

Philippine English: A Case of Language Drift

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The common perception that English in the Philippines has been deteriorating can be seen as a case of indigenization, resulting in a language variety which qualifies as a dialect even if the process that gave rise to it differs from the traditional account of dialectalization. It has particular linguistic features that arose out of a gradual drift in language learning away from the native language speaker, such that generations of Filipino learners of English have picked up the forms and rules of English from Filipino second-language learners trained by other Filipino second-language learners. While international travel and information technology now allow Filipinos to have ample exposure to and easily learn the English of the US, UK, Canada and Australia, the English teaching tradition in the country has persisted in espousing the Pinoy variety. While American sounds and idioms have become the norm for call centers and FM radio, all other language-based institutions have resisted the so-called “foreign” sound, with some educators even considering the standardization of Philippine English (or Pinoy English, to use a colloquial term to emphasize its localization) for academic purposes.

The features of Pinoy English can be seen from a scrutiny of the outputs of English teachers, media practitioners, and leaders of society in the Philippines. On the other hand, the features of international English can be abstracted from a study of international print and broadcast media. The differences between the two result from interference by Philippine languages, and the systematized forms of Filipino language professionals, nearly all of whom learned their English from Filipino teachers who, in turn, learned from other Filipino teachers, with almost everyone using limited dictionaries and traditional grammar books as primary sources for language learning.

Like genetic drift, in which random mutations eventually spread out in a species through genetic transmission, language drift refers to random changes in forms and rules that diffuse throughout a speech community through cultural transmission, and have become regular and systematic, especially if the diffusers are considered as English exemplars in the community, e.g.:

idioms: if worse comes to worst
Birds of the same feather flock together.
investigation on
diction:double dead
ballpen
ocular inspection

- syntax: It's about time we unite.
Students are not understanding their books.
- spelling: everyday (used as an adverb)
- pronunciation: organization (stress on the second syllable)
characteristic (stress on the second syllable)
clandestine (stress on the first syllable)

Language drift has resulted in the various English dialects among nonnative speakers of English. Technically, these are second-language dialects, different from pidgins or creoles.

So, Pinoy English. Many would identify this as the broken English of show-biz and political personalities, but this paper identifies it as the English output of “educated Filipino professionals”, many of them considered as leaders of Philippine society.

The choice of informants is a very critical decision in linguistic work. When language analysis was considered a type of behavioral analysis, linguistic students would sample communities to draw patterns from different speakers. When language analysis became considered a type of cognitive study, even only one informant was theoretically justified, and was even called the “ideal informant” – the native language speaker who is linguistically trained. But when the “ideal informant” was shown to be sociologically nonexistent, linguistic students had to sample again, especially when successful linguistic transaction became seen as being as much based on language as on social relations and situations.

Yet, one feature of language allows convenience sampling, and this is the fact that the language development of some communities, even of the majority, is strongly affected by certain communities, or certain sectors in society. This heteronomy, or the strong influence of one variety on the development of another variety, means that the linguistic output of the leaders of a society is the best data source for the language variety of that society. Innovations by or adopted by leaders eventually get diffused among the rest of society – like the plague or the latest flu virus.

Based on this feature, let us try describing Pinoy English based on outputs of educated Filipinos, say, the Inaugural Address of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Certainly, such an address is the product of several minds, and it is safe to assume that those responsible for the final form of the Address are among the best writers the Presidential Staff could tap for the task. The copy of the Address used was downloaded from the websites <www.gov.ph> and <www.op.gov.ph>, which carry all the important speeches of the Philippine President.

Some of the forms which differ from those expected in International English (or IE, used here to mean the English of international broadcast and print media, and references) are:

All insurgence shall have turned their swords into plowshares.

- “Insurgence” should have been “insurgents”.
- Although biblical in origin, the metaphor “swords into plowshares” sounds anachro-

nistic.

They [the insurgents] will have become so absorbed into one society that the struggles of the past will be just a stuff of legend.

- The use of the numeral “one” detracts from the expected “our” as determiner of “society,” which can be interpreted as the insurgents’ forming a society of their own apart from mainstream Philippine society.
- The IE form is “the stuff of legend.” The problem is that in IE, that would refer to something in the past that we memorialize, or remember with fondness and admiration – meanings that do not seem to apply to the insurgency, or the “struggles of the past.”

Only the lessons of unity, courage and a just closure left alive in their hearts.

- Possibly a stylistic fragment. A verb with tense is missing.

We fight for what we believed in.

- The past tense for “believe” is unexpected since the time frame is present. The resulting sense is ridiculous since the past tense form indicates present untruth, and the sentence can be paraphrased as “we fight for what we no longer believe in”.

I pledge to reduce spending where government does not work.

- The modifying clause “where government does not work” is ambiguous in IE, meaning “where there is no government agency”, “where government employees are not working but merely collect their salaries” or “where government work is not effective.” The first meaning does not apply since there is a budget to reduce. The second meaning leads to a weak response to the so-called 15/30 employees – those who report only to collect their salaries on the 15th and 30th of the month – by merely reducing the amount they wrongfully collect. The third meaning is odd; the common reason for government’s ineffectiveness is lack of funds, yet the statement is that funds will be further reduced.

I challenge our young men and women; there is a role to play in the re-creation of our nation, some in honest public service, most in productive private endeavor.

- The shift in point of view – from addressing the young men and women directly, to an existential “there is” sentence – is inappropriate.
- In IE, the phrases “honest public service” and “productive private endeavor” also communicate the sense that public service is not productive, and private endeavor is dishonest. This is because the adjectives have their own noun phrases, and since these noun phrases are exclusive terms, the adjectives also become limited in their scope.

I look up to Congress to seize this moment in history. Its like it will not come again.

- In IE references, “look up to” is listed as meaning “admire” or “respect.” Since the sentence carries the meaning of “expect” or “hope,” the IE form is “look to.”
- “Its like it will not come again” is probably “Its like will not come again.” However, it sounds the same as the English pattern associated with coeds in exclusive girls’ schools: “It’s like it will not come again,” as the translation of Tagalog. “Parang hindi na darating muli” (It seems it will not return.).

I shall make good and I shall do good for the good of all and not just for the cameras.

- In IE, “make good,” without a complement, means “earn well” or “make money.” The IE idiom closest to the sense of the sentence is “make good on one’s word or promise.”
- The form “not just” is part of the correlative conjunction “not just … but also,” which makes the sentence most likely spelled out as “not just for the cameras, but also for the people.” Unfortunately, this construction places primary importance on the noun phrase after “not just,” i.e., “cameras”, making “the people” only secondary. The correlative conjunction should have been “not … but” to make “not for the cameras, but for the people.”

It is important to note that the website makes this Inaugural Address accessible to everyone in the world who has Internet connection. Also, this speech has been published in an anthology of inaugural addresses of Philippine presidents.

Her State-of-the-Nation (SONA) addresses of 2007 and 2008 also show certain oddities. Outstanding from the 2007 SONA are:

I congratulate every elected official, from municipal to provincial to Congress on hard fought and successful campaigns.

- The parallelism rule dictates “congressional”.
- The compound adjective should be hyphenated as “hard-fought”.

