

MIXED BILINGUALISM: A PRELUDE TO INCIPIENT CREOLISATION OF PILIPINO?¹

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0. BACKGROUND

From a radio broadcast, PULUNG-PULONG SA KAUN-LARAN (English loan-words italicised for easy identification):²

Kung pag-uusa-an no natin ang *irregularities*, ano? Kung sabagay, kung ang isang estudyante ay nakapasa rito dahilan lamang sa isang *leakage* wika nga, o iyong nakakuha siya ng mga *question* na kanyang nasagot kaagad, palagay ko *this will be to the advantage of the student concerned*. Kung saka-sakaling siya'y makalusot, makarating ng kolehiyo, e baka maging *very embarrassing on his part* naman, ano? Kung saka-sakali na kung nasa kolehiyo na siya ay hindi siya makaangkop doon sa *level* na dapat niyang kalagyan. *I think this has something to do now with the pattern of education* na sinusunod sa mga kolehiyo... *Aside from this*, sa *NCEE examination* ay naghihigpit na rin sila ngayon, sapagkat *they won't worry about anymore* dito sa sinasabi nilang *decrease in enrolment* sapagkat magkakaroon na rin sila ng *technological, vocational*, at saka *occupational courses* so that *they cannot afford anymore to get in people who are not fit for college*. Hindi po ba, Miss Sangalang?

And, also, during a conference on linguistics and bilingualism, the master of ceremony³ blurted out over the microphone:

Tayo'y magkakaroon ng *fifteen minutes break* at *afterwards* tayo'y babalik dito *to resume the conference*. Merong *sandwiches* at *soft drinks* diyan sa *corridor* para sa mga gustong mag-*refreshment*. Ang *next speaker* na isang kilalang *linguist* ay ipakikilala sa atin *after the break*.

The "mixing" of Pil(ipino) and Eng(lish), as shown in the above quotations, is fast becoming the normal acceptable style these days among the Tag(alog) bilinguals, especially in urban centres, like the Greater

Manila Area (GMA).⁴ Any GMA Tag bilingual will accept the above manner of code switching⁵ as typical and prevalent.

Goulet (1971:83-6) gives the following extralingual factors influencing language mixing, as well as the motivations for its use and the functions it serves: (1) for precision, i.e. Eng words give the exact meaning the speaker wants to convey; (2) for comic effect, i.e. mixing is very effective in creating humour; (3) for transition, i.e. a shift in language may mark a transition in thought; (4) for atmosphere, i.e. Pil heavily laced with Eng expressions conveys a "stateside" effect; (5) for creating social distance, i.e. "distance" is created between two interlocutors when one starts speaking purely in Eng; (6) for snob appeal, i.e. parents may try to set off their children from those of their neighbours by teaching them Eng as a first language; (7) for secrecy, i.e. parents who do not want their small children to understand the conversation at a particular moment resort to mixing of Eng with the vernacular.

1. THE PROBLEM

The Department of Education and Culture (DEC), in consonance with what is embodied in Article IV, Section 3 of the 1972 Revised Constitution⁶ and with Resolution No.73-7 of the National Board of Education,⁷ came up with an operational definition of bilingualism in Philippine education - that Pil and Eng shall be used as separate media of instruction in definite subject areas. This one-subject-one-language policy is aimed, it is presumed, to produce highly diglossic Filipinos who will be able to function adequately in the separate use of Eng and Pil in any language domains.⁸

It is being hypothesised in this study, however, that in spite of the policy of the DEC on the mutually exclusive use of Eng and Pil in the different school subjects, there will still be a random mixing of Eng and Pil which will eventually lead to the creolisation of the latter. Languages in contact usually start linguistic change with simple borrowing; then the borrowing becomes complex and breeds linguistic convergence, which in turn eventually breeds a creolised variety of either language.

Specifically, it is being hypothesised that the random mixing of Eng and Pil now obtaining among students and professionals of the GMA is a linguistic phenomenon which can be considered as incipient creolisation of the latter.

2. CREOLISATION AND STANDARDISATION

Dell Hymes (1971:84) defines creolisation as that "complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising expansion in inner form, with convergence, in the context of extension in use". Language standardisation, on the other hand, is defined by Ferguson (1968:31) as the "process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm... rated above regional and social dialects...".

Whether these two processes impinge upon each other is not the subject of this paper. Offhand, however, this researcher strongly believes that creolisation works both ways in the standardisation of a language, i.e. some of the universal dimensions expected of a standard language are enhanced while the others are hindered.

With the present stage of development of Pil, one can easily deduce that it can not yet measure up with the universally accepted norms for language standardisation. And if Pil is really being creolised (something to be proven in this study) because of its continued contact with Eng, the more it becomes premature to talk about its possible standardisation. It would be like an over-eager father wanting his child to be born even during the gestation period.

At this stage, perhaps one relevant thing that language scholars can do is to pinpoint the location of Pil in the whole network of language standardisation, identify the changes it is undergoing, study where it is heading to while it coexists with Eng in the tongues of the bilingual Filipinos.⁹

This study is one of its kind. It focuses on the possible symptoms or manifestations of incipient creolisation of spoken Pil among students and professionals of the GMA. Of course, this may appear to be a long shot toward standardisation but, surely, it is spotlighting Pil where it is now.

Perhaps one good study subsequent to this is something about the possible standardisation of Pil in the face of its creolisation.

3. THE BILINGUAL SITUATION

The effect of the Filipinos' linguistic and cultural contacts with Spa(nish) and Eng is mirrored in both the spoken and written Tag prevalent especially in the GMA. In fact, to an ordinary Spanish or American listener, Tag, with all its peculiar intonation and staccato rhythm, will not sound altogether foreign because he will be able to retrieve a hodgepodge of Spa or Eng words woven in its intricate system of affixation. And if the listener is uninitiated, he might suspect that Tag

is an Indo-European language, belonging to the same family where Spa or Eng belong.

A little knowledge of Philippine history, however, will make one understand that the Spa and Eng words interspersed in Tag utterances are actually loanwords from the two foreign languages; that such is the result of our contact with Spa for almost 400 years and with Eng for more than half a century.

