

The Metamorphosis of Filipino as National Language

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Introduction

Filipino, the term used in both the 1973 and 1987 Philippine Constitution to designate as the "national language" of the Philippines --whether in sense of *de jure*, or *de facto*, it matters not-- has come full-circle to prick the national consciousness and lay its vexing burden at the feet of our national planners, as well as of the academe. For indeed, the past six decades (since 1935) have seen "Pilipino" (or, "Filipino," its more acceptable twin) tossed in the waves of controversies between the pros and the antis as each camp fires off volleys of linguistic cognoscente or even garbage, as the case may be, while the vast majority watched with glee or boredom.

With a strong constitutional mandate to evolve, further develop, and enrich Filipino "on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages" (Art. XIV, Sec.6, 1986 Constitution), our language planners were equipped to deal with the legal and administrative details of the problem, after the sad episodes appurtenant to its admittedly emotional sideshows in the 1971 Constitutional Convention (Santos, 1976) and the polemical articles of Vicente Sotto, *et al.* (Rubrico, 1996), among others.

Key Issue and Sub-issues

But after more than 60 years, has Filipino *truly* metamorphosed into a national language? To what extent? What has been its "success stories"? Its failures? What is its current state or present condition? What needs to be further done? What is in store for the future? What are the development prospects of the other non-Tagalog languages of the Philippines for integration into Filipino? What is the pervasive influence of English and of other foreign languages on today's speakers of Filipino?

This paper is an indicative study of Filipino's current lexicon, particularly borrowings from the English language --an ineluctable task, but necessary nonetheless, if one has to honestly face the current phenomenon to be described more fully in this study. The researcher fully agrees with the observation that a national language can be a unifying concept of our continuing struggle against our colonizers (Atienza, 1996), of freeing ourselves from our colonial mindset (Maceda, 1996). Still, the illusory pitfalls Constantino (1996) warned about in the development of the national language compendium can be a cause for some soul-searching pause, even as others deny them (Almario, 1996) with equal logic.

But if debates must continue, then let the "game" begin and may the best argument -as perceived by its arbiters, the officials and especially the public -- win. Language and culture are, after all, inseparable, with the people's lexicon mirroring their culture.

The Corpus

Virtually everyone agrees that *media* -print, radio, or television (and now, cyberspace) has a profound influence on people, especially on their language. The Filipino spoken today, especially by the young (35 years old and below) is undeniably distinctive and may have been influenced by media to a greater extent. This Filipino is spoken by a significant segment of the population and it warrants a linguistic inquiry. Selected articles from Filipino tabloids and dailies, academic papers, candid and structured interviews of college students, television news, sitcoms and talk shows, and radio programs in Metro Manila are some of the culled sources for the Filipino words, phrase, or sentences found in this study. Filipino, Tagalog, and Cebuano words are arrayed for cognate purposes, with English as metalanguage. The corpus is found at the end of this paper as Appendix.

The conclusion derived therefrom form the bulk of the recommendations of this researcher, particularly on the "key success variables" that could ensure the continuing development and metamorphosis of Filipino as the national language of the Philippines in the next century.

Historical Perspective

The issue of our national language has been around for the past 60, or maybe even 90, years. The inhabitants of an archipelago with over a hundred languages need a common language with which they can communicate with each other and express themselves as a people of one nation. The 1987 Constitution provided that, "the national language of the Philippines is Filipino. As it evolves, it shall be further developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages."

Perhaps it was unfortunate that when the Philippine Commission passed a bill in 1908 providing for an establishment of an Institute of Philippine languages and the training of public school teachers thereon, the Philippine Assembly rejected it through Leon Ma. Guerrero, its Chairman on Public Instruction who recognized the need for a common language for the Filipinos but who opted to adopt a foreign language instead of the native ones. Through him, the Philippine Assembly spoke, thus:

"The idea of studying the languages of the Philippine Archipelago is very plausible; but the present aspiration of those who are interested in these languages is to unite them or reduce them into a single language which, based on the principal dialects of the Islands, might constitute the means of inter-communication of ideas in the entire Archipelago, and which

might obviate the absolute need now felt of using a common foreign tongue as a means of transmission of ideas, sentiments, and aspirations of the inhabitants of the Philippines" (Romualdez, 1936; p.302).

In 1931, the ex-officio Secretary of Public Instruction, Mr. Butte, addressing the Catholic Women's League, encouraged the use of the vernacular as medium of instruction in the primary grades (I to IV). He opined:

"If we may assume that one of the national objectives of the Philippines will be to preserve the important native languages, as far as practicable, the schools may contribute to the realization of this national objective by abandoning English as the sole medium of instruction in the elementary schools . . ." (Romualdez, 1936).

