

ORAL HISTORY OF LINGUISTICS AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN THE PHILIPPINES

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1. INTRODUCTION

Borrowing the working definition of the term as it is used at Columbia University, Marcelino Foronda, Jr. (1985), the pioneer oral historian in the Philippines, said: 'Oral history... conserves the intimate knowledge and experience of men and women prominent in various fields, or those in positions of authority about certain topics.... Oral history is... the tape-recording of reminiscences about which the narrator can speak from first-hand knowledge' (33).

Since this is an oral history, the author made extensive use of techniques of the oral interview as the primary method in gathering the data for this article. The study was conducted by taping interviews with the following linguists: Ernesto Constantino, Bonifacio Sibayan, Emy Pascasio, Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista, Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, and Elmer Wolfenden of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The interviews were transcribed and the data contained in the transcriptions became the basis for this article.

This article is an attempt to reconstruct the history of linguistics and applied linguistics in the Philippines from its beginnings during the pre-World War II period up to the present day. It should be noted that this article cannot claim to be a complete history of the discipline, given the constraints in terms of time and the very limitations of the method used. Ideally, in order to come up with a complete history using oral techniques, this researcher should have interviewed all linguists of note or those who have made significant contributions to the field.

However, there are several factors which prevented the author from doing so. Some of the notable linguists have already passed away, including Cecilio Lopez, who is considered by most linguists as the 'Father of Philippine Linguistics'. Constraints of time as well as distance also made it impossible to interview those linguists who are not residents of Metro Manila. Therefore, the author had to be very selective and had to limit himself to in-depth interviews with those linguists who were mentioned earlier.

Besides reconstructing the history of the discipline, the author has also attempted to determine the utility of the techniques of oral historiography itself. As a method of scientific investigation, the oral interview has a number of limitations. The first has already been mentioned: it is obvious that the technique cannot be used to satisfactorily reconstruct the pre-war state of linguistics because the practitioners of the science then are now dead. The second best thing that can be done in this regard is to interview a reliable source who can provide information about those people with whom he had some contact or close association. As the author found out, a reconstruction (although not entirely satisfactory) is possible by asking the recollections of an individual (in our case, Constantino) about another (Lopez).

For all its limitations, however, it is quite possible to reconstruct to some degree the progress of linguistics in the Philippines using the techniques of oral historiography. The oral interview is more useful, however, in assessing the present state of the art, although again, only to a limited degree. The oral interview is most useful in determining those things which rarely land in written sources. For instance, the informants were asked about their motivation for going into a field such as linguistics. Questions about personal motives and assessments revealed rather interesting patterns which will be discussed more fully below.

The main body of this article is composed of condensations of the interviews. It should be remembered that the tape of the interview must be treated as the primary source. The tapes of the interviews are with the author and are available to scholars who would like to verify anything that might be of interest to them. All direct quotations in the interviews belong to the respondents. However, the author of this article bears sole responsibility if the respondents might have been misquoted.

2. THE INTERVIEWS

1. Respondent: Ernesto Constantino

Date and place of interview: 13 February 1989

U.P. Faculty Center

LAMADRID

In order to reconstruct the state of linguistic studies in the Philippines during the prewar period, the author interviewed Ernesto Constantino of the University of the Philippines. Constantino has been closely associated with Cecilio Lopez.

According to Constantino, Lopez started his linguistics studies at the University of the Philippines under Otto Scheerer, who started teaching linguistics courses at U.P. in the early 1920s. Scheerer himself was a historical linguist, whose thesis was on Isinay. Through Scheerer, Lopez was sent to Hamburg for his doctorate in linguistics. Lopez earned his Ph.D. at the University of Hamburg in 1928. His dissertation was on a comparison of Tagalog and Iloco grammar. When he returned to the Philippines, Lopez taught linguistics courses from 1930-37, but from 1937-45 he served as secretary and executive officer of the Institute of National Language, representing Tagalog. From 1945-63 he was professor and head of the Department of Oriental Languages of U.P. According to Constantino, Lopez was busy with administrative work before he retired in 1963. Upon retirement, Lopez was appointed Emeritus Professor of Linguistics and Oriental Languages. He continued teaching until his death in 1979. He was also more active in publishing his works after retirement.

