



SANTIAGO A. FONACIER  
1885-

LANGUAGE PLANNING  
AND THE  
BUILDING OF A NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Essays in Honor of Santiago A. Fonacier  
on his Ninety-Second Birthday

Edited by  
Bonifacio P. Sibayan  
and  
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Language planning and the bul...  
Foreign Collection

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## PILIPINO IN THE YEAR 2000

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### 1. Introduction

On November 12, 1937, the then newly constituted Institute of National Language, hereinafter INL, recommended the selection of Tagalog as the basis of the future national language of the Philippines to President Manuel L. Quezon, who forthwith made the official selection on December 30, 1937, to fulfill the requirements of Commonwealth Act No. 184.

The founding members of the INL, appointed to represent various language groups, were Jaime C. de Veyra, Chairman, and speaker of Samar-Leyte Visayan; Filemon Sotto, Cebu Visayan; Casimiro F. Perfecto, Bicol; Felix S. Sales Rodriguez, Panay Visayan; Hadji Butu, Muslim; Cecilio Lopez, Tagalog; and Santiago Fonacier, to whom this Festschrift is presented, Ilocano.

Forty years have passed since then, and Tagalog, renamed Pilipino since 1959, has spread from 4,923,408 speakers (30.9% of the population) to 20,129,921 speakers in 1970 (55.3% of the population).

Pilipino has seen rapid dissemination and by and large, except in certain areas, acceptance among the Philippine community and will continue to be disseminated principally through internal migration, rapid urbanization, the mass media (radio, television, print), and the implementation of the 1974 Bilingual Education Policy of the Department of Education and Culture.

The purpose of this study is to project province by province the future dissemination of Pilipino within the next quarter century and to present considerations not only with regard to its dissemination but likewise its elaboration within this time frame, and thus to see how the foresight of the INL founding members, one of whom is being honored by this FESTSCHRIFT, has borne fruit into the twenty-first century.

## 2. Sources and Methodology of the Study<sup>1</sup>

In projecting the increasing dissemination and growth in the number of speakers of Pilipino as well as its spatial spread over time, the major source of information will be the studies published by the Bureau of the Census and Statistics, now called National Census and Statistics Office (hereinafter NCSO), which has published technical reports projecting the population of the Philippines from 1970 to 2000 and which has projected the ratio of urban to rural population during the same period (see Bureau of the Census and Statistics and NCSO publications in REFERENCES).

Using the figures of the NCSO as well as the historical census figures of Pilipino-speaking Filipinos since 1939, simple growth formula figures (see Yamane 1973:58) for the projected number of Pilipino speakers by region and province from 1980 to 2000 were generated.

The percentages have been translated into spatial correlates onto a map, and the contrast between the current picture in 1970 and the projected picture in 2000 is shown.

In addition to projecting the growth of the Pilipino-speaking population based on the trends shown by past documented growth, the study reviews other factors which will not only reinforce this trend but actually accelerate it, namely, factors based on policy decisions which are projected to be implemented: the Bilingual Education Policy of the Department of Education and Culture, the on-going work of the INL, the increasing use of mass media, and above all, the rapid urbanization in the country to be rationally monitored by the Commission on Human Settlements based on the earlier studies of the Task Force on Human Settlements (hereinafter TFHS). Urbanization, more than any other factor, is projected to accelerate the spread of Pilipino. On the basis of certain stated assumptions, the earlier projections to the year 2000 are then modified to present an alternate set of figures and a third map.

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<sup>1</sup>Colleagues and associates who helped in gathering necessary bibliographical materials for this study were Narcissa V. Muñasque, Candido Filio, Rolando Galano, Victor Ordoñez, Fe Aldave-Yap, Rogelio Lopez. Valuable references were supplied by the data bank of the Bancom Institute of Development Technology. Leticia Postrado helped me with the mathematical formulae and computations to project the number of speakers of Pilipino by region and province in 1980, 1990, and 2000, while Angel Averia, Jr. of the De La Salle University Computer Center wrote the computer programs to facilitate computation. To all of them, my deepest gratitude and appreciation.

Table 1: Pilipino Speakers in 1970 by Regions and Provinces  
Source: NCSO 1972

<i>Region Province</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Speakers</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>I. ILOCOS</b>			
Batanes	11,398	6,282	55.1
Abra	145,508	56,391	38.7
Ilocos Norte	343,427	143,443	41.7
Ilocos Sur	385,139	144,901	37.6
La Union	373,682	198,816	53.2
Pangasinan	1,386,143	764,198	55.1
<b>II. CAGAYAN VALLEY</b>			
Cagayan	581,237	203,886	35.0
Mt. Province	166,310	492,286	33.7
Isabela	648,123	307,644	47.4
Nueva Vizcaya	221,965	115,101	51.8
<b>III. CENTRAL LUZON</b>			
Nueva Ecija	851,294	775,189	91.0
Pampanga	907,275	605,185	66.7
Bulacan	836,431	828,709	99.0
Tarlac	559,708	377,864	67.5
Zambales	343,034	286,970	83.6
Bataan		215,064	99.4
<b>IV. SOUTHERN LUZON</b>			
Manila & Suburbs	3,168,105	3,104,743	98.0
Rizal (Excl. sub)	1,007,372	967,077	95.9
Cavite	520,180	514,563	98.9
Laguna	699,736	690,674	98.7
Quezon	983,324	958,440	97.4
Batangas	926,308	921,288	99.4
Marinduque	144,109	140,182	97.2
Mindoro Occidental	144,032	129,649	90.0
Mindoro Oriental	328,364	308,312	93.8
Palawan	236,635	165,635	69.9
<b>V. BICOL</b>			
Camarines Norte	262,207	226,751	86.4
Camarines Sur	948,436	533,135	56.2
Albay	673,981	376,466	55.8
Catanduanes	165,302	89,926	55.4
Masbate	492,908	170,927	34.6
Sorsogon	427,047	230,872	54.0

