Indigenizing the English Language

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Abstract

This preliminary study is a description of the syntactic features of formal written Philippine English using 19 graduate term papers as corpus of the analysis. The features found to be distinctive of the corpus are the following: the unusual application of congruence rules, both subject-predicate and pronounantecedent, the reclassification of lexical items, including the transitive-intransitive distinction and the mass-count distinction, the simplication of tense/aspect usage, the unusual use of adjectives and adverbs, the unusual word order involving the object of the verb or the adverb and the unusual use of lexical items. The study serves as database for further investigations into the forms of the evolving Philippine English that have become standardized or are on their way to becoming standardize.

Introduction

I n'History of English in the Philippines," (Bautista, 1997) Andrew Gonzalez surmises that the special features that are observed to characterize Philippine English have been existing since the day the Filipinos began learning English as a second language with their individual languages as substrata. Over the years, language scholars did various studies on the characteristics of this emerging

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variety of English which belongs to what was then variously called post-colonial English or Third World Englishes and currently the New Varieties of English or the New Englishes. Teodoro Llamzon was the first to systematically describe what he called Standard Filipino English in its oral phase in 1969 (Gonzalez, 1976). In 1972, Gonzalez reviewed Llamzon's work and expressed his reservations about the use of the term *standard*. Alberca and Gonzalez described both the oral and written features as they were found in the mass media (TV and print) in 1978.Gonzalez using a tighter research design in *Studies on Philippine English* (1985) elaborated on the features that were seen to indicate a trend towards which the standardization of this emerging variety of English will go.

In the 1997 article, Gonzalez describes the syntax of Philippine English (his term) thus:

The tense/aspect system of verbs and the article system of nouns have undergone restructuring so that the uses of these forms are different from their uses in Standard American English: these areas need further investigation since they have not been systematically studied by local linguists. The subclassification of verbs and nouns and the selectional restrictions or cooccurrence rules between verbs and nouns as well as verb and preposition combinations or two/three word verbs are often local adaptations and do not follow the American Standard English (sic) forms and combinations.

2. The Purpose of the Paper. This paper is part of the writer's on-going study on the syntax of the evolving Philippine English which aims to discover the standardized forms of Philippine English. The present paper is a study of the syntax of formal written Philippine English. It is a preliminary description of its syntactic features made on the basis of the corpus used in the study.

3. The Corpus and the Methodology. The corpus used in this study consists of 19 graduate term papers of an average length of 35 pages of double-spaced mostly computer-encoded text with 7-10 sentences per page. Approximately 5320 sentences are used in the analysis. (The tedious method of sentence counting would have been ideal). The writers of these term papers are college teachers of different universities and colleges in Mindanao. They are assumed to have a wide exposure to the English language and to possess the English writing skill for graduate work.

The use of formal written text as corpus is highly relevant especially as "the written form is often sooner standardized than its spoken form" (Gonzalez, 1985). Moreover, studies on Philippine English should include corpora from other domains than those of the mass media or of literature. The use of text written by teachers is appropriate in that teachers, along with media practitioners and literary writers, are disseminators of language use.

The corpus for analysis is assumed to have been edited, albeit by the writers themselves, so that the special forms and combinations that emerge are not random but are reflective of actual usage. Since the chances of random error are minimal, the writer therefore has included every special form and combination that occurred. Forms that are obviously typographical errors are excluded. A listing of these special forms and combinations in different categories was made and rudimentary frequency counting was done on the most recurring special forms and combinations that are not merely idiolectal but common to several (and therefore dialectal), are marked as they are indicative of a trend in which the standardized form will take or has, perhaps, taken.

The following are used as bases for comparison in this study: The Grammar Book: An ESL/EFL Teacher's Course by Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983), A Course Book in English Grammar by Freeborn (1987), Reference Guide to English: A Handbook of English as a Second Language by Maclin (1994) and the Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English by Cowie and Mackin (1975).

4. The Analysis. On the basis of the corpus, the features observed to be distinctive in formal written Philippine English are the following: the unusual application of congruence rules, both subject-predicate and pronoun-referent /antecedent, the reclassification of lexical items, including the transitive-intransitive distinction, the mass-count noun distinction, the simplification of tense/aspect usage, the unusual use of prepositions, the unusual use of articles, the unusual usage involving auxiliary verbs, the unusual use of adjectives and adverbs, the unusual word order involving the object of the verb or the adverb and the unusual use of lexical items.