We must reform agrarian reform so it can transform beneficiaries into agribusinessmen and other agribusiness women.

- The redundancy of “reform” could easily be avoided by using other synonyms for the first “reform”.
- This has the awkward meaning of some beneficiaries becoming “other agribusiness women”.

On July 8, Ozamis Airport opened, bankrolled partly by Leo Ocampos, Aldo Parojinog and

Hermie Ramiro's congressional fund.

- It appears that the three mentioned have a common fund, when in fact they have separate funds.

In 2001, we opened a solar plant in Cagayan de Oro. Still, Mindanao faced a 100-megawatt gap by 2009.

- The past tense "faced" does not fit the time frame of the sentence.

The Philippines ranks among top off-shoring hubs in the world because of cost competitiveness and more importantly our highly trainable, English proficient, IT-enabled management and manpower.

I also ask Congress to pass legislation that brings improved long term care for our senior citizens. Asahan natin si Ed Angara.

- The compound adjectives should be hyphenated, thus "English-proficient" and "long-term".

And, so that no Taiwan tremor can cut off our cyber services from their global clients, PLDT and Globe are investing P47 billion in new international broadband links through other regional hubs for redundancy in our cyber space.

- "Cyberspace" is a one-word compound.

We are investing P3 billion in science and engineering research and development technology, including scholarships for masters and doctoral degrees programs in engineering in seven universities.

- The term is "master's" and the word "degree" should be singular since it functions as a modifier.

Firms who were asked for bribes in taxes, permits and licenses dropped from one-third to one-half.

- One-half is bigger than one-third, so the word should have been "increased". Even if the intended meaning is "dropped from one-half to one-third", the statement is still an alarming presidential admission of widespread bribery.

Notable examples from her SONA 2008 are:

Others point of the very real surge in demand as millions of Chinese and Indians move up to the middle class.

- The idiom is "point to".

In doing so, let us be honest and clear eyed – there has been a fundamental shift in global economics. The price of food and fuel will likely remain high. Nothing will be easy; the government cannot solve these problems over night.

- The compound adjective is “clear-eyed” and the adverb is “overnight”.

We must curb the recklessness that gives land without the means to make it productive and bites off more than beneficiaries can chew.

- The conjunction signals the odd meaning that “recklessness … bites off more than the beneficiaries can chew”. The idiom requires the same agent for “bite” and “chew”.

Pag-Ibig housing loans increased from P3.82 billion in 2001 to P22.6 billion in 2007. This year it experienced an 84% increase in the first four months alone. Super heating na.

- “overheating”, instead of “super heating”

Mining companies should ensure that host communities benefit substantively from their investments, and with no environmental damage from operations.

- “substantially”, instead of “substantively”

The impact of Philippine presidents’ speeches on Pinoy English may be appreciated in light of the strong effect of the leaders of society on the development of a language or language variety. Prime Minister Churchill is said to have influenced teachers and editors of English to accept prepositions or particles at the end of clauses (except, of course, compound prepositions); US President Eisenhower is said to have influenced the acceptance of “It’s me.” The difference is that Churchill and Eisenhower are first-language speakers of English, influencing other first-language speakers. Philippine presidents are second-language speakers, and may not have the same effect on other Filipino second-language speakers.

In 2004, The present administration tried to impose English as the primary medium of instruction through then Education Secretary Edilberto de Jesus, but it never took off. Now, the same move is being pushed through legislation, with House Bill 305 authored by Cebu Representative Eduardo R Gullas having been passed by the House of Representatives upon Third and Final reading.

If pupils nationwide get to learn the English of the Department of Education, here are some of the forms and rules they will get, drawn from the department’s seven recent press releases (18-30 July 2008):

PE Lexicon:

- use of *enjoin* to mean “request, encourage, or invite”. In IE, *enjoin* means “require” if

followed by *to* + verb stem, or “prohibit” if followed by *from* + verb + *-ing*.

In the same memorandum, Panadero also enjoined the local executives to support DepEd and the community in ensuring that school-aged children actually enroll in school.

Education Secretary Jesli Lapus enjoins all SPED centers, public and private schools with special education programs to observe this day with appropriate activities.

- different idioms

Lapus welcomes DILG’s funding support to public schools (IE: *support for*)

… that will compel parents to constantly keep their children to school. (IE: *keep their children in school*, or *keep making their children go to school*)

The country’s top businessmen and motivational speakers as well as celebrity entrepreneurs are all set to share their expertise to high school students and teachers in the 3rd “Teen Negosyo” on July 26-31, at the Baguio Teachers Camp, Baguio City. (IE: *share their expertise with*)

And the school is in search for the next batch of world-class artists and cultural leaders as PHSA opens the 2009 Annual Nationwide Search for Young Arts Scholars (ANSYAS). (IE: *in search of*)

“We are committed in making our educational system responsive to the needs of our students who are blind or visually impaired,” Lapus said. (IE: *committed to make* or *committed to making*)

- different meaning for some prepositions

Among the measures currently implemented by DepEd to ease the financial obstacle to parents and keep children in school are the no collection and no uniform policy, school feeding program and alternative learning systems for learners outside of the formal school system. (IE: *outside*)

- omitted prepositions

It will spearhead the mainstreaming peace education concepts, skills and values in the

learning content of the basic education and alternative learning systems (ALS). (IE: *mainstreaming of peace*)

PE NP:

- omission of articles from nouns that require articles in IE

The much-awaited payment of the 1999 “over-and-above” allowances of NCR public school teachers will finally happen with the release of funds from DepEd 2007 NCR savings. (IE: *the DepEd 2007 NCR savings*)

The dwindling number of school enrollees is attributed to widespread poverty aggravated by rising cost of fuel and food. (IE. *the rising cost*)

Meanwhile, DILG also advised the LGUs to consider the public school’s budgetary requirements in reviewing and revising approved local school board budgets as well as other priorities which have been identified in schools’ improvement plans. (IE: *the schools’ improvement plans*)

Activities planned for Aug. 1 include distribution of 150 white canes to visually impaired persons from Region 3, 4A and NCR. DOTC will spearhead these activities at DOTC Conference Hall. (IE: *the DOTC Conference Hall*)

- use of the quantifier *some* to mark a specific numeral. In IE, *some* is used to mean “approximately”.

DepEd is currently implementing an enhanced curriculum in some 261 tech-voc secondary schools nationwide to give students a wider employment or entrepreneurship berth in case they are unable to immediately pursue a 4-year college degree.

PE VP:

- use of the present perfect for an action before a past time frame

Lapus has earlier called on the LGU’s city and municipal councils to come up with an anti-truancy ordinance … (IE: *had earlier called*)

PE Adverbs:

- placement of the time adverb before the verb

Some 49 public schools in Pangasinan and Zambales affected by typhoon Cosme in May received teachers' and students' packs containing school supplies and reference materials from the Education in Emergencies Cluster (EEC), the Department of Education today said. (IE: *said today*)

PE Embedding:

- an embedded clause does not carry its original meaning as a core sentence

Education Secretary Jesli Lapus said, "DepEd will incorporate peace education where it matters because we believe in the power of education to change the mindset of people towards peace." (*Where it matters* comes from a core sentence *it matters Adv-place*. As embedded, it seems as if there are some areas where peace education does not matter.)