Theoretically, the longer the period of contact, the greater would be the linguistic influence of the coloniser's language on that of the colonised. The almost four centuries of Spa rule in the Philippines could have completely hispanised the Filipinos, i.e. the Spa language could have completely nativised and replaced the native languages. This did not take place, however. Frake (In: Hymes, op. cit., p. 223), in tracing the origins of the Spa creoles in the Philippines, says that the consequences of hispanisation in the New World and in South-East Asia differed:

In the Philippines, in spite of rapid Spa conquest, almost total conversion to Christianity, and over three hundred years of occupation, the Spa language failed to establish itself. Spa replaced no indigenous Philippine language, and its role as an auxiliary language was sufficiently tenuous that it was quickly supplanted by Eng after the American occupation. Today, apart from the many Spa loanwords in Philippine languages and a few speakers of Spa in the upper echelons of society, the linguistic legacy of Spain in the Philippines is limited to the existence of several communities that speak a Spa creole language as their mother tongue.

This is in contrast with Eng, which became more widespread only after two decades of American rule in the Philippines:

By 1918 in the Philippine Islands, 49.2% were literate, 26.4% being males and 22.8% being females. Of the literate native population ten years of age and over, the census of 1918 found that 33.9% of the males and 22.4% of the females spoke English, while only 30.4% of the males and 16.9% of the females spoke Spa; 32.1% of the males and 21.5% of the females were able to read and write Eng while only 27.0% of the males and 14.5% of the females were able to read and write Spa. The larger proportion of Filipinos with a knowledge of Eng shows the progress made since implantation of the American educational system.¹⁰

The above data and discussion can be summed up as follows:

<i>Colonisers' Language</i>	<i>Percentage of Pil. Who Can Speak In</i>	<i>Percentage of Pil. Who Can Read & Write In</i>	<i>Years of Colonisation</i>
Spanish	47.30	41.50	after almost 400 years
English	56.30	53.60	after only 20 years

A study of the differences between the Spanish and the American colonial philosophies, in general, and educational and language policies, in particular, may perhaps help account for the difference in impact of the two languages on the Filipinos. The Spanish era in the Philippines may be characterised simply by "raising the cross and thrusting with the sword"¹¹ and preserving Spa as an aristocratic language available only to the few elites and not to the "Indios". On the other hand, the first thing that the Americans did, in sharp contrast with the Spaniards' lackadaisical policy, when they colonised the Philippines, was to educate the Filipinos and teach them the Eng language side by side with the principles of democracy on a massive scale.¹²

There were other factors, of course, that influenced the nature of Spanish and American colonisation in the Philippines, besides the differences in policies and attitudes toward language. One of them was the nature of contact itself, i.e. the incentive to learn, and therefore the impact of the Eng language and culture was greater. Another factor was the instructional materials, i.e. there was a dearth of materials in Spa; on the other hand, there was a deluge of Eng materials (Phelan 1959:132).

Presently, after only more than half a century of contact with Eng, and in spite of the fact that the Philippines is no longer under American domination, Eng remains as one of the two official languages of the country. This can be attributed to two principal reasons: (1) Eng continues to be an international language - the language of education, science and technology, diplomacy and foreign relations - serving as the Filipinos' link with the outside world, and (2) unlike the Spaniards, the Americans left no legacy of hate among the Filipinos. As such, the Filipinos continue to look up to their former colonial master's language as a source of knowledge and advancement.

It is in the light of the above that the incipience of creolisation in Pil will be described. Considerable attention has been devoted to the description of the contact situation to show that all the factors discussed have affected or are affecting the spoken Pil of the educated Tag bilingual in the GMA.

4. CREOLISATION: EXTENSIONS OF MEANING

4.1 TRADITIONAL MEANING

Creole, believed to have originated from Portuguese crioulo, via Spanish and French, originally meant a white man of European descent born and raised in a tropical or semi-tropical colony. The term was then applied to certain languages spoken by creoles in and around the Caribbean in West Africa and was later extended to other languages of similar types. (DeCamp, in: Hymes, op. cit., p. 15.)

Like pidgins,¹³ creoles before were considered marginal, deviant languages, in the circumstances of their origin... a "barbarous corruption of the standard language" (DeCamp, op. cit., p. 26) ... a "degradation of the great languages of culture" (Hall 1966:40). If mestizos were born during wars and colonisations, creoles were also born with the same circumstances - bastard languages appropriate only for the stigmatised natives, existing largely at the margins of historical consciousness - "on trading ships, on plantations, in mines and colonial armies, often under the most limiting or harshest of conditions" (Hymes, op. cit., p. 5).

So much so that studies along this line were often considered as a whimsical and useless hobby... not to be taken very seriously (DeCamp, op. cit., p. 33).

4.2 CONTEMPORARY MEANING

The above traditional meaning of creole has already undergone further modifications. Lately, creole studies have become a respectable academic field and the research has intensified and their significance to general linguistics, anthropology, and sociology has now been established. No longer are young linguists advised not to "waste their time on such peripheral subjects if they wish to get on in the academic world" (Hymes, op. cit., p. 3). Born as a separate discipline in 1959 (the First International Conference on Creole Language Studies was held this year in Jamaica), it came of age in 1968 (the Second International Conference on Pidgin and Creole Languages was held this year, also in Jamaica). Presently, it has become obvious that creole studies has already been given its rightful standing as the equal of the studies of other languages.

Moreover, it is no longer the case that creoles remain in the realm of pejorative denotations. In South-East Asia, Bazaar Malay, which is still widely used as a contact and trade language, has served as a basis for a new national language. Rebaptised Bahasa Indonesia, it is now the official language of the Indonesian Republic. Here we have an example

of a pidgin being deliberately creolised and made into the vehicle of a national culture in which latter function it is highly respected throughout the world (Hall, op. cit., p. 18).

4.3 MEANING OF CREOLISATION IN THIS STUDY

Traditionally, it is the coloniser's language or the "upper" language which is being creolised or nativised. Very seldom do we find the "lower" language being the one creolised. In the Philippines, between Eng and Pil, it is just normal to expect that it is Eng which will be creolised. In this study, however, it will be shown that it is Tag of the GMA instead which shows signs of incipient creolisation.