Lopez was the first professionally-trained Filipino linguist. His writings as well as his teaching show that he was not confined to one school of linguistic thought. He was influenced by such linguists as Dempwloff, Bloomfield, Blake and others. He published numerous articles and books on a wide variety of topics. He was also a member of many professional organizations both local and international.

For thirty years, Lopez was practically the only Filipino linguist at U.P., and even in the whole Philippines. According to Constantino, there were Americans who taught linguistics courses at U.P. starting in 1952-53. Constantino himself became interested in linguistics at around this time, when he became a student assistant of Lopez. Constantino says that he got interested in linguistics because he wanted to branch out from his original major, which was English. He was able to go to Cornell, where he spent a year (1955-56). He also studied at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and eventually defended his dissertation in Indiana in 1959. He wrote a transformational grammar of Ilokano, Chomsky's transformational grammar being a new development then.

Constantino went back to U.P. in 1959. He has been active in teaching and research and has made significant contributions to Philippine linguistics especially in its more theoretical aspects.

Together with Lopez and other colleagues at the linguistics department, Constantino developed the concept of Filipino as national language which was adopted by the 1973 and 1987 Constitutions of the Philippines. The concept has proved to be very controversial because of several factors. One is the so-called 'universal approach' which is criticized from some quarters because apparently it has not been defined. Many people are still wondering what the universal approach is all about. Also, Constantino's idea of the kind of orthography that should be adapted for Filipino seems preposterous to some people. Constantino has proposed to adopt a phonetic orthography, where the guiding principle would be: spell as you pronounce. He says that it will probably take time before such an orthography is accepted.

His main interests have centered on describing the languages of the Philippines, especially their lexicon and syntax. Since 1963 he has been conducting field research aimed at building a reliable database which could be used in the further comparative study of Philippine languages. He says that it is necessary to have such a database because there are a lot of errors in published sources.

Right now Constantino is engaged in the compilation of a dictionary of ten major Philippine languages. Eventually, he hopes to go back to his original interest: comparative study of the structures of Philippine languages in order to determine the universals in Philippine languages. His work promises to contribute towards the codification of Filipino.

2. Respondent: Bonifacio P. Sibayan

Date and place of interview: 3 April 1989

Philippine Normal College

Outside the University of the Philippines, linguistics studies have been focused more on the applications of the theory of language in the field of language teaching. Indeed, it can be said that the main thrust of linguistics in centers other than U.P. is along the lines of applied linguistics. This is clearly illustrated by the work of linguists like Bonifacio P. Sibayan, Emy M. Pascasio, Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC and Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista, as well as the Summer Institute of Linguistics, one of whose members is Elmer Wolfenden. I

Bonifacio Sibayan, at 74 the most senior Filipino linguist still actively engaged in linguistic

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studies, started his career as a barrio school teacher before the second world war. He received his B.S.E., major in English, from Baguio Colleges in 1950. Eventually he obtained his M.A. in English language teaching from the University of Michigan in 1959 and a Ph.D. in Linguistics and Education from the same university in 1961. He first became interested in Philippine languages, especially in oral literature, around 1934. He, was however, motivated to go into linguistics studies sometime in 1950 or 1951 when he read Prator's report on language teaching in the Philippines. He says: '...suddenly I realized that here we were in the Philippines using a foreign language to educate the Filipinos and yet there was nobody in education who knew the science of language'. He therefore studied linguistics to know more about English in order to educate Filipinos in that language. Later on, however, he realized that to teach a second language well, 'you ought to know the first language of the people you are teaching', which led him to concentrate on the study of Philippine languages and their structures. When he got his Ph.D. in 1961, he taught linguistics at Philippine Normal College, where he became the founder and director of the Language Study Center from 1962-72. He would eventually become President of the PNC, and upon his retirement, he was appointed Professor Emeritus of Linguistics and Education.

When he realized that he was not making any impact by teaching linguistics, he became interested in language planning, which has now become a specialized field of linguistics. In fact, he made the first language survey in the Philippines in 1967. He is also one of the pioneers in studies on the intellectualization of Filipino.