PE Spelling:

- different spelling of compounds

Among the services which require regular funding are pre-school classes, utilities, security and janitorial needs. (IE: *preschool*)

"The support of the DILG to pay for basic school services is most welcome as we try to get more schools to accept 5 to 11 years old to enroll and stay in school," Education Secretary Jesli Lapus said. (IE: *5-to-11-year-olds* or *5-to-11-year-old children*)

For inquiries about the line up of activities, please contact Ms. Mirla Olores, Chief Special Education (SPED) Division, Bureau of Elementary Education, DepEd Complex, Meralco Avenue, Pasig City at tel. nos. (02) 631-9933 or (02) 632-1361 loc 2054. (IE: *lineup* or *line-up*)

PE Punctuation:

- the end punctuation for a quoted sentence may be omitted

"Our teachers deserve this. They have worked tediously to establish government's accountability and have lobbied tirelessly for it" said Lapus.

- the end punctuation for a quoted sentence may be a period even if the quoting sentence still follows

“The department is steadfast in boosting not only the competency of our teachers, but also their morale as government attends to their compensation and benefits.” The Education Chief said.

- the full date, written as month-day-comma-year, is not followed by a comma if a word comes after

PHSA is a special school founded on June 11, 1977 and established by Presidential Decree (PD) 1287.

These national competitions will culminate on January 4, 2009 in time for the bicentennial celebration of the death of Louis Braille, who invented the Braille, a global system used by the blind and visually impaired people for reading and writing.

- the agreement of verb and subject is optional

- a numeral-noun sequence is hyphenated

Recently, DepEd has released guidelines to implement the Civil Service Commission ruling which allow teachers 6-hours a day of actual classroom teaching. (IE: *allows* to agree with *which* which assumes the number of *ruling; six hours a day*.)

- the plural is understood

- the quantifier “some” can mark a specific numeral

- the sequence adverb-adjective is hyphenated

- the verb “quip” means to make a formal statement

Recently, DepEd granted scholarship to some 198 public school teachers who underwent training in the care and mentoring of visually-impaired students. “We hope that this program will open equal opportunities to other differently-able children,” he quipped. (IE: *granted scholarships to 198 public school teachers; visually impaired students; differently able* or *physically challenged; he stated*.)

Many English teachers tell their students to “think in English” although there is no psycholinguistic evidence to show that thinking may be done exclusively in a foreign language. The common response to that instruction is for students to pick up English words and phrases, and

then put them in sentences without checking their meanings. In effect, what results is cut-and-paste English constructions.

An example of this is in Memorandum Order No. 54, s. 2007, of the Commission on Higher Education, on the Revised Syllabi in Filipino 1, 2, and 3 Under the New General Education Curriculum (GEC), the beginning statement of which is:

In accordance with the pertinent provisions of Republic Act (RA) No. 7722, otherwise known as the “Higher Education Act of 1994”, and by virtue of CEB Resolution No. 606-2006 dated September 11, 2006 and in order to update the General Education Curriculum to make the same more responsive to the demands of the next millennium, the Commission approved the revised Syllabus of Filipino 1, Filipino 2, and Filipino 3 under CHED Memorandum Order No. 59, s. 1996, otherwise known as “New General Education Curriculum (GEC)”.

The problem with this is that the phrase “the next millennium”, used in the year 2007, refers to the millennium that begins in the year 3001. This revision of college Filipino is 994 years too early. Apparently this statement was merely copied from CHED Memorandum Order No. 59, s. 1996, which refers to the “next millenium” as the one that began in 2001.

Indeed, the websites of other government offices, as well as those of colleges and universities, are a rich source of Pinoy English forms.

The term Pinoy English suggests still another data source – the Third Joint CDCE-CETA National Convention in 2004 (i.e., sponsored by the Council of Department Chairs of English, and the College English Teachers Association). After all, the participants in the convention should qualify as “reputable professionals in the English language” in the Philippines.

I chose to transcribe some of the oral data from those who took the microphones since by speaking through the sound system, they were literally diffusing the forms and patterns they produced. (I discounted oral data from those who faltered, especially those overwhelmed by shock or some other strong emotion when they spoke.) The following are data from the first two days of this convention:

Pronunciation:

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| abroad | [ə'brɔwd] |
| clientele | ['klɪjɛntɪl] |
| colleague | [ku'li:g] |
| comment | ['koment] |
| community | [ko'mjunitɪ] |
| competitive | [kompe'tɪtɪv] |
| consequence | [kon'sɪkwɛns], ['konsɪkwɛns] |
| consequently | [kon'sɪkwɛntlɪ] |

| | |
|---------------|----------------------|
| cultural | ['kʌltʃʊɹəl] |
| curriculum | [kʌ' rɪkʌlʌm] |
| decade | ['di:kɛjd] |
| discussion | [dɪs' kæʃən] |
| drug | [drʌg] |
| evaluate | ['evəlweɪt] |
| focus | ['fokʌs] |
| gamut | [gæ'mʌt] |
| integrative | [ɪn'tegɹətɪv] |
| interference | [ɪn'tɛɪfərəns] |
| intricacy | [ɪn'tɹɪkəsɪ] |
| inventory | [ɪn'ventɔɹɪ] |
| launched | [lɹɹntʃt] |
| map | [mɹp] |
| memorizing | [memo' ɹɹjsɪŋ] |
| multicultural | [mʌltɹ' kʌltʃʊɹəl] |
| negotiate | ['negoʃeɪt] |
| negotiation | ['negoʃeɪʃən] |
| non sequitur | [nɹn sekɹ'tʌɹ] |
| occur | [o' kʌɹ] |
| of course | [of kɔɹs] |
| organization | [oɹ' gæɹnɹ, zeɪʃən] |
| percentage | ['pɛɹsɛn, teɪdʒ] |
| pronunciation | [prɔ' nʌɹnsɹ, eɪʃən] |
| purposeful | [pʌɹ' pɔɹsʃʌl] |
| quote | [kɔɹt] |
| result | [ɹɹ'sɔlt], [ɹe'sʌlt] |
| simulated | ['sɹɹmjʌv, leɪtɛd] |
| still | [stɹ'stɪl] |
| study | ['stʌdɹ] |
| supervisory | [su' pɛɹvɹ, sɔɹɹ] |
| supplemented | ['sʌplɛmɛntɛd] |
| to address | [tu ' ɹædɹes] |
| unquote | [' ʌnkɔɹt] |
| various | ['vɹɹɹjʌs] |
| venue | [ve' nʌ] |

Idiom:

lip services
disbelief on/of
do away from
on the tertiary level
in different levels
the ramifications of X to Y
put our acts together
a school I work with
this is true to all SUCs
mulling on
at par with

Grammar (morphology and syntax):

Determiner: the teaching of English language
Number: loadings
Verb: one cannot be able
they could be able
Adjective for those who are not yet secured
masteral
Agreement: a prioritization of activities need to be done
each one of these/this college
if the quality of our graduates deteriorate
the public seem
things seems to be exacerbating every year
Comparison: more lucky
Mood: it is necessary that X must do Y
It's about time that you will propose it now.