Status of language contacts have now changed. Almost every nation these days which was formerly under foreign domination appears to be nurturing bilingualism - maintaining the language of its former colonial master while developing simultaneously one of its indigenous languages as the national language, irrespective of whether it is being creolised or not. In fact, at the rate things are shaping up, one cannot even be sure of what Pil will "look like", linguistically, after it has passed its nebular or evolutionary stage.

This kind of linguistic change, resulting from the creolisation of the "lower" language - in this case, Pil - has never received serious attention before among local as well as foreign language scholars.

5. DATA SOURCE AND ANALYSIS

5.1 PHONOLOGY

The principal references used in this section for data purposes were the following: *Balarila Ng Wikang Pambansa* (1941) of the Institute of National Language, representing the contact with Spa, and the *Tagalog Reference Grammar* (1972) of Schachter and Otnes, representing the contact with Eng. It might be mentioned that although the Spa rule in the Philippines ended at the turn of the 19th century, the *Balarila* which was written some forty years hence still is an embodiment of the influence of Spa on Tag.

Following are some types of phonological modifications undergone by Tag as a result of its contact with Spa and Eng. In the transcription of words, the /' / marks the stressed syllable indicating loudness (and its correlates) in the case of Eng, and length (and its correlates) in the case of Spa and Tag.

5.1.1 Contact with Spanish

SPANISH

(/f/ > /p/)

telefono /teléfono/

(/v/ > /b/)

corcovado /korkovádo/

(/ð/ > /d/)

seda /séða/

(/z/ > /s/)

mismo /mízmo/

(/č/ > /s/)

chile /čile/

(/č/ > /ts/)

plancha /plánča/

(/θ/ > /s/)

cabeza /kabéθa/

(/h/ > /s/; /r/ > /l/)

jugar /húgár/

(/rr/ > /r/)

guitarra /gitárra/

Loss of initial syllable:

demasiado /demasyádo/

hermano /ermáno/

Loss of consonant or vowel:

comadre /komádre/

cuestion /kwestyón/

puesta /pwésta/

globo /glóbo/

Addition of morpheme:

ojal /ohál/

perla /pérla/

Metathesis:

pared /paréd/

Shift of stress:

Calixto /kalíks-to/

"De-clusterisation":

Francisco /fransísko/

TAGALOG

telepono /teléponó/

korkobado /korkobádo/

seda /séda/

mismo /mismó/ ~ /mís-mo/

sile /síle/

plantsa /plántsa/ ~ /plánsa/

kabesa /kabésa/

sugal /sugál/

gitara /gitára/

masyado /masyádo/

manong /mánong/

kumare /kumáre/ ~ /kumádre/

kustyon /kustyón/

pusta /pustá/

lobo /lóbo/

ohales /uháles/ ~ /oháles/

perlas /pérlas/

pader /padér/

Kalisto /kalístó/

Paransisko /paransísko/ ~ /pransísko/

5.1.2 Contact with English

ENGLISH

TAGALOG

(/f/ > /p/ ~ /f/)

telephone /téléfon/

phonograph /fónográf/

teléponó, télépón, telefón, telefonó

ponógrapó, pónograp, pónográf,
fónograp, fónográf, ponógrafó,
fonógrapó, fonógrafó

(/v/ > /b/ ~ /v/)

victory /víkturí/

víkturí, bíkturí

(/θ/ > /t/ ~ /θ/; /ʃ/ > /s/ ~ /ʃ/)

toothbrush /túθbraš/

tútbras, túθbras, túθbraš, tutbraš

(/ð/ > /d/ ~ /ð/)

brother /bráðer/

bráder, bráðer

(/z/ > /s/ ~ /z/)

zipper /zíper/

síper, zíper

(/č/ > /ts/ ~ /č/)

chocolate /čóklet/

tsókoléyt, tsókolét, čókolét,
čókleyt, čokoléyt

(/ey/ > /e/ ~ /ey/)

baby /béybi/

bébi, béybi

(/ow/ > /o/ ~ /ow/)

Coke /kówk/

kók, kówk

(/æ/ > /a/)

bag /bág/

bág

Shift of stress:

restaurant /réstoránt/

restáwran, restáwrant, restáuran,
réstorán, réstoránt

DISCUSSION

Southworth (In: Hymes, op. cit., pp. 260-1), in his study of the prior creolisation of Marathi, mentions a number of phonological changes that took place in that language, together with the other Indo-Aryan languages of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent during its contact with the Dravidian languages. Some of the modifications are as follows: assimilation of the many and varied consonant clusters, loss of final consonants, followed later by the loss of all final short vowels, with disastrous morphological consequences, loss of the variable pitch accent, phoneme mergins, spirantisation and/or loss of most single intervocalic stops, loss of medial h in further positions, additional phonemic mergers, loss of unaccented /i/, /u/, and short /a/.

Unlike the Indo-Aryan languages, the phonemic system of Tag did not undergo drastic changes as a result of its contact with Spa and Eng. Some changes did occur, like substitution, simplification, addition, subtraction and change in stress, but in general, the Tag phonemic system has remained virtually stable.

This reaffirms Sapir's position (1921:210-15) that:

The borrowing of foreign words always entails their phonetic modification. There are sure to be foreign sounds or accentual peculiarities that do not fit the native phonetic habits... (but) the highly significant thing about such phonetic inter-influencing is the strong tendency of each language to keep its phonetic pattern intact.

There is predictability in the phonological changes resulting from the influence of Spa on Pil. Notice, however, that the change resulting from the influence of Eng appears confusing at this stage of contact. For every loanword, there is usually a set of variants acceptable to Tag bilinguals. And these variants are not being used in a mutually exclusive manner, either. Entry No. 2, p. 93 - *phonograph* - for instance, has at least eight possible variants: *ponograpo*, *ponograp*, *ponograf*, *fonograp*, *fonograf*, *ponografo*, *fonograpo*, *fonografo*. This is obviously a result of a confusion in borrowings from Spa and Eng. Lopez (1965:503) classifies them into two: *sophisticated* and *folk* pronunciations, although at this stage his dichotomous classification is already inadequate.