According to Sibayan, there is still a need to intellectualize Filipino in order to make it a more suitable medium of communication in the classroom. He notes that this should be done in almost all areas with the possible exception of literature. An intellectualized language, according to him, is that language which can be used for educational purposes from the earliest schooling up to the graduate school. Also, this intellectualized language should be made the language of work. Filipino is not yet the language of work in the Philippines, notes Sibayan. In a study which he conducted using classified advertisements as a gauge, he found out that 99% of the companies require a knowledge of English from their prospective employees. Only a negligible number required a knowledge of Filipino. In order to promote Filipino, this must be reversed, according to Sibayan. How that can be done, he does not know yet, but 'that's the job of language planning'.

Besides his interest in sociolinguistics, he has also advised a number of students, some of whom have now made significant contributions to Philippine linguistics. One of his advisees is Alfonso Santiago, also of PNC, who wrote a thesis on a suggested orthography for Filipino. He has also encouraged a number of graduate students to pursue their studies abroad by getting them scholarships. He bewails the fact that some of the people he sent abroad have not returned to the Philippines.

Sibayan is one of the founders of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Philippine Journal of Linguistics, both of which started in 1969. He is also a founding member of the U.P.-based Philippine Association for Language Teaching.

Sibayan has taught linguistics courses under the PNC-Ateneo- DLSU Consortium. He notes that through the training that language teachers get at the Consortium, the teaching of language has become more scientific and even more humane.

Sibayan has done significant research on language planning, especially on attitude surveys and bilingual education, language methodology and language testing.

One of Sibayan's contributions to the methodology of teaching is the concept of a pedagogical idiom, which is a corpus of language systematically culled together for teaching a subject mediated by that language.

As a whole, Sibayan notes that the PNC has been largely successful in training teachers, not only in subject matter but also in methods of teaching.

3. Respondent: Emy Pascasio

Date and place of interview: 21 April 1989

Ateneo de Manila University

Another 'second-generation' linguist who has made a significant contribution towards the development of linguistics in the Philippines is Emy Pascasio of Ateneo de Manila University. Like Bonifacio Sibayan, she also started her career as an English language teacher in the public schools after getting her B.S.E. major in English at the U.P. She was motivated to go into linguistic studies because while she was teaching in the public schools, her students were asking questions about English for which

she did not have the answers. Pascasio remarks: 'Our educational background did not prepare us to be language teachers'. So she thought maybe she should study more because many questions were not being answered. 'At that time Michigan...seemed to be the best known in terms of English as a second language, that's why I decided to go to Michigan'. She finished her M.A. in Michigan in 1957, and eventually earned a Ph.D. from the same institution in 1960. Her doctoral dissertation was a comparison of English and Tagalog on the modification pattern, because at that time contrastive analysis was still very popular. She identified areas of learning English which might be difficult for Filipinos, and came up with a test to validate these predictions. Among the people who influenced her while she was doing her graduate work at Michigan were Lado, who was her mentor, Charles Fries, Kenneth Pike and Dell Hymes. As a whole, her training at Michigan was largely on theoretical linguistics.

While she was writing her dissertation at Michigan, Pascasio met John McCarron, S.J. 'who was the pioneer in language teaching at the Ateneo'; McCarron offered her a job at the Ateneo after she finished her Ph.D.. She joined the Ateneo after completing her doctorate and set up the linguistics program there with McCarron. At the Ateneo, she got more involved in training language teachers, and before she knew it, 'all my work was almost in applied linguistics'. She also did some work in psycholinguistics but 'it seemed to me that the sociolinguistics area was more interesting'.

In sociolinguistics, the question that has interested her the most is: What are the factors that affect the Filipino bilingual in choosing the language to use? Together with McCarron, Pascasio came up with the so-called 'context of situation model', in which she tried to show the use of language and where communication breakdown occurs. Such communication breakdown occurs in a Filipino bilingual using English, when English is used but the interlocutor does not know what particular culture is being attached to that language. One group of people who benefit from such studies is multinational managers who do not understand their Filipino employees.

In the 1970s Pascasio felt that it was no longer realistic to maintain English as the only language of instruction. 'So I got involved in bilingual education. At that point in 1974 the bilingual policy was formulated. And I was surprised to find out that the DECS was going into the bilingual policy but they did not have any rationale.... So the DECS was very happy about the First National Congress on Bilingual Education, which I chaired, because it provided them with a rationale'.

