define a workable definition of Filipino as the Manila lingua franca spoken in other urban areas and in the process to enrich its vocabulary from other Philippine and second languages and to monitor the propagation of Filipino and to encourage its use in university teaching. The Commission likewise conducts research on other Philippine languages (including their literatures), publishes

bilingual lexical lists of technical terms for the academic disciplines, and is working towards an enlarged monolingual dictionary of Filipino. (See annual reports of the *Komisyon* from 1978 to 1988.)

Presently, Filipino is spoken by at least 84% of the population, at least in its informal colloquial conversational variety; English or its approximations and its local variety called Filipino English (Llamzon, 1969) or Philippine English (Gonzalez, 1972) is spoken by 56% of the population. Based on a survey by Social Weather Station (1994) 74% of the population report that they can understand it when someone speaks to them in English. The use of Spanish is practically nonexistent now except among a few Filipino families of Spanish descent which have maintained contact with Spain. The teaching of foreign languages is relatively rare outside of embassy-sponsored language schools.<sup>1</sup> A few languages (Japanese, French, Spanish, German) are offered as electives in universities and colleges or as requirements for area studies majors (including Mandarin for Chinese Area Studies); a few schools offer Spanish earlier at the elementary and secondary levels. Church-related language schools aim for conversational fluency in the other major Philippine languages for missionaries and expatriates who feel the need to learn the local languages. The other Philippine languages (not dialects), as of the last count, were put at 120 (see McFarland, 1993); if one adds the varieties which are mutually intelligible (hence genuine dialects), the estimate extends to over 300 (Ernesto Constantino, personal communication). Part of the confusion in the literature on the Philippines during the American period (1898 to 1946), and even now among non-linguistically trained academic researchers, is that authors still speak of the 120 Philippine languages (by linguistic definition, mutually unintelligible) as if they were 'dialects'. There are local varieties of each of these 120 separate languages, the varieties of which are mutually intelligible among speakers of an ethnic group living usually in proximate geographical locations. For example, there are many varieties of Tagalog, largely from the specific town or province where the language is spoken: Marinduque Tagalog; Parañaque Tagalog which is disappearing because of contact with Manila Tagalog; Liliw Tagalog in the province of Laguna; Batangas Tagalog; Tayabas (now Quezon Province) Tagalog, which have distinct features in intonation and morphophonemics, lexicon and grammatical morphology; they are nonetheless intelligible to other Tagalog speakers. These constitute, properly speaking, dialects, not languages; the latter term is for mutually unintelligible codes or separate languages.

### **Major minority languages**

Of McFarland's estimated 120 languages, 10 are considered major languages based on the criterion of having at least one million speakers (as of the last census of 1995). These languages are Tagalog, Cebuano Bisayan, Hiligaynon Bisayan, Waray (Eastern Bisayan), Ilokano, Kapampangan, Bicol, Pangasinense, Maranao and Maguindanao. The latter two are really dialects of the same language but are considered separate by their native speakers for reasons of history and political rivalry (see the 1995 census figures in Table 1).

There have been attempts by various investigators of the Philippine languages to group them based on shared vocabulary and shared grammatical features (see

**Table 1** Percent distribution of household population by mother tongue and sex: 1995

<i>Mother tongue and region</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>		
	<i>Both sexes</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Total	68,431,213	34,462,837	33,968,376
Per cent of total	100.00	50.36	49.64
Abaknon	0.02	0.01	0.01
Aburlin	*	*	*
Agta	*	*	*
Agutayaon	*	*	*
Aklanon	0.73	0.37	0.37
Apayao	0.05	0.02	0.02
Ata	0.02	0.01	0.01
Ata-Manobo	0.02	0.02	0.02
Badjao, Sama Dilaut	0.25	0.13	0.12
Bagobo	0.08	0.04	0.04
Bagobo-Guianga	*	*	*
Balangao	0.02	0.01	0.01
Bantoanon	0.09	0.05	0.05
Batak	*	*	*
Bikol	5.69	2.88	2.81
Boholano	2.10	1.07	1.03
Bolinao	0.06	0.03	0.03
Bontok	0.08	0.04	0.04
Bukidnon	0.16	0.08	0.08
Butuanon	0.10	0.05	0.05
B'laan	0.05	0.03	0.03
Caviteño-Chavacano	0.05	0.03	0.03
<b>Cebuano</b>	<b>21.17</b>	<b>10.66</b>	<b>10.51</b>
Cotabatabano-Chavacano	0.03	0.02	0.02
Cuyonan	*	*	*
Davao-Chavacano	0.08	0.04	0.04
Davaweño	0.23	0.11	0.11
Dibabawon	0.01	0.01	0.01
Gaddang	0.04	0.02	0.02
Hamtikanon	0.63	0.32	0.32
<i>Hiligaynon, Ilonggo</i>	<i>9.11</i>	<i>4.58</i>	<i>4.53</i>
Ibaloi	0.17	0.09	0.08
Ibanag	0.41	0.21	0.20
Ifugao	0.27	0.14	0.13
Ikalahan	0.04	0.02	0.02
Ilanun	0.21	0.11	0.10
<b>Ilocano</b>	<b>9.31</b>	<b>4.70</b>	<b>4.61</b>
Ilongot	0.15	0.07	0.08

Table 1 cont.

<i>Mother tongue and region</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>		
	<i>Both sexes</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Isamal Kanlaw	0.01	0.01	0.01
Isinai	0.01	0.01	0.01
Itawis	0.25	0.13	0.12
Ivatan/Itbayat	0.03	0.01	0.01
I'wak	*	*	*
Jama Mapun	0.04	0.02	0.02
Kaagan	*	*	*
Kagayanan	0.03	0.02	0.01
Kalagan	0.06	0.03	0.03
Kalamianen	*	*	*
Kalinga	0.17	0.08	0.08
Kamayo	0.22	0.11	0.11
Kamigin	0.02	0.01	0.01
Kankanai	0.24	0.12	0.12
Kankaney	0.14	0.07	0.07
Kampampangan	2.98	1.52	1.47
Karaga	0.01	*	*
Kasiguranin	0.02	0.01	0.01
Kalibugan	0.04	0.02	0.02
Maguindanao	1.24	0.64	0.60
Malaueg	0.03	0.01	0.01
Mamanwa	0.01	*	*
Mandaya	0.11	0.06	0.06
Mangyan	0.07	0.04	0.03
Manobo	0.33	0.17	0.16
Mansaka	0.04	0.02	0.02
Maranao	1.27	0.63	0.63
Masbateño	0.69	0.35	0.34
Matigsalug	0.02	0.01	0.01
Molbog	0.01	0.01	0.01
Negrilo	0.01	0.01	0.01
Palawan	0.07	0.03	0.03
Pangasinan	1.81	0.91	0.90
Paranan	0.02	0.01	0.01
Pinalawan	*	*	*
Rambloanon	0.31	0.16	0.15
Sama Dilaya	0.07	0.04	0.03
Sama (Samal)	0.27	0.13	0.13
Sambal	0.03	0.02	0.02
Sangil/Sangar	0.01	0.01	0.01
Subanon	0.09	0.05	0.04

Table 1 cont.

Mother tongue and region	Per cent of total		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
Subanun	0.28	0.14	0.14
Sulod	*	*	*
Surigaonon	0.73	0.37	0.36
Tagakaolo	0.10	0.05	0.05
<b>Tagalog</b>	<b>29.29</b>	<b>14.66</b>	<b>14.63</b>
Tagbanwa	0.03	0.01	0.01
Talaandig	0.02	0.01	0.01
Talaingod	*	*	*
Tausug	1.15	0.58	0.56
Terateño-Chavacano	0.01	*	*
Tinggian	0.09	0.05	0.04
Tiruray	0.09	0.05	0.04
T'boli	0.13	0.07	0.06
Ubo	*	*	*
Umayanon	*	*	*
<b>Waray</b>	<b>3.81</b>	<b>1.91</b>	<b>1.90</b>
Yakan	0.19	0.10	0.09
Yogad	0.03	0.01	0.01
Zambal	0.17	0.09	0.08
Zamboangeño-Chavacano	0.45	0.23	0.23
Chinese	0.09	0.05	0.04
English	0.04	0.02	0.02
Other local dialects	0.73	0.37	0.36
Other foreign languages	0.09	0.05	0.04

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1995

Note: \* data not available.

Dyen, 1965; Fleischman, 1981; Gallman, 1977; McFarland, 1977; Zorc, 1977). On this basis, a putative genetic tree with its branches has been constructed (Gonzalez, 1996b; McFarland, 1981; Zorc, 1977, 1986) showing the hypothesised interrelationships between and among the languages. The central divide consists of the division between the Northern Philippine Languages and the Central Philippine Languages. Of the 10 majority languages, Ilokano, Kapampangan, and Pangasinense are Northern Philippine languages; Tagalog, Cebuano Bisayan, Hiligaynon Bisayan, Waray, and Bicol are Central Philippine Languages. Mindanao represents a mixture of different language branches, Maranao and Maguindanao being members of the Iranun group of languages (Fleishman, 1981), with Cebuano Bisayan as the lingua franca of the second largest island in the Philippines, mainly as a result of immigration.

These languages belong to the Austronesian Family of Languages or the Malayo-Polynesian Group of Languages (Dempwolff, 1934, 1937, 1938; Dyen, 1965) and more particularly to the Western Indonesian Subgroup. They

constitute a group of languages with features that together have been described as belonging to the 'Philippine type'. Other Philippine-type languages are likewise found in the Celebes, in North Borneo and probably in Guam (Chamorro); although in the latter these features might be the result of borrowing between Filipinos and Chamorros during the period of Spanish colonisation, since both were under the Spanish Crown as possessions. (See Zobel, 1998, for a study differentiating Chamorro from the other Philippine languages.) The Philippine-type languages are characterised by a relatively simple phonology, an extensive verb morphology, Verb-Object-Subject word order, and a system of verb-subject agreement variously called topicalisation, focus, and, more recently, subjectivalisation (Gonzalez, 1981b; Kroeger, 1991; Pike, 1963).

There was a Philippine-Hispanic pidgin found among workers and their families near Spanish forts (the shipyards in Cavite, Fort Santiago in Manila, Fort Pilar in Zamboanga City and Tamontaca in Zamboanga Province) (Riego de Dios, 1976). This pidgin has been creolised and has become the first language of Filipinos living in these areas; it is called Chabacano. Rizal referred to it in his letters as *KuchenHispanisch* (the popular designation during the nineteenth century) and Schuchardt (1887) referred to it as *el español de la cocina*. However, since its creolisation and use as a mother tongue, it has acquired respectability and is considered a separate language in the Philippines. It is spoken mostly in Zamboanga City and Ternate in Cavite.