It must be noted that Lope K. Santos addressed the First Independence Congress on 30 February 1930 by expounding on "The Vernacular as a Factor in National Solidarity and Independence." In 1932, Representative Manuel V. Gallego authored Bill No. 588 which provided for the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in all public elementary and secondary schools. In 1934 and 1935, the national language issue was discussed during the Constitutional Convention. Subsequently, the Constitution mandated in Section 3, Article XIII: "The National Assembly shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common language based on one of the existing native languages. . ."

The National Language Institute was established on 13 November 1936 pursuant to Commonwealth Act No. 184. It was tasked with "the study of Philippine dialects in general for the purpose of evolving and adopting a common national language based on one of the existing native tongues." This involved (1) studying each language spoken by not less than half a million people; (2) collecting and collating cognate sets and phrases from these languages; (3) adopting a system for Philippine phonetics and orthography; (4) comparing critically all Philippine affixes; and (5) selecting the language which was the most developed in structure and literature and widely accepted and used by most Filipinos as basis for the national language (Sec. V Art. 1-5). The Institute was given a year to accomplish this.

Once the language was selected, the Institute was to prepare its grammar and dictionary within two years. Then it should purify the language by weeding out the unnecessary foreign words, phrases, or other grammatical constructions, and enrich it through borrowing from the native languages and dialects, from Spanish, and from English --in that order. And any word adopted into the national language should be subjected to the phonological rules and orthography of the Philippine languages.

In 1937, the Institute recommended Tagalog and came up with the *Balarila* and the *Tagalog - English Dictionary*. In 1959, the Department of Education called the Tagalog-based national language Pilipino. In 1965, some congressmen took the cudgels against the propagation of Pilipino, which to them is *puristang Tagalog*, as the national language. This period witnessed

the purists coining words like *salumpuwit* (chair), *salimpapaw* (airplane), *sipnayan* (mathematics), etc. In 1969, some non-Tagalog speakers, like the Madyaas Pro-Hiligaynon Society and some Cebuano groups complained against the movement of Manila toward *purismo*. This gave rise to the problems that needed to be resolved before the non-Tagalog speakers could accept Tagalog as their own *wikang pambansa* (national language).

Be that as it may, the Board of National Education ordered in 1970 the gradual shift to Pilipino as medium of instruction in the elementary starting with Grade 1 in the school year 1974-75 and progressing into higher grades, a level each year. It was also adopted as the medium of instruction for Rizal and history subjects in colleges and universities. On 7 August 1973, the Board of National Education introduced the bilingual approach to teaching --that is, using two languages as media of instruction in schools, to wit: the vernacular for Grades I and II, Pilipino for Grades III and IV, Pilipino and English for secondary and tertiary levels.

This bilingual approach served to promote intellectualization of the national language (i.e., to use it as medium of intellectual exchanges in the academe, government offices, as well as in other disciplines in the process of acquiring knowledge about the world which could be expressed by the said language). In addition, it was expected to bring about a national unity and identity among Filipinos, as they could now express themselves and communicate with each other in a common language.

The 1973 Constitution provided that the National Assembly should endeavour towards developing and formally adopting a common national language to be called Filipino. Meantime, Pilipino and English were to remain official languages unless repealed by law. Filipino was anchored on Pilipino. Pilipino has borrowed and adopted a lot of words from the Spanish lexicon, Spain being the country's colonizer for over 300 years. These words were carried over to Filipino as Pilipino, as these lexical items have now undergone phonological and morphological processes and appear to be native terms. The borrowing from Spanish has somewhat waned, while rampant borrowing from English prevailed. Tabloids, dailies, weeklies, showbiz magazines, even the Cebuano weekly *Bisaya* borrowed heavily from English. Academicians as well as newscasters in radio and television have adopted English words freely and liberally (please refer to [Exhibits A-F](#))

Filipino Today

The evolution of the *Wikang Pambansa*, now known as Filipino, has not remained uneventful, as one finds out from the its historical perspective in the previous section. From 1935 to the 1990s this language developed, first as Tagalog-based that barely ill-disguised itself as the "national language"--a clear victory of Manuel L. Quezon and the espousal of the *tagalistas* over the Bisayan hopes of Sotto and his *Ang Suga* advocates; then it was called "Pilipino" in 1959 through an executive fiat to remove the last vestiges of "tagalogism" and imprint its national character. In 1965, the attempts of

puristas (purists) to enhance its vocabulary through artificial wordsmithing intensified the "word war" between them and their critics; yet, the early 1970s saw Pilipino *finally* being used as medium of instruction at the primary and secondary levels of public and private schools. Subsequently, since its 1987 constitutional enshrinement as "Filipino", it has become an amalgamation of Pilipino/Tagalog, Spanish, and English words in respelled forms.

