

DOCUMENTATION SECTION:

SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN THE PHILIPPINES

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The Linguistic Society of the Philippines held its annual convention on May 6, 1978 at De La Salle University. The main issue considered was sociolinguistic research in the Philippines. The papers read include a variety of topics: First, there are those which study the 'sociology of language' in Philippine setting, that is those which analyze language planning and engineering in Philippine schools, explore strategies in bilingual education, and describe the relationship between language and nationalism. Second are those concerned mainly with the ethnography of communication, that is, with descriptions of language use in contact situations, code-switching, and verbal interchange in Pilipino and English. Third are linguistic descriptions or grammars of various varieties of English and Tagalog (or Pilipino/Filipino) specifically isolating distinctive features with socio-cultural associations. Also included is a progress report on the linguistic atlas which locates the various linguistic groups in the Philippines and also shows inter-ethnic migration.

Three papers discuss problems related to the 'sociology of language': Bonifacio P. Sibayan, 'Bilingual education in the Philippines from 1565 to 1978 — strategies and structures'; Emma F. Bernabe, 'Historical Notes on language planning in Philippine education'; and Andrew Gonzalez, 'Language and nationalism and the Philippine experience'.

In his report, Sibayan stresses the fact that bilingual education in the Philippines can best be viewed as the merging of the narrow and the wide components, the former including only classroom phenomena and the latter those taking place outside the schools. He describes his 'big push theory' where bilingual education in the Philippines goes through at least five stages, and where at the fifth stage Pilipino and English attain equal status. An interesting query is put forward regarding the outcome of this fifth stage where presumably the two languages, Pilipino and English, will be used interchangeably and mixed frequently, namely, will this situation provide a favorable climate for the emergence of a Pilipino-English creole? If so, is this something desirable?

Bernabe's research describes language in Philippine education along Fishman's framework. She sees language planning as a kind of solution to the numerous language problems experienced by a developing nation such as the Philippines. Language choice entails considerations of efficiency (to promote economic advancement and modernization) as well as of nationalism (socio-cultural and political integration). Unlike the European examples where the vernaculars were chosen, the Philippine case involves the choice of a national language, supposedly supra-ethnic, to act as a unifying force among the diverse language groups, as well as a choice of a language of wider communication for reasons of efficiency and economy. The bilingual policy in Philippine education may thus be viewed as a product of these political-economic considerations.

Gonzalez, on the other hand, in his analysis of the national language development in the Philippines, comes up with the conclusion that the paradigm proposed by Fishman, Ferguson and Neustupny does not apply in the Philippine case and must thus be revised. First, a common indigenous national language and nationhood are not necessarily bound up together. In the Philippine experience, the search for national identity preceded the

search for a national language; in fact, nationhood was achieved without a national language. Second, contrary to belief, the choice of a national language can have a divisive, rather than a unifying, effect. This brings to the fore the significance of selection as a component of language planning. Third, the socio-economic factor must be viewed differently. Questions such as the following have been raised before: Is a common indigenous language a necessary condition to national development? As corollary, is a borrowed language a deterrent to economic growth? In the case of the Philippines (as well as in other countries like Singapore where the point is clearly dramatized) economic development is brought about regardless of language. Economic considerations can, however, come in as a highly significant factor, such as when it is used as an incentive in promoting a chosen language: For Pilipino to spread and attain greater prestige, it must be associated with economic gains and upward mobility.

The researches which investigate problems related to the ethnography of communication deal with identifying the role allocation of languages for some specified domains in a speech community, isolating social indices in discourse, and describing code-switching and language mix: Zenaida Olonan, 'Survey of language use in Paniqui, Tarlac'; Emy M. Pascasio, 'Code-switching in the business domain'; Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista and Jose Javier Reyes, 'Ethnographic study of Pilipino radio soap operas'; William C. Hall, 'Language and social context among the Subanon'; and Corazon G. Esclabanan et al., 'Verbal interaction in English and Pilipino in first year high school'.

In the Paniqui survey, Olonan studies a speech community where the following languages come in contact: the first languages of the different ethnic groups residing side by side (for example, Kapampangan and Pangasinan), a northern regional lingua franca (Ilocano), a national indigenous lingua franca (Tagalog), and a national non-indigenous lingua franca (English). Two data-gathering techniques have been utilized: interviews of some selected speakers and observation of language use in market transactions. Olonan reports that: (1) the first languages are commonly used for internal activities with parents, children, and friends; (2) Ilocano is used with priests/ministers; (3) Tagalog is used for external activities with employers and town or barrio officials; (4) the respondents best understand the native languages; however, they are most proficient in reading and writing in Tagalog; (5) there is a high correlation between self-reported and actual language use; (6) and very interestingly, the research confirms the spread of Tagalog as a lingua franca and as a superposed variety.