<i>Region Province</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Speakers</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>VI. W. VISAYAS</b>			
Aklan	263,358	123,578	46.9
Capiz	394,041	123,835	31.4
Antique	289,172	99,736	34.4
Iloilo	1,167,973	392,726	33.6
Negros Occidental	1,503,782	436,223	29.0
<b>VII. C. VISAYAS</b>			
Negros Oriental	715,240	171,076	23.9
Cebu	1,634,812	468,367	28.6
Bohol	683,297	165,577	24.2
<b>VIII. E. VISAYAS</b>			
Leyte	1,110,626	309,760	27.8
Southern Leyte	251,425	68,296	27.1
Eastern Samar	271,000	93,936	34.6
Northern Samar	306,114	102,761	33.5
Western Samar	442,244	136,735	30.9
<b>IX. W. MINDANAO</b>			
Zamboanga del Norte	409,379	105,444	25.7
Zamboanga del Sur	1,034,018	304,514	29.4
Sulu	425,617	77,672	18.2
<b>X. N. MINDANAO</b>			
Misamis Occidental	319,855	88,181	27.5
Misamis Oriental	472,756	146,979	31.0
Lanao del Norte	349,942	107,741	30.7
Lanao del Sur	232,581	48,044	20.7
Bukidnon	414,762	124,466	30.0
Surigao del Norte	238,714	72,625	30.0
Surigao del Sur	258,680	84,714	32.7
Agusan del Norte	278,053	112,801	40.5
Agusan del Sur	174,682	56,956	32.6
<b>XI. S. MINDANAO</b>			
Cotabato	1,136,007	513,894	45.2
South Cotabato	466,110	241,025	51.7
Davao del Norte	442,543	177,063	40.0
Davao del Sur	785,398	348,284	44.3
Davao Oriental	247,995	89,668	36.1
<b>NATIONAL TOTAL . . . .</b>	<b>35,815,106</b>	<b>19,951,260</b>	<b>52.07</b>

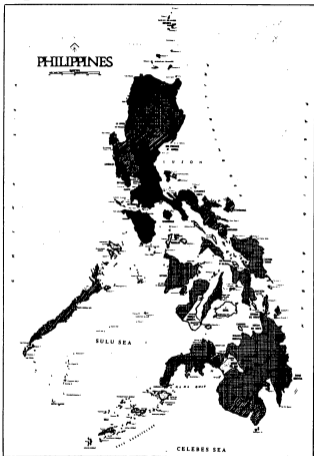


FIGURE 1:  
Percentages of Filipino-  
Speaking population in 1970  
by Province



### 3. Pilipino in the Year 1970

Table 1 gives 1970 figures in terms of regional groupings and provinces and divides the population into urban and rural.<sup>2</sup> Based on a 5% sample used by the NCSO, the number of Pilipino speakers and the percentages of Pilipino speakers by provinces are listed.

Figure 1 shows the proportion of Pilipino-speakers vis-à-vis the total population by region and province, using the regional groupings (into 11) proposed by the National Economic Development Authority (hereinafter NEDA) and the new listing of provinces as affected by recent Presidential decrees.

The map (Figure 1) and the table (Table 1) show that in the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, Zambales, Bataan, Rizal, Cavite, Laguna, Quezon, Batangas, Marinduque, Mindoro Occidental, Mindoro Oriental, Camarines Norte and of course in the City of Manila, there is a proportion of 75% or more of the population speaking Pilipino, well over the national average of 52.07% in 1970. The following provinces show a Pilipino-speaking population of more than 50%: Batanes, La Union, Pangasinan, Nueva Vizcaya, Pampanga, Tarlac, Palawan, Camarines Sur, Albay, Catanduanes, Sorsogon, and South Cotabato.

Abra, Benguet, Ifugao, the Mt. Province and Kalinga-Apayao, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Cagayan, Isabela, Masbate, Aklan, Capiz, Antique, Iloilo, Negros Occidental, Cebu, Leyte, Southern Leyte, Eastern Samar, Northern Samar, Western Samar, Zamboanga del Norte, Zamboanga del Sur, Misamis Occidental, Misamis Oriental, Lanao del Norte, Bukidnon, Surigao del Norte, Surigao del Sur, Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, Cotabato, Davao del Norte, Davao del Sur, and Davao Oriental show a proportion of less than 50% but more than 25% Pilipino-speaking population.

Considered as of 1970 as *terrae irredentae* are the provinces of Negros Oriental, Bohol, Sulu, and Lanao del Sur, which show a proportion of less than 25%.

<sup>2</sup>A new definition of 'urban', based on revised criteria, is used by Mijares and Nazaret 1973 (see pages 6-8).

For convenience, the old Mountain Province (now divided into the following provinces: Mountain Province, Benguet, Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao) is treated as one under Region II. The census figures show an average percentage of 34% Pilipino-speakers. The bulk of these speakers would be in Benguet, especially the Baguio area, with the least number of Pilipino-speakers in the more remote highlands, especially Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao and Mountain Province.

Table 2: Projected Number of Filipino Speakers by Regions and Provinces: 1980, 1990 & 2000

<i>Region Province</i>		<i>1939</i>	<i>1948</i>	<i>1960</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>
<b>I. ILOCOS</b>								
Batanes	<i>PS</i>	2,017	4,119	4,301	6,828	8,840	11,543	13,982
	<i>TP</i>	9,512	10,705	10,309	11,398	12,391	14,035	15,875
	<i>%PS</i>	21.2	38.5	41.7	55.1	71.3	82.2	88.1
Abra	<i>PS</i>	4,213	20,003	24,112	56,391	131,882	227,621	276,804
	<i>TP</i>	87,780	86,600	115,193	145,508	182,365	227,621	276,804
	<i>%PS</i>	4.8	23.1	20.9	38.7	72.3	100.	100.
Ilocos Norte	<i>PS</i>	10,691	53,431	80,345	143,443	256,094	457,211	590,771
	<i>TP</i>	237,586	251,455	287,333	343,427	414,066	496,774	590,711
	<i>%PS</i>	4.5	21.2	28.0	41.7	61.8	92.0	100.
Ilocos Sur	<i>PS</i>	10,047	55,108	81,604	144,901	257,296	456,872	572,345
	<i>TP</i>	271,532	276,278	338,058	385,139	428,765	491,558	572,345
	<i>%PS</i>	3.7	19.9	24.1	37.6	60.0	92.9	100.
La Union	<i>PS</i>	18,485	60,382	110,298	198,816	358,373	577,015	702,030
	<i>TP</i>	207,701	237,340	293,330	373,682	463,902	577,015	702,030
	<i>%PS</i>	8.9	25.4	37.6	53.2	77.3	100.	100.
Pangasinan	<i>PS</i>	77,217	284,540	474,597	764,198	1,230,512	1,981,371	2,487,139
	<i>TP</i>	742,475	920,491	1,124,144	1,386,143	1,677,627	1,677,627	2,487,139
	<i>%PS</i>	10.4	30.9	42.2	55.1	73.3	96.7	100.