Some lexical items given in the Appendix will now be discussed here as representing a type of dominant Filipino written or spoken in: (a) the academe; (b) a language journal; (c) a Cebuano weekly of general circulation; (d) an article written by a noted Filipino linguist; (e) a series of TV news broadcasts, and (f) some Metro Manila daily tabloids. The choice of sources for these lexical items is rather arbitrary, albeit on firm linguistic ground that the best sources of data are the people themselves --what they speak, what they read, and so on. In this study, Tagalog and Cebuano speakers are taken as a combined language group comprising more than 50 per cent of the Philippine population (Atienza, 1996, citing NSO 1989 figures) with 92 per cent of Filipinos being able to speak the *wikang pambansa*, thus effectively establishing Filipino as the lingua franca of the country.

Exhibit A (please see Appendix) presents some lexical items used by professors of the University of the Philippines in their publications in Filipino on the same topic. These terms are arrayed alongside their English equivalent. Thus, *konsiderasyon* is "consideration" (respelled form); *natural* is, likewise, "natural" (adopted form). The original data of about 600 terms show consistency on the aforementioned forms.

Exhibit B, with lexical items sourced from the writings of a distinguished group of Filipino writers, exhibits the same forms --respelled, affixed, or adopted (e.g., *diyagram*, *kategorya*, and *minimal*).

Exhibit C, with lexical items from the highly popular and widely-circulated Cebuano weekly, *Bisaya*, shows a close congruence of Filipino usage as its staid counterparts above (Exhibits A and B). For instance, *anawonser* for "announcer," *ideposito* for "to deposit," and *tiloring* for "tailoring."

Exhibit D shows some lexical items from one of the works of the foremost proponent of the "universal approach" to Philippine languages (Constantino, 1974). These items are unabashed borrowing from the English language, such as *fyutyur* (future), *vawel* (vowel), *tsok* (chalk), *sabjektiv* (subjective), and *diksyunari* (dictionary).

Exhibit E is a transcription of terms used in selected, highly-rated TV newscasts in Filipino. Typically, the commentary is fast-paced, accompanied by live "on the spot" camera footages, with words pouring out in staccato manner, like *administrasyon*, *kovereyj*, *masaker*, *trafik apdeyt*, *insedente*, *aprobahan*, and the like. (The respelling of these English equivalent in Filipino is the researcher's alone, consistent with the phonological rules of Philippine languages.)

Exhibit F lists lexical terms from the proliferating Metro Manila tabloids written in Filipino and read by the *masa*, the "man in the street" literally. These are familiar words like *mentaliti* (mentality), *sektor* (sector), *isyu* (issue), and *abroad* (abroad).

Taken as a whole, the lexical items drawn from Exhibits A to F reveal a common, tell-tale pattern of usage: **All point to a heavy and consistent borrowing from the English language.** Why this phenomenon is so will be explained in the next section.

Towards a Theory of Filipino

What do academicians say about Filipino? Dr. Ernesto A. Constantino, a distinguished Filipino linguist says: "*Ang pinili naming wika na idedebelop bilang wikang pambansa natin, ang tinawag naming linggwa prangka o Filipino.*" [We chose to develop as national language Filipino, that which we refer to as the lingua franca] (1996, p.180). Atienza (1996) describes it as "*isang wikang kompromiso, o lingua franca.*" Flores (1996) points out that Filipino is the language of the "*kulturang popular na nagmula sa Metro Manila at pinapalaganap sa buong kapuluan.*" Another view is that Filipino is the English-Tagalog code switch (Cruz, 1997). On the other hand, Alegre (1989) expresses that "contemporary Manila Tagalog is the basis of Filipino." He claims that Tagalog is developing into the national language as it is the lingua franca of the non-Tagalog provinces.

Is the Tagalog-based Pilipino really Filipino? Dr. Constantino cites the differences between Pilipino and Filipino, to wit: Filipino (1) has more phonemes; (2) has a different system of orthography; (3) manifests a heavy borrowing from English; (4) has a different grammatical construction. Based on the trend of development of Filipino as manifested in the data presented in this study, as well as the actual usage by the linguistic trendsetters in Philippine society --newscasters (both in radio and television), Filipino writers and some academicians, showbiz personalities--it would appear that his theory is closest to reality.