Rhetoric (limited here to redundancies):

just simply
like for instance
like for example

Logic:

The better thinkers tended to possess higher mental activity.
[also pertaining to determiner, diction, idiom, and tense]

The two issues of the *CETA-CDCE Journal* would have provided a lot more data but after marking one article, I could not be certain to whom I should attribute the Pinoy English forms – to the author, the copy editor, or the typist/encoder.

Another way of characterizing Pinoy English is by noting how college English teachers respond to items in an objective test. I collated the answers of those who participated in various training workshops I have conducted in different parts of the country over a number of years. The institutions represented in this collation are:

| NAME | NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS |
|---|-----------------------|
| Ateneo de Naga University | 17 |
| Cagayan State University | 1 |
| Calabanga Polytechnic College | 2 |
| CAT College | 4 |
| Catanduanes State College | 1 |
| Computer Arts & Technological College | 1 |
| Eastern Samar State College | 2 |
| International School of Medical Transcription | 1 |
| Isabela State University | 3 |
| Laguna State Polytechnic College | 1 |
| Leyte Colleges | 6 |
| Luzon Nazarene Bible College | 1 |
| Mabini College | 1 |
| Mariano Marcos State University-Laoag | 6 |
| New Era University | 2 |
| Notre Dame University | 18 |
| Palawan State University | 1 |
| Partido College | 1 |
| Philippine School of Business Administration | 1 |
| Ramon Magsaysay Technological University | 1 |
| Saint Augustine Seminary | 1 |
| Saint Mary's College | 1 |
| San Antonio de Padua College | 1 |
| Sorsogon State College, School of Arts & Trades | 1 |
| Southern Baptist College | 2 |
| Southern Luzon Polytechnic College | 1 |
| St Jude College | 6 |
| St Louis University | 2 |

Philippine English (MALICSI)

| | |
|--|-------|
| St Peter Baptist College | 4 |
| Tarlac College of Agriculture | 1 |
| University of Asia & the Pacific | 1 |
| University of Baguio | 27 |
| University of Saint Anthony | 1 |
| University of San Carlos | 1 |
| University of Santo Tomas | 31 |
| University of the Philippines Manila | 1 |
| University of the Philippines Visayas (Tacloban) | 2 |
| University of the Philippines Diliman | 1 |
| Western Mindanao State University | 1 |
| Xavier University, Ateneo de Cagayan | 1 |
| | ----- |
| | 158 |

Obviously, this is convenience sampling, but indicative enough of trends in the pervasiveness of certain forms and rules that characterize Pinoy English. The test items have only two options, quite defensible on linguistic and pedagogical terms. Binary values have been used in linguistic analysis for decades, such as in immediate constituent (IC) analysis and distinctive feature analysis of the 60s, stratificational grammar of the 70s, government and binding theory of the 80s, and minimalist program of the 90s. In English, this is manifest in the categories of sounds (vocooids vs. contoids, syllabic vs. nonsyllabic, voiced vs. voiceless), number (singular vs. plural), tense (past vs. present), etc. Also, since the test was designed to be used for feedback purposes, the options were simply the correct form (i.e., the form that is manifest in international media and references), and the form that is gaining popularity in Philippine media as well as among Filipino journalists, broadcasters, and teachers of English.

The items are presented below arrayed from lowest to highest percentage (expressed without decimals) of correct responses. The number beside the percentage refers to the number of respondents (out of 158) who opted for the Pinoy form. Interestingly, not a single item got a 100% correct response.

College English Course (CEC) Phase 1 Diagnostic Test: ITEMS ARRAYED

| | | | |
|--|--------|-----|-----|
| 83. In this Palarong Pambansa, the Visayas _____ again dominating the track-and-field events. | | | |
| 1. are | 2. Is | 9% | 144 |
| 11. It is not an exaggeration to state that _____ majority of students cheat, especially when they think the exam is not fair. | | | |
| 1. (no word) | 2. The | 28% | 114 |

59. All the volcanologists but ____ agreed to the building of dikes to control lahar.
 1. he 2. him 31% 109
13. The municipal councilor discovered a cache of ____ at the town hall's basement, possibly from the last war.
 1. ordnance 2. ordinance 32% 108
46. The police have started their investigation ____ Bong Pineda's involvement in jueteng.
 1. of 2. on 32% 108
79. The new bill is consistent with UP's aim ____ on a par with the best universities of the world.
 1. of being 2. to be 34% 104
87. We should really shift our focus away from basketball towards other sports, ____ we have not progressed in it internationally.
 1. inasmuch as 2. in as much as 39% 97
35. It is essential that the office ____ our computers at least every two years.
 1. upgrade 2. upgrades 44% 89
39. The continued use of pesticides has so contaminated the produce of developing countries ____ the people of countries that banned pesticides are again in danger when they consume food imported from these developing countries.
 1. that 2. such that 44% 88
44. Artists are hoping that DECS will reinstitute separate classes in ____ humanities at all pre-collegiate levels.
 1. the 2. (no word) 46% 86
33. Such ____ pill still has to be tested for possible adverse side effects before it gets BFAD approval.
 1. (no word) 2. a 48% 82
52. People in the provinces strongly objected to ____ the opening of classes from June to September to synchronize with school calendars in other countries.
 1. move 2. moving 48% 82
65. Traveling becomes quite difficult if you bring so ____ luggage with you.
 1. many 2. much 49% 81
93. ____ reverted to the People's Republic of China in July 1997, after a century under British rule.
 1. Hong Kong 2. Hongkong 49% 81
90. Immediately after the announcement that a cocktail of drugs can actually diminish the HIV virus to nearly undetectable levels, thousands of HIV-positive patients wished the treatment ____ not so expensive.
 1. were 2. was 52% 76