Table 2—(Continued)

Region Province		1939	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<b>II. CAGAYAN VALLEY</b>								
<b>Mt. Province</b>								
Benguet	PS	24,344	36,050	80,460	166,310	320,429	535,880	776,725
Ifugao	TP	296,874	278,120	435,839	492,286	637,715	828,325	1,041,762
Kalinga-Apayao	%PS	8.2	13.0	18.5	33.7	50.2	64.7	74.6
Isabela	PS	22,646	64,157	165,375	307,644	572,305	1,064,652	1,389,858
	TP	219,864	264,495	442,062	648,123	832,541	1,092,999	1,389,858
	%PS	10.3	24.3	37.4	47.4	68.7	97.4	100.
Cagayan	PS	9,060	41,539	91,418	203,886	454,719	951,976	1,185,150
	TP	292,270	311,088	445,289	581,237	744,138	951,976	1,185,150
	%PS	3.1	13.4	20.5	35.1	61.1	100.	100.
Nueva Vizcaya	PS	9,892	30,591	52,943	115,101	232,156	336,659	431,345
	TP	78,505	82,718	138,090	221,965	246,899	336,659	431,345
	%PS	12.6	37.0	38.3	51.9	94.0	100.	100.
<b>III. CENTRAL LUZON</b>								
Nueva Ecija	PS	332,159	432,921	538,267	775,189	1,116,394	1,476,968	1,863,027
	TP	416,762	467,769	608,362	851,294	1,130,805	1,476,968	1,863,027
	%PS	79.7	92.6	88.5	91.1	98.7	100.	100.
Pampanga	PS	111,083	182,715	351,412	605,185	1,042,220	1,712,086	2,198,829
	TP	375,281	416,583	617,259	907,275	1,267,179	1,712,086	2,198,829
	%PS	29.6	43.9	56.9	66.7	82.2	100.	100.

Table 2--(Continued)

Region Province		1939	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Bulacan	PS	331,143	410,078	552,966	828,709	1,240,111	1,717,490	2,233,131
	TP	332,807	411,382	555,819	836,431	1,240,111	1,717,490	2,233,131
	%PS	99.5	99.7	99.5	99.1	100	100.	100.
Tarlac	PS	72,175	124,802	227,586	377,864	627,373	902,238	1,118,263
	TP	264,379	327,018	426,647	559,708	710,445	902,238	1,118,263
	%PS	27.3	38.2	53.3	67.5	88.3	100.	100.
Zambales	PS	49,195	89,859	162,501	286,970	506,777	752,747	989,175
	TP	106,945	138,536	213,442	343,034	529,304	752,747	989,175
	%PS	46.0	64.9	76.1	83.7	95.7	100.	100.
Bataan	PS	81,518	86,679	140,661	215,064	306,009	418,121	537,156
	TP	85,538	92,901	145,323	216,210	306,009	418,121	537,156
	%PS	95.3	93.3	96.8	99.5	100.	100.	100.
IV. SOUTHERN LUZON								
Manila	PS	584,212	803,835	1,112,942	1,304,338	1,528,649	1,785,923	2,079,805
	TP	623,492	983,906	1,138,611	1,330,788	1,538,473	1,785,923	2,079,805
	%PS	93.7	81.7	97.7	98.0	99.4	100.	100.
Rizal	PS	435,019	668,292	1,428,551	2,733,748	4,956,542	7,368,423	9,820,679
	TP	444,805	673,060	1,456,362	2,844,689	4,956,542	7,368,423	9,820,679
	%PS	97.8	99.3	98.1	96.1	100.	100.	100.
Cavite	PS	234,525	261,148	375,323	514,563	705,458	925,275	1,151,346
	TP	238,601	262,660	378,129	520,180	708,768	925,275	1,151,346
	%PS	98.3	99.4	99.3	97.0	99.5	100.	100.

Table 2—(Continued)

Region Province		1939	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
	%PS	98.3	99.5	99.3	98.9	99.5	100.	100.
Laguna	PS	275,592	320,604	466,692	690,674	990,716	1,341,692	1,701,565
	TP	279,505	321,247	472,064	699,736	990,716	1,341,692	1,701,565
	%PS	98.6	99.8	98.9	98.7	100.	100.	100.
Quezon (Tayabas)	PS	353,892	411,188	639,205	958,440	1,222,577	1,615,589	2,026,538
	TP	358,553	416,719	653,426	983,324	1,222,577	1,615,589	2,026,538
	%PS	98.7	98.7	97.8	97.5	100.	100.	100.
Batangas	PS	440,708	508,153	678,578	921,288	1,235,914	1,599,274	1,978,237
	TP	442,034	510,224	681,414	926,308	1,235,914	1,599,274	1,978,237
	%PS	99.7	99.6	99.6	99.5	100.	100.	100.
Marinduque	PS	81,277	85,711	113,802	140,182	165,506	196,607	233,051
	TP	81,768	85,828	114,586	144,109	165,506	196,607	233,051
	%PS	99.4	99.9	99.3	97.3	100.	100.	100.
Mindoro Occidental	PS	117,623	153,861	76,974	129,649	213,985	297,168	383,631
	TP	131,569	167,705	84,316	144,032	213,985	297,168	383,631
	%PS	89.4	91.7	91.3	90.0	100.	100.	100.
Mindoro Oriental	PS	—	—	210,760	308,312	424,492	551,208	685,777
	TP	—	—	228,998	328,364	424,492	551,208	685,777
	%PS	—	—	92.0	93.9	100.	100.	100.