To the original 17 phonemes of the Old Tagalog (Marcilla 1895:32) - A, I, U, KA, GA, NGA, TA, DA, NA, PA, BA, MA, YA, LA, WA, SA, HA - only three were added to them - E, O, R - after almost four centuries of contact with Spa.¹⁴ Also, a number of consonant clusters from Spa have found their way into the old syllabary of Tag, although Lope K. Santos¹⁵ tried hard to "de-clusterize" them in his *Balarila*; e.g. *kurus*, instead of *krus*, *baraso*, instead of *braso*, *boruha*, instead of *bruha*, etc.

The Tag bilingual of the GMA still fluctuates between the use of Eng sounds /f, v, θ, ð, ʃ, z/ and their respective substitutions /p, b, t, d, sy, s/. Notice, however, that these Eng sounds are fast becoming part of the phonemic inventory of the Tag bilingual. In fact, Schachter & Otones, op. cit., pp. 22-4, already consider /f/ and /ts/ as a recent addition to the EMT's (Educated Manila Tagalog) stock of phonemes, although they do not yet consider them as integral part of the phonemic system of all Tag speakers. But one really very noticeable addition to the phonological repertoire of the GMA Tag bilingual is his ability to pronounce clusters in all positions, evidently as a result of his exposure to the Eng language.

5.2 MORPHOLOGY

Bloomfield (1933:453) maintains that a loanword is usually subjected to the system of the borrowing language, both as to syntax... and as to the indispensable inflection... and word formation. This claim is reaffirmed by Haugen (1950:217) by stating that

... loanwords... incorporated into the utterances of a new language, must be fitted into its grammatical structure. This means that they must be assigned by the borrower to the various grammatical classes which are distinguished by his own language.

The reverse, however, also happens. The massive incorporation of lexical items from the "upper" language (coloniser's language) into the "lower" language (colonised language) brings with them derivational and inflectional affixes which even become productive in the latter aside from causing its morphological system to undergo restructuring. (Alleyne, in: Hymes, op. cit., p. 171.)

Polomé (also in Hymes, op. cit., pp. 57-9), in his study of the morphological changes that took place in the formation of the Katanga (Lubumbashi) Swahili Creole, gives the following: changes in shapes of class prefixes, loss of locatives, disruption of the concord system, entailing (a) replacement of complex rules of class agreement for possessives in noun phrases with animate nouns with one stereotyped prefix, (b) invariance of adjectives, (c) replacement of adverbials with adjectives, (d) invariance of numerals, (e) invariance of demonstratives, (f) replacement of all pronominal affixes for "things" in verbs by one stereotyped affix, and (g) reduction of conjugation of the indicative verbs to three main tenses.

How much has Tagalog morphology been affected by its contacts with Spa and Eng shall be discussed very briefly below. (For purposes of systematic discussions, Tag morphological borrowings are grouped into two: **roots** and **affixes**.)

In addition to the principal references used for phonology - *Balarila Ng Wikang Pambansa* 1941 and the *Tagalog Reference Grammar* 1972 - Goulet's *English, Spanish and Tagalog: A Study of Grammatical, Lexical and Cultural Interference* is also used here for data source.

5.2.1 Spa plural

veces 'times'
horas 'times'
voces 'voices'
alhajas 'jewellery'

Tag plural/singular

beses 'times/time'
oras 'times'time'
boses 'voices/voice'
alahas 'jewellery' (plural)
 'jewellery' (singular)

5.2.2 Definite articles *el/la* and preposition *a* borrowed as part of nouns, resulting in double noun marking:

<i>el toro</i>	<i>'the bull'</i>	<i>and el toro</i>	<i>'the the bull'</i>
<i>la mesa</i>	<i>'the table'</i>	<i>ang lamesa</i>	<i>'the the table'</i>
<i>a veinte</i>	<i>'on the 20th'</i>	<i>sa abeinte</i>	<i>'on on the 20th'</i>
<i>a la una</i>	<i>'at 1 o'clock'</i>	<i>sa alauna</i>	<i>'at at 1 o'clock'</i>

Notice that this is beginning to happen in Eng *the*:

<i>the end</i>	<i>ang the end</i>	<i>'the the end'</i>
	<i>nag-the end</i>	<i>'it the ended too</i>
	<i>agad</i>	<i>soon'</i>

5.2.3 Confusion in Spa gender:

<i>cenicero</i>	<i>'ash tray'</i>	<i>sinisera</i>
<i>clara</i>	<i>'white of egg'</i>	<i>klaro</i>
<i>tiro</i>	<i>'throw, shot'</i>	<i>tira</i>
<i>misma</i>	<i>'myself'</i>	<i>mismo</i>

5.2.4 Eng verbs borrowed in their base and gerund forms are inflected not for tense but aspect:

<i>hayk</i>	- <i>hayking</i>	<i>'hike' - 'hiking'</i>
<i>maghayk</i>	- <i>maghayking</i>	<i>'go for a hike'</i>
<i>naghayk</i>	- <i>naghayking</i>	<i>'went for a hike'</i>
<i>naghahayk</i>	- <i>naghahayking</i>	<i>'is/are hiking'</i>
<i>maghahayk</i>	- <i>maghahayking</i>	<i>'will go hiking'</i>

5.2.5 Borrowed word or phrases inflected conforming to Tag system of affixation:

<i>Spa guwapo, korona</i>	
<i>ipinakikipagpaguwapuhan</i>	<i>'comparing the handsomeness of somebody with others'</i>
<i>kinokoronahan</i>	<i>'(somebody) being crowned'</i>
<i>Eng lektyur, bending exercise, via Europe</i>	
<i>ang pagkakalektyur</i>	<i>'the manner the lecture was conducted'</i>
<i>Nagbending exercise kami araw-araw.</i>	<i>'We do our bending exercises everyday.'</i>
<i>Nag-via Europe sila.</i>	<i>'They travelled via Europe.'</i>