There is a consensus, however, among the academicians above that Filipino is the lingua franca in Metro Manila which is inexorably pervading the regional centers through the print and broadcast media, the songs that the local bands sing, intellectual discussions among academicians, etc. It is the language through which a prominent Filipino linguist communicates (Exhibit D), as well as the medium of expression among academicians (Exhibit A), and of the "caretakers" or "authority" of national language development in the University of the Philippines System, namely, the writers and editors in the *Sentro ng Wikang Filipino* (Exhibit B).

Even the leading Cebuano weekly, *Bisaya* (which has been around for the past 68 years) has now printed on its pages loan words from English which, more often than not, retain their original spelling despite their being subjected to the Cebuano rules of grammar. Although borrowing from English is not

new to Cebuano,¹ the fact that *Bisaya* does not respell the loan words at the moment is a phenomenon worth observing. Right now the Cebuanos adopt two alternate forms -the original spelling and the modified; soon only one form is retained, by theory of simplification.

At the moment, it is very clear that English borrowing has a dominant and pervading influence in the shaping of the lingua franca which is the penultimate form of Filipino, the national language. But will this trend continue? Language is dynamic. This researcher is of the opinion that as long as English remains the official language of commerce, science, and technology **the trend will continue.**

Unfortunately, there isn't much borrowing from other Philippine languages. Maceda (1996) has introduced some Cebuano words and phrases in her discourse. So natural was the insertion, the reader could contextualize the meaning. Atienza, in the same book included in his text *pakikipaglakipan*, the rootword of which, *lakip*, is also found in the Cebuano lexicon. At the University of the Philippines campus, one sees Cebuano signs like *Balay Kalinaw* and *Ugnayan sa Pahinungod*. Would a little bit more adoption of words from other Philippine languages foster goodwill and unity among the ethnolinguistic groups in the country in the future? Being a Cebuano, the researcher feels proud that some Cebuano terms are now significant in the national context. Probably members of disparate ethnolinguistic groups would most likely feel the same.

On the other hand, there are expressed illusory hindrances to the concept of a unifying language, to wit: (1) it is impossible to develop a national language from one of the country's 100-plus languages; (2) the emergence of a national language will wither other languages; (3) it is equally impossible to develop a national language based on two or more languages; (4) regionalistic pride prevails over nationalistic aspiration --like the Cebuano who insists on using his own language over Filipino.

But considering the rapid linguistic development of both Cebuano and the Metro Manila Filipino, there seems to be hope for Filipino. And this is manifested in the perceived **convergence** of Pilipino and Cebuano through their respective borrowings from English. A few examples are given below:

English Terms	Pilipino Form	Cebuano Form	Filipino (convergence)
abroad	abroad	abroad	abroad
advertisement	adbertisment	adbertisment	adbertisment
announcer	anawnser	anawonser	anawnser
category	kategorya	kategorya	kategorya
effect	epekto	epekto	epekto

¹ Cebuano borrowing from English dates back to 1972 with Wolff's treating as main entries in his *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan (1972)* a number of English words which he respelled to conform with Cebuano orthography where he adopted a three-vowel system --a, i, u. A listing of these loan words is accessible from: http://languagelinks.org/onlinepapers/fil_wolf.html

The converging process will most likely continue, not only for Filipino and Cebuano but also for other Philippine languages like Hiligaynon, Bikol, Ilokano, Waray, Kapampangan, etc. However, language change is gradual and it will probably take several years before a substantive convergence could occur. What is apparent for now is that the convergence is already taking place.

Meanwhile, Almario (1997, p.9) gives an update on Filipino:

"Nasa kalooban ngayon ng Filipino ang paglinang sa "sanyata" at "ranggay" ng Iloko sa "uswag" at "bihud" ng Bisaya, sa "santing" ng Kapampangan, "laum" at "magayon" ng Bikol at kahit sa "buntian" ng Butanon at "suyad" ng Manobo. Samantalay hindi ito hadlang sa madaliang pagpasok ng "shawarma" "shashimi," "glasnost," "perestroika," "shabu," "megabytes." "odd-even," at iba ang idadagsa ng satelayt at FAX sa globalisasyon."

What does one make out of this assertion? Are we to believe that the process of borrowing from other Philippine and foreign languages is now a linguistic reality? Judging from the data gathered and presented here, perhaps this is only partially true. That is, borrowing is almost exclusively from the English language. And why is this so? It is difficult to give a substantive answer to this particular question, given the limited scope of this study. Perhaps one indication why there is a lot of borrowing from English compared to other Philippine languages is the facility and appropriateness or applicability of English terms to modern day-to-day living of the average urban Filipino. More so because the urbanized Filipino is constantly exposed to the trappings -- high technology, media, etc.-- of modern society which has adopted English as its medium of communication, commerce, and education. As for Filipinos living in rural communities, the far-reaching radio and television broadcasts bring to them the linguistic trend emanating from the urban centers.