Pascasio has also done research on attitudes of Filipino towards English and Filipino and code-switching, and is at present conducting research on the relationship of language to ethnic identity and national identity.

Pascasio has had some influence on the development of linguistics in the Philippines through the training that she has given to many students. These students, especially those who were trained under the Linguistics Consortium, have themselves contributed quite significantly to the improvement of the language teaching situation in the Philippines. Pascasio adds that the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, especially the core group which includes Sibayan, Gonzalez, Otones and herself, have worked together as a group to really apply linguistics to improve the language situation in the Philippines.

Pascasio says that one reason why she has opted to live in the Philippines rather than migrate to the States is that 'we have a group here which I think can work together and we feel that we could make our contribution to resolve some of the problems in Philippine education..., as well as... with our research and our training we could alleviate the complexities and confusion of Filipinos in relation to the languages.... My only frustration is that we cannot get as many people as we would like to get interested in this.... Anybody who decides to be in this area is one who is dedicated and is committed and doesn't really think of the material compensation, which is very meager'.

According to Pascasio, the intellectualization of Filipino should be given first priority on the agenda of linguistic research in the Philippines. 'We have to do that as fast as we can so that at least we can use it as medium of instruction'. There is also a need to improve English because there are rewards for English.

On the intellectualization of Filipino, Pascasio says that language can be intellectualized by using it. The practitioners (i.e. those who use the language as a medium of instruction) and the linguists can work together, with the linguists providing help in terms of the linguistic aspects. There should also be dictionaries and encyclopedias. Pascasio herself is compiling lists of terms according to areas of study. In her view, a translation bureau should also be set up. Pascasio is one of the founders of the

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Linguistic Society of the Philippines and associate editor of the Philippine Journal of Linguistics. She has published numerous articles and books both in the Philippines and abroad. She has delivered numerous papers in local and foreign conferences.

4. Respondent: Andrew Gonzalez, FSC
Date and place of interview: 5 June 1989
De-La Salle University

Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, like the two 'second-generation' linguists mentioned earlier, started his career as an English teacher. He got his M.A. in English Literature from the Catholic University in Washington, DC in 1960. When he came back he taught in Bacolod for four years and in Manila for three years. 'The state of English language teaching at that time in the school where I was assigned—in La Salle Bacolod—was not very good in the sense that it was not organized, it was not systematic, there was not even a planned syllabus'. He was made chairman of the English department and he started seeing the need to have an organized system of teaching English not only in high school but also in grade school, to continue from Grade 1 all the way to high school and college.

That was from 1960 to 1961 when English as a second language (ESL) and the aural-oral approach was very much in evidence in the public schools largely through the work of the Philippine Center for Language Study which was working with the Department of Education. He began reading in these fields and he began to see that there really was a need to take a totally different approach to English teaching. 'We could not continue teaching as if we were teaching native speakers.... The ESL approach was very sound so I began taking linguistic lessons for the first time during the summer of 1964 at the Philippine Normal College.... I continued taking linguistic courses off and on from 1964 to 1967 but in the meantime I was busy doing language teaching here (at De La Salle) in charge of the English Department for the grade school, doing a textbook series, and then I moved to the college in '65... from '66 to '67 I was admissions director... that's when I decided that I should take serious studies, I was going to work for my Ph.D. but rather than getting it in literature I decided to get it in linguistics... and I was able to get a fellowship at Berkeley... what was so attractive about Berkeley was that there was pluralism among the scholars in different areas of specialization so that one could get what I considered a very balanced, well-rounded type of training.... It was theoretically very strong.... So I had a very strong theoretical orientation,...and most of my courses were theoretical. I don't think I took a single class in applied linguistics and the reason I didn't was I figured I had read enough on applied linguistics and was practicing it.... The only course that had immediate relevance to my later work in language teaching was an excellent two-semester course in the psychology of language thought by Dan Slobin, one of the top people in the psychology of language'.