Table 2—(Continued)

Region Province		1939	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Palawan	PS	25,011	43,634	90,981	165,635	301,456	424,038	532,209
	TP	93,673	106,269	162,669	236,635	320,292	424,038	532,209
	%PS	26.7	41.1	55.9	70.0	94.1	100.	100.
<b>V. BICOL</b>								
Camarines Norte	PS	76,889	90,474	161,197	226,751	318,946	444,553	567,081
	TP	98,324	103,702	188,091	262,207	340,300	444,553	567,081
	%PS	78.2	87.2	85.7	86.5	93.7	100	100.
Camarines Sur	PS	45,898	198,707	364,972	533,135	778,783	1,137,617	1,443,181
	TP	385,695	553,691	819,565	948,436	1,025,055	1,191,193	1,443,181
	%PS	11.9	35.9	44.5	56.2	76.0	95.5	100.
Albay	PS	19,461	96,293	200,000	376,466	708,633	1,054,157	1,316,061
	TP	432,465	394,694	514,980	673,981	840,324	1,054,157	1,316,061
	%PS	4.5	24.4	38.8	55.9	84.3	100.	100.
Catanduanes	PS	—	28,808	71,164	89,926	113,635	143,594	181,451
	TP	—	11,121	156,329	162,302	194,306	236,778	284,265
	%PS	—	25.7	45.5	55.4	58.5	60.6	63.8
Masbate	PS	8,577	22,875	70,983	170,927	411,592	875,549	1,128,688
	TP	182,483	211,113	335,971	492,908	659,252	875,549	1,128,688
	%PS	4.7	10.8	21.1	34.7	62.4	100.	100.
Sorsogon	PS	10,897	69,733	157,430	230,872	338,575	496,522	673,831
	TP	247,653	291,138	347,771	427,047	474,695	557,115	673,831
	%PS	4.4	24.0	45.3	54.1	71.3	89.1	100.

Table 2—(Continued)

Region Province		1939	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<b>VI. WEST VISAYAS</b>								
Aklan	PS	—	—	73,596	123,578	207,504	329,762	384,464
	TP	—	—	226,232	263,358	289,231	329,763	384,464
	%PS	—	—	32.5	46.9	71.7	100.	100.
Capiz	PS	10,943	80,710	54,294	123,835	260,871	468,205	714,550
	TP	405,285	441,871	315,079	394,041	470,323	581,660	717,607
	%PS	2.7	18.3	17.2	31.4	55.5	80.5	99.6
Antique	PS	3,191	36,966	43,355	99,736	211,743	382,380	504,261
	TP	199,414	233,506	238,405	289,172	345,068	416,511	504,261
	%PS	1.6	15.8	18.2	34.5	61.4	91.8	100.
Iloilo	PS	14,880	145,501	226,133	392,726	682,049	1,184,516	1,956,331
	TP	744,022	816,382	966,266	1,167,973	1,321,736	1,609,442	1,956,331
	%PS	2.0	17.8	23.4	33.6	51.6	73.6	100.
Negros Occidental	PS	14,838	140,126	247,708	436,223	768,204	1,352,833	2,327,289
	TP	824,358	1,038,758	1,332,323	1,503,782	1,636,868	1,926,589	2,327,289
	%PS	1.8	13.5	18.6	29.0	46.9	70.2	100.
<b>VII. CENTRAL VISAYAS</b>								
Negros Oriental	PS	3,552	42,888	82,497	171,076	354,764	735,683	1,160,455
	TP	394,680	443,461	597,761	715,240	766,781	936,901	1,160,455
	%PS	0.9	9.7	13.8	23.9	46.3	78.5	100.
Cebu	PS	16,021	114,025	234,329	468,367	936,152	1,871,142	3,308,637
	TP	1,068,078	1,123,107	1,332,847	1,634,182	2,072,258	2,628,462	3,308,637
	%PS	1.5	10.2	17.6	28.7	45.2	71.2	100.

Table 2:-(Continued)

Region Province		1939	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Bohol	PS	4,916	78,950	80,688	165,577	316,930	527,281	761,375
	TP	491,608	553,407	592,194	683,297	791,686	937,981	1,130,616
	%PS	1.0	14.3	13.6	24.2	40.0	56.2	67.3
<b>VIII. EASTERN VISAYAS</b>								
Leyte	PS	13,738	171,511	216,008	378,056	661,672	1,158,054	2,026,819
	TP	915,853	1,006,891	1,172,972	1,362,051	1,502,371	1,749,391	2,087,231
	%PS	1.5	17.0	18.4	27.8	44.0	66.2	97.1
Samar	PS	9,834	114,186	165,795	333,432	670,566	1,045,914	1,236,990
	TP	546,306	757,212	867,994	1,019,358	874,289	1,045,914	1,236,990
	%PS	1.8	15.1	19.1	32.7	76.7	100.	100.
<b>IX. WESTERN MINDANAO</b>								
Zamboanga del Norte	PS	15,663	63,168	48,459	105,444	212,844	369,311	549,875
	TP	355,984	521,941	281,429	409,379	590,598	822,027	1,100,477
	%PS	4.4	12.1	17.2	25.8	36.0	44.9	50.0
Zamboanga del Sur	PS	-	-	120,566	304,514	769,112	1,942,549	2,674,368
	TP	-	-	742,404	1,034,018	1,448,637	1,998,813	2,674,368
	%PS	-	-	16.2	29.4	53.1	97.2	100.
Sulu	PS	3,954	15,068	35,200	77,672	171,390	378,188	777,511
	TP	247,117	240,826	326,898	425,617	433,362	586,969	777,511
	%PS	1.6	6.3	10.8	18.2	39.5	64.4	100.0



Table 2—(Continued)

