



Linguistic Diversity in the Philippines

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Abstract. The article is focused on the linguistic situation in the Philippines, shaped historically both from outside (colonization by Spain and the USA which brought about Spanish and English as the state languages), and from inside (bringing Tagalog out of 170 local languages to the fore and renaming it into Pilipino and later Filipino). Being the language only of the fourth part of the population, it was, nevertheless, conceived of as the only state language of the Philippines. The policy of its “intellectualization”, elevating the language to a high state status, has encountered a number of obstacles, among which is the lack of the governmental support and interest among the population in reading books only in Filipino, the absence of translation centers which could popularize local literature, the shortage of professional translators and insufficient fees for their work. The process is slowed down by the influence of the English language supported on the level of the government and remaining the main official language in state structures and organizations, legal system and universities. The University of the Philippines is the most powerful institution in enhancing the role of Filipino. The study of mass media in the Philippines has brought to light the variety of languages used in newspapers: all broadsheets are printed in English, whereas tabloids are released in local languages, Tagalog primarily, but also in Bikol, Ilocano, Cebuano, Waray and Hiligaynon. There are also newspapers issued in Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, Japanese and Korean. The same linguistic kaleidoscope is reflected in TV and radio programs, which maintains cultural identity, emotionality and unique storytelling of the Filipinos.

Keywords: Filipino, state languages, intellectualization of the language, local languages, colonial invasions, multiethnic population, education, mass media

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Языковое разнообразие на Филиппинах

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена рассмотрению языковой ситуации на Филиппинах, которая сложилась как в силу исторических внешних событий (колонизации Испанией и США, в результате которой испанский и английский языки стали государственными на Филиппинах), так и в силу внутренних языковых процессов, из 170 местных языков выдвинувших на первый план тагальский язык, переименованный в пилипино, а позже в филипино. Будучи языком четвертой части населения страны, он был задуман как государственный национальный язык Филиппин. Политика его «интеллектуализации», то есть придания языку филипино высокого государственного статуса для использования в различных сферах жизни, столкнулась на своём пути с рядом препятствий, среди которых отсутствие государственной поддержки и интереса населения к чтению книг только на филипино, отсутствие переводческих центров для популяризации местной литературы на английском языке и усиления статуса государства, нехватка профессиональных переводчиков и низкая оплата их труда. Замедление процесса «интеллектуализации» филипино было также вызвано и популярностью английского языка, поддерживаемого государством и укрепившего свой статус государственного языка в системе высшего образования, на государственной службе, в бизнесе и юриспруденции, в международных отношениях. Наиболее влиятельным учреждением в деле повышения роли филипино как государственного языка является Университет Филиппин. Изучение средств массовой информации на Филиппинах выявило разнообразие языков, на которых издаются газеты: все широкоформатные газеты выходят на английском языке, а таблоиды издаются на местных языках: в основном на тагальском, но также на бикольском, илоканском, себуанском, варайском и языке хилигайнон. Газеты также выходят на испанском, китайском, японском и корейском языках. Тот же языковой калейдоскоп отражается в теле- и радиопрограммах, которые сохраняют культурную самобытность, эмоциональность и неповторимый стиль повествования филиппинцев.

Ключевые слова: филипино, государственные языки, интеллектуализация языка, местные языки, колониальные вторжения, многонациональное население, образование, средства массовой информации

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Introduction

The Philippines is one of the most linguistically diverse countries, with about 175 languages, 11 of which are at the stage of extinction as of 2016, 28 are experiencing certain difficulties, and some have already fallen out of use, according to the non-profit American organization Ethnologue (Texas) [19]. The Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages has found that the Philippines is among the top 10 hottest “language spots” in terms of the rate of language extinction.