When he came back, the Linguistics Consortium had just been formed. He is not a founder of the consortium nor is he a founder of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, both of which were formed in 1969. But eventually Gonzalez joined the group as a part-time faculty member of the consortium, and eventually De La Salle became an official member of the tripartite PNC-Ateneo-De La Salle Linguistics Consortium. He taught theoretical courses in the consortium. 'I got very interested in child language acquisition so I did a book on child language, and then as the years went by, I found out that grammatical theory while very interesting is not really the most important thing in language teaching.... So I started getting very much involved like everybody else in the language problems of the Philippines which in our field come under the general notion of sociolinguistics and I got very involved in national language development and sociolinguistics and now the important phase we're at is what I would call the cultivation or the development of Filipino as a language of scholarly work,... [or] the intellectualization of language'.

When asked about how his work has made an impact on theoretical and applied linguistics, Gonzalez replied that he does not think that he has done any work that has made an impact on theoretical linguistics other than having taught grammatical theory to the first few groups of students under the consortium. 'If my writings had any impact, it's more on the national language development, the whole problem of bilingual education at the policy level, the documentation of program implementation and evaluation which I have been doing with Sibayan, and now hopefully from my work in the cultivation and the intellectualization of Filipino I think some theoretical insights might be gained in the future, but right now it's more promise than reality'.

Gonzalez is working on a book tracing the history of the English language in the Philippines.

In the future, he would also like to write a book on the history of English language teaching in the Philippines. Another project which he has in mind is to write a historical grammar of Tagalog based on the grammars written by the Spanish missionaries up to Serrano Laktaw's grammar. All of these projects need a lot of time to complete. Unfortunately, he is extremely busy with administrative work, something which seems to plague other linguists as well.

Gonzalez has been editor of the Philippine Journal of Linguistics since 1973, and he thinks that by and large it is very professional. There are a number of problems for the journal, however. 'It is very hard to get local scholars to publish their material because they're very busy. The journal does not get enough local contributions. Also, it has not been sufficiently institutionalized and the journal has to be subsidized. Funding the journal is a big problem'.

Asked about his impressions of his other colleagues' work, Gonzalez lamented the fact that the number of linguists in the Philippines who upon finishing their doctorates are able to continue scholarly work is relatively small, and that they seem to be confined to a few universities; from that point of view the picture is not very bright.

Gonzalez notes that many people like himself went into linguistics thinking that linguistics would help them teach language better. What they have found out is that linguistics cannot give a magic formula for language teaching. All that linguistics can do is clarify the nature of language. This means that what linguistics does is to enable the scholar to write a grammar that will help the teacher by giving him a source for his structural lessons. Gonzalez adds: 'You'll need the grammar and the dictionary to teach the language well but just knowing the grammar and the dictionary does not mean you can teach the language well. You have to rely on other things beyond that.... So more are turning back to methodology but you know methodology must be undergirded by a strong psychological theory if it's going to be really on solid ground and we don't have any single psycholinguist in the Philippines'.

The intellectualization of Filipino is high on the list of priorities of most Filipino linguists. When asked about what should be done to intellectualize the language, Gonzalez had this to say: 'First of all, this is one area where by documenting what is happening in the Philippines we can really make a contribution to world knowledge because there's very little data available on this aspect even outside the Philippines, so you cannot really import knowledge like we normally do for other disciplines.

'...We know what we want, but how to get there is a very difficult process... My thesis is that the process of intellectualizing a language is very similar to the process of translation. So you have to look at translation studies as a springboard for further studies in the psychology of the language.

'Sociologically, what gives rise to the intellectualization of language...are certain social conditions like nationalism, insularity, lack of access to a world language and so forth, that hasten the development of the language; thus, you need certain sociological motivations to do that. So those are the parameters under which we carry on intellectualization.

'But basically intellectualization is best measured by the quality of oral discourse of people when they start using the language for intellectual work in conventions and seminars.... The best gauge is to look at the number of scholarly works being produced in Filipino, and the quality of these works.

'And right now it's very bad. In general, scholarly publication in this country is in very bad shape but it is even worse when you look at publications in Filipino. I think that in the last count done by UNESCO from 1980-85, the Philippines came out with something like 3,750 new titles...that's only about 600- 800 titles a year. And if most of those are textbooks, then we really don't have an intellectual life whether in English or in Filipino'.