Thus is the metamorphosis of our national language, Filipino. Quick to adapt and change with the times and with the demands of its speakers' culture and politics, it had initially lain quiescent beneath the controversies and debates over its birth and composition. But now, thanks to globalization and the rising quality of life of the average Filipino, it has, like the moth, grown uncomfortable inside its cocoon prison and longed for freedom of expression. Much may yet have to be done, but Filipino as national language of unity has arrived.

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APPENDIX

EXHIBIT A

Lexical items taken from selected articles in Constantino and Atienza, (eds.,1997) showing English borrowing in the writings on Filipino Teresita G. Maceda, Ma. Ela L. Atienza, Efren R. Abueg, Monico M. Atienza, Patrick D. Flores.

Table 1

English Terms	Filipino forms	English Terms	Filipino forms
accusation	<i>akusasyon</i>	character	<i>karakter</i>
action	<i>aksyon</i>	cluster	<i>klaster</i>
actual	<i>aktuwal</i>	column	<i>kolum</i>
aesthetic	<i>estitik</i>	colonial	<i>kolonyal</i>
analytical	<i>analitikal</i>	commercial	<i>komersyal</i>
appointed	<i>apoynted</i>	commission	<i>komisyon</i>
appointment	<i>apoynment</i>	commitment	<i>komitment</i>
acoustic	<i>akostik</i>	committee	<i>komite</i>
acquisition	<i>akwisisyon</i>	communication	<i>komunikasyon</i>
artificial	<i>artipisyal</i>	composition	<i>komposisyon</i>
bilingual	<i>bilinggwal</i>	concretization	<i>kungkretisasyon</i>
bilingualism	<i>bilinggwalismo</i>	condition	<i>kondisyon</i>
broadcast	<i>brodkast</i>	connection	<i>koneksyon</i>
business	<i>bisnis</i>	conscious	<i>konsyus</i>
capital	<i>kapital</i>	consideration	<i>konsiderasyon</i>
casual	<i>kaswal</i>	consonant	<i>konsonant</i>
category	<i>kategori</i>	consultation	<i>konsultasyon</i>
categorical	<i>kategorikal</i>	contemporary	<i>kontemporaryo/i</i>
chairman	<i>tserman</i>	context	<i>konteksto</i>
chancellor	<i>tsanselor</i>	contradiction	<i>kontradiksiyon</i>

Table 2

English Terms	Filipino forms	English Terms	Filipino forms
control	<i>kontrol</i>	domain	<i>domeyn</i>
conversation	<i>kumbersasyon</i>	editorial	<i>editoryal.</i>
conviction	<i>kumbiksiyon</i>	education	<i>edukasyon</i>
corpus	<i>korpus</i>	effective	<i>epektibo</i>
cosmopolitan	<i>kosmopolitan</i>	election	<i>eleksyon/election</i>
crisis	<i>krisis</i>	electoral	<i>elektoral</i>
critical	<i>kritikal</i>	elementary	<i>elementari</i>
cultural	<i>kultural</i>	elite	<i>elit</i>
curriculum	<i>kurikulum</i>	empirical	<i>empirikal</i>
debate	<i>debate</i>	encoder	<i>enkoder</i>
declared	<i>idineklara</i>	essential	<i>esensyal</i>
decoder	<i>dekoder</i>	ethnic	<i>etnikal</i>
dedication	<i>dedikasyon</i>	evolution	<i>ebolusyon</i>
definition	<i>depinisyon</i>	exception	<i>eksepsyon</i>
deliberate	<i>delibereyt</i>	expression	<i>ekspresyon</i>
demonstration	<i>demonstrasyon</i>	faculty	<i>fakulti</i>
destiny	<i>destini</i>	formula	<i>pormula</i>
develop	<i>develop/debelop</i>	forum	<i>forum</i>
development	<i>debelopment</i>	framework	<i>preymwork</i>
direction	<i>direksyon</i>	graduate	<i>gradweyt</i>
discussion	<i>diskasyon</i>	historical	<i>historikal</i>
disposition	<i>disposisyon</i>	hypothesis	<i>haypotesis</i>
dissemination	<i>diseminasyon</i>	habit	<i>habit</i>