To better understand the linguistic variety in the Philippines, it is necessary to look into the ethnic composition of its population. According to the 2010 census, the multiethnic nation includes the Visayas (33.7%), Tagalogs (24.4%), Ilok (8.8%), Bicol (6.8%), Pampangans (3%), Pangasinans (2%), Ibanags (0.5%), Muslim Moro peoples (about 6%), and Filipino mountain peoples (about 3.5%), as well as Aeta (up to 1%). About 0.2% of the population of the Philippines is foreigners, the majority of whom are from the United States (0.03% of the population – 30 thousand people), China (28.7 thousand people), Japan (11.6 thousand people) and India (9 thousand people). The population of the Philippines in 2020 was 109,581,078 people, or 1.41% of the world’s population. The country ranks 13th in the world in this indicator. Forty-seven percent are urban residents; 58,077,971 people constitute the rest of the population [16], [18], [10]. Although there is a natural increase in the population in the Philippines, there is at the same time a high immigration of the population to other countries. The 13 largest cities in the Philippines are home to 17.8% of the country’s residents: Manila, Quezon City, Davao, Cebu, Taguig, Las Piñas, Antipolo, Zamboanga, Cagayan de Oro, Dasmariñans, Angeles, Bako, and Lapu Lapu.

A historical background of linguistic diversity

In its history, the Philippines has undergone two invasions, each of which has left its imprint on the linguistic situation in the country. Spanish reigned as the sole official language for three centuries of colonization (from the 16th century to 1898) and maintained its status until 1987. The outcome of this invasion is in the fact that it is still spoken by 0.5% of the population [13]. The American colonization between 1898 to 1946, though incomparable in its duration with the Spanish one, had a great impact on the country as it had brought its system of education, books and programs well developed by then. English has remained one of the official languages widely used in education and state institutions.

A really big event in the history of the country was the establishment of the Institute of the National Filipino Language, which was to create a nationwide Filipino language based on one of the regional languages. The Tagalog language, the language of the fourth part of the Philippines’ population, was declared “the official language of the country along with English and Spanish” in 1940. A large part of the population did not welcome this decision because Tagalog is not the language of the majority. In the 1974 Constitution, Filipino took the place of Spanish. Based on Tagalog, from 1937 to 1958 it was called the national language, in 1959 it was renamed Pilipino, and in 1987, Filipino [17].

Filipino is characterized as “a combination of Spanish, Tagalog, and English” “with an aesthetic impression” [13]. Since 1987, Filipino and English have been the official state languages. In 1988, President Corazon Aquino issued a decree on the use of the Filipino language in correspondence, communication and trade operations¹. The policy of bilingualism in 2012–13 was replaced by the policy of multilingualism. Regional languages, which were considered auxiliary until then, entered the educational process of primary schools up to grade 3, which reflected the policy of education based on the native language, or MTB-MLE (mother-tongue-based multilingual education). By Order of the Department of Education No. 16 of 2012, the following main languages were adopted within this framework: Tagalog, Kapampangan, Pangasinense, Iloko, Bicol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Varai, Tausug, Magindanaon, Maranao and

¹ Executive Order No. 335, August 25, 1988, lawphil.net/executive/execord/eo1988/eo_335_1988.html (accessed 1 July 2024).

Chavacano. The following year, the department issued Order No. 28², which added Ybanaq, Ivatan, Sambal, Akianon, Kinaray-a, Yakan and Suriqanon to the list. According to the pedagogical staff, teaching in local languages at primary schools gave immediate results: better students' academic performance [9], [6].

The main official languages, however, have remained English and Filipino, which were meant to be used at all levels of education, but the inspectors of the quality of education revealed a lot of problems in teaching in Filipino: the lack of qualified teachers, manuals and experience [7], [1], [4]. The slogan to "intellectualize" Filipino was then called for, and its realization took the form of different events like seminars and conferences to introduce and disseminate various methods of teaching in Filipino, callings to translate books into Filipino in order to raise the prestige of the language, and holding annual National Language Weeks. The whole period from 1988 to 1998 was announced "The Decade of the Century of Philippine Nationalism, the Nation and the Philippine Revolutionary movement" (Official Statement No. 269, 1988)³, in accordance with Francisco Baltasar, the creator of the literary Tagalog language. More than that, the national language was seen as an instrument for achieving true freedom (Memorandum No. 151 of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports dated July 13, 1988) [6], [23].

An important step in raising the status of Filipino was the adoption of the working description of the Filipino language on May 13, 1992, by the Resolution No. 92-1⁴, which runs as follows:

"It is an indigenous language, spoken and written, in Greater Manila, the State Capital Region, and other central cities of the archipelago, which is used as a means of communication between ethnic groups. Like any living language, Filipino is in the process of development through borrowing from Filipino and non-Filipino languages and through the development of various language variants for different social situations, among speakers with different social positions, for different topics of discussion and academic disciplines" [ibid., p. 711–712].