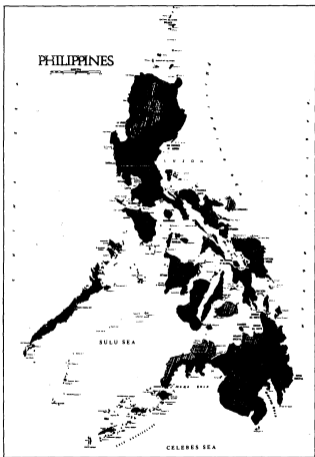
Region Province		1939	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<b>X. NORTHERN MINDANAO</b>								
Misamis	PS	2,521	32,526	50,125	88,181	155,130	272,908	480,105
Occidental	TP	210,057	207,575	248,371	319,855	443,662	593,332	780,100
	%PS	1.2	15.7	20.2	27.6	35.0	46.0	61.5
Misamis Oriental	PS	3,635	66,007	81,640	146,979	249,883	378,611	510,725
	TP	213,812	369,671	388,615	472,756	656,678	894,808	1,188,490
	%PS	1.7	17.9	21.0	31.1	38.1	42.3	43.0
Lanao del Norte	PS	3,895	21,699	49,628	107,741	233,904	507,795	877,392
	TP	243,437	343,918	270,603	349,942	481,988	658,092	877,392
	%SP	1.6	6.3	18.3	30.8	48.5	77.2	100.
Lanao del Sur*	PS	—	—	41,035	94,429	217,298	500,043	627,010
	TP	—	—	378,327	455,508	534,197	594,281	627,010
	%PS	—	—	10.8	20.7	40.7	84.1	100.0
Bukidnon	PS	864	7,297	36,314	124,466	426,606	1,183,788	1,714,713
	TP	57,561	63,470	194,368	414,762	738,468	1,183,788	1,714,713
	%PS	1.5	11.5	18.7	30.0	57.8	100.	100.
Surigao	PS	4,518	41,149	68,892	157,339	359,339	820,670	1,261,609
del Norte	TP	225,895	264,952	359,997	497,394	696,722	948,245	1,261,609
del Sur	%PS	2.0	15.5	19.1	31.6	51.6	86.5	100.
Agusan	PS	1,782	23,892	75,619	169,757	381,087	855,502	1,562,588
del Norte	TP	99,023	126,448	271,010	452,735	742,422	1,115,207	1,562,588
del Sur	%PS	1.8	18.9	27.9	37.5	51.3	76.7	100.

Region Province		1939	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Cotabato South	PS	22,121	82,165	328,822	754,919	1,462,698	2,136,094	2,960,384
	TP	298,935	439,669	1,029,119	1,602,117	1,462,698	2,136,094	2,960,384
	%PS	7.4	18.7	32.0	47.1	100.	100.	100.
Davao del Norte del Sur	PS	34,527	83,072	249,706	615,015	1,514,755	3,683,135	5,132,351
	TP	292,600	364,854	893,023	1,475,936	2,459,917	3,683,135	5,132,351
	%PS	11.8	22.8	28.0	41.6	61.6	100.0	100.
<b>NATIONAL TOTAL</b>		<b>4,060,859</b>	<b>7,101,196</b>	<b>11,968,809</b>	<b>20,130,467</b>	<b>34,301,468</b>	<b>55,922,004</b>	<b>76,778,663</b>
TP		15,900,436	18,024,365	25,956,027	35,830,379	45,795,419	61,887,546	79,109,419
% PS		25.5	39.4	46.1	56.2	74.9	90.4	97.1

PS - Pilipino-Speaking

TP - Total Population

\*The projected total population in Lanao del Sur presented in the above table differs from the NCSO's estimates due to erroneous data for 1960 and 1970 upon which NCSO based its projections. Using the corrected data, the method adopted by the author in predicting the TP was the same method employed for projecting PS but based on the assumption that population growth will become zero after 70 years.



LEGEND:

	75% or more
	50% - 74%
	25% - 49%
	Less than 25%

FIGURE 2:  
Projected Percentage of  
Filipino-Speaking Population  
in the Year 2000 by Province

#### 4. Pilipino in the Year 2000

Using census figures in 1939, 1948, 1960 and 1970 as well as the population projections made by the NCSO, which used the ratio method, one can project the percentage and number of population who will speak Pilipino in 1980, 1990, and 2000.<sup>3</sup> This is presented in Table 2 and depicted in Figure 2.

Under this model, a Pilipino-speaking population of 76,778,663 (97.1%) out of 79,109,419 (100%) is projected by the year 2000.

Note that the scenario shows the dissemination of Pilipino and the growth in the number of speakers, with no provinces having a Pilipino-speaking population of less than 25%. Only one province is projected to have a Pilipino-speaking population of less than 50% and

<sup>3</sup>The projected total population figures use the medium assumption and are taken from *Population projections of cities and municipalities in the Philippines 1970-2000*, published by NEDA, Commission on Population, and NCSO, Manila, 1975.

To estimate the future number of Pilipino speakers, a study of the past trends of increase in Pilipino speakers was made in each province. The study utilized the 1939, 1948, 1960 and 1970 data on Pilipino speakers obtained from the Summary Report of the National Census and Statistics Office. The provinces were classified into two categories:

FIRST: Provinces which exhibited almost steady marked increase in number of Pilipino speakers from 1939 to 1970.

SECOND: Provinces which showed varying rates of increase in the number of people able to speak Pilipino.

Out of fifty-four (54) provinces, only eight (8) were classified under the second category. They were Batanes, Antique, Capiz, Bohol, Zamboanga del Norte, Misamis Oriental, Nueva Vizcaya and Mountain Province.

To project the number of Pilipino speakers in 1980, 1990, and 2000 in each province, the simple growth formula  $P_T = P_0 (1 + r)^t$  (Yamane 1973:58) was used where:

- $P_T$  = number of Pilipino speakers at time  $T$
- $P_0$  = number of Pilipino speakers at time 0
- $r$  = rate of increase of Pilipino speakers
- $t$  = time interval between time 0 and time  $T$

In using the above formula, it was assumed for all provinces that the maximum projected number of Pilipino speakers should be less than or equal to the projected total population. It was further assumed that in provinces under the second category, the rate of increase in Pilipino speakers for every year would decrease by a multiple of 1/100. In short, the rate of increase in Pilipino speakers would be zero after 100 years. So, for year 1980, the rate is multiplied by 90/100, for 1990 by 80/100, and so on.

The above derived technique of projecting Pilipino speakers has some similarities with the standard mathematical method of projecting populations known as the ratio method (Mijares and Nazaret 1973:18) while the stated assumptions were made to fit the trends of change in the rate of Pilipino speakers and to arrive at figures within the limitations of the projected total populations in each province.

that is Misamis Oriental (43%).