5.2.6 Borrowing of Spa affixes: *-ero/-era*, *-ador/-adora*, *-ista*, *-ante*, *-aryo*, etc., most of them now productive in Tag

basagulero/basagulera	'trouble maker (female or male)'
karatista	'karate expert (female or male)'
senador/senadora	'senator (male or female)'
komedyante	'comedian (male or female)'
pormlaryo	'formula'
-ito/ita, -ilyo/ilya	
pobresito/pobresita	'poor little thing (male/female)'
Mestisilyo/Mestisilya	'hybrid, of European features (male/female)'
-ano/-ana; -eño/-eña	
probinsyano/probinsyana	'from the province (male/female)'
Batanggenyo/Batanggenya	'from Batangas (male/female)'
-eryo/-erya	
sementeryo	'cemetery'
pansiterya	'restaurant'

5.2.7 Eng diminutives or morphemes of endearment have started replacing the local and Spa:

Tag	Spa	Eng
Berting	Bertito	Bobby
Saling	Charito	Sally, Rosie

5.2.8 Eng suffixes have found their way into Tag as bound morphemes:

-less, -let, -er/-ess, 's, -able, -ation

islibles	'sleeveless'
bakles	'backless'
taples	'topless'
istarlet	'starlet'
aylet	'eyelet'
singer	'singer'
weyter	'waiter'
weytres	'waitress'

Nena's Sari-Sari Store (instead of Tindahang Sari-Sari ni Nena)

For comic effect:

tanggalabol	'detachable' (from tanggal 'to remove' + -able)
bakunesyon	'vaccination' (from bakuna 'to vaccinate' + -ation)

DISCUSSION

It is obvious from the above data that not a few Spa and Eng roots and affixes have already become part of Tag morphology. Sapir (1921: 215), however, would probably consider these morphological borrowings

as only slightly "different in kind from the mere borrowing of words". In a sense, he is correct because actually *retratista*, for instance, comes from a Spa root *retrato* + a suffix *-ista* with loss of *-o*. Notice, however, the words *karatista*, *daldalero*, *basagulero*, *sabungero* where the Spa suffixes *-ista* and *-ero* are attached to a native or to borrowed Eng term, giving evidence that the Tag bilingual is aware that he is borrowing Spa affixes which can be used productively into the Tag language.

The fact cannot be denied that these loanwords from Spa and Eng have added (and are adding in the case of Eng) new grammatical category to Tag morphology, e.g. the concept of gender shown in such contrasts as *-ero/-era*, *-ador/-adora*, *-ito/-ita*, *-ilyo/-ilya*, *-enyo/-enya*, and Eng *-er/-ess*. These coexist or are in alternation with the kilometric Tag system of marking gender. Below are some example:

Spanish loans

Tag equivalents

<i>kusinero/-era</i>	<i>'cook'</i>	<i>tagapaglutong lalaki/babe</i>
<i>tindero/-era</i>	<i>'shopkeeper'</i>	<i>tagapagtindang lalaki/babae</i>
<i>Bikolano/-ana</i>	<i>'from Bicol'</i>	<i>lalaking/babaing taga-Bicol</i>
<i>kondenado/-ada</i>	<i>'condemned, sentenced'</i>	<i>nahatulang lalaki/babae</i>

The above data confirms Jespersen's (1922:213-14) position that the grammar of a language can be affected by borrowing since "the vocabulary of a language and its 'grammatical apparatus' cannot be nicely separated". Derivative endings certainly belong to the grammatical apparatus of a language; yet Jespersen claims that many such endings have been taken over into another language as parts of borrowed words and have then been freely combined with native speech-material".

On the whole, it can be said that Spa and Eng borrowings have not greatly affected the Tag morphological system. The inherent system of word formation of Tag has remained intact. Rather, on the whole, it is the borrowings which are made to conform to its morphological system.

At this juncture, it can be surmised that instead of effecting morphological changes in Tag, the borrowings from Spa and Eng often simply present the Tag bilingual speaker with alternate shapes for certain morphemes. Truly, there is no denying the fact that the Tag lexicon has been deluged with borrowings both from Spa and Eng but as Sapir claims, these are "but superficial additions on the morphological kernel of the language" (op. cit., p. 220).

6. A TEST ON CREOLISATION OF PILIPINO

Marfil and Passigna (1970:4), paraphrasing Hoenigswald (1960:1), claims that "language is systematic - more specifically, that segments

and sentences of a text occur in a unique order or arrangement - and whatever innovations may evolve from it will likewise show systematic patterns of arrangement. These two scholars, using Chomsky's 1957 and 1965 transformational-generative models, analysed the occurrences of Eng shifts in Tag sentences as observed in the *Taliba* daily and posit predictability in the switching of codes by a Filipino Tag-Eng bilingual.¹⁶

Since this paper is a study on creolisation, and does not intend to establish any patterns of code switching different from or similar to those established by Marfil and Pasiona, the approach will be essentially different. A simple test (see Appendix A) on whether Pilipino is being creolised or not was devised by this researcher, the procedure of which is as follows:

1. Ten conversational questions were taperecorded. These questions were constructed with the following guidelines in mind:
 - a. The question should be basically or structurally Pil with Eng words and phrases interspersed in them.
 - b. The first question, for psychological reason, should be purely Pil with no Eng loanwords whatsoever.
 - c. The mixing should not be random. It should be in accordance with the code switching rules formulated by Marfil and Pasiona (op. cit., p. 11 *passim*).
2. Three monolingual Tagalog speakers were chosen:¹⁷ (A) Martin Reyes, 60; (B) Eufrosina Dayao, 68; and (C) Amado Cabading, 63 - all can read and write in Tag but illiterate in Eng as they were not formally schooled. They learned how to read and write in Tag either through the each-one-teach-one campaign of the Adult Education of the Bureau of Public Schools or through their respective children acting as "little teachers".
3. The participation of the three respondents in the interview were as follows:
 - a. They listened to the replay of the taperecorded questions which were repeated twice (to be sure that their inability to comprehend is not due to some kind of extralingual interference);
 - b. They then responded to the questions according to how they understood each of them;
 - c. Their individual responses to each question were taken down for analysis;
 - d. If a question was not understood by anyone of the three respondents, he/she was asked what word or words he/she did not understand;

e. Again, the responses were taken down for analysis.