It was a necessary step to impart more weight and status to the language, but in reality about 3% of schools had not even started to implement the Filipino language, while 1,5% of schools had started doing it some years later [11], [12]; some teachers, students and administrators resisted the use of Filipino, preferring to teach all subjects in English as the language of prestige, power and international communication. Also, the situation in schools revealed the shortage of qualified specialists [20, p. 116–117].

The implementation of Filipino into all spheres of life was not as it was expected from the very beginning. In 2003, when a new president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo came to power, the policy of the government regarding the Filipino language started to change. The president announced the return to the English language as the primary language of instruction as all exams for aspiring specialists are held in English. It concerned civil service, law (licensing exams for practicing law were conducted in English), and entrance exams to public colleges for obtaining a bachelor's degree at the universities [24], [25]. Still, the struggle to implement and improve the quality of teaching in Filipino is going on and the University of the Philippines plays a big role in it [9].

The "intellectualization" of the Filipino language

Of special interest is the term "intellectualization" coined to denote the very process of ennobling the Filipino language, elevating its status and making it the language to study and speak not selectively but comprehensively, in different spheres of life. Cordero stressed the importance of solving this problem by translating popular literary texts from English into the local language. This process of intellectualization was based on the popularization of Filipino in the world. A lot of effort has been put into translating

² DO 28, S.2013 – Additional Guidelines to DEPED Order No. 16, 2012, deped.gov.ph/2013/07/05/do-28-s-2013-additional-guidelines-to-deped-order-no-16-s-2012-guidelines-on-the-implementation-of-the-mother-tongue-based-multilingual-education-mtb-mle/ (accessed 3 July 2024).

³ Proclamation No. 269, June 10, 1988, lawphil.net/executive/proc/proc1988/proc_269_1988.html (accessed 3 July 2024).

⁴ Policies on the use of the Filipino languages, rappler.com/newsbreak/iq/65938-policies-filipino-language/ (accessed 1 July 2024).

works from Filipino languages into English to make them popular in the world but the lack of governmental support hampered it since MTB-MLE (mother-tongue-based multilingual education) established an extensive practice of translating into regional languages didactic materials for teachers. Besides, the number of readers in Filipino languages was insufficient. They preferred to read books in English, the prestige of which was consistent and maintained by the government. Another important factor was the absence of official translation centers, as well as the lack of experienced speakers and qualified translators. The University of Santo Tomas (UST) is the only center dedicated to the study of translation [ibid.]. In order to make the establishment of translation centers in universities the norm, supporters of this innovative translation center consider it necessary to adopt a law regulating their institutionalization in Philippine universities. Translation centers required experienced speakers and qualified translators, as well as appropriate salaries or fees for this work. Interestingly, the attempts to “intellectualize” Filipino can really be seen as the concrete steps of how to form identity; all translation work is part and parcel of this process as it gives the population of the country equal access to education and knowledge, and unites the whole nation.

Languages of mass media in the Philippines

Linguistic kaleidoscope finds its reflection in mass media, in different forms and genres. Suffice it to look into the publishing materials, TV and radio programs [14].

a) Newspapers

Mass media in the Philippines include information newspapers, online newspapers, tabloids, and regional newspapers [15], [21]. According to the data found at Wikibrief⁵, information and business bulletins (broadsheets) are printed in English. They include national newspapers *Business Mirror*, *Business World*, *Malaya*, *Manila Bulletin*, *Manila Standard*, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, *The Daily Tribune*, *The Manila Times*, *The Philippine Star*, and *United News*.

Among online daily newspapers – *Rappler*, *CNN Philippines*, *ABS-CBN News*, *Interaksyon*, *GMA News Online*, and *CDN Digital* – only *ABS-CBN News* is published in Filipino, all the rest are in English.

All the tabloids found in this list – *Abante*, *Abante Tonight*, *Bandera*, *Bulgar*, *Filipino Mirror*, *Pilipino Star Ngayon*, *X-Files*, and *Pinas* – are published in Tagalog; only two tabloids from this list are published in English: *People’s Journal* and *Tempo*.