9. After a series of shooting incidents involving police officers, they are now ____ from carrying firearms when off-duty; their licenses will be modified.
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----|----|
| 1. forbidden | 2. disallowed | 54% | 73 |
|--------------|---------------|-----|----|
58. ____ sailors are prime targets of street vendors who sell defective or fake goods.
- | | | | |
|------------|----------|-----|----|
| 1. Drunken | 2. Drunk | 54% | 73 |
|------------|----------|-----|----|
60. Getting caught cheating in the finals ____ lead to your flunking the course.
- | | | | |
|----------|--------|-----|----|
| 1. might | 2. may | 55% | 71 |
|----------|--------|-----|----|
73. The holding of lecture-concerts can ____ enough to cover all the performing arts in one semester, which is why programming for cultural education should have a three-year cycle.
- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----|----|
| 1. not be often | 2. be seldom | 55% | 71 |
|-----------------|--------------|-----|----|
3. The librarian pointed out the collection ____ I can find rare manuscripts.
- | | | | |
|------------|-------------|-----|----|
| 1. wherein | 2. in which | 56% | 70 |
|------------|-------------|-----|----|
4. The nurses were quite accommodating to the new hospital volunteers, Mrs Bautista and ____.
- | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|----|
| 1. I | 2. me | 56% | 70 |
|------|-------|-----|----|
41. Even with only one dissenting vote, making the jury ____ unanimous, no verdict could be announced.
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-----|----|
| 1. not quite | 2. less | 56% | 70 |
|--------------|---------|-----|----|
51. It is almost impossible for many tourists not to enjoy ____ at shopping malls.
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-----|----|
| 1. (no pronoun) | 2. themselves | 56% | 70 |
|-----------------|---------------|-----|----|
17. The students proposed that the class president ____ them in the coming student leaders' summit.
- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-----|----|
| 1. represents | 2. represent | 58% | 66 |
|---------------|--------------|-----|----|
32. The affidavit claims that it ____ not possible for her to maltreat the maids at that time, being still weak from a recent liposuction.
- | | | | |
|--------|-------|-----|----|
| 1. was | 2. is | 58% | 66 |
|--------|-------|-----|----|
71. It is ____ church where many Filipinos find solace from life's difficulties.
- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----|----|
| 1. in | 2. in the | 61% | 62 |
|-------|-----------|-----|----|
28. The specimen seems ____ a retrovirus, producing DNA using RNA as a template.
- | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----|----|
| 1. (no word) | 2. to be | 61% | 61 |
|--------------|----------|-----|----|
15. As of 1997, the salaries of teachers in public schools have begun to get higher than ____ in private schools.
- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------------|-----|----|
| 1. those | 2. the salaries of those | 63% | 58 |
|----------|--------------------------|-----|----|
34. We got terrified when we felt the earth ____.
- | | | | |
|----------|------------|-----|----|
| 1. quake | 2. quaking | 64% | 57 |
|----------|------------|-----|----|
95. The evening rehearsals for the folk dance festival lasted until 12:00 ____.
- | | | | |
|---------|---------|-----|----|
| 1. p.m. | 2. a.m. | 65% | 56 |
|---------|---------|-----|----|

8. For a fast-food store to be _____ by an international chain, it has to pass stringent quality standards.
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-----|----|
| 1. franchised | 2. enfranchised | 65% | 55 |
|---------------|-----------------|-----|----|
18. Because of government neglect, many of our mountains have lost their _____ foliage.
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----|----|
| 1. luxurious | 2. luxuriant | 66% | 53 |
|--------------|--------------|-----|----|
74. When a plane flies in from Hong Kong, airport _____ officers are generally on the alert for undeclared goods.
- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----|----|
| 1. custom | 2. customs | 67% | 52 |
|-----------|------------|-----|----|
75. My best friend fell in line _____. He is ahead by thirty persons.
- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----|----|
| 1. before I did | 2. before me | 67% | 52 |
|-----------------|--------------|-----|----|
26. Many a lotto _____ had to be escorted by armed security guards to and from the bank.
- | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----|----|
| 1. winners | 2. winner | 69% | 49 |
|------------|-----------|-----|----|
50. When young girls say they want to be _____, they are only thinking of the glamor, not the hard work, in the modeling industry.
- | | | | |
|--------|--------|-----|----|
| 1. she | 2. her | 69% | 49 |
|--------|--------|-----|----|
56. The so-called “Marcos victims” are optimistic that the award given to them by a court in Hawaii is still _____.
- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----|----|
| 1. collectable | 2. collectible | 70% | 48 |
|----------------|----------------|-----|----|
77. _____ musicals are enjoying successful revivals on Broadway.
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----|----|
| 1. Rodgers’ and Hammerstein’s | 2. Rodgers and Hammerstein’s | 70% | 47 |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----|----|
45. In Singapore, you _____ tip the waiters and bellboys; their managers do not allow the practice.
- | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|-----|----|
| 1. must not | 2. don’t have to | 71% | 46 |
|-------------|------------------|-----|----|
43. Thus far, Lisa is the only one among our classical ballerinas who _____ won a medal in an international competition.
- | | | | |
|---------|--------|-----|----|
| 1. have | 2. has | 72% | 45 |
|---------|--------|-----|----|
62. The Aytas believe that if miners _____ not disturbed Mt Pinatubo, it would not have wakened up from a long sleep.
- | | | | |
|--------|---------|-----|----|
| 1. had | 1. have | 72% | 45 |
|--------|---------|-----|----|
61. Because the percentages are rounded off, their total as computed sometimes _____ not equal one hundred percent.
- | | | | |
|---------|-------|-----|----|
| 1. does | 2. do | 72% | 44 |
|---------|-------|-----|----|
7. Both _____ are implicated in the recent epidemic which hit some villages in Africa.
- | | | | |
|------------|----------|-----|----|
| 1. viruses | 2. virus | 73% | 42 |
|------------|----------|-----|----|
20. New administrators cannot help _____ that their new programs and projects are decidedly better.
- | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-----|----|
| 1. think | 2. thinking | 73% | 42 |
|----------|-------------|-----|----|
22. Spanish _____ one of the Philippines’ official languages until the 1976 Constitution named

Philippine English (MALICSI)

- only English and Filipino.
- | | | | | |
|--|-------------|-------------|-----|----|
| | 1. had been | 2. has been | 73% | 42 |
|--|-------------|-------------|-----|----|
81. Especially when on tour, the UP Cherubim and Seraphim _____ admonished to take very good care of _____ voices.
- | | | | | |
|--|------------------|---------------|-----|----|
| | 1. are ... their | 2. is ... its | 73% | 43 |
|--|------------------|---------------|-----|----|
23. To recover from the operation, he must _____ in bed for one whole week.
- | | | | | |
|--|--------|--------|-----|----|
| | 1. lay | 2. lie | 75% | 40 |
|--|--------|--------|-----|----|
37. Parents tend to decide their children's college course, _____ of the children's personal choices.
- | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----|----|
| | 1. irregardless | 2. irrespective | 75% | 40 |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----|----|
94. Progressive manufacturers _____ technology as a tool, as a means to do things better, not as an end in itself.
- | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|----|
| | 1. have used and will continue to use | 2. have and will continue to use | 75% | 40 |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|----|
89. More and more companies today face adaptive _____ their leaders' most important job is mobilizing people to do adaptive work.
- | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|-----|----|
| | 1. challenges, thus, | 2. challenges; thus, | 77% | 36 |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|-----|----|
80. _____ beginning writer tends to complicate the plot too much.
- | | | | | |
|--|-----------|---------|-----|----|
| | 1. Many a | 2. Many | 80% | 32 |
|--|-----------|---------|-----|----|
70. At the Battle of Little Bighorn, Crazy Horse killed the same Custer _____ some historians call a Civil War hero.
- | | | | | |
|--|-------|---------|-----|----|
| | 1. as | 2. whom | 81% | 30 |
|--|-------|---------|-----|----|
86. Because of the recent cases of holdups in provincial buses, we _____ traveling in buses which do not check the passengers' luggage or pick up passengers along the way.
- | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|--------------|-----|----|
| | 1. are careful in | 2. beware of | 81% | 30 |
|--|-------------------|--------------|-----|----|
30. After he staggered into the clinic, _____ wounded man passed out on the gurney.
- | | | | | |
|--|------|--------|-----|----|
| | 1. a | 2. the | 82% | 29 |
|--|------|--------|-----|----|
47. The Pope was _____ by the combined voices of more than 500 singers when they sang the "Hallelujah" chorus.
- | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|-----|----|
| | 1. absolutely thrilled | 2. thrilled absolutely | 83% | 27 |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|-----|----|
19. It has become increasingly difficult to _____ heavy traffic in Metro Manila, twice a day.
- | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|--------------|-----|----|
| | 1. cope up with | 2. cope with | 84% | 26 |
|--|-----------------|--------------|-----|----|
29. In the 70s, many _____ came to the Philippines for graduate studies as scholars of their government.
- | | | | | |
|--|----------|----------------|-----|----|
| | 1. Thais | 2. Thailanders | 84% | 26 |
|--|----------|----------------|-----|----|
64. The rehearsals for the Christmas cantata will be held from _____, every night.
- | | | | | |
|--|------------------|---------------------|-----|----|
| | 1. December 1-14 | 2. December 1 to 14 | 84% | 26 |
|--|------------------|---------------------|-----|----|
66. The books we have to read in literature are _____ than last semester's.
- | | | | | |
|--|---------|----------|-----|----|
| | 1. less | 2. Fewer | 84% | 26 |
|--|---------|----------|-----|----|