While Gonzalez would like to see Filipino used in all our universities, he is less convinced that the Philippines should be a monolingual nation. 'I see the continuing need for English.... I think it seems to me that there is still much value for many citizens in the Philippines to know English for different purposes. I'm one of the advocates of a bilingual system at least at the secondary and tertiary levels'.

He thinks that basically, U.P. and La Salle are the main centers of linguistics studies in the Philippines at present. 'Ateneo's department is practically dead, it's down to one person who will be retiring in a few years. St. Louis used to have a program but with heavy aid from Belgium, but I do not get the impression that the program is flourishing now. San Carlos started out very well but they're down to zero. There is no senior linguist in San Carlos now except a person who is already retired, and there's no other. In Philippine Normal College there is still some serious linguistics being done but it's really down to two or three persons who are now doing administrative work. I don't know how long they can be productive.... So I'm not very optimistic [about the future of the discipline]...it's an uphill

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struggle'.

5. Respondent: Maria Lourdes S. Bautista

Date and place of interview: 18 April 1989

De La Salle University

Maria Lourdes Bautista, currently the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of De La Salle University, is the youngest linguist represented in this oral history. Like the other linguists mentioned earlier, she got into linguistics because she had to teach English. 'I wanted to be a good language teacher and I wanted to know more about linguistic structure. I did my M.A. in English and during the time I was enrolled in the M.A. program I found out about a seminar that was being sponsored by the Ateneo. I think that was in 1969. So I attended that seminar. I found out that interesting things were going on in linguistics and language teaching at the Ateneo and the Philippine Normal College,... so although I was enrolled at the UST for my M.A., I decided to cross-enroll at PNC, and then I met Dr. Dagot and it was through Dr. Dagot that I found out about the Linguistics Consortium. So when I started taking courses at PNC I was exposed to Dr. Dagot, Dr. Sibayan, and Emma Bernabe. And I felt that I wanted someone like Dr. Dagot to be my mentor. And then after I defended my thesis at UST in '71, Dr. Dagot invited me to join the Linguistics Consortium'.

In 1971 Edilberto Dagot offered her a scholarship to pursue her doctoral studies in the newly-created Linguistics Consortium. She finished the program in 1974, went to Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. and the University of Pennsylvania to do post-doctoral studies in sociolinguistics and when she returned in 1976, joined La Salle.

According to Bautista, the Linguistics Consortium started in 1971. The teachers there were Emy Pascasio, Bonifacio Sibayan, Fe Otones, Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, Teodoro Llamzon, and the late Frank Lynch, S.J. Other teachers from other schools were invited to give other courses. There were something like ten students when the program started, among them: Casilda Luzares, Gloria Chan, Isabelita Riego de Dios, RVM and several other people. 'I think it was a very good program because all were full-time students. We were all on scholarship. We had very good teachers. It was an exciting time to be in linguistics. Several of the teachers like Bro. Andrew had just come back from the States. They were telling us about the transformational model in linguistics.... It was a very good batch also because we were all highly motivated and we all felt we should be able to finish the program because we were all full time students'.

Bautista assesses the significance of the Consortium thus: 'Many of us graduated with a Ph.D. So, Casilda Luzares, Gloria Chan, Sister Isabelita Riego de Dios, Sister Angela Barrios, Teresita Rafael..., Elvira Vergara.... Several of us were able to finish and we went back to our different institutions; some of us did and I think we became better teachers. We also started teaching graduate classes. So we have been able to extend our influence to other students. However, what I think must be said here is that very few of us are actually doing linguistic work right now, most of us are in language teaching, some are in administration, and therefore in terms of theoretical and descriptive linguistics we have not contributed very much; our contribution has been in the area of language teaching'.

On the motivation behind the creation of the linguistics consortium, Bautista thinks that at that time the feeling was basically strong that the faculty was ready to handle a doctoral program and that there were enough students who could be trained; thus the consortium was started.

Bautista feels that the consortium exposed the students to a lot of theoretical developments in the field, but they were free to develop along certain fields because there were always electives to choose from. She therefore developed in the field of sociolinguistics, whereas Casilda Luzares developed along the line of special registers of English.