Table 3

English Terms	Filipino forms	English Terms	Filipino forms
identity	<i>identidad/aydentiti</i>	ironical	<i>ironikal</i>
idelect	<i>idyolek</i>	issue/-d	<i>isyu/nag-isyu</i>
ideological	<i>ideolohikal</i>	lexicon	<i>leksikon/lexicon</i>
illiterate	<i>ilitereyt</i>	liberal	<i>liberal</i>
illiteracy	<i>iliterasi</i>	level	<i>lebel</i>
illusion	<i>ilusyon</i>	linguist	<i>linggwist</i>
importance	<i>importansya</i>	(to) manipulate	<i>manipulahin</i>
imposition	<i>imposisyon</i>	manipulating	<i>pagmamanipula</i>
impossible	<i>imposible</i>	mass media	<i>mas midya</i>
individual	<i>indibidwal</i>	mathematics	<i>matematiks</i>
influential	<i>impluwensyal</i>	medium	<i>midyum</i>
informal	<i>impormal</i>	methodical	<i>metodikal</i>
information	<i>impormasyon</i>	minor	<i>maynor</i>
institution	<i>institusyon</i>	misconception	<i>miskonsepsyon</i>
insurrection	<i>insureksyon</i>	morphology	<i>morpoloji</i>
intellectual	<i>intelektuwal</i>	multi-ethnic	<i>multi-etnik</i>
intellectualization	<i>intelektwalisasyon</i>	multilingual	<i>multi-linggwal</i>
interaction	<i>interaksyon</i>	multinational	<i>multinasyonal</i>
interest	<i>interes/interest</i>	mystification	<i>mistipikasyon</i>
interference	<i>interferens</i>	national	<i>nasyonal</i>
interlocutor	<i>interlokutor</i>	natural	<i>natural</i>
international	<i>internasyonal</i>	official	<i>opisyal</i>
intervention	<i>interbensyon</i>	optional	<i>opsyonal</i>

Table 4

English Terms	Filipino forms	English Terms	Filipino forms
orthography	<i>ortograpi</i>	preoccupation	<i>pre-okupasyon</i>
paragraph	<i>paragrap</i>	property	<i>properti</i>
parochial	<i>parokyal</i>	proposition	<i>proposisyon</i>
particle	<i>partikel</i>	provision	<i>probisyon</i>
particular	<i>partikular</i>	qualification	<i>kwalipikasyon</i>
pattern	<i>patern</i>	radical	<i>radikal</i>
phenomena	<i>penomena</i>	recognition	<i>rekognisyon</i>
philosophical	<i>pilosopikal</i>	refinement	<i>refinement</i>
phoneme	<i>ponema/fonim</i>	reflection	<i>repleksyon</i>
phonology	<i>ponoloji</i>	register	<i>rijister</i>
physical	<i>pisikal</i>	researcher	<i>resertser</i>
picket	<i>piket</i>	revision	<i>rebisyon</i>
policy	<i>palisi</i>	rhetorical	<i>retorikal</i>
political	<i>pulitikal</i>	section	<i>seksyon</i>
position	<i>posisyon</i>	sector	<i>sektor</i>
potential	<i>potensyal</i>	sectoral	<i>sektoral</i>
possible	<i>posible</i>	sentence	<i>sentens</i>
potential	<i>potensyal</i>	sentimental	<i>sentimental</i>
practical	<i>praktikal</i>	secular	<i>sekular</i>
predisposition	<i>predisposisyon</i>	simple	<i>simple</i>

Table 5

English Terms	Filipino forms	English Terms	Filipino forms
situation	<i>sitwasyon</i>	syllable	<i>silabol</i>
slogan	<i>slogan</i>	syntactic	<i>sintaktik</i>
social	<i>sosyal</i>	syntax	<i>sintaks</i>
social scientist	<i>sosyal sayantist</i>	systematical	<i>sistimatikal</i>
socio-cultural	<i>sosyo-kultural</i>	sociological	<i>sosyolohikal</i>
socio-political	<i>sosyo-politikal</i>	teacher	<i>titser</i>
solution	<i>solusyon</i>	technology	<i>teknolohiya</i>
spectrum	<i>spektrum</i>	technological	<i>teknolohikal</i>
spiritual	<i>ispiritwal</i>	textbook	<i>teksbuk</i>
standard	<i>istandard</i>	theoretical	<i>teoretikal</i>
statistics	<i>istatistiks</i>	traditional	<i>tradisyonal</i>
status	<i>istatus</i>	transaction	<i>transaksyon</i>
strata	<i>istrata</i>	tricycle	<i>traysikol</i>
strategic	<i>istratejik</i>	utopian	<i>utopian</i>
stress	<i>istres</i>	variable	<i>baryabol</i>
structural	<i>istruktural</i>	variation	<i>baryasyon</i>
subcategory	<i>sabkategorya</i>	variety	<i>barayti</i>
subject	<i>sabjek</i>	vernacular	<i>bernakular</i>
superior	<i>superyor</i>	version	<i>bersyon</i>
survey	<i>surbey/sarbey</i>	volunteer	<i>boluntaryo</i>

Exhibit B: Lexical items from the writing on Filipino by Virgilio S. Almario, Vilma M. Resuma, Isagani R. Cruz, Aurora E. Batnag. Teresa Aquino Oreta, in Daluyan (*Journal ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino sa Talakayang Pangwika*) Vol. VIII, No. 1-2 (1997).