5. During class hours, no one is allowed to ____ on the corridors or the canteen.
1. stand by 2. loiter 84% 25
6. Contributing to our economic difficulties is our ____ of being volcanic and located in the path of typhoons.
1. misfortune 2. unfortunateness 84% 25
2. Antibiotics do not work ____ well if you do not take the right dosage for the entire prescribed period.
1. really 2. real 85% 23
63. A soldier's ____ in the line of fire is certainly shameful.
1. cowardice 2. cowardliness 85% 23
67. The confidential report informs us ____ Vietnam and China had skirmishes over some islands in the Spratlys.
1. that 2. where 85% 23
82. Even two ____ roses were not enough to make the girl answer his phone calls.
1. dozens 2. dozen 85% 23
1. Most ____ from prison get caught in their respective hometowns.
1. escapees 2. escapers 86% 22
54. I ____ on the lotto last week but lost my ticket.
1. bet 2. betted 87% 21
57. The one who can speak ____ among the elders in a Negrito tribe is considered as their leader.
1. better 2. best 87% 21
25. Even if data ____ readily available at the crime scene, many police officers do not know how to preserve them for proper investigation procedures.
1. are 2. is 89% 18
14. After months of physical therapy, the former paraplegic managed to ____.
1. be dressed up by himself 2. dress himself up 89% 17
36. What the labor arbiter proposed is ____ best solution to resolve the deadlock over new wages.
1. a 2. the 89% 17
84. Free copies of the souvenir program were given to every ____.
1. participants 2. participant 89% 17
85. With the entire stage alive with machinery, including a flying helicopter, Miss Saigon is ____ show.
1. a quite exciting 2. quite an exciting 91% 15
98. In Christmas carols, lambs and ____ pay homage to the Christ Child at the manger.
1. oxen 2. oxes 91% 15

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42. The proctor was staring at us _____ we were cheating.
 1. like 2. as if 91% 14
72. The union leader, together with a host of followers, _____ to have been brutalized by mercenaries.
 1. claims 2. claim 91% 14
96. It is said that Thomas Edison, a workaholic, hardly _____ slept; instead, he merely took short naps.
 1. ever 2. never 91% 14
16. The restaurant's chef deserves praise for preparing kosher dishes _____, for our Jewish guests.
 1. well today 2. today well 92% 13
92. Madam Tingting Cojuangco was the _____ of Tarlac.
 1. governor 2. Governess 92% 13
31. Some economists believe we ought _____ more with our neighbors than with Europe or South America.
 1. trade 2. to trade 92% 12
49. Despite several _____ by so-called "experts," the country's water supply problem is still a long way from getting solved.
 1. analyses 2. analysis 92% 12
10. All of you should group _____ into tens for this game.
 1. yourself 2. yourselves 93% 11
69. Because of all the curse words the actress hurled at the TV show host, on the air, she is now facing oral _____ charges.
 1. defaming 2. Defamation 93% 11
88. There _____ no greater love than for a man to lay down his life for a friend.
 1. are 2. is 93% 11
40. In fiery sermons, effective evangelists _____ their listeners.
 1. exhort, cajole, and even threaten
 2. exhort, cajole, and are even threatening to 94% 10
99. Only in rich nations _____ new information technology take root.
 1. this could 2. could this 94% 10
24. To entice foreign investors, the country has offered virtually _____ havens, such as Subic and Clark.
 1. taxless 2. tax-free 94% 9
48. Her dream boy finally proposed to her. How happy she _____!
 1. must be 2. (no word) 94% 9

27. For his best man, the groom chose his younger brother; for her _____, the bride chose her best friend.
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-----|---|
| 1. best lady | 2. maid-of-honor | 95% | 8 |
|--------------|------------------|-----|---|
97. All these paraphernalia are really _____.
- | | | | |
|---------|--------|-----|---|
| 1. hers | 2. her | 95% | 8 |
|---------|--------|-----|---|
21. The secret to successful partnering, in ballet as well as figure skating, is that the partners support _____.
- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-----|---|
| 1. themselves | 2. each other | 96% | 7 |
|---------------|---------------|-----|---|
68. _____ the police waged war against criminals, we would have a more peaceful community.
- | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----|---|
| 1. If | 2. When | 96% | 6 |
|-------|---------|-----|---|
76. Last semester's _____ 101 was quite revealing in terms of our leaders' seeming lack of economic knowledge.
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----|---|
| 1. Economics | 2. economics | 96% | 6 |
|--------------|--------------|-----|---|
78. The main criticism leveled by the panel at our research was that _____.
- | | | | |
|--|--|-----|---|
| 1. a control group is lacked by the experiment | | | |
| 2. the experiment lacks a control group | | 96% | 6 |
55. Having listened to all the options to get us out of this wreck, Peter and _____ will try to tunnel out.
- | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|---|
| 1. me | 2. I | 97% | 5 |
|-------|------|-----|---|
12. Workplace violence will remain a threat _____ companies identify employees who commit minor aggressive acts and require them to attend counseling sessions.
- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----|---|
| 1. unless | 2. except | 97% | 4 |
|-----------|-----------|-----|---|
53. Scientists generally agree that the Neandertal did not _____ into another type of modern man.
- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----|---|
| 1. evolve | 2. evolved | 98% | 3 |
|-----------|------------|-----|---|
91. The cathedral would not have been rebuilt _____ the cooperation of the parishioners.
- | | | | |
|------------|-------------|-----|---|
| 1. without | 2. not with | 98% | 3 |
|------------|-------------|-----|---|
38. Andrew Lloyd Webber, _____ won the Oscar for best song, said that he was thankful The English Patient did not have a theme song.
- | | | | |
|----------|--------|-----|---|
| 1. which | 2. who | 99% | 2 |
|----------|--------|-----|---|
100. According to the American Medical Association's Family Medical Guide, a medium frame man with a height of 5'6" should weight from 137 to 149 _____.
- | | | | |
|----------|---------|-----|---|
| 1. pnds. | 2. lbs. | 99% | 1 |
|----------|---------|-----|---|

The numbers generated by this collation are interesting in relation to IE in the Philippines. The first column of numbers below refers to the basic statistics from the 158 respondents reflected in the item analysis presented above. The second column refers to the same respondents plus 112 English teachers of the AMA Education System from various parts of the country. Since some of

the AMAES teachers were absolute greenhorns in English teaching – some not even English majors – their responses were not included in the item analysis. Still, school systems like AMAES, which aim to reach as many Filipinos as possible by setting up small colleges and learning centers all over the country, may become a strong force in the furtherance of Pinoy English among college students and graduates.

| | Various colleges | Various colleges plus AMAES |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| mean | = 73.85 | 70.94 |
| maximum | = 99 | 99 |
| minimum | = 45 | 45 |
| standard deviation | = 9.33 | 9.18 |
| number of respondents | = 158 | 270 |

The low average (with reference to IE), the wide range (the distance between minimum and maximum) and the big standard deviation (placing 68% of college English teachers between 62 and 80) cast a negative light on the ability of English faculties to teach the international variety of English.