The special forms and combinations that were found can be categorized broadly into a) lexical and b) syntactic. Under lexical fall such subcategories as unusual use of lexical items, reclassification of lexical items and unusual preposition usage. Under syntactic fall such subcategories as unusual use of articles, noun pluralization, unusual tense/aspect usage, unusual usage involving auxiliary verbs, pronoun-referent/antecedent incongruence, unusual adjective and adverb usage, word order involving the object or adverb, and subject-predicate incongruence.

4.1. Lexical

4.1.1. Unusual Use of Lexical Items

Seven (7) instances of unusual use of vocabulary items were found. Some of these include the following:

... used English and mix-mix in *the delivery of the lesson* (teaching/ imparting the lesson).

... they were given instructions and *clarified* (enlightened on) some questions regarding...

... description was also used to vividly *picture out* (portray) events and persons involved.

... the investigation ... gives light to (sheds light on) the question ...

Language use and preference may also *bear implications* (have implications/have a bearing) on ...

All people in ... are all good and of equal status, *only that* (except) that some have powers ...

Some children tend to be anxious and tensed. (tense).

4.1.2. Reclassification of Lexical Items

In the data, transitive and intransitive verbs were reclassified when prepositions were omitted or added or when the object of a transitive verb was omitted.

Instances of omission are fewer than those of addition. In the following instances, the verbs are treated as though they are transitive verbs.

... though it deals (with) the Bilingual Education Policy ...

... the Philippine multilingual scene boasts (of) some

... particularly those who are majoring (in) Filipino ...

By adding prepositions after transitive verbs, users reclassified these into

intransitive verbs. Some of these instances include the following:

... There have been studies done to explore *into* the influence (explore the influence) of the mass media ... (but explore for oil)

The negotiators have to trace up first the family (trace the family first).

... pouted her lips and stomped on her feet (stomped her feet)

... code-switching concerns *with* the communicative effect (concerns the ...)

... as they enter *through* the tertiary level ... (enter the tertiary ...) ... the test given corroborated *with* the claim that ...

(corroborated the claim...)

... the researcher requested from a computed center *for* a random ... (requested a random ... from a ...)

... when the bride's family demands *for* additional dowry...(demands additional ..

...she demanded *for* fifty pieces of ... (demanded fifty pieces of ...) ...she mentioned *of* an on-going dissertation... (mentioned an on-going...)

... which the 1987 Constitution has stipulated for. (has stipulated.)

... those who refused for conversion ... (refused conversion)

Other moderate family also claim (sic) for additional... (Other moderate families also claim additional...)

On the other hand, the following examples show a reclassification of the lexical item when the object of a transitive verb is omitted.

 \dots only a small number of the students do not read magazines. Probably, they cannot afford to buy (). (them)

Some children were cutting (); others were coloring the pictures they had drawn. (were cutting out the pictures or whatever ...)

4.1.3. Unusual Preposition Usage

Prepositions have always been the bane of second-language learners of English. For Filipinos who have fewer prepositions in their individual languages, mastering the lexical idiosyncracies of English prepositions is made easier by simply omitting them or more frequently by substituting one form for another. One hundred and twelve (112) instances of unusual preposition usage including those that result in a reclassification of the verb were found in the data. Some of the more unusual combinations are the following:

... not many scholars are focusing their attention to this matter... The implementation of the BEP focused in certain aims and goals an unpublished thesis of ... focused its survey to 286 teachers... This paper is focused only in the process of ...

There are four (4) instances of this unusual use but the users are divided between using *in* or *to* when the SAE usage is *on*.

Another local usage that may be standardized is *result/resulted/resulting* to of which there are eight (8) instances of occurrence in the data. The SAE usage is *result/resulted/resulting in*.

... it resulted to two orders by virtue of

The events resulted to the change of the instructional ...

It resulted to 79 or 32.5% ...

... the language of borrowing and even resulted to acculturation.

... multilingualism has certainly resulted to some important concerns ...

The melting pot culture consequently results to language shift ...

... the speaker conveys his message to others by ... thus resulting to a systematic exchange ...

The study resulted with the conclusion that ...

Some other forms and combinations of unusual usage include the following:

... that television is indeed a very strong influence of (on) language change.

... the influence of the mass media in (on) language change...

... its differences, similarities and influences to (on) their socio-psychological...