As for the kind of work that she has done so far, Bautista says: 'I am in sociolinguistics and language teaching. I have done work on language surveys--this is the book Bro. Andrew and I did, Survey of Language Surveys in the Philippines. I have done work on Philippine English, specifically "yaya" English. Of course my dissertation was on code-switching between Tagalog and English and my latest research has gone back to code-switching.... I have done studies on classroom interaction and I have also discussed methodology in language teaching.... I have looked at patterns of speaking in Filipino radio dramas. So in effect we can say that most of the work I have done has been in the area of sociolinguistics and language teaching. Sociolinguistics in terms of language planning, language survey, in terms of speech acts, the sociolinguistic analysis of radio dramas in terms of Filipino-English code-switching. And then in terms of language teaching, mainly research in classroom interaction and

methodology',

On the impact of her work on the development of applied linguistics in the Philippines, Bautista thinks that she had 'some measure of influence on graduate students, especially in terms of advising them on thesis topics.... In terms of impact on applied linguistics, I have contributed some articles that show the state of the art of a certain area. For example, my state-of-the-art article on code-switching in the Philippines. Together with Bro. Andrew I have done a state-of-the-art article on language surveys. These articles are helpful in the sense that they point out gaps in the research, what things have been done and what still needs to be done'.

Asked about her future plans, she said: 'I've gone back to code-switching but I am also interested in the development of Filipino, especially documenting the styles of Filipino and the different registers of Filipino. So during my sabbatical, which is coming up starting 1990, I hope to be able to do research on the different style levels of Filipino, what are the characteristics of formal Filipino, what are the characteristics of informal Filipino, how is journalistic Filipino for example different from Filipino used for sermons and Filipino used for academic purposes. So, registers of Filipino'.

Asked about what else should be done as far as applied linguistics in the Philippines is concerned, she said: 'I think the problem for many linguists in the Philippines is that we have to devote ourselves to bread-and-butter teaching, we have to devote ourselves to administrative work, so that there is very little time left to do research. Even if many of us are inclined towards research, we cannot find time to do it. However, if we did have the time I think we probably should be involved more in the intellectualization of Filipino. We should find out exactly what needs to be done to develop Filipino as a pedagogical idiom. That's why I'm interested in doing registers of Filipino, and the styles of Filipino. We probably should be doing more research on discourse analysis. Exactly what are the characteristics of discourse written in Filipino, for one thing. But also I think I on a more applied level: How do we improve the teaching of English? How do we improve the skills of our students in writing in English, for instance? Discourse analysis can help there. How should we teach our students organization of a term paper, for instance, not just the mechanics but the process of actually doing research, of actually writing a research paper? A lot needs to be done, but there are very few of us and the few of us who have been trained in linguistics do not have the time--that's the problem'.

6. Respondent: Elmer Wolfenden

Date and place of interview: 19 April 1989

Elmer Wolfenden, 65, is an American linguist who has lived most of his life in the Philippines. He is connected with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and is one of SIL's longest-serving members, having lived in the Philippines on and off from 1954. Although he did not originally plan to go into linguistics, he was recruited into the discipline because of SIL. His M.A. thesis written at Cornell was entitled *Restatement of Tagalog Grammar*. He did his doctoral dissertation on Hiligaynon. He was also involved in research in other Philippine languages like Ilocano, Ilongot, Isneg and Masbateño

In linguistic research, he has been active in descriptive linguistics. One of his main concerns is how to translate naturally in the receptor languages, and that involves being able to describe it well in order to transfer material into it very easily. He is also interested in discourse analysis. He also plans to describe Masbateño as a creole language.

Asked about when SIL began its activities in the Philippines, Wolfenden said: '1953, through an invitation from the Philippine government to set up linguistic studies and translation programs in the Philippines, through the efforts of President Ramon Magsaysay'.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics is interested in preparing translations of the Scriptures, health books, literacy material, and so forth in minority languages which have not been written. Any minority language which is written doesn't need help as far as we are concerned. Not the help we can give it.