The number of teachers who “make the grade” in IE is also rather small. If the passing score is set at 75, 36.30% of them make it. But a passing grade of 75 also means errors in 25, or a probability of 1 error in every 4 items. This may be deemed unacceptable for English teachers. If the passing score is set at 85, only 4.81% make it; at 90, only 0.74% (or 1%) pass. Clearly, schools that impose fluency on IE will have great difficulty in filling up its faculty ranks.

| Score | Percentile | Score | Percentile | Score | Percentile | Score | Percentile |
|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|
| 99 | 0.37% | 78 | 26.30% | 67 | 67.78% | 55 | 95.93% |
| 90 | 0.74% | 77 | 31.48% | 66 | 70.74% | 54 | 96.30% |
| 88 | 2.59% | 76 | 35.19% | 65 | 75.19% | 51 | 97.78% |
| 86 | 3.70% | 75 | 36.30% | 64 | 77.78% | 50 | 98.15% |
| 85 | 4.81% | 74 | 38.89% | 63 | 81.85% | 49 | 98.89% |
| 84 | 7.04% | 73 | 42.96% | 62 | 85.19% | 48 | 99.26% |
| 83 | 9.26% | 72 | 47.78% | 61 | 86.67% | 46 | 99.63% |
| 82 | 13.33% | 71 | 52.59% | 60 | 88.52% | 45 | 100.00% |
| 81 | 17.04% | 70 | 56.30% | 59 | 92.59% | | |
| 80 | 21.11% | 69 | 60.00% | 58 | 95.19% | | |
| 79 | 24.07% | 68 | 65.93% | 56 | 95.56% | | |

This could mean the inexorable growth of Pinoy English. At the same time, this could mean that schools that can convince its clientele that it is good in IE will attract more students and/or will be able to charge more, for the simple reason that such schools are becoming rare even as English language proficiency is becoming more of an asset in the workplace. For companies that require IE among its employees, this means allotting a bigger budget for training, and reconfiguring work flow to cover time spent by employees in IE training.

The generation of Pinoy English forms is rooted in the weakening or even loss of connection with native speakers of English. After the Thomasites introduced English as the medium of instruction in the public school system set up by the US colonial government at the beginning of the 20th century, the learning of English by Filipinos became less occasioned by exposure to native speakers, and more focused on learning from dictionaries and grammar books.

To many teachers and learners of English, a dictionary is a definitive source of information on the spelling, pronunciation, grammatical category, and meaning of words. What they have not considered is the limited and dated coverage of dictionaries available in the market. An over-reliance on a pocket dictionary, for example, has led to many English teachers' rejection of *celebrant* as the word to refer to one marking his birthday, since most dictionaries define *celebrant* only as a person who leads a religious ceremony, such as a priest who officiates at Mass. These teachers then popularize the word *celebrator* without realizing that the word refers to anyone participating in a celebration. The fact is *celebrant* also refers to anyone marking an anniversary, and the phrase *birthday celebrant* has been used in international media.

Some teachers and learners also conclude that because a word is not listed in their dictionaries, then it must not be an English word. What they have not considered is that a language changes in time, and a dictionary is a mere sample of the lexicon of a language at a given time. Dictionary publishers have a waiting period of around five to seven years to be assured that new words included in the print edition have stabilized in the language. For example, *bling-bling* (flashy jewelry) and *treehugger* (environmentalist) did not get into the Oxford and Merriam-Webster dictionaries until 2002. This means that relatively new words cannot be found in dictionaries available in the local market, like *captcha* or *twit/tweet*. The different data bases of dictionaries also leads to differences in their entries. For example, *hegemony* has three pronunciations: [hi 'dʒeməni], first variant in *Merriam-Webster*, *Oxford*, *Random House*, and *Encarta*; ['hedʒeməni], second variant in *Random House* and *Encarta*, third variant in *Merriam-Webster*; and [hɪ 'gɛməni], only entry in *Cambridge*, second variant in *Merriam-Webster* and *Oxford*.

Yet, despite this reliance on dictionaries as primary source of information, most teachers and learners cannot read the phonetic transcriptions, worsened by the fact that English dictionaries do not have a common transcription system. This has led to spelling pronunciations, or interpretations of pronunciation based on spelling, complicated by the chaotic spelling system of English. An interesting example is the pronunciation of *organization* as [oɹ 'gæni:zəjʃon], with stress on the

second syllable, even giving its vowel the American [æ] sound, instead of the listed pronunciation [, ɔːg(ə)nə ' zɛjʃən], with primary stress on the fourth syllable, secondary stress on the first, and a weak vowel for the second syllable which may even be omitted.

Reliance on grammar books is even more problematic. Most teachers and learners think that grammatical rules are hard and fast, yet in fact they are either generalizations on syntactic and morphological patterns, or, from another perspective, they are hypotheses on how the mind generates and comprehends words and sentences. Since most grammar books used in teaching English locally are based on traditional grammar, i.e., rules written in the late 18th century based on an application of Latin rules to English forms, they do not explain well many of the structures that teachers and learners find problematic. A simple example is the identification of the “future tense” as one of three simple tenses of the English verb, when actually the English verb takes only two tense forms, past and present, and the so-called “future tense” is really a combination of the modal verb *shall* or *will* and the base form of the main verb, creating an expression of futurity, or a future phrase, like General MacArthur’s famous “I shall return.” Another is the lack of explanation for the acceptability of *membership in ASEAN is good for Cambodia*, but unacceptability of **membership of Cambodia in ASEAN is good* (the acceptable form being *the membership of Cambodia in ASEAN is good*). This is because traditional grammar books do not point out the distinction between nouns that take determiners, like *apple*, and nouns that do not, like *membership*, but which take *the* when modified by an *of* phrase or *which* clause.

The weakening of the direct linguistic connection with native English speakers has led to the situation of Filipinos learning English mainly from each other. Any new pronunciation, idiom, word usage, phrase structure, or even spelling generated by an adult, especially one who is looked up to by society as a good exemplar of English, gets spread by diffusion.

The diffusion model for human behavior clearly explains how all these random changes in English have spread out in Philippine society. This model has five conditions (Lave and March):

1. Generation/Possession: The individual has the object of diffusion.
2. Contact: The individual must be connected with another by some kind of relevant communication link.
3. Transmission: The individual must transmit the object of diffusion.
4. Acceptance: The other individual must accept the object of diffusion.
5. Storage: After diffusion has happened, the object of diffusion is in both individuals involved, indefinitely.