... the morphemic changes that occur to (in) some of the borrowed words.

... predict time lapsation between which the lexical items are borrowed to (and) their eventual integration into Pilipino.

... the consequences of having learned another language to (on) their social...

... the researcher's insight to (into) the natural setting, events ...

... occurrences of this phenomenon would account to (for) the influence ...

... occurs as replacements most often to (of) nouns and verbs...

...a similar study ... be conducted to (on) another set of ...

... English is relegated in (to) the school ...

... don't shout in (on) the bus...

International norms are specified to (in) each society.

., pertaining to his membership of(in) a cultural or ethnic group.

... has no child in (by) his royal wife...

... the social status of his children to (by) his common wife.

... sets of guidelines imposed to (on) the subjects ...

... because of some duties and responsibilities coupled to (with) such rank ...

... events and persons involved on (in) her narrative as exhibited on (in) her sample.

... considered as one of the major barriers for (against) the process of the intellectualization of Filipino.

... that she has no high regards with (for) the ...

... use English to (in) their neighborhood.

At (In) the neighborhood, the language used is ...

... predominantly spoken at home and at (in) the neighborhood.

... hectares of land planted with (to) a wide variety of crops.

... who migrated in (to) General Santos.

... as more women are more conscious with (of) social prestige ...

... but have insisted in (on) its interdependence with (on) cultural and ...

... who gathered evidence in support to (of) it.

... the reflection of the language to (on) the ... culture.

Ethnography here is conceived on (in) reference to the ...

They became interested on (in) the structures of sentences...

... seeks an appointment to (with) the speaker.

... to record the speeches in (on) three different occasions.

... is actually a test or a gauge to (of) the sincerity ...

... is very influential to (with) both the families of ...

... the difference lies on (in) the power and assets ...

The concept of domain was, on (in) the same year, made popular by ...

... single English words inserted to (in) a Tagalog structure.

... students who give priority in (to) studying their lessons ...

Mod magazine deals more on (with) issues ...

... the student has to code-switch at (in) the middle of the sentence.

The pattern of code-switching is more on (of) of the intrasentential type. The respondents' interest on (in) the media ...

... based from (on) the earlier-mentioned facts ...

... based from (on) the work of ...

... categorized based from (on) the real time ...

In (From) the point of view of the pupils, ... The findings here show that they agree to (with) that (sic) of Haugen ...

4.2. Syntactic

The syntactic features include unusual article usage, noun pluralization, unusual tense/aspect usage, unusual usage involving auxiliary verbs, pronoun-antecedent/referent incongruence, unusual adjective and adverb usage, word order involving an object of the verb or an adverb and subject-predicate incongruence.

4.2.1. Unusual Article Usage

The articles together with the prepositions provide the most number of unusual uses. One hundred twenty (120) instances of unusual article usage were found in the data making article usage the structure most divergent from SAE usage.

Several reasons make article usage difficult for second language learners. According to Celce-Murcia and Freeman (1983), "Article usage depends to a large extent on the discourse context to determine what is definite and indefinite," or what is known (definite) and unknown information (indefinite). In addition, article usage is closely tied up with the lexical classification of English nouns into mass vs. count. This is a distinction in which languages differ from one another. Furthermore its generic vs. indefinite usage must also be taken into consideration.

Four (4) patterns of unusual article usage were found in the data. These include the omission of the article in sentence-initial position, the omission of the definite article in referring to a language name when the language name is adjectival, the non-use of an article where one is required, the use of an article where none is required and the use of an inappropriate article.

The following exemplify the loss of the article in sentence-initial position:

- () Code-switching phenomenon has been explored ...
- () Opposite situation occurs in the ... Central School...
- () Philippine Bilingual Policy (1972) delineates specifics subjects ...
- () Vernacular is used to manifest intimacy between the speakers ...
- () Problem of teachers is not serious.
- () Mindanao State University High School is a state-owned ...
- () English language is still preferred in reading, writing ...
- () Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis or simply Whorf Hypothesis ...
- () Language of negotiation would determine ...
- () Sama-Sinama language is distributed among ...
- () Cebuano language is currently spoken in ...

The following exemplify the loss of the article to refer to a language name when the language name is used as an adjective.

... it showed that () English language is used in the various subjects ...

- ... in reading and writing, () English language is used by ...
- ... the preference of the teacher is () Filipino language ...
- ... the students responded that () Filipino language is being used ...
- ... her exposure to () Cebuano language is minimal ...