Speaking about regional and public tabloids mentioned in the list, some of them are in English (*Minda News*, *Mindanao Times*, *Mindanao Star*, and *Mindanao Examiner*) but most are published in both English and local languages: in Bikol (*The Bikol Chronicle*, *The Bikol Regional Weekly Digest*, and *The Mayon Times*); in Ilocano (*Isabela Star*, *La Union Herald*, *MLDC Valley Times*, *Northern Dispatch*, *Northern Light*, *Urduja Mirror*, and *Vigan Chronicle*); in Cebuano (*Banat*, *Bohol Times*, *Brigada News*, *Hublas nga Kamatuoran*, *The Reporter*, etc.). There are also tabloids in Tagalog (*Bikol Periodyko*, *Libre*, *Operation Exposé*, *Palawan Daily News*, and *Latigo Weekly Newspaper*); in Waray (*Eastern Visayan Examiner*, *Eastern Visayan Mail*, *Leyte-Samar Daily Express*, and *Samar News*); and in Hiligaynon (*Daily Guardian*).

The impressive linguistic variety of newspapers published in English, Tagalog and other local languages is expanded by newspapers printed in other foreign languages: Spanish (*Revista Filipina*, *Semanario de Filipinas*, *La Jornada Filipina*), in Mandarin Chinese (*Chinese Commercial News*, *Philippine Chinese Daily*, *United Daily News*, etc.), in Japanese (*Manila Shimbun*), and in Korean (*Ilyo Sinmun*, *Manila Seoul*, *News Gate*, *Weekly Manila*).

The adduced list of broadsheets and tabloids is a splendid manifestation of the linguistic kaleidoscope, which makes the Philippines a unique country [9].

⁵ List of newspapers in the Philippines, ru.wikibrief.org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_the_Philippines (accessed 2 July 2024).

Modern technological trends, however, find their reflection like in any other country. According to Sue Amurthalingam [2], broadcast media as one of the oldest technological means is becoming more pervasive, reaching the remotest rural areas of the country; on the other hand, it leads to some decline in the popularity of print publications.

b) Television

An even more kaleidoscopic language picture is found on television, due to the accessibility of programs in any language from any other country via the Internet. According to the Media Ownership Monitor Philippines 2023, in 2022 the Filipinos spent three hours and 28 minutes daily watching television. While nine out of ten had an access to or were exposed to TV, only six out of ten watched it, and five out of ten watch TV for news [15], [8], [26].

When ABS-CBN was shut down in 2020, its rival, GMT Network, got a control of over 225 other television stations (42,68%), and with its subsidiary station GTV (10,47%) received the lion's share of audience. According to the resource [3], there are 688 TV stations in the Philippines (as of June 2023), and the top TV outlets are GMA-7 (5,10%), TV5 (1,30%), GTV (1,00%), A2Z (0,70%), and Kapamilya Channel (0,40%). According to Nielson Consumer and Media View Report for the second quarter of 2023, while they all air news, a number of the top 10 outlets broadcast musical shows, drama or comedy programs, or movies [ibid.].

Filipino movies and TV shows demonstrate the country's linguistic diversity, broadcasting mostly in Tagalog, the prominent language of the Philippines, which reflects the Filipinos' identity, their emotions and storytelling. It translates the relationships of the people and celebrates the richness of the language. Cultural diversity is vividly displayed in "Ang Probinsyano", a TV drama series with the international title "Brothers", which features a mix of Tagalog, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon and explores the complexity of Filipino culture and identity. Movies and shows in local languages always create a connection with the people and translate solidarity and emotionality:

"Filipino language plays a crucial role in Philippine cinema, bringing to life the cultural diverse of cultural heritage on the big screen. Tagalog, in particular, enhances emotional depth and relatability by weaving cultural nuances into narratives. By incorporating authentic Filipino language and storytelling, movies promote heritage preservation and celebrate the country's identity" [21].

Movies and programs in Filipino, undoubtedly, promote local languages and raise interest and desire to learn them. It is a good channel for popularizing local culture and identity. However, Filipino movies, drama and comedy programs run also in English and Chinese.

c) Radio

Radio remains a significant source of information for the Philippines, especially for remote areas of the country. According to Media Landscape, which adduces the data of 2013, about two out of five Filipinos (41,4%) listen to the radio at least once a week. Radio reaches at least 85% of households, based on 2012 data (National Commission on Culture and Arts, cited by Communicating with Disaster-Affected Communities Networks) [22]. Because it is the most pervasive medium, hundreds of regional and community radio stations operate in the country reaching their consumers with the purpose to inform, to advertise, to discuss some issues and disseminate information. According to Isagani de Castro Jr., radio has changed a lot over the last ten years, "Radio today is far different from radio of yesteryears. It's now 'interactive radio', since many radio shows are also streamed on social media, in particular, Facebook, which allows listeners to interact with the show's host and post comments" [5].