There is a Philippine-American English mixture consisting of two varieties: an educated codeswitching variety used to establish rapport and informal understanding among friends which presupposes knowledge of both English and a local Philippine language, largely Filipino, and another variety which shows the beginnings of a pidgin or genuine language mixture, used among *yayas* (caregivers) and barmaids near military bases (Bautista, 1981b, 1994) and among college girls of an exclusive school (Perez, 1993) which may become actual pidgins. Creolisation is bound to take place in bilingual households (English and Filipino) found only in MetroManila (Gonzalez, 1989) in the verbal repertoire of culturally advantaged Filipinos who will learn the respectable standard varieties of Filipino and English eventually, especially in school.

The Philippine variety of the English Language based on American English has been studied extensively (Casambre, 1985; Gonzalez, 1982, 1984, 1991; Gonzalez & Alberca, 1978; Llamzon, 1969; Marasigan, 1981). It is not a codeswitching variety, a pidgin, or a creole but rather an English variety in its own right with substratal influence from the first language. It is in the process of developing a set of standards for itself in pronunciation (the segmental and suprasegmental elements), in vocabulary (including words and collocations as well as new meanings and uses for words from the source language and idioms which consist of loan translations from the Philippine languages, called by Llamzon 'Filipinisms'), and in specific features of syntax which indicate restructuring in Philippine English. The restructured subsystems of rules occur:

- in selectional restrictions;
- in reclassification of subcategories of nouns and verbs;
- in the characteristics of the article system and the tense/aspect system of verbs;

probably as a result of the influence of substratal first languages of the Philippine type (Gonzalez, 1984).

For the development of this New English, standardisation must reach a point of temporary equilibrium for full legitimacy (Gonzalez, 1991). The three *linguae francae* of the Philippines are:

- Tagalog-based Pilipino now called Filipino;
- Cebuano Bisayan which has several dialects because of the migrants from Cebu who have moved to other Bisayan Islands and to different parts of Mindanao; and
- Ilokano, which likewise has different dialects as a result of its spread through parts of Northern Luzon among the Northern-Philippine Language speaking ethnic groups in the Cordilleras (Kalinga, Apayao, Ifugao, Bontok, Ilongot, Ibanag).

In addition, there is a language spoken in the Cagayan Valley called *Bago* (New) which is a mixture of Ilokano and Ibanag, related languages spoken in Northeastern Luzon. There is likewise a theory (Wolfenden, 1973: 55) that Masbateño, spoken on the island of Masbate in the Bisayas, was originally a pidgin of Tagalog and Bisayan, now creolised as the first language of a Bisayan minority. There is a language of a religious sect in the Eastern Bisayas which is not a creole but a secret language used by the sect; it is actually a Bisayan language with certain predictable insertions within words and an arcane vocabulary.

### Major religious languages

In a study completed by Gonzalez (1996b) for an atlas of religious languages prepared by the Australian National University (see Wurm *et al.*, 1996), religious language was defined as any language within the country which was being used for religious purposes, either in preaching and church services, in religious rituals, or in handing down the traditional faith to children in school or out of school, in the family and in church-related structures for this purpose.

The study indicates that among the Philippine languages, practically all are now religious languages as defined above because of the efforts of different religious groups to make converts of the local tribes and ethnic groups. The largest group consists of Christians (93.84%), composed of Catholics (82.92%), Protestants (5.43%) and other Christians (0.53%), and local Christian groups like the *Iglesia ni Kristo* (2.62%) and the *Aglipayans* (2.34%), as well as new groups such as the Mormons. The non-Christian groups consist of Muslims and local religious adherents (mostly of an animistic faith). The Muslims (Islam) (4.57%) use classical Arabic for the reading of the Qur'an during their services but few can speak any variety of Arabic; They are, however, able to decode it aloud for Koranic reading. Among the Buddhists in the country, confined largely to Filipinos of Chinese extraction, the *sutras* are sung in Pali without actual comprehension. Latin, which was extensively used by the Roman Catholic Church in church services, is now found only occasionally in a few churches for special occasions. Greek is used by one very small group of Greek Orthodox Christians in the Philippines and then only for liturgical prayer.

In general, in the majority of places in the Philippines, the local language is used for preaching and for religious rituals, with English used occasionally in



church services depending on the preference of the worshippers. Filipino is sometimes used instead of the local language, depending on the attitude of the community toward Filipino; in areas where acceptance of Tagalog-based Filipino is not yet complete, the local language is preferred. In the Philippines during the evangelisation period under the Spanish religious orders beginning with the arrival of Legazpi in 1565<sup>2</sup>, the strategy of the Spanish religious orders (a reasonable one based on hindsight) was not for the locals to learn Spanish but for the Spanish-speaking missionaries to learn the local languages, which they did with impressive success. The most written-about language (through the grammar or *Arte* and the dictionary or *Vocabulario* — actually a bilingual Philippine Language-Spanish wordlist, usually accompanied by a much shorter Spanish-Philippine Language counterpart) was Tagalog (see Cubar, 1976; Gonzalez, 1994; Hidalgo, 1977), but practically every territory where missionaries worked had its own *Arte* and *Vocabulario*.

In spite of repeated instructions from the Crown on teaching the natives the Spanish language, there was only a little compliance. Instead the friars using common sense, kept employing the local languages, so much so that in the period of intense nationalism in the nineteenth century, the failure of the Spanish friars to teach Spanish was used by some of the *ilustrados* (Filipinos educated in Spain) as a reason to accuse the friars of deliberately keeping Spanish away from the natives so as to prevent them from advancing themselves. This is a charge that has been espoused by even such a meticulous scholar as Majul (1967) and by Bernabe (1987), but it is still doubted by Gonzalez (1985a), who however has admitted that there were indeed friars and reactionaries in the country who were not eager to have the Filipinos learn too many things about political developments in Spain because of fear of sedition and rebellion. By and large, however, the effort made by the friars in learning the local languages was a far sounder strategy of evangelisation than the opposite, a tactic even the American missionaries adopted when they arrived after 1898.

The Spanish missionaries thus promoted the local languages; the official Crown policy mandated efforts to spread Spanish, but which by 1898 after more than 350 years of Spanish colonisation, counted only about 2.6% fluent speakers (Collantes, 1977). There was, however, a heavy overlay of Spanish loanwords especially for content words (Lopez, 1965) in the vocabulary of most speakers of other Philippine languages. The Americans succeeded in a far more efficient way in promoting the English language so that from almost no speakers of English in 1898, based on the 1939 census, the last one under American rule, the number of speakers of English had risen to 26.6%. This is an example of language engineering that is perhaps unprecedented in the history of the world. Alberca (1996) and Gonzalez (1996a) have formulated different hypotheses to explain the success of the first English Language Teachers from the United States, the Thomasites. Alberca attributes their success (in spite of what we would consider inadequate methodology and linguistic science by our standards) to the genuine caring and personal attention paid to select pupils whom they groomed for leadership, while Gonzalez puts stress on the motivation behind language learning (in spite of poor methods) as a means to social mobility among the rural masses who could not go to school during the Spanish period and to whom public

schools were now available. At the end of the nineteenth century there were 2000 primary schools (Bazaco, 1953) established by the Spanish government as a result of the Royal Decree of 1863, but these were literacy schools teaching reading in Spanish, religious studies and numeracy, not regular schools leading to higher degrees, the way the American system was structured.

Nevertheless, in the religious sphere, Spanish was introduced; so was English in both daily prayers and worship and in the case of English, Bible reading both for Protestants and later for Catholics. In fact, language planning as a result of the religious sector encouraged religious literature in the local languages and stimulated the writing of grammars and word lists by missionaries but did not promote a national language. Similarly under the American regime, local languages were encouraged although the American educators chose the path of least resistance and made English the language of the schools, and to some extent at least among the educated elite, the language of religion. It was the Filipinos under the Americans in the second quarter of the twentieth century who started campaigning for a national language, a feature which became a mandate under the 1935 Constitution, a preoccupation of the Commonwealth from 1936 to 1946 and a continuing concern since Independence from the United States in 1946. The local languages continue to be languages of religion, with English still used though less and less and with Filipino now being used even for theological work as well as for sermons and homilies. (See Mercado, 1975, on Filipino theology.)

### **Major languages of literacy**

The official policy on languages of literacy of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) of the Republic of the Philippines was announced as Department Order No. 25 in 1974. This was subsequently revised in 1987 by a Department Order (No. 54), series 1987. The current policy is to use Filipino and English as languages of literacy while allowing the use of the local vernaculars, especially the major ones other than Tagalog, as 'auxiliary languages'. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL Philippines), since 1953, has been conducting language analysis of the minor languages (beyond the 10 major ones) to set down the languages in writing using the standard Roman alphabet after phonemicisation. Local informants are trained to write stories and essays in their own languages as well as to compose works intended for literacy use. As of this year, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (personal communication from the Head of the Literacy Department) has a total of 1065 literacy titles in 80 languages that are available for reproduction. The SIL also offers a programme jointly with Philippine Normal University, the premier state teacher training college, leading to an MA in Literacy Studies. The Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) itself, while allowing local initiative in the use of these materials, has not really given priority to the other languages or even to the major languages of the Philippines as initial languages of literacy. Rather, on the plea that DECS is supposed to be teaching Filipino, the national language, and with the assumption that Filipino is now spoken in some variety by at least 84% of the population (Gonzalez & Fortunato, 1995), DECS considers that the development of literacy in one's native language is not deemed to be cost-effective or practical. Based on extensive experiential data collected by SIL, however, the use of the mother

tongue results in better initial literacy. Hence, the use of the local language for initial literacy classes seldom occurs outside of areas where SIL continues to have some influence in the community and is able to field some of its field workers.

In reality, however, what happens in classrooms (Bautista, 1981a; Santos, 1984; Sibayan, 1982; Sibayan *et al.*, 1993) is that the teacher explains in Filipino or in English depending on the subject matter (English for science and mathematics and in English Language classes and Filipino for all other subjects); then repeats the same content in the local vernacular to make sure the students understand the materials. There is thus an alternating language use for teaching (Filipino or English depending on the subject matter, and the local vernacular to explain further). The vernacular receives less and less use as the children go up the educational ladder. There are no hard data on actual use of the vernacular, but one can surmise that the continuing use of the vernacular does not go beyond the first year as afterwards an alternating variety of Filipino and English is used, with some code-mixing depending on the language competence of the teacher. By policy, this use of the local minor languages as languages of initial teaching and literacy is accepted.