4. Interpretation of results.

DISCUSSION

It turned out that, on the whole, the three respondents - A, B, and C - could not respond to most of the questions because the sentences were not comprehensible to them. And when asked why, their usual response was also a question.

In Q. 2, for instance, two of them - B and C - asked: "Anong /eds/?" (age). Respondent A was able to answer the question correctly obviously through context.

Notice, however, that they were all able to respond intelligently to Q. 3 in spite of the use of *school* and *teachers*. The reason is that these words, although Eng loanwords, have already become part of their vocabulary.

Q. 4 was totally incomprehensible to them because of *agrarian reforms* and *implement*.

Q. 5 was understood by all of them, obviously, through context. Since *paninda* nowadays is usually associated with "high prices". It is also possible that they were able to retrieve the meaning of prices via *presyo*.

Q. 6 was not understood by them because of word *cheaper* and the phrase in other countries. The meaning of the word *economist* was obviously extracted via *ekonomista*.

Q. 7 evoked confusion in Respondents A and C because they understood *peace* to mean *fish*. And since the meaning they associate with *order* is '*to ask for something*', they thought I was '*ordering some fish*' through them. So the response of A was "Hindi panahon ng isda ngayon dito sa atin." Respondent B asked: "Anong /pisenorden/?" (*peace and order*).

Q. 8, also, was not comprehensible to all of them, obviously because of the phrase *cattle rustlers*. They only know the Tag phrase, *magnanakaw ng kalabaw*.

Q. 9 was understood by two of them - B and C - obviously through context again, since it is possible that the word *enroll* is already part of their vocabulary. Respondent A thought I was asking for a town-mate who likes to teach in Manila.

Q. 10 was comprehensible to all of them in spite of the use of *Just in case*, *address*, and *seven-one-eight* because even though they do not understand *just in case*, they can still get the meaning through context. The word *address* is obviously already part of their vocabulary, as with the Eng numerals, such as *seven-one-eight*.

Below is the chart showing the result of the creolisation test.

Respondents	Q U E S T I O N S									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(A) Martin Reyes	/	/	/	x	/	x	x	x	x	/
(B) Eufrosina Dayao	/	x	/	x	/	x	x	x	/	/
(C) Amado Cabading	/	x	/	x	/	x	x	x	/	/

Legend: / = correct response; x = incorrect response or could not respond

7. CONCLUSIONS

This researcher posited earlier in this paper that instead of Eng, it is Pil which is undergoing changes or being creolised simply because the brand of English by ordinary Tag bilinguals in the GMA is becoming more and more comprehensible to the American native speakers of Eng while the brand of Pil being spoken by the same group is becoming less and less comprehensible to a Tag monolingual. This position has been positively proven in this study.

Following are four criteria given by Weinreich (1970:69-70) for deciding whether or not a new language has been formed out of the crossing of two others:

1. a form palpably different from either stock language;
2. a certain stability of form after initial fluctuations;
3. functions other than those of a workaday vernacular (e.g. use in the family, in formalised communications, etc.);
4. a rating among the speakers themselves as a separate language.

Criterion No. 1 has been proven positive, i.e. if Eng is Language 1 and Tag is Language 2, there is a forming a new language, Language 3, which is becoming more and more incomprehensible to the monolingual native speakers of Language 1 and Language 2.

Criterion No. 2 - stability of form - has not yet been attained since creolisation of Pil is yet in its incipient stage. As has been shown in the data, there were fluctuations and confusions going on in the phonological, morphological and even in the semantics of Pil as a result of the influence of Eng. Normally, this results in linguistic instability which is characteristic of any dynamic acculturative process.

Criterion No. 3 - breadth of function - is assumed in this study, i.e. mix-mix Pil is used in different domains, as shown in the studies of Marfil and Passigna, Barrios, *et al.*, and Bautista.

Criterion No. 4 - speakers attitudes - is not covered in this study, since it is believed that at this stage of creolisation of Pil, it has not yet generated sufficiently separatistic attitudes among its speakers to recognise and claim it as a new language.

Let it be made clear at this point, however, that this study does not prove nor claim that Pil is already a creole. What this study aims to point out is that Pil may be said to be in the stage of incipient creolisation. And if the present contact situation between Pil and Eng persists, creolisation of Pil will just be a matter of time.

Of course, Pil will not suffer the fate of the many European immigrant languages in America. Pil is spoken in the home country and, therefore, the pressures that were brought to bear on the European immigrants to America do not exist in the Philippines.

At any rate, if Pil really becomes creolised in the future, it will be a kind of creole which is homegrown and, therefore, its characteristics will be uniquely different from those of the other classical creoles of the world. Neither will its characteristics be similar to those of the Chavacano Creoles of Cavite, Ermita, Ternate, and Zamboanga, considering the Whinnom theory (In: Hymes, *op. cit.*, p. 224) that they had all diverged from a common source in the Moluccas and, therefore, not homegrown. Pil creole will still be recognisable as a Philippine language but with unusually heavy Eng lexical influence, considerably exceeding the influence of Spa.

Pil creole, then, will be a language that is virile and synamic, as it will be used and proudly owned not only by the Tagalogs but by all Filipinos, Tagalogs or non-Tagalogs alike, a language which will mirror the Filipinos as a distinct race who, as a consequence of fate and history, belongs to a nation of mixed tongues and mixed cultures, no longer parochial in outlook and disposition.

About the Author

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NOTES

1. Pilipino, in this paper, is being distinguished from its basis, Tagalog. There are many varieties of Tagalog - Bulacan Tagalog, Laguna-Tagalog, Batangas-Tagalog, Nueva Ecija-Tagalog, Bataan-Tagalog, Quezon-Tagalog, etc. which are mutually intelligible but each has its own linguistic peculiarities. Other varieties of Tagalog are found in non-Tagalog regions - Bisayan-Tagalog, Ilocano-Tagalog, Pampango-Tagalog, etc., differing from each other according to the influence of the linguistic peculiarities of the region. All of these Tagalog varieties, aside from English, may be said to be now having their own impacts on Manila-Tagalog (Manila being the nerve centre of the country's civilisation - culturally, educationally, technologically, economically, etc.) which may rightfully be called *the* Pilipino language. Pilipino then, in this study, is the language that is now being formed in the Greater Manila Area where the natural amalgamation process in the formation of a true *national* language is now taking place.