In the 50%-74% category are: Misamis Occidental, Bohol and Zamboanga del Norte.

in the 75% and above category are Batanes, Abra, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union, Pangasinan, Mountain Province, Benguet Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao, Albay, Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, Northern Samar, Western Samar, Eastern Samar, Antique, Cotabato, South Cotabato, Cagayan, Isabela, Sorsogon, Bukidnon, Nueva Vizcaya, Tarlac, Pampanga, Palawan, Camarines Sur, Capiz, Iloilo, Negros Occidental, Negros Oriental, Cebu, Leyte, Southern Leyte, Surigao del Norte, Surigao del Sur, Davao del Norte, Davao del Sur, Zamboanga del Norte.

### 5. Qualitative Considerations: Variables within the Next Quarter Century.

The scenario outlined in the preceding section is based strictly on historical trends, with the assumption that what was true in the past will likewise be true in the future and that factors which contributed to the growth of the number of Pilipino speakers will continue to affect this growth in the same way.

The scenario does not factor in the element of rational planning not only to monitor and sometimes control but also to accelerate growth.

Language planning in the Philippines, legally under the custodianship of the INL since 1936, has been plagued by a lack of implementation caused partially by the social upheavals brought on by World War II and the lack of necessary funding for the work of the INL during the post-War period.<sup>4</sup> Historically, too, it has been plagued by the sociolinguistically naive notion that the best agency

<sup>4</sup>In the 1974-1975 Annual Report, under 'Problems' are listed finances and lack of expertise to carry on the projects to a successful end' (9). In 1973-1974 Annual Report, we read: 'The general problem of the Institute of National Language which affects all the Divisions is the meager budget appropriated for it' (8). And in the 1972-1973 Annual Report, under 'Difficulties Encountered in Accomplishing the Different Projects' are listed: insufficient funds (only 59% or P539,000 out of an appropriation of P906,000 was programmed by the Budget Commission), lack of necessary research materials, inability to employ highly qualified researchers and translators, and inability to provide for more supervisory and clerical positions' (8). Again, in the 1974-1975 Annual Report, an interesting new problem has cropped up, 'lack of space for the increasing personnel in the implementation of the Reorganization Plan'.

for the implementation of language policy and the dissemination of a language is the educational system of a country. While not in any way minimizing the value of the school as an agency of language dissemination and undoubtedly of standardization and elaboration, powerful social, political and economic factors can not only reinforce the spread of a particular language selected (or militate against it) but likewise actually accelerate its spread more rapidly than any school system can.

The proportional contribution of the school and other agencies to the dissemination of Pilipino does not lend itself to quantification at this stage of our knowledge. Nevertheless, when one looks at the census figures, attesting to the rapid spread of Pilipino, and when one looks at the budget and the activities of the INL during the past forty years (1936-1976), one cannot but think that the spread was, for the most part, by agencies other than the INL.

This is not to downgrade the accomplishments of the INL or to cast doubt on the competence of its staff or the propriety and rightness of its policy but to accept the fact that historically the INL has never received the necessary logistic, manpower, and financial support from the country's executive and legislative branches that sound rational planning and implementation demand. Moreover, the chief means used by the INL to carry out its program of implementation, until the 1974 Bilingual Education Policy was enunciated, has been through the teaching of Pilipino as a subject (since 1939 as a fourth year high school subject and since 1946 as a one-period subject throughout the schooling of children from Grade One to Fourth Year high school) and not as a medium of instruction. In 1957, under the Revised Education Program, Pilipino was legislated as the medium of instruction for Grades One and Two in Tagalog-speaking areas, a policy however which has been modified since 1974 under the Bilingual Education Policy.

To put it rather bluntly and simplistically, what the pedagogy of second-language acquisition has dramatized to us within the past few years is that one learns a language best not by studying it and learning about its structure but actually using it as an instrument to obtain further knowledge in some content area.

It is this latter pedagogical principle which underpins the recent 1974 Bilingual Education Policy which in effect has placed the domains of social studies, health education, work education, physical

education, character education, music, and art under Pilipino, according to a set timetable.

While the pedagogical principle behind the Bilingual Education Policy is sound, the implementation of such a policy, manifested through adequate logistic, manpower, and financial support, remains a matter of uncertainty, because of the financial constraints on the Department of Education and Culture. The textbook writing program in Pilipino, under the management of the Educational Development Projects Implementing Task Force (hereinafter EDPITAF) and under the authorship of staff from the Language Study Center of the Philippine Normal College and the Social Studies Center of the Department of Education and Culture, at least guarantees the availability of adequate teaching materials in the classroom. The liberal policy of the Department of Education and Culture in encouraging the attendance of its supervisors and teachers in various workshops to train teachers in the use of Pilipino as a medium of instruction likewise augurs well for the future of implementation. However, a unified, coordinated, and centrally monitored and staffed implementation scheme, with adequate resources programmed, is still a hope rather than a reality.

In the opinion of the present author, while not discounting the reinforcing contribution of the present stage of Bilingual Education implementation throughout the system, much more powerful social as well as economic factors will accelerate the spread of Pilipino; see Gonzalez (In press) for a study of these factors and an initial attempt to provide quantitative data.

Census and National Demographic Survey lifetime data, according to De Los Santos (1975), show out-migration from the Visayas, Ilocos, Bicol, and Central Luzon. Of these areas, three are non-Tagalog areas. On the other hand, the Mindanao regions, Cagayan Valley, Southern Tagalog and Manila have been regions of immigration. The latter two areas are Tagalog-speaking. In general, such internal migration results in de-ethnicization and the loss of the mother tongue in favor of the prevailing language in the area among second generation migrants, a situation favoring the spread and dominance of Tagalog.

The trend in the whole country is clearly towards urbanization as this term is defined by the NCSO, that is, for populations to converge towards centers where certain features of urbanization are

present (communication facilities, streets, sewage and water, electricity), which in turn will make the mass media accessible, especially television and print. The transistorized radio is already practically ubiquitous, even in the remotest barrios.

According to Kim (1972: XXVII), 'the population movement in the Philippines [1960-1970] was toward the vicinity of a large city, particularly to the Greater Manila Metropolitan area, and also to the frontier areas of Mindanao'. The Greater Manila Metropolitan area is of course the cultural center of Pilipino. While Cebuano is still strong in the frontier areas of Mindanao, as our map shows, South Cotabato is over 50% Pilipino-speaking and the rest of Mindanao 25-49% Pilipino-speaking.