From 1957 to the present (the policy begun in 1974), the policy was to use the vernaculars (at least the major ones) officially as initial languages of teaching and of literacy while teaching Tagalog (later Pilipino) and English as subjects, with the shift being made to Tagalog by the second year and to English by the third year. In actual practice, because of lack of the prioritisation for literacy teaching in the budget, other than the experimental materials done with the cooperation of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the latter's own sponsored efforts, literacy teaching in the local vernacular was never carried out on a large scale; there was little preparation of materials and still less of training materials writers. The programme on Literacy Education training (then at the Teachers' Camp in Baguio during the summer, leading to an MA in Literacy Education) had little impact on the system (see Sibayan, 1967). In 1974, a realistic practice was begun of leaving this policy undefined — using the vernaculars as 'auxiliary languages' mostly for oral explanations in class rather than employing them for formal instruction in literacy, numeracy, and scientific content.

The 1974 Bilingual Education Policy mandated the use of Tagalog (Pilipino) and English depending on the subject area. This same policy was reiterated 13 years later after a nation-wide evaluation of bilingual education (Gonzalez & Sibayan, 1988) with only a minor change: to be more flexible in the implementation of the programme since the period 1974–98 constituted insufficient time to implement the programme completely. (The programme needs a new evaluation today with the results compared with those that were done in 1985 and reported in the 1988 publication.)

Thus, while in effect the language of literacy is Filipino followed by English, there is a washback effect on being literate in the minor vernaculars because the spelling system of all Philippine languages is similar (based on the Roman alphabet) and the skills easy to transfer insofar as decoding is concerned. By being literate in Filipino the children also become literate in the local language. However, since the local language does not have much literature available to begin with, the skills cannot be exercised fully, nor is there much development

of these literacy skills for higher order cognitive activities and advanced reading. Again, however, whatever skills are acquired for Filipino may be transferred to the other vernaculars. Since these vernaculars do not have extensive literatures of their own (except for some oral literature recorded by native speakers and by anthropologists), the Filipino pupil has to rely on Filipino for the continuing skills she needs for reading and for educational content. English, of course, continues with the oral phase ideally mastered before reading in it, for initial teaching and subsequently for use in higher order cognitive activities for analysing, synthesising and evaluating materials in English according to higher grades of difficulty (from the lexicon and the complexity of the syntax and the rhetorical structures of the language), after acquiring skills of factual information, paraphrase, and application (to use Bloom's 1956 taxonomy). (For some attempts to measure higher order skills in Filipino among Philippine students, see Montañano, 1996, 1993; for English language skills, see Coronel, 1990.)

### **The linguistic profile of Filipinos**

The list of languages spoken at home during the last census (1995) is given in Table 1, showing the number of speakers per language at least as these language names were used by the census enumerators and respondents (who were not linguists). The census figures are based on a study of households and reflect only the language used in the household; no provision has been made since the 1990 census to enumerate speakers of Tagalog (Filipino) as a second language and of speakers of English as a second language. (For 1990 data, see Social Weather Station, 1994, for English, based on a limited but well selected sample.) Gonzalez (1977) projected the total number of Filipino speakers by the year 2000 to be 97.1%, an extrapolation which is probably underestimated because of the rapid spread of Filipino. A linguistic profile of the country, with native speakers of the different Philippine languages as reported in the 1995 census, together with the number of speakers (based on a sampling of households rather than total enumeration), the percentages based on the total population of 68 million, may be inferred from Table 1.

Filipino is largely an urban language spoken in major cities as a second language along with the local language, the result of instruction in Filipino from Grade 1 on, in a bilingual scheme. Most likely, the instruction is more effectively carried out by the mass media, especially TV which is now predominantly in Filipino. Movies and canned programmes recorded from live Filipino talk shows and games as well as Sesame Street-type programmes for children are largely in Filipino, with the exception of some channels and cable TV which is in English. Vernaculars other than Filipino are out-of-the-MetroManila area; they are languages that are spoken in rural communities and by immigrants into urban communities, the latter along with Filipino and English.

The table shows that if all three Bisayan languages (Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Waray) are combined, they outnumber the native Tagalogs even now. However, the three major Bisayan languages, while closely related genetically and grammatically, are nonetheless different enough from each other so as to be mutually unintelligible. Hence the claim of the Bisayans that they constitute a segment of the population larger than the Tagalogs is questionable at best.

Moreover, when one counts the number of second-language speakers of Filipino all over the islands, a phenomenon that obtained even during the Spanish Period because of the importance of the Tagalogs in Manila and because of their dominant influence in Central Luzon (displacing Kapampangans in a much larger area in Nueva Ecija, Pampanga and Tarlac), the number of Tagalog speakers is overwhelming.

With the growing population in the Philippines (2.3% increase each year, although recently this has gone down to 2.2%) and with the population expected to hit over 100 million in the year 2020, the number of speakers of the major languages will increase to more than their present numbers. Most likely the other minor languages will likewise grow proportionally so that in 10 years Surigaonon and Tausug will also be considered major languages under the criterion of having more than one million speakers.

### Linguistic atlas

McFarland (1981), in his *Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines*, has mapped out the archipelago in terms of language areas showing the key provinces, the distribution of speakers and languages; so has the Summer Institute of Linguistics in its various publications and annual reports. The map in Figure 1 combines information from McFarland and SIL on the languages spoken in the major regions and/or provinces including the cities; the number of speakers and percentages are based on the data from the census summarised in Table 1.

## Part II: Language Spread

### Languages in the educational system

Mention has already been made of the language policy of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports as well as the Department's policy on the use of vernacular languages (major and minor) as 'auxiliary languages' for the initial stages of formal schooling and for literacy in general.

The main media of instruction after the initial phase using the local vernaculars as 'auxiliary languages' are Filipino and English. Filipino is used for all subjects except for the English language, science and mathematics (the latter using English as the medium of instruction). In reality, based on classroom visitations and surveys, codeswitching between Filipino and English continues in the upper years of high school and even in college.

Except for a number of schools in MetroManila which maintain the teaching of Spanish in elementary and high school as a distinctive feature and a continuation of tradition, Spanish is now only voluntarily taught at the tertiary level in area studies courses on the Hispanic Tradition and for historical studies. Colleges and universities in the Philippines do not teach foreign languages beyond the first two years (12 units) except for the University of the Philippines at Diliman, Quezon City, which offers a specialisation in the major European languages. Advanced courses may be taken at different special schools sponsored by the embassies (Alliance Française, Goethe Institute, Nippon Language Center) and commercial centres for language study (Mandarin and Fookien for the Chinese languages). Basic courses in Indonesian or in Malay are given in

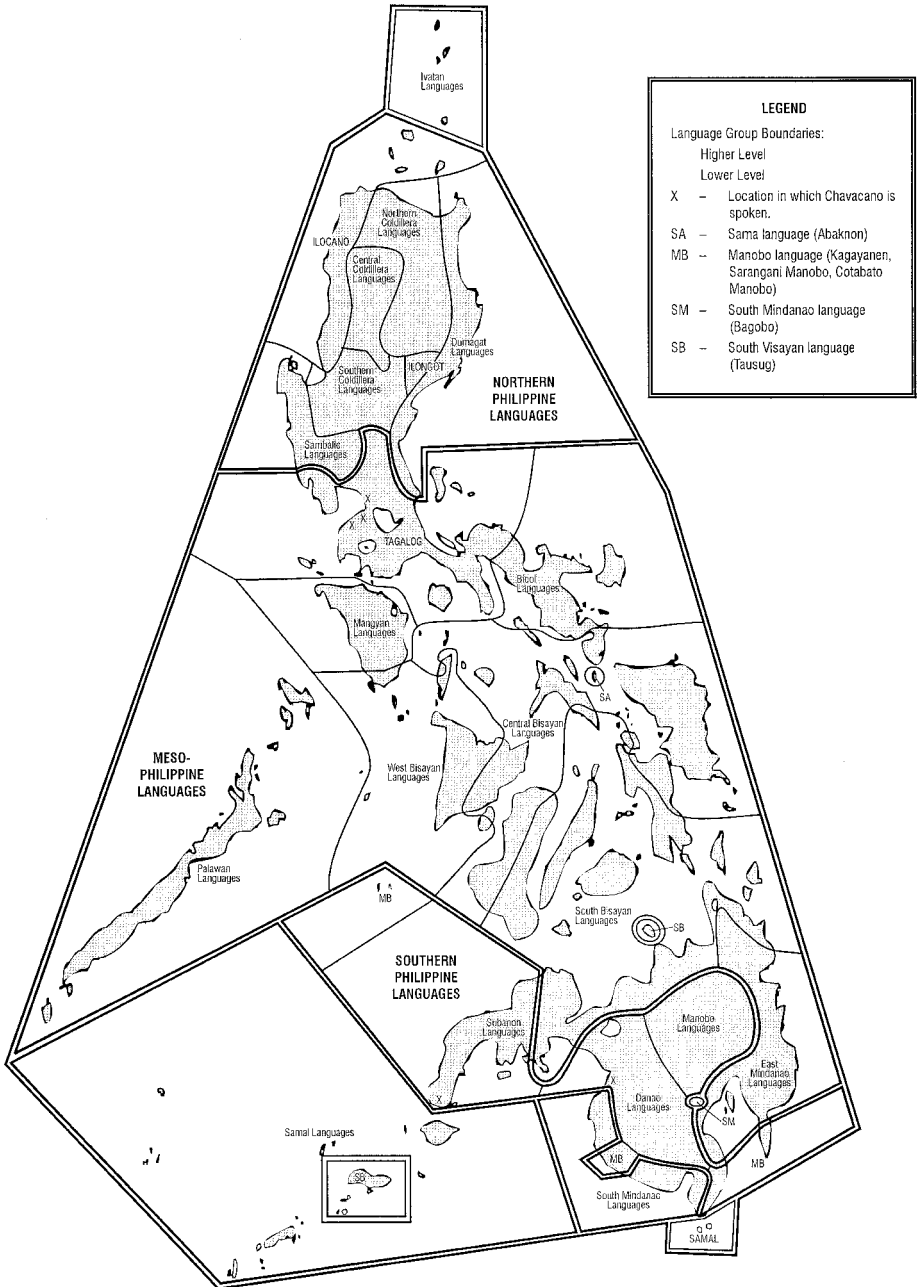


Figure 1 Philippine language groups

connection with the Asian Studies Programme at the University of the Philippines. By and large, the state of foreign language study, especially of the smaller and less familiar languages, leaves much to be desired even at the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of Foreign Affairs, where languages are offered by part-time faculty from the universities only at the most elementary level and then only including the more popular ones such as Japanese, French, Spanish and German.