Teachers of () Filipino language must cooperate with the ... if they want () Filipino language to be standardized.

The domains of () Filipino language are expanding ...

The students generally prefer () Tagalog language for internal functions.

... for the senior high school () English language is both used and preferred

The result shows that () English language ranks the highest ...

... this particular discourse basically uses () Sebuano language.

... they prefer to use () Sebuano language when talking ...

- ... belonged to () Malayo-Polynesian language family.
- The following exemplify the non-use of an article where one is required:

... who have learned both languages at (an) early age will reach ...

The nature of (the) subject matter also determines language choice: (the) Filipino bilingual often talks about ...

Most studies on code-switching have been more focused on (the) occur-

rence of mixed codes in ...

The survey revealed that in reading and writing, (the) English language.

Social stratification refers to (the) hierarchical structuring of group (sic) in

The hierarchy reflects inequalities ... usually based on (a) combination of income, occupation, education ...

 \dots to determine and define the roles and functions of (the) nobility towards the \dots

... every communicator adds color to (an) individual's identity in the society.

... leaving the multitude locked in (the/a) struggle for survival.

All the respondents agreed to watching TV and listening to (the) radio. ... signify their interest in listening to (the) radio

As of now, (the) sociological study of language seems to proceed ...

This study is (an) ethnography of speaking in the presentation ...

The goal of (the) workman in the ethnography of speaking ...

... the share of (the) Imam who will perform ...

... when held on (a) different wedding day ...

... singing and listening to (the) sermon or homily ...

... this is (a) source of pride among them.

The dominance of (the) native language is revealed in ...

... run and owned by (the) naturalized Chinese-Filipino community.

 \dots their existence must have been due to (an) influential population which had \dots

... primarily to discover the dynamics of change and to determine (the) extent of borrowings ...

The following exemplify the use of an article where none is re-

quired:

 \dots caring for the abandoned children and the destitute aged men and women of *the* society.

The lack of exposure of the students on (sic) *the* textbooks, media and ...

... the English prevails due to the existence of the textbooks where most ...

... it was a bad luck if the royal in-law cannot recognize him ...

Only 5 or 6% of the respondents show interest in the sports ...

The influence of media such as the TV programs, radio and ...

... registered a 100% preference for the TV programs ...

... the dominant language spoken and used by ... for *the* commercial activities is the (sic) Tausug.

Interview with *the* three members of the tribe ... was also conducted establishing the close connection between *the* communication and culture.

The result reveals a big disparity between *the* Sebuano and *the* Tagalog. The respondents' most often borrowed word when speaking in *the* class is () noun, then followed by ...

There are some faculty members who employ the reporting method in the class.

The following exemplify the use of an inappropriate article:

...a number of teachers preferred to use *the* (a) combination of the languages ...

Andrea and Cathy still have the (a) firm grasp of Cebuano syntax.

As a long-time resident of ..., she is in *the* (a) position to make an encompassing description of ...

The survey used the following instruments: ... and the (a) tape recorder.

4.2.2. Noun Pluralization

A number of nouns which are used in their singular form have been reclassified when they are used in their plural form. These include the following:

... researches be done on lexical borrowing especially in the light ... For example, giving of *advices*,

... my attempt ... will contribute to the numerous researches ...

... assured of accessibility and administrative supports.

... language and education researches.

4.2.3. Unusual Tense/Aspect Usage

Fifteen (15) instances of unusual tense/aspect usage were found in the data. These include the inappropriate use of the progressive, the use of the simple past for the present perfect or vice-versa and the use of the past for the present.

The following exemplify the inappropriate use of the progressive:

... was distributing the candies, I was hearing (heard) the apparently oldest boy ...

... the approach in the data gathering, the methods of analyzing the data *are having* (have) significant difference...

Majority of the pupils commented that their teachers *are using* (use) the mix-mix...

This is the opposite in ... where the pupils *are* always *speaking* (always speak) the Sebuano language.

Three were representing (represented) the public school and two represent (sic) (represented) the private school.

... who posited that the (sic) Sama *is having* (has) 17 consonantal phonemes.

The following examples, on the other hand, show the use of the simple past for the present perfect or vice-versa.

Many *said* (have said) that in order for a nation to move forward, a national language which is truly for its nation ...

... fully aware that the existence of the BEP which was (has been) implemented since 1974 ...