Another proof of radio being alive and popular in the Philippines now is the following words by Isagani de Castro: "Radio hasn't died with the rise of streaming platforms and social media. A survey by polling firm Pulse Asia in September 2021 found that radio was still next to television in terms of how Filipinos got their news" [ibid.].

Of interest are the following data about radio listeners. The importance of radio for news is much higher among low-income people; also, ratings of radio are higher for those who live in Visayas (76%) and Mindanao (64%) compared to those in Metro Manila (29%) and rest of Luzon (40%). A more recent study by the Reuters Institute, University of Oxford, on the media situation in the Philippines, which compared traditional media with digital media, came to the conclusion that “TV and radio news remain important for those who are not online” [ibid.].

Reuters/Oxford Digital News report 2023 said 23% used GMA Network’s *24 Oras*, *Saksi*, and GTV to get their news, while 41% cited ABS-CBN’s *TV Patrol/NAC* and its Kapamilya channel on cable television.

GMA’s Super Radyo DZBB (Super Balita) got a reach of 13%, which shows that online and social media are more popular with urban Filipinos, while TV and radio, which are low-cost media of communication, remain popular with those who do not use the Internet [3].

As the study of mass media in the Philippines demonstrates, the Filipinos have a big range of media resources in order to get information or to entertain themselves by watching music programs, movies or drama or comedy shows. These are increasing in number with modern technologies, which gives people access to different sources in different languages [9]. All the resources testify to the fact that local languages are widely used in the country (in the newspapers, mainly tabloids, television and radio) along with Filipino and English, which are two official state languages.

As the study shows, English is popular in Manila, among teachers, and those working in business, state organization, and commerce where it is used as the working language. But everywhere in the Philippines two or more languages are used, which makes Filipino’s speech a mirror of both Asian and Western cultures, a bearer of their own cultural identity.

The identity of the Filipinos’ speech

The kaleidoscopic linguistic picture in the country could not but reveal itself in the speech of the Filipinos, which imprints all the national multiethnic uniqueness. The two state official languages come into contact and interplay influencing each other and creating a colorful mix of Western and Eastern civilizations. The Filipinos use both languages to a different degree of mastery. However, the ethnic peculiarity is manifested first of all in culturally specific lexis: words denoting plants, flora and fauna of the islands, such as *abaca* (a banana plant), *taclobo* (a mollusk), *tamarau* (a black buffalo); words of their every day activity: *barangay* (from Tagalog, a village), *despedida party* (from Spanish, a social event in honour of someone who is leaving), *pan de sal* (partly from Tagalog, partly from Spanish, a bread roll), a *sari-sari store* (from Tagalog and English, a small store selling a variety of goods), a *carnapper* (a car thief), *comfort room* (a toilet), *high blood* (angry), *presidentiable* (a candidate for president), *mani-pedi* (manicure and pedicure), and a lot of other words which are the result of the contact of two, three or even more languages in the Philippines.

Language contact is traced not only at the level of vocabulary but also at the level of grammar. The peculiarities of sentence constructions and tense usage in English remind me of Substandard English, where the rules of Simple or Perfect tenses usage are switched (“I have done it last week”), and where the continuous forms are misused or used instead of simple tenses (“She is driving to work every day”), or there are mistakes in using modal verbs (“would” instead of “will”). Modal verbs are, arguably, the most difficult aspect of English grammar and the indication of the English language mastery; that is why I would rather regard such mistakes in grammar as insufficient mastery of English. Being an official state language, English goes with Filipino and other Filipino languages, which explains a lot. The list of frequent mistakes also includes the articles, and the use of singular or plural forms with the verbs – a usual set of students’ mistakes when learning a second foreign language.

⁶ The words are borrowed from Introduction to Philippine English, oed.com/discover/introduction-to-philippine-english?tl=true (accessed 4 July 2024).

The phonetic side of Philippine speech has also some features to note: some sounds difficult for the Filipinos to articulate like “th” and “ch” are pronounced like [t], while [v] is always voiced into [b]. Abbreviation of words, and concatenation of the English words (like in the word “promdi” from the English “from the province”) is another peculiarity, among other features [17].