The target audience for Filipino and English is, of course, the educational sector composed of youth.<sup>3</sup> Filipinos 25 years old and younger constitute more than two-thirds of the Philippine population at present. The only persons in the Philippines who take up foreign studies are those intending to join the diplomatic service and those intending to study or work abroad. The great number of Overseas Contract Workers need English for marketing their skills, although many learn the local language of the country in which they work through informal study and contact with the local residents in the Middle East and in different parts of Asia as well as Europe.

English and Filipino are taught from Grade 1 on and used as media of instruction from the first grade, although there is much use of the local vernaculars in a bimodal style of communication, with the local vernacular in decreasing use as the children go up the educational ladder. Only in one elementary school (Poveda) is Spanish taught every year during grade school and high school. A few secondary schools offer foreign languages as an elective. At the tertiary level, Spanish is usually recommended for those taking up historical studies. Specific languages are required for some area studies majors in a few universities in MetroManila. No language is really taught up to the advanced stages because of a lack of interested students enrolling in the courses.

The local vernaculars are not taught formally but are used as auxiliary media of instruction. In some literature departments at universities, vernacular literature is taught in the original and in translation (into Filipino or English), and in linguistics programmes studying the grammar of the Philippine languages there is usually a requirement, but there is none for degrees in Applied Linguistics (except in a course called Field Methods).

Filipino is taught from grade school to high school and in the first two years of college; in the hands of a good instructor and under a suitable programme, much progress can be made in the mastery of Filipino, so that, in good schools, the ideal of a balanced bilingual competent in both Filipino and in English is approximated. However, more often than not, many students finish college more dominant in English than in Filipino. The uses of Filipino in the educational system are still not universal for motivation, as one will use Filipino for informal transactions in business, the vernacular in the home (unless it is a Tagalog-speaking home to begin with), or a colloquial variety of Filipino for the neighbourhood, and English for content in science, mathematics, and technology as well as for international contacts and business transactions at the higher levels.

Thus, based on the findings of the 1985 survey (Gonzalez & Sibayan, 1988) a well-educated Filipino, in a well-run school, learns Filipino (either their mother tongue or his/her lingua franca) and English well enough to carry on higher order cognitive studies and thus not be a semi-lingual (Toukoumaa & Skutnabb-

Kangas, 1977). Depending on their interests, affluence, opportunity to study or travel extensively abroad, and their initiative to take up other foreign languages beyond the university, the student can learn other languages, the most common one being Spanish in households that still speak it (a diminishing percentage) and in programmes where foreign governments offer fellowships after graduation or even under an exchange programme or a fellowship abroad (Japan, the People's Republic of China, France, Germany, Italy). Besides Spanish, depending on one's ethnic affiliation, only one other language is learned as the language of the home, Fookien or Hokkien Chinese, a language different from Mandarin Chinese or Putonghua, which is learned in school.

The only other schools where Putonghua (Mandarin) is taught are schools sponsored by the Chinese community which, before immigration laws made it mandatory to change the curriculum to conform to the usual Filipino standard, used to offer a bi-medial system of instruction where content was taught in Putonghua (Mandarin) during half the day and the same content was imparted in English and Filipino during the other half of the day. For reasons of integration, this approach has now been modified to the regular curriculum using Filipino and English as media of instruction, with Putonghua (Mandarin) as a required subject, presumably with some of the content dealing with Chinese history and culture.

Cao Pei (1996), for her master's thesis, tested some Chinese schools in the Philippines and found that, among a minority, Chinese language skills at least at the conversational and intermediate level are attained under the present system using the more traditional methodology. Go (1979) is conducting an on-going study on the history and current state of the Chinese schools in MetroManila.

### **Objectives of language education and the methods of assessment to determine attainment of the objectives**

Initially, based on models set up by Canadian applied linguists and psycholinguists (Pascasio, 1977), the ideal objective of language education in the Philippines was to produce the balanced bilingual equally able to carry on communication and higher order cognitive activities for his education in both Filipino and English.

A more pragmatic assessment of actual results shows that this objective is unrealistic and unattainable. The number and percentage of balanced bilinguals in any society remains small. Instead, the more realistic goal should be an individual with enough codes for complementary functions for their role in society (Sibayan, 1978). In general, Filipinos use their home language (their first language or mother tongue), be it Tagalog or one of the other majority languages or even one of the minority languages, as the language of the home and the neighbourhood. This is the language within the family circle and among close friends and relatives; it is used as a language of ordinary informal and colloquial communication, and it remains so. Non-Tagalog families migrating to Tagalog-speaking areas or to urban areas learn Filipino in school and in the neighbourhood; by the second generation of migrants, the children are Tagalog-speaking or Filipino-speaking, while passive competence in the home language is maintained (Gonzalez & Romero, 1993). When the marriage is of mixed ethnic



groups (e.g. Tagalogs and Kapampangans), it is usually the language of the mother that dominates the home (Bautista & Gonzalez, 1986). The home language is seldom used for anything other than ordinary intimate family conversations and everyday business transactions in the neighbourhood.

The languages of the school are Filipino (learned more easily if one is a native speaker of Tagalog) and English, the latter primarily because of school teaching and use. There is also evidence that among affluent families in urban centres such as MetroManila that children do grow up bilingual in English and the home language (Gonzalez, 1989), resulting from the code used by the parents in communicating with the child growing up (English) and the dominant language of the *yaya* or caregiver, who sometimes speaks a non-standard form of Philippine English (Bautista, 1981b).

Tagalog-speaking children, whether monolingual or bilingual (in Tagalog and another Philippine language because the parents are migrants from a non-Tagalog-speaking province), can use the language in school from Day 1 as a language of education and literacy. The burden of the first few years of schooling is to attain basic interactive communicative competence (to use Cummins' 1984 term) consisting not only of the ability to converse in the language — the child normally has attained this even before schooling starts — but the skills to read and write the language. The objective is literacy training. The important thing is that, if at least 84% of Filipinos can now speak the Filipino language (at least a non-specialised local variety), then reading and literacy skills can be taught from the first day of school. The use of Filipino for classroom interaction and communication can make the attainment of advanced cognitive skills in Filipino, what Cummins calls *Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency* (CALP), possible at an early stage (Gonzalez, 1985b).

The task of learning English is much more difficult since, except for the few affluent households where English is used as the language of the home and thus becomes a second local language, children are exposed to English only via radio (as well as, mostly, TV and movies) before schooling. English is first taught aurally-orally, including pattern drilling at the beginning, then reading and writing. What makes the teaching of English effective in a well-managed school is not only the methodology,<sup>4</sup> but the continuing use of the language as a medium of instruction for science and mathematics and its almost exclusive use at the tertiary level. In colleges and universities some subjects are taught in Filipino. The Filipino language requirement is now nine units, including literature and some culture-bound subjects such as history and even religious studies. All the other subjects are taught in English. One surmises that it is this use of English that is able to propagate and maintain English in the system rather than the formal study of the language which sometimes consists of repeated and monotonous remedial exercises in grammar and mechanics and the surface correction of poorly written compositions often without really new input or any attempt at innovative ways of helping poor writers and readers advance in their skills.

Gonzalez and his graduate students (as well as masters degree theses and a few doctoral dissertations) have attempted to grapple with the problem of assessment and the results of such assessment. In general, native-like pronuncia-

tion is seldom ever attained, with certain features 'perduring' across generations to constitute consistent features of Philippine English pronunciation (Gonzalez, 1984). Mention has been made of the introduction of native terms for the realia in the culture — the use of what Llamzon (1969) calls *Filipinisms* (direct loan translations of Philippine collocations) as well as peculiar restructuring in the grammatical subsystem especially in the tense/aspect system of the English verb and in the highly complex system of articles in English. In addition, because teachers of English in the system are often poorly trained, especially at the primary and secondary level, teachers themselves do not have reading skills beyond Grade 6 and often demonstrate inadequate writing skills as well as limited fluency in the language. As a consequence, the proper teaching of reading and writing skills leaves much to be desired to attain the level of competence needed to reach CALP in English. In the rural areas, because of lack of exposure to the use of English other than via the mass media, and because of poor models, often a substantial minority of students enter and even leave high school without really having attained fluent *basic interpersonal communicative* (BIC) skills in English. A Survey on the Outcomes of Elementary Education (SOUTELE, 1980) at the end of the 1970s, showed that the average pupil in school did not learn anything significantly new in Grade 6 but rather merely maintained the level of competence in language skills and subject matter attained at Grade 5 level.

Beginning in 1994, a National Elementary Achievement Test (NEAT) has been used to measure achievement in language and subject matter at the end of Grade 6 and at the end of Grade 10 or at the fourth year of high school (National Secondary Achievement Test (NSAT)). The latter replaced the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) which had been in use from 1973 to 1993. Initially the total population of school-leaving students was tested but, because of budget limitations, results are now based on a sampling (which began in 1997). The tests are achievement tests, actually classroom tests constructed on the basis of a table of specifications on the learning targets for the year as dictated by a learning continuum prescribed by the Department of Education, Culture and Sports. Rather than aiming to set national standards, the test averages attainment by different combined means, then determines the percentiles, with those scoring above the average judged to have 'passed'. The new tests enable comparisons within districts, divisions, and regions. Unfortunately, because of the sensitive nature of these results and of the stigma that would be attached to an individual school not doing well (and the subsequent reflection of poor testing results on the school administration), scores are seldom made public unless a school asks for its results. Hence, widespread comparison of attainment to measure achievement is not possible.

Item analyses of these tests were undertaken by Ibe and Coronel (1995). The NCEE and now the NEAT and NSAT results show recurring problems of achievement among students, especially in higher order cognitive skills (reading skills of analysis, synthesis and evaluation as well as information getting, paraphrasing and application). The findings show continuing problems with the higher order skills even in high school, the lack of critical thinking among many, and conceptual difficulties with word problems in mathematics.

Similar achievement measures have been found for subject achievement in

Grades 6 and 10. In general, for entirely understandable reasons, students score higher in Filipino than in English in language tests; they score less impressively in content subjects (largely social studies) taught in Filipino and attain a consistent average of about 50% of items in the Table of Specifications of tests. The achievement in science, taught in English, is only about 40% of set targets. In mathematics it is about 50%, the average for other subjects.