... was born in Marbel, *has studied* (studied) in the same place and lived in ...

Another variety ... has likewise been found dead. However, the variety in Zamboanga ... *remained* (has remained) the mainstream language in the city ..

... over the last few decades, ... the Chabacano language has been perceived to be deteriorating Moreover, the implementation of the BEP in the education sector ... *posed* (has posed) an additional threat ...

In the examples that follow, the simple past is used instead of the present or vice-versa.

Currently, a number of teachers preferred (prefer) to use ...

She insisted and wanted to persuade them but they opposed her. As a sign of disgust, she just *extend* (extended) her arm sideways, *shrug* (shrugged) her

shoulder, pout (pouted) her lips ...

A number of Cebuano speakers live in urban areas ... However, a majority of them *lived* (live) in rural areas ...

4.2.4. Unusual Usage Involving Auxiliary Verbs

Fifteen (15) instances of unusual usage involving auxiliary verbs were found in the data. These include the use of the inappropriate auxiliary verb, the unusual word order involving the verb phrase, and the use of the inappropriate verb form after the auxiliary.

The following are some illustrative examples found in the data:

What perhaps *are* some observable and ... *do* children *place* on their languages? (What perhaps are some observable and ... placed by children on ...)

... as "they feel the waves" on which aspect *could* their language *be filled*. (... on which aspect their language could be filled)

... but no studies have shown as to what extend (sic) *does* this *occur* among the bilingual speakers. (... as to what extent this occurs among ...)

When asked what language *do* these pupils *used* (sic) while in class ... (... what language these pupils use while in class...)

Since the activities of the pupils *did not only limit* to speaking in the classroom...(... of the pupils were not limited only to ...)

Acculturation happened to both and *may happened* to any tribe ... (may happen)

Sociology *is concern* not so much with language as ... (is concerned) ... the private schools *involve* (involved) in the study ...

The communicative is control (is controlled).

Gone are the days when a bride ... would jumped (would jump) to the ground ...

4.2.5. Pronoun-Antecedent/Referent Incongruence

The lack of congruence between the pronoun and its antecedent/referent involves the use of the appropriate pronoun for the antecedent and the lack of congruence in number between the pronoun and its antecedent.

This is shown in the examples that follow:

... CS occurs when speakers explained his (their) ideas and tried to convince his (their) classmates.

... communication between the mother and their (her) children are (sic) more often than that of the father.

A survey was conducted by the Survey Committee on Bilingual Education who (which) drafted the instruments ...

Pupils when writing their respective activity (sic), it uses...(When pupils write their respective activity, they use ...)

4.2.6. Unusual Adjective and Adverb Usage

Twenty five (25) instances of unusual adjective and adverb usage were found in the data. These include the use of an adverb for an adjective, the use of the past participle form but without the -d, -ed, -t as adjective, the use of double superlatives, the unusual use of the than construction, the unusual use of adverbs.

The following examples show the unusual use of adjectives and adverbs:

... says that only fully (full) bilinguals or speakers who have learned both languages ...

I answered smilingly with "Good morning, too." (Smiling, I answered, "Good morning."/With a smile, I answered "Good morning.")

... each to be explained for about two or three minutes using the Filipinobase language ... (Filipino-based ...) (5 instances by 3 persons) It is oftenly (often) said that the culprit ...

... the private schools involve (involved) in the study ...

Other coordinators signal a switch (switched) code ...

It is used very functional (functionally) often for delivering political speeches

... the researcher's insight to ... are (sic) most valuable than anything

else in the research process. (is more valuable than anything else .../is the most valuable product (?) in the research process)

... it can be gleaned that ... teachers are not so proficient *than* that of the ... teachers (sic). (...teachers are not so proficient as the ... teachers.) can be the cause why Sebuano is used in ... () than in the city. (is used in ... more than in the city.)

... the word "Ina" for a ... is the most sweetest (sweetest) word ...

... code-switching occurs because speakers can express themselves freely in the *most easiest* (easiest) way. (3 instances by 1 person)

... his linguistic production has been () outstanding that (so outstanding that) he is viewed as a central figure ...

Tausug is regarded as the *superior* language *than* Sama ... (as superior to Sama)

4.2.7. Unusual Word Order

Unusual word order is shown in the occurrence of adverb and adjective modifiers or clauses and objects of transitive verbs in positions that are different from SAE usage. This is shown in the examples that follow.