Another characteristic of Philippine speech is a switch from one language into another: from English into Tagalog. This is called Taglish, as in the examples below:

T: Kumain tayo sa Wendy’s.

E: Let’s eat at Wendy’s.

T+E: **Eat tayo sa Wendy’s.**

T: Pakitawag ang tsuper.

E: Please call the driver.

T+E: **Paki-call ang driver.**

T: Maaaring ipaunawa mo sa akin?

E: Can you explain it to me?

T+E: **Maaaring i-explain mo sa akin?**⁷

The adults disapprove of Taglish because it is too informal but for the young people it is a normal everyday communication form. There is also Cono (or Conyo) English, the language originated from the younger generation of rich Filipinos from Manila, which carries a negative connotation with regard to the people who speak it⁸. In *Urban Dictionary* we find the following definitions of Conyo English:

1) ...it means who speaks bilingual – English and Filipino. One who combines two languages in at least a single sentence. In Filipino perspective, one is a “conyo” when Filipino words are being liaised and pronounced like American English.

That guy is a conyo, he said, “Don’t tapakan ang grass!”

Translation: Don’t step on the grass / Keep off the grass.

(by PinoySlang, February 22, 2018)

2) ...used in the Philippines as a semi-derogatory term for people who seem to be high-class and vain or conscious about their social status and speak in Taglish or broken-Tagalog mixed with English.

3) Conyo is a term used in the Philippines to call other Filipinos who type messages/speak in a mix of Tagalog of English sentences. They do that because they think highly of themselves just because they can speak English, or they have forgotten the right Tagalog words to use. Conyo people will either have decent grammar or a really horrible one.

Hey, how are you po? My name is Juan, and gusto kita. Have you eaten na? Hehe, sorry po miss, I’m just a simpleng tao. There’s no problema with being a conyo po. Sana po you won’t disrespect me.

Translation: Hey, how are you? My name is Juan, and I like you. Have you eaten? Haha, sorry miss, I’m just a simple person. There’s no problem with being a conyo. I hope you won’t disrespect me.

(by aNythIngchicKKeInJOY, October 29, 2021)⁹

⁷ The examples are borrowed from Pulse of Asia, 1stopasia.com/blog/taglish-the-mastery-of-code-switching/ (accessed 3 July 2024).

⁸ English words used in Filipino: How much Taglish do you know?, filipinopod101.com/blog/2021/05/13/english-loanwords-in-filipino/ (accessed 3 July 2024).

⁹ All examples are taken from *Urban Dictionary*, urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=conyo (accessed 5 July 2024).

In the article “Conyo language: The practice of code-switching”¹⁰, John Steven C. Espenido remarks that the Filipinos have a very rich cultural and linguistic variety and it is natural for them to switch from one language to another. Usually they have a command of three languages: a mother tongue, Tagalog and English, which allows them to transit from one language to another depending on the context and their communication needs. Code-switching is influenced by social and psychological factors, by their feelings of convenience, emotionality, or by their collective identity. On the one hand, it reflects the diversity and colorfulness of Philippine culture; on the other hand, code-switching allows them to preserve native languages.

Conclusion

The material analyzed and presented in this paper suffices to demonstrate the multinational and multi-layered character of the population in the Philippines, which finds its reflection in the linguistic diversity of their speech translating their values, attitudes, and cultural identity. Native languages, studied in primary school (grades 1–3), are preserved and spoken in natural surroundings of the Filipinos, in the circles of their families and friends thus allowing them to share their identity, values and feelings of belongingness. English has remained an official state language, spoken on the highest levels of the social ladder, in state legal, governmental, educational and business institutions. Tagalog, or Filipino, is another official state language taught at schools, spoken at work and in different spheres of life. It is not on a par with English, as there was no equal footing for them to be used at schools and universities because of the deficiency in trained teachers and professional translators who could popularize and “intellectualize” it. However, what cannot be denied is that the Philippines, like any other country, could not avoid globalization processes (demonstrated by the role of the English language in the country) or, on the other hand, the localization process (best embodied in the mix of Tagalog and English in Taglish and in the coexistence of more than one hundred languages and variants). The two opposite processes are often called glocalization, a very promising field of sociolinguistic research, which should certainly be furthered.

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