An interesting investigation of evaluating the bilingual education program was conducted by a team (Gonzalez & Sibayan, 1988) which gathered data in 1985. A careful sampling of pupils in Grades 4, 6 and 10, as well as of the teachers' subject proficiency, in selected schools for each region was undertaken. The two best schools and the two worst schools in the region, based on the information given by the Regional Director, were used in the final sample. The focus was on the effects of the bilingual education policy that was at the time supposed to have been implemented in all schools. The results showed that the number of years of implementation of the bilingual education scheme was not a significant factor for achievement in these schools, nor was ethnic affiliation significant. Rather the main difference lay in the location of the school (rural-urban), the nature of the community (open community as opposed to closed community), the quality of management of the school (measured through actual visitations to schools in the sample), and the quality of the Filipino and English departments — i.e. the proficiency of the teachers). By and large, however, the picture that emerged showed inadequate proficiency on the part of the teachers (especially in science) and inadequate attainment of teaching targets, especially in Grade 6 and Grade 10. The system begins to lag behind in targeted achievement after Grade 5. Children in Philippine schools, generalising from this, scored about 10–15% higher in Filipino language classes than in English classes; scored below the 50% level in science, and slightly above the 50% level in mathematics and social studies (the latter taught in Filipino).

Specific studies done under the supervision of Gonzalez (Gonzalez *et al.*, forthcoming) showed other interesting results based on very limited samples; these studies at least provide some measures by which one can gauge the attainment of objectives. Uri (1992) found that middle-class children in the provinces attained BIC-level competence in English more or less in Grade 5 (after five years of schooling) while some brighter students attained it earlier. An informal study conducted under the supervision of Gonzalez (not yet published) showed that, for affluent Manila schools, BIC-level competence is attainable by Grade 3 and even earlier for affluent students exposed to English beyond the school. For Filipino, Lingan (1981) did a study of BIC-level competence (the threshold level) in a non-Tagalog-speaking area and found that the average Filipino non-Tagalog attains BIC competence in Filipino by about Grade 5. Attainment may be accelerated depending on the location of the community, with quicker attainment in communities near national roads.

The findings for achievement and proficiency among both pupils and teachers, to gauge the attainment of objectives of language education and the measures for gauging this achievement, have not yet been fully analysed for their implications in so far as language education is concerned; i.e. the effect of the scheduling or phasing in of the languages used in the system, efforts to have the languages

complement each other and make up for any deficits. A more systematic effort on the part of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports other than the annual NEAT and NSAT examinations will be required. These questions and issues are discussed informally in training workshops for English and Filipino sponsored by the Department of Education, Culture and Sports in cooperation with learned societies such as the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, the Philippine Association for Language Teaching, the College English Teachers Association, *Sanggunian ng mga Gurong Filipino* (SANGFIL) [Council of Teachers of Filipino], and other associations established for the teaching of Filipino throughout the archipelago.

### Historical development of policies/practices on the languages of education

The current policy on the use of Filipino and English is the product of a compromise solution to the demands of nationalism and internationalism. Language choice is determined according to subject areas during the elementary and secondary schooling of the Filipino child. In addition, language choice involves the prescribed use of Filipino as a subject for the first two years of tertiary schooling (with the option to use Filipino as a medium of instruction for certain subjects such as Rizal, and Philippine History and Government, and culturally loaded subjects, provided the teachers are competent and provided that teaching materials in Filipino are available). Prior to 1974, English was supposed to be used in all subjects except for the Filipino Language Classes, at all levels. During the period from 1957 to 1974, the local vernaculars were used for the transition to both Filipino (as a subject) and English (as a subject in the first two grades, and as the language of instruction from Grade 3 on). In the meantime, especially during the days of student activism from 1969 to the declaration of Martial Law by Ferdinand E. Marcos on 21 September 1972, there was a clamour to decolonise the system by changing the medium of instruction totally to Filipino. The moderates among the language policy makers at the Department of Education, Culture and Sports were able to make a convincing case to have a bilingual scheme as a more realistic substitute, given the lack of materials in Filipino and the time and efforts needed to enable its speakers to use it as a language of academic discourse. What became evident after 1974, thanks to the work of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, in turn based on the earlier work of the Prague School in the 1920s — on what Vilem Mathesius called ‘the intellectualisation of language’ — was the need to intellectualise Filipino to become in its vocabulary and its corpus a language of scholarly discourse. The policy was based on a bottom-up approach whereby texts were created for Grade 1, then year by year up to the upper grades; 10 years for the implementation of the scheme were putatively set down as the deadline for making the transition.

In hindsight, in the process of doing a summative evaluation of the Bilingual Education Programme of the country in 1985 (Gonzalez & Sibayan, 1988), the investigator discovered that, even after 10 years, in some non-Tagalog-speaking areas, implementation had barely begun. At the secondary level, it was especially difficult to implement the teaching of economics in third year high school. Sibayan (personal communication) has advocated a top-down approach, in

addition to the bottom-up approach. That is to say, instead of relying on grade school teachers alone to use Filipino as a medium of instruction and having a group of grade school writers from DECS produce the teaching materials, selected universities should have been given the task to identify professors who were both knowledgeable in the field as well as competent in the language to do massive teacher training for the upper grades and to create not only textbooks but reference materials in Filipino to enable the department to do a good job of making the transition. Unfortunately, in spite of numerous surveys during the whole decade of the 1970s and the early 1980s on the problems of implementing the programme through regional and provincial studies, teacher training by regions was left to the initiative of the regional directors of the system. Token seminars and workshops were held but systematic and detailed training in the nitty-gritty of the use of the language, based on classroom experiences, was inadequate; the task of speaking about concepts and principles in social studies by Grade 5 was found to be very difficult for ordinary classroom teachers.

Thus the findings of the 1985 national survey indicated that, in some schools, implementation had just begun. Among schools which were successful in terms of results (Filipino and English as a language of study, and in content areas, English in science and mathematics and Filipino (formerly Pilipino) in social studies/social sciences), there was no significant correlation between years of implementing the bilingual scheme and achievement. Rather, what significantly correlated with higher scores in achievement were not language medium factors but factors such as the over-all quality of the school, and the location of the community where the school was located. (Optimal sites were urban and open communities; ethnic affiliation did not correlate significantly with achievement since even Cebuanos did well in Filipino language studies). Nationalism indices were taken among the teachers, and once again the indices showed no significant correlation between nationalism and preference for Filipino as a language of instruction. Among both teachers and parents, it was discovered that Filipinos overwhelmingly supported the development of the national language and by and large (except for Cebuanos) both groups accepted Tagalog as the basis of the national language, but that they were not willing to compromise the academic development of their children by mandating an education *totally* in Pilipino. Instead, a bilingual education scheme was found acceptable, and it could be continued since the importance of developing the national language had to be balanced with the continuing need for English for international needs, because English provided access to science and technology.

Previous to the 1974 policy, a nationwide survey on resources, especially of manpower and teaching materials, was undertaken in order to provide data for policy formulation (Gonzalez & Postrado, 1974). Not enough effort was expended for training teachers nationwide, but at the time, as a result of a World Bank loan, new textbooks were being produced for the Philippines by DECS; the language of the specific subjects followed the scheme, and materials were written during the next decade to attempt to reach the ideal of one textbook per subject for each student in the system. Materials in English were produced for English Language-medium classes, including the English language class itself, mathematics and science. Materials in Filipino were completed for the Filipino

language class and for social studies as well as for the performing arts (music, art) and physical education (health and sports). There were actually two massive materials writing projects initially under a World Bank Loan scheme and subsequently under an Asian Development Bank loan. The first one was to implement the Bilingual Education scheme and reforms in the system in general, and the second to implement a new scheme called Program for Decentralised Educational Development (PRODED), which had a materials component. In both projects, the textbook materials implementing the scheme were part of a larger project of improving the Philippine education system.

Of the considerable amount spent in attempting to improve Philippine education during those two decades (the 1970s and 1980s), perhaps the most significant and lasting outcome was the provision for better textbooks in sufficient quantities (one book per student in every subject). Unfortunately, there were problems of distribution of the textbooks so that, even after they were completed, some schools had not yet been reached by the distribution scheme. The private sector continued using its own textbooks, modelled on the textbooks provided by the educational system to its public school clientele.<sup>5</sup>

After the nationwide evaluation of bilingual education was completed in 1985, the DECS formulated basically the same scheme in 1987 except for the modification that regional directors would be the ones to make the decision on the speed of implementation, especially in those regions where the transition had just begun after 10 years of supposed implementation. Moreover, recommendations were made on proper monitoring of the scheme by a Bilingual Education Committee in the Department of Education, Culture and Sports, the creation of task forces to continue the writing of materials and the harmonisation of the teaching syllabi between Filipino and English to provide for complementation, avoid repetition, and assure planned repetition where justified. The 1987 scheme also recommended that new materials be composed for non-Tagalog regions at the initial transitional level, and it recommended the restoration of the use of the home languages as 'auxiliary languages', a recognition and legitimisation of the ongoing practice of using different media of instruction in class including the use of the home language for explaining content taught in Filipino and in English.

In the meantime, in an attempt to restructure the language academy of the Philippines,<sup>6</sup> a law was passed in August 1991 under the Aquino Administration establishing a new language academy called *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* (KWF) [Commission on the Filipino Language] with an enlarged group of board members representing different major and minor languages as well as different academic disciplines. The Commission was charged with the mission not only to develop Filipino as a language of literature and as an academic language but likewise to preserve and develop the other languages. The KWF is made up of a division for linguistic research, a lexicography unit, a unit dealing with Philippine languages other than Filipino, a section for the dissemination of its findings through publications and workshops, and an administrative unit. Essentially the KWF has the same structure and has basically the same personnel at present as the former Institute of National Language (*Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas*) except that an enlarged board now meets regularly to deliberate on

language policy and use and to advocate the expanded use of Filipino in academic life.

After the ratification of the 1987 Constitution, which mandated Filipino and its development, as well as clarified the official status of Pilipino and English, and opened the door to using Filipino not only for the social sciences but also for the natural sciences, regional centres for the promotion of the Philippine national language were set up in different universities in the provinces.