Equally interesting to note for the spread of Pilipino is that the Mountain Province area and the crowded Visayas Islands, areas where Pilipino is spoken by less than 50% of the population, are also the areas losing population in favor of Pilipino-speaking areas.

The movement is from rural areas to large cities and from the Visayas to Mindanao.

In the matter of urbanization, the President earlier constituted the Task Force on Human Settlements to study the migration and urbanization patterns of the Philippine population and to provide recommendations on how to monitor such growth rationally. This Task Force has subsequently been converted into an implementing Commission. Basically, the strategy of the Commission is to pin-point growth centers throughout the Philippines and to deflect convergence towards the core, Metropolitan Manila Area, in favor of other growth centers within the Metropolitan Manila Bay Area Region. A similar objective is envisaged for other growth centers in various regions. What the Task Force on Human Settlements has done is to take the 346 urban centers pointed out by the NCSO and to recommend strategies whereby these 346 urban centers can become growth centers (according to a well-defined hierarchy of metropolitan, regional, sub-regional, major, and minor urban centers), beginning with a pilot group of some 30 centers.

Should the above plans materialize and should the recommendations of the TSHS on re-settlement, land use, and industrialization in these areas be carried out, then it is foreseen that urbanization will be far more rapid than the projections of the NCSO.

In 1970, the proportion of urban versus rural population was 33% to 67%. Given the ordinary trends projected by the NCSO, this



proportion is projected to be 46% to 54% in the year 2000 (Mijares and Nazaret 1973). If one were to believe the projections of the TSHS, it would be 60% to 40% in the year 2000 (TSHS 1975:71), a projection that is undoubtedly exaggerated.

For the purposes of this study, urbanization is taken to be a major factor in the spread of Pilipino. Table 2 can be modified to take into account this important factor of urbanization (Table 3). The assumptions on which Table 3 is based are quite simple: (1) For the year 2000, the projected proportion of urban population by the NCSO will be considered for practical purposes as 100% Pilipino-speaking. Undoubtedly, the 100% assumption is exaggerated: what we mean is that virtually 100% of the population will speak some form of Pilipino. (2) For the non-urban population in a province, we will project normal growth rate as well as the percentages projected in the year 2000 in Table 2 for the entire province.

Given these two assumptions, the proportion of Pilipino-speaking Filipinos by region and by province are shown in Table 3 and depicted in Figure 3.

One sees that in the third projection, assuming urbanization as resulting in a 100% Pilipino-speaking population, only three provinces will have a Pilipino-speaking population of less than 75% (50%-74%), namely, Zamboanga del Norte, Misamis Occidental, Misamis Oriental, with no province below a Pilipino-speaking population of 59.1% (Zamboanga del Norte). Provinces which under the second projections had less than 75% speakers of Pilipino now move into the first category, 75% and above, namely, Catanduanes, Bohol and Zamboanga del Norte. Finally, moving up to the category having 50% or more speakers of Pilipino are Misamis Oriental (43% to 60.3%).

By the year 2000, under this scenario, every part of the Philippines for practical purposes will be Pilipino-speaking except for parts of Northern Mindanao.

## 6. A Note on the Elaboration of Pilipino

The Pilipino envisaged to disseminate rapidly will be Manila Tagalog undoubtedly enriched with loanwords from other languages. It will be the language of every-day life in an urban setting, with both a formal and informal level, colloquial and literary style, and well a

Table 3: Projected Population and Pilipino Speakers by Region and Province Factoring in Urbanization

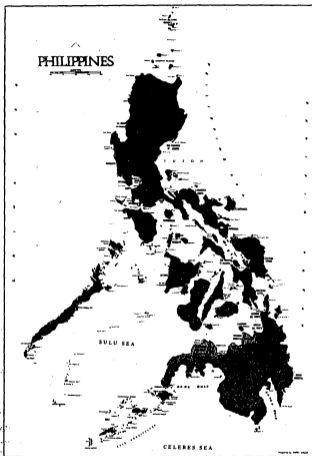
REGION/PROVINCE	URBAN	TOTAL POPULATION	PILIPINO SPEAKERS <sup>5</sup>	%
<b>I: ILOCOS</b>				
Batanes	2,000	12,000	10,810	90.1
Abra	92,000	291,000	291,000	100.
Ilocos Norte	260,000	618,000	618,000	100.
Ilocos Sur	205,000	559,000	559,000	100.
La Union	157,000	736,000	736,000	100.
Pangasinan	940,000	2,568,000	2,568,000	100.
<b>II: CAGAYAN VALLEY</b>				
Cagayan	285,000	1,181,000	1,181,000	100.
Mt. Province	398,000	1,228,668	1,017,678	82.8
Ifugao				
Kalinga-Apayao				
Benguet				
Isabela	325,000	1,580,000	1,580,000	100.
Nueva Vizcaya	124,000	630,000	630,000	100.
<b>III: CENTRAL LUZON</b>				
Nueva Ecija	659,000	1,967,000	1,967,000	100.
Pampanga	1,081,000	2,287,000	2,287,000	100.
Bulacan	1,500,000	2,332,000	2,332,000	100.
Tarlac	322,000	1,206,000	1,206,000	100.
Zambales	694,000	1,054,000	1,054,000	100.
Bataan	167,000	566,000	566,000	100.
<b>IV: SOUTHERN LUZON</b>				
Manila (& suburbs)	8,914,000	8,914,000	8,914,000	100.
Rizal (& suburbs)	3,576,000	4,715,000	4,715,000	100.
Cavite	633,000	1,250,000	1,250,000	100.
Laguna	850,000	1,870,000	1,870,000	100.
Quezon	674,000	2,547,000	2,547,000	100.
Batangas	474,000	2,069,000	2,069,000	100.
Marinduque	61,000	256,000	256,000	100.
Mindoro Occidental	84,000	421,000	421,000	100.
Mindoro Oriental	208,000	781,000	781,000	100.
Pulawan	165,000	581,000	581,000	100.
<b>V: BICOL</b>				
Camarines Norte	166,000	586,000	586,000	100.