English Terms	Filipino forms	English Terms	Filipino forms
academe	<i>akademya</i>	coordinator	<i>koordineytor</i>
academic	<i>akademiko</i>	corpus	<i>korpus</i>
actual	<i>aktwal</i>	counselor	<i>kawnselor</i>
addiction	<i>adiksiyon</i>	cultural	<i>kultural</i>
assignment	<i>asaynment</i>	decision	<i>desisyon</i>
bilingual	<i>bilingguwal</i>	develop	<i>develop</i>
chart	<i>tsart</i>	diagram	<i>diyagram</i>
classroom	<i>klasrum</i>	driver	<i>drayber</i>
colonial	<i>kolonyal</i>	efficient	<i>episyente</i>
column	<i>kolum</i>	elementary	<i>elementari</i>
comic strip	<i>komik istrip</i>	evaluation	<i>ebalwasyon</i>
committee	<i>komite</i>	evolution	<i>ebolusyon</i>
commonwealth	<i>komonwelt</i>	focus	<i>fokus</i>
conclusion	<i>kongklusyon</i>	forum	<i>forum</i>
connection	<i>koneksyon</i>	global	<i>global</i>
will be considered	<i>ikokonsider</i>	globalization	<i>globalisasyon</i>
constitutional	<i>konstitusyonal</i>	gradual	<i>gradwal</i>

Exhibit C: Lexical items from selected 1997 issues of Bisaya showing English borrowing in Cebuano.

English Terms	Filipino forms	English Terms	Filipino forms
abroad	<i>abroad</i>	drama	<i>drama</i>
action	<i>aksyon</i>	driver	<i>drayber</i>
actual	<i>aktwal</i>	electronics	<i>electronics</i>
addict	<i>adik</i>	editorial	<i>editoryal</i>
album	<i>album</i>	elevator	<i>elevator</i>
allowance	<i>allowance</i>	high school	<i>hay-iskul</i>
ambition	<i>ambisyon</i>	graph	<i>grap</i>
announcer	<i>anawonser</i>	individual	<i>indibidwal</i>
assassin	<i>assassin</i>	information	<i>impormasyon</i>
auditorium	<i>awditorium</i>	issue	<i>isyu</i>
ballad	<i>ballad</i>	interest	<i>interes</i>
basketball	<i>basketbol</i>	journal	<i>journal</i>
believe	<i>belib</i>	literacy	<i>literasi</i>
boxing	<i>boksing</i>	medium	<i>midyum</i>
budget	<i>badyet</i>	minimal	<i>minimal</i>
bunkrupt	<i>bangkrap</i>	module	<i>modyul</i>
calorie	<i>kalori</i>	official	<i>opisyal</i>
chairman	<i>chairman</i>	particular	<i>partikular</i>
character	<i>karakter</i>	popular	<i>popular</i>
cholesterol	<i>kolesterol</i>	profession	<i>propesyon</i>
classmate	<i>classmate/klasmet</i>	report	<i>report</i>
coach	<i>coach</i>	review	<i>rebyu</i>
commander	<i>komander</i>	satellite	<i>satelayt</i>
competition	<i>kompetisyon</i>	secondary	<i>sekondari</i>
concert	<i>concert</i>	section	<i>seksyon</i>
condition	<i>kondisyon</i>	target	<i>target</i>
date (v)	<i>magdeyt</i>	textbook	<i>textbook</i>
decision	<i>desisyon</i>	traditional	<i>tradisyonal</i>
director	<i>director</i>	vernacular	<i>bernakular</i>

Exhibit D

Lexical items from "Ang Paggawa ng Diksiyunari ng Wikang Filipino: Kung Bakit Iba ang Wikang Filipino sa Wikang Pilipino" ni Dr. Ernesto Constantino.