Using data taken from tape-recorded conversational exchanges in various business transactions, Pascasio hopes to come up with the speech profile of Filipino bilinguals in the business domains. She also hopes to identify the linguistic patterns and the socio-cultural factors in a code-switch and to differentiate borrowing from code-switching (see Pascasio's article in this issue).

Similarly, using taped discussions and conversations, as well as demographic surveys, Hall describes linguistic variations associated with social parameters in the Subanon language. He concludes that there are some discourse types related to social situations, and that some linguistic variables are indicative of speech styles and/or social mobility.

Using scripts of Pilipino radio soap operas, Bautista and Reyes work on the content analysis, first, of the language used: (1) to describe such sociolinguistic features as formality levels, code-switching and the presence of loans and (2) to describe the ethnography of speaking such as the use of address and reference terms, male and female language, and patterns of opening and closing or flirting and teasing; and second, of the literary components: (1) to define the archetypal plots involved, (2) to identify genre variation, and (3) to determine the presence of Filipino values in narratives (such as the concepts of

authority, social responsibility, masculinity, and femininity).

Slightly different in methodology, but still within the area of language role allocation is the research on classroom verbal interaction, by Esclabanan and associates (Martha A. Mogul, Luis Santos, and Ester Tuy). The study tests the hypotheses related to the function of language in two subject areas, science and social studies. Specifically, it aims to find out whether the languages used (Pilipino and English) facilitate classroom activities, that is, foster achievement of learning goals. The use of actual classroom discourse highlights the correlation of social structure (the classroom) with participant roles (teacher, pupils). Findings reveal that in social studies, Pilipino is the more effective medium while in science both Pilipino and English are effective as shown by the completion of certain classroom tasks.

Some studies aim to describe/codify the Philippine lingua franca or some of its varieties. One paper examines a more restricted variety, the Manila dialect (Fely S. Castillo et al., 'INL Manila dialect survey') and another studies a less confined variety, that which is extended cross-regionally (Ernesto Constantino, 'Codification of the lingua franca of the Philippines'). Aside from describing the Manila variety, the INL group intends to compile words/terminologies which the Manila residents often use or create. Constantino, on the other hand, intends to write a practical grammar, a dictionary, and a chrestomathy of the national lingua franca. His data consist of items taken from tape recorded discourses in more than thirty population centers in the Philippines.

Two reports are on the writing of grammars for Pilipino: Gloria Chan Yap and Teresita Martin Palo: 'A pedagogical grammar of Pilipino' and Alfonso Santiago and Norma Tianco: 'A grammar of Pilipino in Pilipino'. The Yap-Palo grammar makes use of the transformational generative and case models, and translates such models into layman's language for pedagogical use. The contention is that these models are necessary to uncover the structural complexities of Pilipino and thus could be of help to both teachers and students of the language. On the other hand, Santiago-Tianco report the completion of a grammar of Pilipino in Pilipino. The completed book entitled 'Makabagong Balarilang Pilipino' is basically structural in orientation. What is interesting is the claim which is made that the book uses the more acceptable 'authentic' and 'elegant' variety of Pilipino rather than either the 'puristic' language of the 1939 Balarila or the 'creolistic' type which is presently popular in oral form.

Wilfredo C. Alberca, in his report 'English in the mass media', identifies the distinctive features of Philippine English on the phonological, lexical, and syntactic levels. His data come from radio-TV newscasts and talk shows as well as from newspapers and magazines. Among his findings are (1) the lack of significant difference between formal and informal varieties of Philippine English, (2) a reduced phonological inventory, (3) stress-shifting in four-syllable words ending in *-ion*, (4) the change in the use of prepositions, and (5) a tendency to place objects or adverbs in unusual positions. The Alberca paper confirms the emergence of a Philippine English variety.

One paper read, which is not strictly sociolinguistics in nature, is Curtis McFarland's progress report on his research project 'Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines'. The project aims to come up with a comprehensive atlas which would locate in a highly accurate way the different languages of the Philippines. Two kinds of maps are being prepared: (1) a multi-colored set which will show the dominant languages in solid color and the minority languages in colored shading and (2) an inexpensive black and white edition which will similarly show the same geographic distribution of the languages in graphic symbols. In addition, the atlas will include a special symbol to mark areas where other scholars have previously conducted related research. Among the foreign agencies which

have indicated interest in publishing the atlas are the Asia-Africa Institute of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and the Australian National University, where Professor S.A. Wurm is likewise preparing a linguistic atlas of the Pacific area.

Altogether, the studies represent the range of sociolinguistic topics currently being investigated. Moreover, the 1978 LSP convention topic, sociolinguistics, is most appropriate in light of the growing relevance of linguistics to the pragmatic concerns of the nation.