On constitutional grounds, the local government of Cebu Province challenged the notion that Filipino had already been recognised as the national language and contended that Filipino was still in the process of development and hence could not be imposed on the province. The Provincial Board supported that proposal. The KWF won its case for Filipino in the lower court; the case is now on long-term appeal. In the meantime, pending the appeal, English is once more being used in teaching the social sciences, and the Filipino Language Class is the only class in the curriculum using Filipino as both content and as medium of instruction. This avoidance of the use of Filipino has taken its toll on achievement in those subjects taught and tested in Filipino in other parts of the country, a situation which the Cebuanos have found difficult to accept. There is a strong petition at present to have social studies tested not in Filipino but in English, a policy that would favour Cebuanos. The DECS has refused to change the language of testing in the social sciences.

### Major media languages and distribution of media by socioeconomic class, ethnic group, urban and rural location

Based on data contained in the *Philippine Media Factbook* (1995), there are 21 daily newspapers in English and 16 daily newspapers in Filipino. The 21 regional newspapers are written in both English and the local language, usually a major language. There are 36 weekly magazines in Filipino and four weekly magazines in English, plus three long-standing weekly magazines in three major Philippine languages (*Bannawag* for Ilokano, *Hiligaynon* for Hiligaynon Bisaya, *Bisaya* for Cebuano Bisayan) in addition to *Liwayway* in Tagalog/Filipino, all published by the Liwayway Publishing Corporation, a sister company of the Manila Bulletin Publishing Corporation, publisher of the most important daily newspaper in English in the country.

Eighty-one per cent of households have a radio, broadcasts are in Filipino, English and the local vernacular, in that order. Among the local vernaculars, however, not all are used; usually it is the lingua franca in the region which is used as the language of broadcasting. *Ilocano* is the lingua franca for all of Northern Luzon, *Tagalog* for the rest of Luzon, *Cebuano* for Cebuano-speaking areas not only in the Bisayas but likewise in Mindanao. Educational radio broadcasts for small ethnic groups are provided through private initiatives, especially by church groups.

Television programming is provided by 11 major stations, with provision made for nationwide broadcasts in Filipino and English. Filipino is used in approximately 60% of programmes (movies and live shows) and English in 40% (mostly pre-recorded programmes from English-speaking countries and in live shows which show a codeswitching variety for informal conversations). Usually

in major cities such as Cebu, Bacolod, Davao and Cagayan de Oro, portions of broadcast time are local programmes for news and for political issues which use both English and the local major vernacular.

The most interesting recent development in terms of the spread of Filipino is its predominance now over radio (about 90% of programming) and TV (about 60% of programming) and cinema; the Philippines is second only to India in the number of films produced each year, all in Filipino. An attempt was made about 10 years ago, without success, to produce a movie in Cebuano; no local movies (except for codeswitching episodes) use English. For the first time, in 1996, a soap opera produced in Mexico which had attracted a wide viewership was translated not into English but into Filipino, and has set a trend of translating foreign TV series into Filipino.

Household income determines ownership of mass media instruments; the country is divided into A B households (the more affluent ones), C D households (the middle-class ones) and E households (the poorer class ones). Newspaper and magazine readership for English is distributed usually among the A B households while local papers in Filipino and weekly magazines are read more widely among the C D households. Ownership of radios is nearly universal; TV is still only for the A B C D, not E, socioeconomic classes. Ethnicity is not an important factor for mass media ownership but socioeconomic class is. In remote areas in the Mountain Provinces among the cultural minority communities, households have radios but few in the village have a TV set; if there is a TV set, it is usually available to neighbours in the evenings. An interesting development is that, more than TV, there are video-tapes, and video-tape players are used to show movies for a fee; the movies are flown in or brought by boat each week, a way whereby Filipino and English can penetrate even the most remote area. Obviously, the more urbanised the community, the more access it has to mass media instruments in Filipino and in English. The proximity of the ethnic community to the highway is important for both the learning and the use of Filipino and English.

### **Effect of immigration on language distribution and measures for learning the national language and supporting the retention of immigrant languages**

Unlike affluent countries to which immigrants flock, the Philippines is not to any great extent a magnet for immigrants. During the 1950s and early 1960s, Hokkien speakers from South China with relatives in the Philippines came either officially or unofficially and eventually integrated themselves into Philippine society. If they were young enough, these immigrants attended schools catering to the Chinese community and learned some English and some Filipino. Those who were already too old to attend school learned Filipino the natural informal way and became fluent in it. Of course, second generation Hokkien Chinese grow up bilingual in Tagalog and in Hokkien, then learn Mandarin (as a subject) and English (as a medium of instruction) in school. The Hokkien Chinese from South China are the only significant Chinese community that has immigrated into the Philippines in relatively large numbers after the 1949 events in mainland China.

Other immigrants who come in because of intermarriage with Filipinos are usually from the A B group and learn languages in school. No formal measures



are taken by the Bureau of Immigration to help assimilate these immigrants — there are too few to need this kind of attention. Hence, there has been no significant effect on language distribution. Efforts to learn the national language (Filipino) are left to individual initiative unless the immigrants are young enough to attend school. Nor has there been an attempt to support the use of immigrant languages except in the Chinese schools which, from 1950 to 1973, had a double-medium curriculum whereby a half day was spent teaching in English while the other half day was spent teaching Chinese Language and Culture and other curricular content in Mandarin. The transition was made by a directive from the Bureau of Private Schools based on the 1973 Constitution. A policy of assimilation was applied and the double-medium scheme was discontinued in favour of a regular English–Filipino stream with Putonghua (Mandarin) taught as a subject (Go, 1979). Except in special language schools opened through private initiative, Hokkien is not taught as a language, but is of course acquired in the home among Hokkien Chinese, along with its Filipino variety (Ma, 1992).

### Part III: Language Policy and Planning

#### Language planning legislation, policy or implementation currently in place

In the Philippines, language planning is not under one unified agency but is diffused and located in different agencies according to the nature of the task to be accomplished.

The 1987 Constitution mandates the national language to be Filipino, a language it recognises as existing and in the process of further development just like any modernising and intellectualising language. The Constitution likewise mandates the dissemination of Filipino in educational domains, including science, in the future. In the meantime, Tagalog-based Pilipino and English continue to be official languages until a Congressional Act mandates otherwise. The teaching of other languages, especially Arabic and Spanish, is voluntary.

Mandated to develop Filipino as a modernising and intellectualising language is an agency founded by Republic Act No. 7104 in 1991, called the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* (KWF) (Commission on the Filipino Language) consisting of nine members of the board under a Chairman, and a Director General of the Commission charged with running the Commission on a day-to-day basis. The task of the Commission as it has been evolving over the past seven years is to develop Filipino as a language of academic work, disseminate it further, do linguistic and sociolinguistic research on it, monitor government policies and laws so that they will not be inimical to its own purposes and work, and preserve and conserve as well as disseminate the other Philippine languages and their respective literatures. One important activity for the standardisation and cultivation of Filipino is dictionary making — i.e. both a monolingual dictionary of Filipino and the continuation of compilations of technical terms in bilingual English–Filipino, and word-lists in different domains. As defined by KWF, Filipino is the variety of speech used as a lingua franca in the Philippines, found in urban areas and historically first emerging in the Manila area.

The use of English in the mass media follows the demands of the market and

has no special agency looking after it or legislating its use, except that, some 20 years ago, it was recommended by members of the media themselves that at least half of the songs played on radio would be in Filipino.

English has no national agency concerned with its interests; it continues as an official language, and its use in the community continues as a language of instruction at the tertiary level and as a language of science and mathematics at the elementary and secondary levels. The continuing training of teachers is done not only in the English departments of teacher training colleges (usually a college of education in a university) in different parts of the Philippines but also through the continuing training activities sponsored by such professional educational groups as the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, the Philippine Association for Language Teaching, and the College English Teachers Association, as well as the Council of Department Chairpersons of English (CDCE), and with the help of agencies such as the British Council, the United States Information Service (through the Cultural Affairs Officer of the US Embassy), and occasionally, through the Australian Agency for International Development (AUS-AID).

The organisation of workshops for the teaching and use of Filipino is handled by institutions such as the Philippine Normal University in Manila and by different organisations for Filipino language and literature, the most active lately being *Sanggunian ng mga Guro sa Filipino* (SANGFIL) or Council of Teachers of Filipino, mostly at the tertiary level.

For the other Philippine languages, except for a special division for this purpose in the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino*, no other agency is charged with the preservation and recording of the Philippine languages; the non-governmental agency closest to this objective would be the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Philippines) which, however, is in the process of winding down its field work and research on minority languages. As planned, the field work and linguistic analysis and learning were intended to create literacy materials and eventually to translate the Christian Scriptures into the minority languages. The proposed successor to the SIL, which is not taking on any new work in the Philippines after its current projects have been completed, is the Translators' Association of the Philippines (TAP).

### Historical development of the policies and practices

The historical development of the policies is best traced by a quick glance across time in the history of the Philippines. (For the Spanish period and the American period, see Bernabe, 1987; for the early post-war period, see Sibayan, 1973 on the vernacular policy especially from 1957 to 1974; for the period from 1974 onwards, see Gonzalez, 1976, 1980b, 1981a).

The Spanish Crown, in numerous directives to the Viceroy of Mexico (which then acted as a conduit of governance towards the Governor General of the Philippines), kept mandating the teaching of the Spanish language to the local residents, seemingly without too much success in the Philippines because of the lack of a concrete programme of instruction (until the last quarter of the nineteenth century when a series of parish-related schools was established after the Royal Decree of 1863 and when two schools, one in Manila for men, the other one in Naga for women, were founded to train teachers for Spanish). The absence

of Spanish teachers who could monitor the programme and act as models is probably the main reason for the lack of success. The only Spaniard living in the rural and semi-urbanised areas was the religious pastor who learned local languages rather than trying to teach the locals his own native language (Spanish). Later, during the period of intense nationalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Schumacher, 1973), friars were accused of trying to hold back the teaching of Spanish from the locals out of fear of their imbibing liberal ideas from Spain and to prevent possible subversion. To a certain extent, this was true, although how widespread this belief was among the friars needs further analysis since the more convincing reason was that there was no teaching programme nor were there sufficient teachers. At the end of the Spanish Period, the fluent male speakers were former students of the Ateneo, San Juan de Letran, the Universidad de Santo Tomas, and the fluent women were the former students of the Beaterios run by the nuns.