'But there are numerous languages around the world which have no literacy programs. Many of the languages have not ever been written, there's no grammar, and the Philippines is one of those countries where there are 70 to 80 different languages above the major languages and those languages, that do not have writing, have not had an alphabet or grammar description or dictionary; these are the kinds of things we're interested in. And the Philippines is one of the crucial places for finding a lot of languages in one area where it will be useful for an organization like ours to work. Because we can learn the national language and then we can locate our base right here centrally located in Manila,...and translation sites where we can concentrate our translation efforts, where we can set up a library, study

cubicles, and where our people can work in a village and at the same time have the opportunity to come out periodically for concentrated library study. So it makes a nice situation as far as linguistic study is concerned'.

SIL has conducted projects with about 80 Philippine languages. Right now there are something like 70 on-going projects, with about 130-150 field workers doing actual linguistic studies.

According to Wolfenden, even if the main thrust of SIL is Bible translation, the organization itself is nondenominational and is not supported by any single church. It also does not enjoy support from any government, although in the Philippines it conducts some literacy programs in cooperation with DECS.

Wolfenden says that there has been a very good response to literacy programs that the SIL has been involved in, like among the Ifugao, Kankanaey, and Isneg in the Cordilleras, and among the Manobos, T'bolis, and Blaans of Mindanao, among others.

3. CONCLUSION

From the foregoing study conducted among the second- and third-generation linguists in the Philippines, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The scientific study of language is relatively new in the Philippines. Although the Spanish friars studied Philippine languages as early as the end of the sixteenth century, the first professionally trained linguist in the Philippines was Cecilio Lopez, whose career as a linguist was intimately connected with U.P. Following Lopez is Ernesto Constantino, also of U.P., who got his linguistic training in the U.S. The thrust of Constantino's research has been to create a database for a more accurate description of Philippine languages. Constantino is interested in universals in Philippine languages, which determine the largely theoretical orientation of his research. He has been instrumental in the recognition of Filipino as the national language of the Philippines, and his work is partly aimed at describing Filipino as a lingua franca.

2. The development of linguistics outside U.P. has tended to put more emphasis on the applications of linguistic theory. Outside U.P. most of the work or research conducted has tended to be in the realm of applied linguistics, especially on the application of linguistics theory in language teaching. Initially, and especially in the 1950s and 60s, the concern among practitioners had been on how to put science into the teaching of English as a second language. In the 70s and continuing in the 80s, the main preoccupation of non-U.P. linguists has been, and remains, the intellectualization of Filipino as a language, i.e. how to make Filipino a stable medium of communication in the classroom. Despite the assertions of the U.P. linguists that Filipino is sufficiently intellectualized and therefore can be used as medium of instruction at all levels, including the tertiary level, the fact remains that practitioners, i.e. teachers using Filipino as medium in various disciplines, still have to grapple with problems of using the language. For instance, there is the problem of terminology as well as the dearth of textbooks in Filipino. One proposed solution is to translate textbooks into Filipino.

3. Linguistics in the Philippines has tended to react to developments of the discipline abroad, especially in the U.S. This does not mean, however, that Philippine linguistics is merely an imitation of American linguistics. A significant body of knowledge, both theoretical and applied, has been created in the course of studying the Philippine languages. Numerous language surveys done in the Philippines have made the Philippines the most-surveyed country in terms of language. The challenges posed by the need to make Filipino a more effective medium of communication has generated a lot of research on the nature of this language. Moreover, the need to improve the teaching of English has resulted in more sophisticated methods of teaching it as a second language, as well as in the formulation of more effective testing instruments in order to measure the proficiency of Filipinos in the use of this language.

Filipino linguists are engaged in research in a variety of other fields, mostly sociolinguistic in nature. There is a lot of interest in code-switching, bilingualism, problems of language acquisition, cultural identity and language, and the registers and styles of both Filipino and English. Also planned are histories of Tagalog and English in the Philippines. In many of these areas Filipino linguists have contributed to international scholarship because of the pioneering nature of their work, not to mention the world-class quality of their research.

4. However, the disciplines of linguistics and applied linguistics seem to be confined to only two or three significant centers, i.e. U.P., La Salle and PNC. The main problem is that not a lot of young people are attracted to the discipline, so the future prospects of the discipline in the Philippines do not

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seem to be bright. As Emy Pascasio put it, anybody who goes into such studies as linguistics has to be committed and not think too much of the compensation, which is not that much. Also, in order for the discipline to flourish, more funding is needed for research and for publications.

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