2. Taken from the September 1973 taperecorded data of Miss Ma. Lourdes Bautista, an Ateneo-PNC Consortium scholar for a Ph.D. in Linguistics, who has defended her dissertation just very recently on 'The Filipino Bilingual's Linguistic Competence: A Model Based on An Analysis of Tagalog-English Code Switching'. Miss Bautista's tapes are made up of 1508 utterances distributed among 564 turns of speaking and 22 speakers, 66.31% of which constitute or contain some kind of code switching.

3. Taken from the taperecorded proceedings of the 5th Annual Convention of the **Linguistic Society of the Philippines** on 'Linguistics and Bilingualism in the Philippines', July 26-27, 1974, held at the Philippine Normal College, co-sponsored by the Institute of National Language, the Bureau of Public Schools, and the Bureau of Private Schools. The master of ceremony being quoted in this paper was Dr Fe Aldave Yap, Assistant Director of the Institute of National Language.

4. Greater Manila Area is the geographic boundary covering the cities of Manila, Caloocan, Pasay and Quezon, and the municipalities of Makati, Mandaluyong, Pasig and Marikina.

5. Code switching, in this study, is the alternate use or systematic mixing of two languages - Pilipino and English - in a given communication process. It differs from *language shift* as defined by Weinreich (1970: 68) wherein there is a change from the habitual use of one language to that of another, a very common phenomenon in a highly diglossic speech community.

6. Article XV, Section 3 of the 1972 Constitution states that: "Unless otherwise provided by law, English and Pilipino shall be the official languages".

7. Resolution No. 73-7 of the National Board of Education, dated August 7, 1973, reads: "That English and Pilipino serve as media of instruction and be taught as subjects in the curriculum from Grade I to the university level in all schools, public and private".

8. The Department Order No. 26, s. 1974 reads in part:

In consonance with the provisions of the 1972 Constitution and a declared policy of the National Board of Education on bilingualism in the schools, in order to develop a bilingual nation competent in the use of both English and Pilipino, the Department of Education and Culture hereby promulgates the following guidelines for the implementation of the policy:

- a. Bilingual education is defined, operationally, as the separate use of Pilipino and English as media of instruction in definite subject areas, provided that additionally, Arabic shall be used in the areas where it is necessary.
- b. The use of English and Pilipino as media of instruction shall begin in Grade I in all schools. In Grades I and II, the vernacular used in the locality or place where the school is located shall be the auxiliary medium of instruction; this use of the vernacular shall be resorted to only when necessary to facilitate understanding of the concepts being taught through the prescribed medium for the subject, English, Pilipino or Arabic, as the case may be.
- c. English and Pilipino shall be taught as language subjects in all grades in the elementary and secondary schools to achieve the goal of bilingualism.
- d. Pilipino shall be used as medium of instruction in the following subject areas: social studies/social science, character education, work education, health education and physical education.

9. Filipino refers to the people; Pilipino to the language. Manila-Tagalog and Pilipino are used interchangeably since they are considered essentially synonymous by the writer.

10. *Census of the Philippines*, 1918, II, 60-2, quoted by W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), I, 416, n. 2.

11. Forbes, op. cit., I, 49, citing a translation of S. Vidal y Soler, *Viajes por Filipinas de F. Jagor* (Madrid: 1875), p. 305.

12. Forbes, op. cit., II. Appendix VII. Following is the pertinent part of President McKinley's instructions to the members of the Civil Commission leaving for the Philippines, which was actually prepared by Elihu Root, Secretary of War, with the help of William H. Taft, Chairman of the Commission:

It will be the duty of the Commission to promote and extend and, as they find occasion, to improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free for all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. This instruction should be given, in the first instance, in every part of the Islands in the language of the people. In view of the great number of language spoken by the different tribes, it is especially important to the prosperity of the Islands that a common medium of communication may be established, and it is obviously desirable that this medium should be the English language. Especial attention should at once be given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the Islands to acquire the use of the English language.

13. A language, in order to be considered a pidgin, should meet two conditions: (1) its grammatical structure and its vocabulary are sharply reduced, and (2) the resultant language is native to none of those who use it. (Hymes 1971:3; Hall 1966:xii.)

14. The total number of phonemes of Tagalog will be 21 if the glottal stop /ʔ/ is added to it.

15. Lope K. Santos, the author, in fact, rejected the consonant clusters, to wit:

... Di maaring kakitaan ang wagas na pananagalog ng mga pantig... na gaya ng alinman sa mga sumusunod:

- (a) Na, sa isang pantig ay magkaroon ng hihigit pa sa dalawang katinig.
- (b) Nam ang dalawang katinig ay magkasama sa unahan o sa hulihan ng isang pantig.

TRANSLATION:

... The following do not occur in puristic Tagalog:

- (a) More than two consonants in one syllable.
- (b) Two consonants (clusters) in syllable initial or syllable final positions.

16. A corollary study by Bautista (on-going), also using Chomsky's 1965 grammatical model, attempts to construct a model of the Filipino bilingual's linguistic competence, after typologising Tag-Eng switching of codes. Bautista also expects to be able to establish predictability of code switching among Filipino Tag-Eng bilinguals.

17. The three respondents were chosen from among the elder relatives of the researcher in Cabaio, Nueva Ecija, a Tag-speaking community. Incidentally, the three monolingual Eng-speaking counterparts were no longer sought to act as respondents to the test since it is very obvious that said questions which are basically Tagalog will not be comprehensible to an American.

APPENDIX A
TAPERECORDED QUESTIONS

Directions to the respondent before the replay of the taperecorded questions:

Interviewer: Mayroon po akong dalang taperecorder dito. Kapag pinaandar ko ito ay may maririnig kayong mga tanong. Ang bawat tanong ay dalawang beses na uulitin upang marinig ninyong mabuti. Kaya't bawat tanong ay hihintayin muna ninyong dalawang beses na ulitin bago ninyo sagutin. Halimbawa:

Magadang araw ho. Kumusta kayo?