The 1896 *Biak-na-Bato* Constitution and the 1898 *Malolos* Constitution recognised the need to cultivate the local languages, but did not say anything about a national language; rather, *de facto* these documents recognised the continuing use of Spanish in Philippine life and legislation.<sup>7</sup>

William McKinley, President of the United States of America in 1898, in his instructions to the First Philippine Commission, ordered the use of the Philippine languages as well as English for instructional purposes. The American administrators, finding the local languages to be too numerous and too difficult to learn and to write teaching materials in, ended up with a monolingual system in English with no attention paid to the other Philippine languages except for the token statement concerning the necessity of using them eventually for the system. In a Whorfian assumption that a language somehow carried the ideology of the native speakers, the American colonisers decided that Filipinos should learn the language of democracy and enterprise. This intent was never achieved, although there were enlightened American administrators such as Najeeb Saleeby (1924) who advocated the use of the main language of the country as a language of instruction, a policy that Vice-Governor General Joseph Hayden likewise espoused. The serious discussions about the national language at least in print began in the 1920s and were eventually laid down as policy by the framers of the 1935 Constitution. The Norberto Romualdez Law was enacted in 1936, establishing the National Language Institute and its mission. The basis of the new national language of the Philippines was Tagalog. In 1939 it was officially proclaimed and ordered to be disseminated by the school system after it had a written grammar and a dictionary (actually a bilingual word list); it was renamed *Wikang Pambansa* (National Language) in 1940 and taught as a subject in the high schools of the country. The short-lived Japan sponsored government under Laurel (1943 to 1945) recognised Tagalog as the national language and urged its rapid dissemination in the system, although English continued to be the dominant language of government and official use as well as education during the entire Japanese period.

Independence saw the mandatory teaching of *Wikang Pambansa* (National Language) at all levels of elementary and secondary schooling; earlier, in 1942 the national language had been recognised as an official language.

The 1973 Constitution reopened the debate on the basis of the national language and mandated the formation once more of a language to be called Filipino, to be based on the other languages of the Philippines. By the time of the 1987 Constitution, given the temper and euphoria of the times, there was less opposition to the current status of the language. The Philippine National Language known as Filipino was now accepted without question as existing and as the language (actually a variety of Tagalog) of the urban areas of the Philippines especially MetroManila.

Spanish and its use among the elites disappeared after World War II in spite of legislation to mandate its teaching in high school (Republic of the Philippines, 1949) and later on in college (initially 24 units, subsequently 12 units; voluntary since 1987). English has continued to be in use as a medium of instruction modified by the bilingual education policies of 1974 and 1987 but now given official sanction in the 1987 Constitution as an official language (together with Filipino).

The use of Filipino and English is now governed by Department of Education, Culture and Sports Policy No. 25 promulgated in 1974, and No. 52 promulgated in 1987. The teaching of Filipino for six units at the collegiate level began in 1975; a later Department Order (No. 22 Series 1975) prescribed the content of the syllabus. In 1987, the Commission on Higher Education (CHED enacted through RA 7722 and (in effect creating a new Department of Higher Education in CHED Order No. 59, Series 1997) has prescribed nine units of Filipino, nine units of English (the two equalised for symbolic purposes) and six units of Literature (which may be taught in either Filipino or English).

Serious attention to literacy questions was raised in the post-war period largely through the suggestions of visiting linguists in the 1950s, especially Clifford Prator (1950). This resulted in the Department of Education Vernacular Teaching Policy of 1957, whereby the major vernacular languages were used as languages of initial teaching and literacy up to Grade 3, and with Tagalog and English taught as subjects and eventually with English used as the language of instruction from Grade 3 on. In 1974, when the Bilingual Education Policy was announced, vernaculars were relegated to being transitional languages which could be used for initial instruction and literacy; they were restored as 'auxiliary languages' explicitly in the 1987 DECS policy.

### Language planning agencies (formal and informal)

The formal language planning agency for Filipino and the other Philippine languages is the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* established in 1991 by Republic Act No. 7104. While a division of the *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* is tasked with the conservation of the other Philippine languages and the compilation of their literatures, little work is really being done at the official government level for the conservation of these languages. Their recording is done rather by anthropologists and literary scholars continuing to record oral literature in these language communities, and literacy materials production is being done by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Philippines. There are likewise societies of writers in the different vernaculars, although the only really active one outside of Manila, trying to promote the use of Ilokano in the region is *Gunglo Dagiti Manunurat nga*

*Ilokano* (GUMIL) (Association of Writers in Ilokano). The other literary academies for Kapampangan, Hiligaynon and Cebuano are dormant.

There is no formal language planning agency for the continuing use of English in Philippine life, but there is a Department Order maintaining its use as one of two languages serving as media of instruction and a constitutional provision that English shall continue to be an official language with Pilipino and Filipino in the educational system.

Informally, while recognising the need for a national language as a symbol of unity and linguistic identity, based on surveys, the average Filipino (Gonzalez & Sibayan, 1988) does not feel the same need to show his nationalism through the language of instruction in schools. Until the mastery of Filipino becomes more necessary for livelihood than for symbolic purposes, based on previous Philippine experience, the widespread use of Filipino as a language of instruction especially for science and technology at the higher level of schooling will be limited.

On the other hand, because of its economic rewards including the possibility of employment abroad as an Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW),<sup>8</sup> English will continue to be learned and to be valued as really the dominant language of schooling, the success of learning it being determined by the quality of the school and especially the quality of the teachers and their competence in the language.

In the mass media, there has been no policy, formal or informal, except the policy unofficially enunciated by the *Kapisanan ng mga Brodkasters sa Pilipinas* (KBP) (Society of Broadcasters in the Philippines) on the balanced use of Pilipino and English songs played on radio. Since the 1970s the proportion of programming on radio and TV has increased to about 90% Filipino and a few vernaculars on the radio and 60% Filipino on TV.

In the realm of publications, the Filipino press (newspapers and magazines) and the publishing industry (mostly textbooks and a few trade books) still publish predominantly in English (*Philippine Media Factbook*, 1995), again not due to any enacted legislation but rather due to the demands of the market. Militating against the more rapid spread of Filipino in entertainment is the now widespread availability of video films and VCR disks that constitute informal instruments for the maintenance of English in the field of entertainment.

### **Regional/International influences affecting language planning and policy in the philippines**

The most significant influence affecting language policy and planning in the Philippines in so far as English is concerned is the official encouragement of Filipinos to take on employment abroad as Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), formerly Overseas Contract Workers (OCWs), a process now administered by a government agency called the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA). Indirectly, since OFWs are hired largely because of their familiarity with English and their technical skills, the influence is considerable for the maintenance of the English language and its continuing use in the specialised domains of seamanship, the health sciences, technology and management.

Individual embassies in Manila sponsor their own language schools; depending on the availability of study grants overseas offered through these agencies,

the number of enrollees grows. Until lately, there was a Japan Information Cultural Center (JICC) which had a Japanese language school and attracted quite a following. So too did the allied Philippine–Japanese Language School under the sponsorship of the Philippine–Japan Friendship Society. The school sites have moved from Makati to the university belt area (Gastambide Street) and now the Philippine–Japanese Center for Japanese Language Study and the Nippon Language School are under the same roof and continue to attract students.

The *Instituto Cervantes* continues its programmes at its site on Leon Guinto Street in the Singalong area, while the Goethe Institute gives German language tuition at its address on Aurora Boulevard in Quezon City. The *Alliance Française* continues its language teaching in Makati. There are no officially sponsored institutes for Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) although individual proprietary language institutes continue to teach Mandarin Chinese in short-term non-diploma programmes.

Hence, while there is external language promotion, numbers are limited and the direct influence of these efforts is restricted. Since 1990, the European Commission, with a resident ambassador in Manila, has promoted a European Studies Programme among four universities in Greater Manila (the University of the Philippines, the University of Santo Tomas, the Ateneo de Manila University and De La Salle University) which, through its area studies programme and its scholarship schemes, will undoubtedly encourage the learning of European languages among the Filipino students enrolled in these programmes in the four schools. Australia continues to attract many undergraduate and graduate students with its generous fellowships; indirectly this means that the continuing maintenance and enhancement of English is no longer solely because of the cultural influence of the United Kingdom and the United States (the numbers of fellowships from both countries have dwindled) but because of the influence of Australia.

### Historical development of maintenance policies

The influence of English language studies is pervasive in the Philippines because of the period of American colonisation (1898 to 1946). English continues to dominate the Philippine educational system. On the other hand, Filipino, originally Tagalog, renamed *Wikang Pambansa* and subsequently Pilipino, has had only the educational system and the mass media to help its development since the language was initially only a vernacular with some literature dating back to the nineteenth century, and the language has been seriously cultivated for non-literary academic purposes only since the bilingual education policy of 1974.

The influence of Spanish was all-pervasive after the coming of the Spaniards, initially in 1521, more systematically in 1565, and ending only in 1898. The dean of Philippine linguists, the late Cecilio Lopez, in an article on the influence of Spanish on the Philippine languages, calls it ‘an overlay’ (Lopez, 1965) since the content words (nouns and verbs) used in the language are mostly of Spanish origin. Earlier, through Malay, the Philippine languages were influenced by Sanskrit, especially for terms of religion and the spiritual life, and later by Arabic, for terms of law and religion. The American influence subsequently became

equally pervasive, even more widespread and extensive than Spanish in the number of cultural importations and words in the Philippine languages.

Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) was being preserved by special Chinese schools under an agreement between the Philippine government and the Republic of China. The programmes were a form of bilingual education consisting of using English and Filipino for the same subjects taught in Mandarin Chinese in a repetitive scheme. This policy was allowed from 1950 to 1973; it was discontinued during the latter year. Chinese language and literature and culture are now taught as separate subjects.

The other foreign languages in use and in demand in the Philippines are taught through embassy-sponsored institutions, by the *Alliance Française* (1920), the Goethe Institute (1961), the *Instituto Cervantes*, originally *Centro Cultural de la Embajada de Espana* (1994). The Japan Information and Cultural Center school for the Japanese language (now called Nihongo Center) (1967), and the Japanese Language and Culture Institute (1992) were established more recently.

Fellowships and scholarships abroad have been offered to attract future scholars in language and area studies and have been in place since their founding years. The Philippine American Educational Foundation (1948) (and earlier the Fulbright Program beginning in 1946), the British Council (1980), the Australian Agency for International Development (Aus-AID) (1995) (formerly Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) (1986), and the Japan Information Cultural Center (1991) are responsible for these study schemes. In the non-academic domain, there has been no radio station promoting languages other than Filipino and English except the Catholic Bishops' sponsored Radio Veritas which broadcasts in many Asian languages to overseas audiences rather than to local residents.