English Terms	Filipino forms	English Terms	Filipino forms
academe	<i>akadim</i>	obervation	<i>obserbasyon</i>
adapted	<i>inadap</i>	optional	<i>opsyonal</i>
affix	<i>afiks</i>	peacock	<i>pikak</i>
blackboard	<i>blakbord</i>	phoneme	<i>fonim</i>
causative	<i>kosativ</i>	prescriptive	<i>prescriptive</i>
chalk	<i>tsok</i>	primer	<i>praymer</i>
codification	<i>kodifikasyon</i>	project	<i>projek</i>
conference	<i>konferens</i>	occasion	<i>okasyon</i>
consonant	<i>konsonant</i>	ortography	<i>ortografi</i>
cultural	<i>kultural</i>	personal	<i>personal</i>
contrast	<i>kontrast</i>	reduplication	<i>reduplikasyon</i>
descriptive	<i>deskriptiv</i>	revision	<i>pagrerevays</i>
development	<i>development</i>	seminar	<i>seminar</i>
factual	<i>faktwal</i>	situation	<i>sitwasyon</i>
focus	<i>fokus</i>	spelling	<i>ispeling</i>
future	<i>fyutyur</i>	subjective	<i>sabjektiv</i>
history	<i>histori</i>	symposium	<i>simposyum</i>
implemented	<i>naimplement</i>	teacher	<i>titser</i>
imperative	<i>imperativ</i>	thorough	<i>toro</i>
inflection	<i>infleksyon</i>	up-to-date	<i>ap-tu-deyt</i>
notebook	<i>notbuk</i>	vowel	<i>vawel</i>
observation	<i>obserbasyon</i>	workshop	<i>worksyap</i>

Exhibit E

Lexical items sourced from Radyo Patrol (Channel 2), Saksi (Channel 7), Balitang Balita (Channel 5), and the PTV News (Channel 4) showing borrowing from English. (Taken from March 23-29, 1998 newscasts).

<i>airport</i>	<i>desisyon</i>	<i>hold-aper</i>	<i>network</i>
<i>administration</i>	<i>drug pusher</i>	<i>institusyon</i>	<i>partikular</i>
<i>advayser</i>	<i>dyuting pulis</i>	<i>isyu</i>	<i>pormal</i>
<i>aksyon center</i>	<i>eleksyon</i>	<i>(nagki-)kleym</i>	<i>posible</i>
<i>alegasyon</i>	<i>emergency power</i>	<i>kondisyon</i>	<i>rali</i>
<i>amateur</i>	<i>executive report</i>	<i>kontrobersyal</i>	<i>report</i>
<i>anoynnted</i>	<i>futij</i>	<i>kovereyj</i>	<i>sektor</i>
<i>base</i>	<i>gun ban</i>	<i>kwestionin</i>	<i>sektoral representatib</i>
<i>class suit</i>	<i>handler</i>	<i>land scam</i>	<i>sosyal reform</i>
<i>(nagko-)coach</i>	<i>highway</i>	<i>(naka-)lock</i>	<i>trafik apdeyt</i>
<i>dam</i>	<i>hold-aper</i>	<i>masaker</i>	<i>urban center</i>
<i>debate</i>	<i>(pangho-)hold-ap</i>	<i>midya</i>	<i>video</i>

Exhibit F

Lexical items from the March 26, 1998 issue of the following tabloids: *Remate*, *Bandera*, *Remate Tonight*, *People's Bagong Taliba*, and *Abante*.

<i>abroad</i>	<i>carnapping</i>	<i>inisnab</i>	<i>make up</i>
<i>administrasyon</i>	<i>champion</i>	<i>interes</i>	<i>manedyer</i>
<i>agent</i>	<i>citizen</i>	<i>irigasyon</i>	<i>movie press</i>
<i>akusasyon</i>	<i>desisyon</i>	<i>isyu</i>	<i>nag-train</i>
<i>application</i>	<i>director</i>	<i>join</i>	<i>nai-table</i>
<i>aspirant</i>	<i>editorial</i>	<i>karisma</i>	<i>naka-file</i>
<i>atraksiyon</i>	<i>eleksiyon</i>	<i>(kinu)konsider</i>	<i>natural</i>
<i>assistant coach</i>	<i>eksposey</i>	<i>konstitusyonal</i>	<i>notorious</i>
<i>blocking force</i>	<i>equipment</i>	<i>kontneder</i>	<i>now hiring</i>
<i>bakser</i>	<i>extension</i>	<i>kontrol(in)</i>	<i>parti</i>
<i>birth certificate</i>	<i>fighter</i>	<i>kriminal</i>	<i>pastoral letter</i>
<i>bored</i>	<i>flash alarm</i>	<i>krisis</i>	<i>personal</i>
<i>budget</i>	<i>forma</i>	<i>(magpa-)file</i>	<i>pisikal</i>
<i>brutal</i>	<i>head coach</i>	<i>(magpi-)petisyon</i>	<i>plate number</i>
<i>chairman</i>	<i>indikasyon</i>	<i>(makaka-)recover</i>	<i>prediksyon</i>

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