Magadang araw ho. Kumusta kayo?

Magadang araw ho. Kumusta kayo?

Ano, halimbawa, ang sagot ninyo sa ganitong tanong?

Interviewee: Mabuti.

Tama. Ngayon po ay magsisimula na tayo.

(Turn on the taperecorder.) Note: Every question is repeated twice actually.

Q. 1 - Sa tingin ko ay malakas na malakas pa kayo. Wala pa ba naman kayong nararamdaman sa inyong katawan?

Q. 2 - Ano na ba ang *age* ninyo ngayon?

Q. 3 - Kumusta naman ang *school* natin? Sinu-sino na ba ang mga bagong *teachers* diyan?

Q. 4 - Maiba po ako ng usapan. Balita ko ay maayos na raw ang lagay ng mga *farmers* ngayon dito sa atin dahil sa mga *agrarian reforms* na ini-*implement* ng ating gobyerno. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo tungkol dito?

Q. 5 - Kumusta po naman ang *prices* ng mga paninda ngayon?

- Q. 6 - Kung sabagay, ang halaga ng lahat ng bagay sa buong daigdig ay talagang pataas nang pataas. Hindi lang dito sa atin. Ayon sa mga *economist*, mas *cheaper* pa ang *prices* ng mga bilihin sa Pilipinas kung ico-*compare* natin sa *prices* ng mga bilihin in *other countries*. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo tungkol dito?
- Q. 7 - Kumusta po naman ang *peace and order* dito ngayon?
- Q. 8 - Wala na po bang nahuhuling mga *cattle rustlers* ngayon?
- Q. 9 - Ako nga po pala ay sa Maynila na nagpipirmi ngayon. Sa *Philippine Normal College* po ako nagtuturo. Wala po ba tayong *relatives* dito na gustong doon mag-enrol?
- Q.10 - Buweno, salamat po sa inyo nang marami. *Just in case* po na maluluwas kayo ng Maynila. Magpunta naman kayo sa amin. Matutuhan po kaya ninyong puntahan ang *address* na *seven-one-eight* (718), Mercedes, Ermita? Paalam na po.

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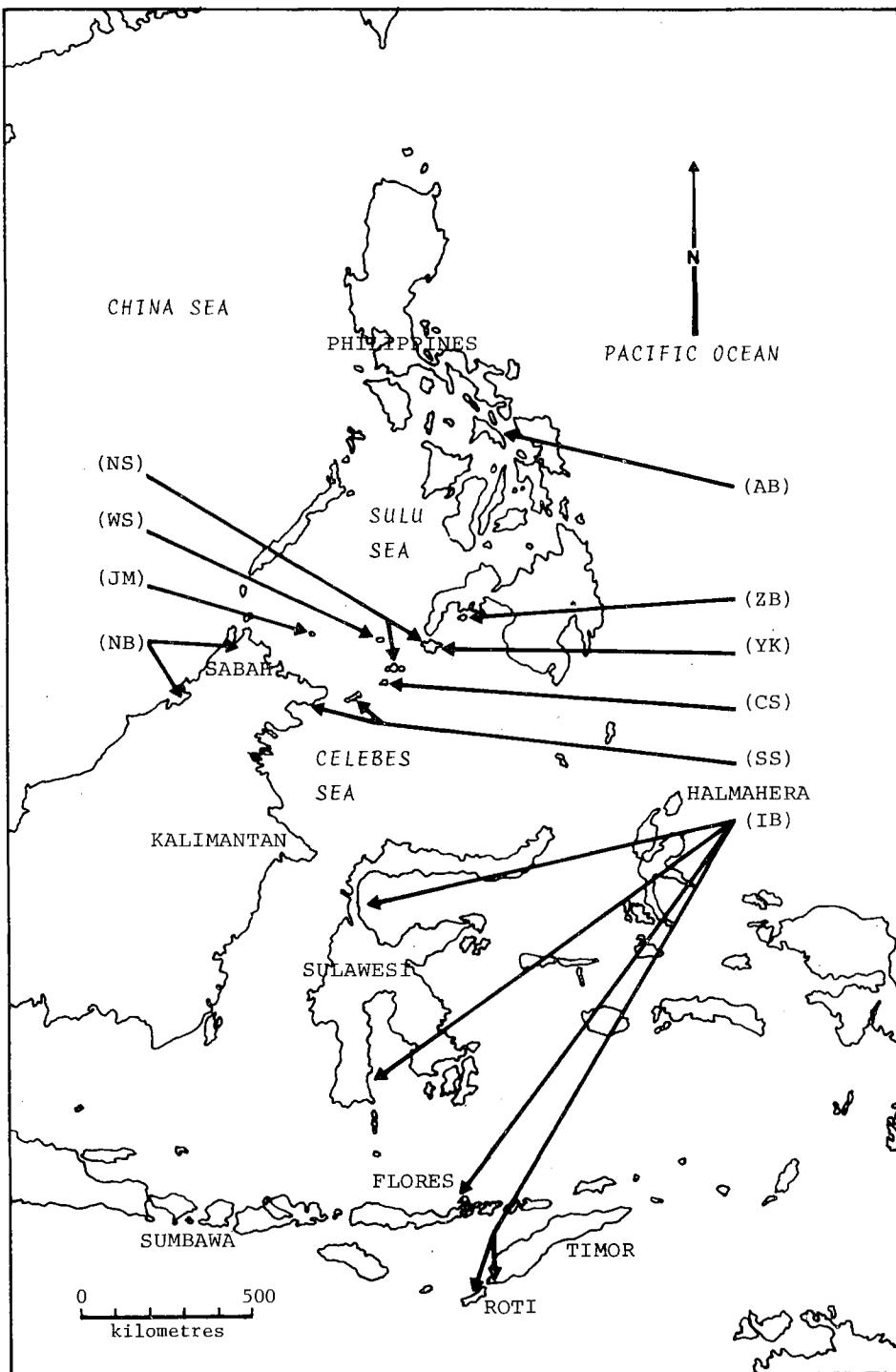
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