## Part IV: Language Maintenance and Prospects

### Intergenerational transmission of the major languages

The vernaculars, major and minor, are the languages of the home and the family as well as the neighborhood in non-Tagalog regions. It is only when residents from areas in these regions go out to urban areas (the cities) and MetroManila, that language attrition takes place (Bautista & Gonzalez, 1986). Once non-Tagalogs settle in Filipino-speaking areas, the original mother tongue is maintained by the first generation and, depending on the language of the *yayas* or the household help, in the second generation as well. However, if a member of one ethnic group marries a member of another ethnic group, then the language of the home usually becomes that of the wife, with the second generation being more dominant in the lingua franca of the area, having only a passive understanding of the earlier vernacular of the mother or father. In MetroManila, especially among the poorer classes, neighborhoods build up where people from the same ethnic group live together for mutual help. Here the language has a better chance of continuing at least up to the second generation. By the time the grandchildren come along, however, in the third generation, the language spoken is the language of the community, in this case, Filipino, which they come into contact with not only in school but in the mass media. Filipino also becomes

the ordinary means of interethnic communication or the lingua franca. Bautista and Gonzalez (1986) summarise the data on intergenerational language changes in their book on surveys; Gonzalez and Romero (1993) have studied intergenerational differences and first-language influences on the pronunciation of Filipino among migrants into the Filipino-speaking urban areas from rural areas where a vernacular is spoken. Even in households which maintain the original vernacular from the home province, because mother and father belong to the same ethnic group and because of household help still available from the home province, as well as the presence of vernacular-speaking relatives, the children grow up bilingual in the home language and the lingua franca in the urban or urbanising region.

On the other hand, while there are many informal and non-school based ways of learning the local languages, for the most part, in the Philippines, English is learned only in school. The efficiency of learning is very much a function of the school's quality in its many dimensions. Gonzalez (1989) has discussed and described the small percentage of elite families where English is used at home and where, as a consequence, a Philippine variety of English has been creolised. In these households, however, even in the most affluent and most cultivated, the presence of household help speaking Filipino and other languages and the use of Filipino in the mass media make monolingualism a remote possibility. The children then grow up bilingual in English (which is usually dominant) and in another Philippine language (usually Filipino, since the affluent for the most part live in urban areas where Filipino is the dominant language of the community). Spanish used to be transferred intergenerationally at least among elite Filipinos before and immediately after World War II. What seems to be happening, based on the author's own generational peers, is that the next generation, their children, have a passive competence in Spanish and now for the most part carry on only in English and in Filipino, speaking English with superiors and peers and speaking Filipino among friends and household help.

A few radio and local TV programmes use the local vernacular in the area and thus constitute a means of maintenance. The vernacular press is not particularly strong except in Cebu where a daily in Cebuano and in English is printed. Other means of maintenance through the print media are the weeklies: *Liwayway* (Filipino), *Hiligaynon* (Hiligaynon Bisayan), *Bisaya* (Cebuano), and *Bannawag* (Ilokano), all published by the Liwayway Publishing Corporation, a sister company of the Manila Bulletin Publishing Corporation. Local vernaculars are used for on-the-air radio broadcasts by religious and humanitarian foundations in a form of distance education, usually disseminating information on modern agriculture and civics.

### **Probabilities of language death and language revival efforts and emerging pidgins**

The major vernaculars are in a stable condition, encountering no danger of language death or extinction at present. However, dialects within these languages, as a result of migration and the homogenisation that is taking place because of the mass media and the educational system, are evolving towards convergence. In some cases where the number of native speakers of a specific



language has dwindled (for example, among many of the minor languages of the Mountain Province area in the Cordilleras of Northern Luzon), language death is occurring, at least in part because of the much reduced number of speakers. None of the major Philippine languages and hardly any of the minor languages are threatened with this possibility at present.

There is really no significant mass-based or government effort to save any language since the policy of education and of the government has thus far been to encourage all languages and to have them in complementary distribution (Sibayan, 1978) in the lives of individuals and communities, with different languages taking on permanent roles. The local language is the language of the home and the neighborhood, Filipino is the national lingua franca for all domains of life except academics, international and national business, and international relations, the latter domains being assigned to English.

A creole which emerged after 350 years of Spanish colonisation, *Chabacano*, is still spoken in Zamboanga City and in Ternate, Cavite. A Philippine variety of English spoken among *yayas* (child caregivers) and bar girls (Bautista, 1981, 1994) shows features of pidginisation, but it has not yet developed into a full pidgin, for the more usual type of codeswitching (instead of codemixing) used in the informal mass media presupposes competence in both English and Filipino. The bar-girl and *yaya* types of English show poorly learned language skills from school, although near universal literacy (about 94%) is achieved. Some elementary type of schooling exposes even bar girls and *yayas* to a variety of English. It is more of a basilectal type of English based on educational non-attainment of the standard, what Gonzalez (Bautista & Gonzalez, 1986) calls an 'edulect'.

Sibayan (personal communication) thinks that the emerging type of intellectualised Filipino will be based on the codeswitching variety of Filipino and English (the latter for content in the academic registers). This remains to be seen.

In the same way that Chabacano developed as a Philippine-Hispanic pidgin and later creole, so now there is a possibility that the codeswitching variety of Filipino and English will evolve in the future to codemixing and therefore a Philippine-English pidgin and subsequently a creole, an English version of Chabacano. It is not clear at present whether this development will actually take place because of the ready availability of formal instruction in the educational system and the informal mass media for the maintenance of English, at least for the domains of academic discourse in science and technology, international and national business, and diplomatic international relations.

### Clarifications about the language situation and probable directions of change

The language situation in the Philippines has been both a positive factor and a negative factor in meeting the education and the communication needs of Filipinos.

Positively, the multilingual character of the society renders three languages (spoken by most Filipinos not living in Tagalog-speaking areas) in complementary distribution:

- the vernacular for the language of the home and the neighborhood;

- English for the language of academic discourse especially for business, science and diplomacy and as a language of wider communication, and
- Filipino as the national language, a symbol of unity and linguistic identity.

Since the local language and the colloquial variety of Filipino (Tagalog) is learned in the neighborhood, learning it is not a problem. The problem for the school is the cultivation of Filipino as the language of academic discourse and the learning of the second language, English, which belongs to a totally different language family. Instruction in English has to begin with an assumption of zero knowledge, although loanwords from English have crept into the Philippine languages facilitating at least the acquisition of vocabulary. Positively, too, except for some minor vernacular languages on the verge of extinction (especially in the Mountain Provinces of Northern Luzon), the continuing use and conservation of languages other than Filipino seem to be assured; these languages are in a steady state without danger of society's losing them as precious resources.

Negatively, the lack of resolve of the system really to cultivate Filipino as a language of scholarly discourse (beyond mere rhetoric) through a systematic and funded programme of training and cultivation (thus, corpus planning) has made progress in Filipino slow. A conscious and enlightened effort is sustained by only a few nationalists usually in departments of Filipino in universities and by nationally minded humanists and social scientists in academic centers in MetroManila. One does not find the same kind of interest and dedication in areas outside of MetroManila.

Negatively, too, the need to be literate in English side-by-side with being literate in Filipino, and the need for English (as a second language) for higher cognitive activities, make the task of English language learning and teaching difficult. In view of the fact that competence in English is very much the result of socioeconomic status, making it possible for the culturally advantaged and affluent to be fully competent to carry on higher order cognitive activities in English, and because the poorer classes, owing to poor teaching and regrettable working conditions, barely attain literacy and basic interpersonal communicative skills in English, the education of youth in English is problematic for mastery of content.

Philippine academics and administrators, especially those who head the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) and the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), are fully aware of these problems. Limitations of manpower and fiscal resources, however, prevent them from undertaking serious amelioration of the problems and the implementation of corrective programmes. The private sector, on the other hand, has been outstanding in its efforts to improve the situation both for Filipino and for English. The needs of the future demand mass-based training among teachers to be able to carry on higher order cognitive activities in both English and Filipino; in other words, to create truly effective bilingual education programmes. In general, the current situation calls for a general improvement in the education of teachers both for liberal learning and for specialised learning especially in science and technology. Sheer numbers and the growth of population put a strain on the system in terms not only of physical facilities but above all of human resources (competent teachers and administrators). The use of media of instruction, their phasing in,

needs serious rethinking to make the students functionally literate in Filipino first, then slowly leading them to carry on higher order cognitive activities in Filipino while, at the same time, training them in oral skills in English and eventually reading skills for higher cognitive order activity in English. In addition, there has to be a complementation in content and skills to be imparted in either language (not both) and reduction of repetition in the syllabi of both languages to avoid needless duplication, in order to optimise learning. For Filipino to be fully cultivated, it cannot remain only the language of the social sciences; it must be expanded to serve the natural sciences as well. Perhaps, then, once English has been mastered, it can return to partial use, even in the social sciences and not only in mathematics and the natural sciences, so that there will be a better balance between Filipino and English to cultivate the ideal of a balanced bilingual. Those in the system have aimed for this objective without necessarily attaining this ideal.

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### Notes

1. Instituto Cervantes for Spanish, Alliance Française for French, Goethe Institute for German, Nippon Institute and Philippine–Japanese Language Institute for Japanese, and special language schools in the business districts of MetroManila.
2. Magellan had arrived in 1521 but he was killed in a skirmish off Mactan next to Cebu Island.
3. There are 18 million students at all levels of the system, based on data for School Year 1997–98.
4. In the Philippines methodology has moved from grammar translation and analysis up to the 1950s, to the audio-lingual method up to the 1970s, then to the communicative approach in the 1980s, and most recently to the communicative interactive approach in the 1990s (see Sibayan & Gonzalez, 1990).
5. In the Philippines at present, the proportions of pupils in public schools *vis-à-vis* private schools are: 95% public/5% private at the elementary level, 60% public/40% private at the secondary level). At the tertiary level, the proportion is quite different from that at the elementary and high school level: 21% public versus 79% private; in actual numbers, about 11 million at the elementary level, nearly six million at the secondary level, and above 1.8 million at the tertiary level (School Year 1997–1998).
6. Initially in 1937 called the National Language Institute, renamed Institute of National Language in 1938, once more renamed *Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas* (Institute of Philippine Languages) in 1987.
7. The deliberations of the Malolos Assembly were for the most part in Spanish, except Aguinaldo's speeches; he felt more comfortable in his Cavite Tagalog than in Spanish (Agoncillo, 1960).
8. The socioeconomic groups that apply for overseas work are mostly from the middle and lower classes.
9. The Philippines is projected to have over 70 million people by the year 2000 and more than 100 million by the year 2020.

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