An example of the diffusion of an idiom in a university easily illustrates these five conditions:

1. Generation/Possession: A professor thinks that the English translation of Tag. *implikasyon sa kalusugang pampubliko* is *implication to public health*.

2. Contact 1: The professor handles a class in which the students are preparing their research proposals for their term papers, and some of them use the phrase *implication on public health*.
3. Transmission 1: The professor corrects them and lectures on other English idioms.
4. Acceptance 1: The students take notes and change their proposals to *implication to public health*.
5. Storage: For the entire semester, the students keep the idiom *implication to* in their writing and research assignments.
6. Contact 2: The following semester, the students enroll in a course handled by a visiting British professor.
7. Transmission 2: The new professor, in turn, correct the students' idiom to *implication for*.
8. Acceptance 2: The students get confused. A Filipino professor says *implication to*, a British professor says *implication for*, Philippine media use *implication on*. If the students look up international print media, they will read *implication for*.

The diffusers are easily identified as those whose relevant communication link is to hundreds of learners. The particularly strong diffusers are (1) teachers, (2) priests and ministers, (3) administrators, (4) media practitioners, and (5) copywriters. An example of a word that is still taught by teachers and used in national print media is *routinary*, as the adjective form for *routine*.

This is a dated form; it is noted by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a rare form, with one citation from Emerson dated 1870. It probably last appeared in the 1911 unabridged Merriam-Webster dictionary. The currently listed adjective form of *routine* is also *routine*. Most mathematics teachers pronounce *Pythagorean* with the stress on *-go-* or the third syllable, while the listed standard pronunciation has the stress on *-re-* or the fourth syllable. Many priests and ministers pronounce *covet* with stress on the second syllable, instead of the first, and put the stress on *Catholicism* on the first syllable, as in the adjective *Catholic*, instead of on the second. Broadcasters, especially in the top stations, pronounce *innovative* with stress on the second syllable, instead of a primary stress on the first and a secondary stress on the third. Newspaper writers use the idiom *at par with* to mean “on the same level as” but the idiom used in international media is *on a par with*. Copywriters use the one-word spelling *everyday* as an adverb, as when they write statements like “Use this product everyday”, instead of the two-word spelling *every day* as the adverb, and *everyday* as the adjective, as in “Make this your everyday routine”. Administrators say *administrative* with the stress on *-nis-* or the third syllable, instead of on the second. We have even evolved a variety of English we can call “memo English”, illustrated above in the excerpts from DepEd, in which the word *enjoin* is used to mean “request, encourage, invite” when in fact its dictionary meaning is “require” in the idiom *enjoin someone to do something*, or “prohibit” as in the idiom *enjoin someone from doing something*.

Thus, English teachers in particular have settled into a state of comfort in Pinoy English as it

gradually and inexorably drifted farther and farther away from American, British, Canadian or Australian English. They cannot recognize deviant forms since such forms are common among Filipino English language professionals.

The drift hypothesis explains the feeling of comfort in PE, such that:

- English language professionals (ELPs) do not consider their English as incorrect or substandard, since the milieu reinforces the variety.
- The so-called “communicative” approach to English teaching, interpreted as allowing errors to occur for as long as the speaker or writer can be understood, has been popularly accepted by many faculties.
- Seminars and workshops sponsored by DepEd and CHED have focussed more on teaching strategies and less, if at all, on language proficiency, leading to odd combination of better teaching techniques and substandard English language proficiency – in short, the better teaching of Pinoy English.
- Despite the facts on the proficiency levels of English teachers, administrators are not seriously seeking change, as they seem not to be concerned with providing quality educational service.
- The school system has kept the situation in which English teachers with the lowest level of proficiency teach in elementary school, while those with the highest level of proficiency teach in college, with the unfortunate consequence that children are taught during their formative years, for the longest period (six years), by the least competent.
- No English language degree program requires a student to take an international English proficiency test as a requirement in any course or a prerequisite for graduation as an English language major, which means that the English majors are not certified to be comparable with native speakers.
- Advertisements for job openings in call centers place no premium on a college degree in English, Speech, or Broadcast Communication. In fact, even high school graduates may qualify.
- ELPs resist learning and teaching IE, especially when they realize that the shift involves painstaking drills in many details over a period of two to three years.
- It takes strong administrative will to impose the shift and overcome teacher resistance.
- If at all a school or company decides to shift, it must be systemic – all teachers using English as instructional language are de facto English teachers, and all personnel using English as official language are themselves language diffusers; thus, they should all participate in the paradigm shift.

Discomfort with PE surfaces when graduates and even some ELPs try to penetrate the outsourcing industry. Many English majors and teachers fail to pass auditions for call centers.

Many communication majors, even with master's degrees and some years of local writing experience, get rejected when their on-the-spot essays, written as part of their application for a technical writing job, show a lot of PE forms and errors, at the rate of more than eight errors per ten sentences. The discomfort also surfaces in companies that encounter problems in communication and decision-making due to PE, especially multinationals. A Filipino who tells a five-star hotel staff that he needs "an accommodation" may be understood to mean he is asking for a discount or some other special privilege, when in fact he only needs a room, or "accommodations." And if, speaking on a Monday, he says he needs the room for "next Friday," he might be booked for the Friday of the following week instead of the coming Friday of the same week.

The value of English is recognized worldwide. Vietnam has established foreign language universities, with the majority of students taking English. It may soon become more attractive to call centers and other English-based multinationals, considering Vietnam's lower labor cost, and the difficulty of hiring and training Filipinos despite their 12 years of formal English training in the school system.

The present government's plan to make English the primary medium of instruction, through legislation, will simply intensify the drift. Students will pick up the English of the Math teacher, the Science teacher, the History teacher, the Physical Education teacher, and so on. If DepEd says these non-English teachers will be trained in using English as medium of instruction, they will likely be trained by the English teachers, who themselves need years of corrective training.

If the intent is for students to learn good English, then it is better to focus on improving English language instruction – to make it on a par with those in Israel, the Netherlands, Finland, and other countries whose four-to-six-year programs in English ensure that high school graduates have a proficiency level quite similar to American high school graduates, even if all of their other courses are taught in their respective native languages. It's about time DepEd seriously considered the many academic advantages of teaching in the vernacular. After all, if a Math teacher is a mother whose own children have difficulties in Math, and she tutors them at home, she uses the vernacular, simply because it is the better medium for developing elementary mathematical skills.

So, why study Pinoy English? Three good reasons. One is to satisfy our linguistic curiosity, and establish its identity apart from the other Englishes of the world. Another is to articulate the contrasts between PE and IE so that the teaching of IE to Filipinos, if desired, can be better directed. Still another, which is beginning to get highly valued by multinationals with expat managers, is to advise foreign managers in figuring out the English of their employees – for a foreigner to realize that when the Pinoy says "I'll go ahead," the one being addressed is not expected to follow, that when the Pinoy writes "I enjoin you to attend the party," the one addressed is only being invited or requested formally, not required, or that when the Pinoy says, "I'll blow you out," the addressee need not fear for his life.

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