He speaks a purely Visayan language. (He speaks a Visayan language purely. (?) He speaks a pure (?) Visayan language.)

... found that code-switching most occur (sic) in sentences ... (found that CS occurs most in sentences)

... certain subjects can be more discussed in one language ... (can be discussed more fully (?) in one language ...)

Intersentential occurrences between sentences (sic) sparingly appear only. (Intersentential occurrences appear only (?) sparingly.

Terms related to settlements were not anymore present in the text of ... were not present anymore in...)

The criterion on attitudes ... should not only be used among the native speakers...(... should not be used only among ...)

Since the activities of the pupils did not only limit to speaking ... (... of the pupils were not limited only to speaking ...)

It could be probably due to sudden language switch ... (It could probably be due to ...)

Pupils when writing their respective activity (sic) ... (When pupils write their respective activities ...)

Then the researcher requested from a computer center for (sic) a random generation of numbers. (... requested a random generation of numbers from a computer center.)

 \dots it is not only due to language interference but also to other \dots (\dots it is due not only to language interference \dots)

4.2.8. Subject-Predicate Incongruence

Thirty-one (31) instances of subject and predicate incongruence were found in the data. It tended to be preponderant in cases where an intervening phrase or clause came between the subject and predicate. But it was also found in simple cases where apparently the subject had undergone a number reclassification.

Some of the more unusual uses are shown below:

... The couple is (are) proficient in both English and ...

 \dots On the other hand when the couple was (were) interviewed they were happy \dots

... the availability of competent teachers to handle these identified subjects ... were (was) considered difficult.

... teachers are experienced and *has* (have) served the school for years. ... state of an individual or group who *identify* (identifies) with more than...

This is another reason why marriage between ... cousins *are* (is) common...

... intermarriages among the different groups was (were) strictly probibited. Occurrence of borrowing, code-mixing, code-switching ... were (was) extracted from the text.

The presence of ... ligatures in Ilonggo *are* (is) manifested in the text. New teachers with sufficient units in Pilipino *needs* (need) additional ...

... linguistic phenomena is (are) analyzable both within ...

The description of the status of the language use and preferences among the students and their parents were (was) done across ...

... presence of large companies like ... best *exemplify* (exemplifies) the economic potential of the city.

... the following statistical analysis were (was) made ...

The parents' general preference for Tagalog in almost all domains seem (seems) to suggest that ...

Moreover, the foregoing data points (point) out the direct ...

... it is also the lessons learned from the story that *attracts* (attract) the

The following information are (is) taken from ...

4.2.9. Other Syntactic Features

Other syntactic features were observed in the data but these do not appear to be distinctive insofar as the present corpus is concerned. Some of these include the unusual word order in reported speech or in restatements of responses to questions.

The following examples show these features.

... is inquiring from Sarah how old is her daughter now. (... how old her daughter is now).

... it is desirable to discover what is a bilingual's attitude towards his own bilingualism. (... to discover what a bilingual's attitude is towards ...) ... shows how widely distributed are the subjects in terms of ... (... how widely distributed the subjects are in terms of ...)

5. Conclusion. This preliminary description of the syntax of formal written Philippine English using text written by teachers has dwelt only on the syntactic features found to be characteristic of the corpus. A fuller investigation and description would have included a more systematic sampling procedure to include corpora representative of academic writing in other fields of learning. A more rigid frequency count could have been done to include not just the number of occurrences of a particular form or combination but also the number of individuals using the particular form and combination. This will indicate that the recurring form is a regularly occurring form and not one resulting from random lapses. A fuller investigation and description would also have considered features beyond the sentence structure. These discourse features would have shown the characteristic ways in which concepts are introduced, developed and concluded.

In concluding this article, the writer underscores the position that most

linguists take as regards labeling these unusual forms and combinations as "incorrect," "ungrammatical," or as "learners' errors that have fossilized in the learners' language." From the prescriptive grammarian's perspective, these may indeed be "errors" that must be expunged from the learners' language. On the other hand, proponents of the interlanguage theory will view the same as manifestations of the learners' attempts at reconstructing the grammar of the target language. Still, these same forms and combinations may be viewed as different from those that are in the more established varieties of English but that they may be stamped with the speakers' frame of reference, thus the peculiar way of expression. These may also be viewed as the non-native speakers' way of owning or appropriating the English language, their way of indigenizing a foreign tongue.

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