<sup>5</sup> The figures on the fourth column of Table 3 (Pilipino Speakers) were generated as follows:

Projected Number of Pilipino Speakers = Projected Urban Population (NCSO Projection) + (Projected Average Percentage of Pilipino Speakers (based on Table 2, last column) x Rural (Non-Urban) Population (NCSO Projections: Medium Assumption)

REGION/PROVINCE	URBAN	TOTAL POPULATION	PILIPINO SPEAKERS	%
Camarines Sur	699,000	1,453,000	1,453,000	100.
Albay	296,000	1,312,000	1,312,000	100.
Catanduanes	87,000	155,000	130,384	84.1
Masbate	251,000	1,165,000	1,165,000	100.
Sorsogon	338,000	680,000	680,000	100.
<b>VI. W. VISAYAS</b>				
Aklan	92,000	377,000	377,000	100.0
Capiz	208,000	773,000	770,740	99.7
Antique	133,000	512,000	512,000	100.
Iloilo	1,163,000	2,160,000	2,160,000	100.
Negros Occidental	1,730,000	2,428,000	2,428,000	100
<b>VII. C. VISAYAS</b>				
Negros Oriental	314,000	1,273,000	1,273,000	100.
Cebu	1,582,000	3,124,000	3,124,000	100.
Bohol	311,000	1,068,000	820,461	76.8
<b>VIII. E. VISAYAS</b>				
Leyte and S. Leyte	913,000	2,044,000	2,011,201	98.4
E. N. W. Samar	613,000	1,490,000	1,490,000	100.
<b>IX. W. MINDANAO</b>				
Zamboanga del Norte	181,000	994,000	587,500	59.1
Zamboanga del Sur	579,000	2,493,000	2,493,000	100.
Sulu	279,000	944,000	944,000	100.0
<b>X. N. MINDANAO</b>				
Misamis Occidental	154,000	669,000	470,725	70.4
Misamis Oriental	324,000	1,066,000	643,060	60.3
Lanao del Norte	100,000	747,000	747,000	100.
Lanao del Sur	259,000	822,000	822,000	100.
Bukidnon	204,000	1,535,000	1,535,000	100.
Surigao del Norte and del Sur	436,000	1,129,000	1,129,000	100.
Agusan del Norte and del Sur	509,000	1,361,000	1,361,000	100.
<b>XI. S. MINDANAO</b>				
Cotabato and S. Cotabato	978,000	4,410,000	4,410,000	100.
Davao del Norte, Sur, Oriental	1,428,000	4,401,000	4,401,000	100.
<b>NATIONAL TOTAL</b>	<b>37,150,000</b>	<b>83,391,668</b>	<b>80,844,559</b>	<b>98.1</b>

Source: Columns 1 & 2: Mijares and Nazaret's *The Growth of Urban Population in the Philippines and its perspective.*



**FIGURE 5:**  
Percentage of Filipino-Speaking Population by region and by Province

elements of slang. Since it will be used not only in the home but likewise on public occasions, it will have an intimate as well as a non-intimate variety. It has had and will continue to have a rich literature, both oral and written, a literature that will see popularization and growth through providing materials for the mass media, especially radio and television as well as print. The uncertain element in this development is whether or not it will spread into the domain of business and of scholarly discourse, a use necessary for the intellectualization of the language and its development as a medium of teaching in scientific and academic work. The Bilingual Education Policy of the Department of Education and Culture has wisely left this matter to the individual initiatives of academicians and has encouraged the propagation of Pilipino as a medium of instruction in the social sciences even at the university level.

Whether or not Pilipino is thus elaborated and intellectualized, whether or not it does graduate from not only a nationally disseminated language but a standardized nationally disseminated language having several academic registers, will depend on the initiatives of individual academicians and the support that their institutions will give them as well as the reinforcement of the reading public outside of academe.

## 7. Conclusion and Epilogue

The study has attempted to depict two scenarios for the future in terms of the proportion vis-à-vis the total population of Pilipino-speakers by the year 2000, according to region and province, these figures projected onto a map. Two scenarios were depicted, one based on projections from past trends, the other one based on past trends but adding urbanization as an accelerating factor in the dissemination of Pilipino.

In effect, by the year 2000, the Philippines will be a Pilipino-speaking nation, an achievement wrought within a time-frame of 63 years (1937-2000) a period of less than a century and just slightly more than half a century, no mean achievement in a country that in 1939 had no more than 25.4% of its population speaking Tagalog.

Surely, on looking at the shorter span from 1936 to 1977, as Bishop Santiago Fonacier of the Iglesia Filipino Independiente celebrates his ninety-second birthday, it must give this grand old man a

feeling of achievement and satisfaction that his initial efforts, in collaboration with his six founding colleagues of the INL, have borne such fruit in 1977 and will continue to bear fruit in the next quarter century ahead.

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## A REQUIEM FOR PILIPINO

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It is a pleasure to pay homage to one of the original seven members of the Institute of National Language, which was established in 1936 according to the provisions of the 1935 Constitution. It was the intention of the framers of that Constitution to set up an impartial and scholarly body of language experts representing the various linguistic groups in the archipelago to study and recommend to the President (Manuel L. Quezon) the most likely candidate for the role of the National Language of the Philippines. Monsignor Santiago A. Fonacier, a well-known civic and ecclesiastical leader with an established reputation as writer and linguistic scholar of the Ilocano language, was chosen to represent Ilocano on that board. He was one of those who lent his wisdom and good judgment to the selection of Tagalog as the basis of the National Language, which was afterwards called 'Pilipino'. In addition, he continued as a member of the Institute, which afterwards increased its sphere of influence in the development of the National Language, progressing from a mere advisory to a decision-making body. It is indeed a unique privilege to be able to honor him at this time on the occasion of his ninety-second birthday as one of only two surviving members of the original seven who formed the Institute of the National Language. I join the other members of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines in offering him a study of an aspect of the role played by the National Language in our country.

This paper is an attempt to review the facts which occurred during the rise and fall of the National Language and to understand the factors which led to its ultimate demise as the National Language of the Philippines. It is believed that more light can be shed on this tragic story by considering the parallel case histories of the national languages of Southeast Asia.

One of the most remarkable developments in recent years in Southeast Asia is without doubt the rise of certain indigenous tongues to the status of national languages. This is all the more