THE INTELLECTUALIZATION OF FILIPINO THROUGH ENGLISH:
Spanish as an Intermediary Language

Rey Carlo L. Amio

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Saying that the intellectualization of Filipino is a much-discussed issue is probably an understatement, for few issues in contemporary Philippine linguistics have been met with so much controversy and debate. Numerous problems have arisen as a matter of course. In the first place, is there a genuine distinction between Filipino and Tagalog? If there is, is it one of, or one based on,

intellectualization? Has current Filipino been intellectualized? Should the main source of its intellectualization be English, Spanish, or archaic Tagalog? Should the foreign, "intellectual" words be adapted, or incorporated in their original forms? These questions, and many others, are but naturally attendant to the issue at hand.

In a preliminary study, I attempted to address some of the above questions, albeit from an exploratory point of view. The numerous assumptions of that study were, in brief:

(1) that Filipino is Tagalog-based (contrary to the statements made by some parties that it is [or should be] uniformly made up of contributions from all of the dominant Philippine languages);

(2) that, following Torres-Yu (144), Filipino-language intellectualization will have taken place when (a) Filipino is widely used by intellectuals and experts in their discourse; (b) there exists an adequate vocabulary through which abstract thought can be expressed and conveyed;

(3) that, based on the above criteria, Filipino has become partially intellectualized, and is still being further intellectualized;

(4) that the most dominant, accepted, and widely utilized mode of intellectualization is the "Pilipino/Tagalog" mode (following Gaerlan's [24] terminology) which favors the use of indigenous words and Spanish borrowings;

(5) that the Filipino speaker possesses a partial and intuitive knowledge of Spanish morphology (Goulet); and

(6) that Filipino and Spanish possess a structural (i.e., morphological and phonological) compatibility that facilitates lexical borrowing, a compatibility that does not exist between Filipino and English.

The conclusions made were:

(1) that the currently dominant intellectualization practice is actually English-based, although it utilizes Spanish as an intermediary language; and

(2) that the role of Spanish in such a mode of intellectualization is to provide a basis for the morphological conversion of English words as would make these words more compatible with Filipino phonology and hence make their incorporation into Filipino intellectual discourse more natural.

Because of its immediate relevance to the topic herein discussed, and since it presents information central to the issue of intellectualization of Filipino but which cannot be accommodated here, the aforementioned study serves as a general introduction to what is examined in greater detail in this paper.

To be sure, the issue of Filipino-language intellectualization is one of such breadth and depth that it expectedly presents difficulties for detailed study. It goes without saying that the amount of information and analysis entailed by such a study could not be sufficiently contained in a paper of the usual length—a situation that requires the reduction of the general problem into one of its more specific aspects. It is for this very reason that the present paper is not concerned with such tasks as determining the extent of intellectualization or establishing the superiority of one mode of intellectualization over another; instead, it concerns itself specifically with the *phonological* and *morphological* aspects of the intellectualization of Filipino, with emphasis on English-based

intellectualization through Spanish,[1] which is here *assumed* to be the most accepted (since traditional) mode of intellectualization.[2] More specifically, it traces, firstly, the corresponding morphological processes in English and Spanish that make up the first level of conversion from English to Filipino; and secondly, the phonological substitutions that take place in the conversion from Spanish to Filipino and constitute the second level of conversion.

1.1 MORPHOLOGY

The morphological component of the process of intellectualization here discussed takes place principally between English and Spanish. It can be subdivided into two stages: the first is the "conversion" of simple words (free morphemes) from English to Spanish, which in reality consists of a mere substitution of Spanish words for their English counterparts, and is thus more a lexical phenomenon than a morphological one; the second involves the substitution of Spanish affixes for English affixes or, more properly, the substitution of Spanish (and pseudo-Spanish) affixal forms for corresponding English forms.

1.1.1 ENGLISH TO SPANISH WORD-CONVERSION

Spanish and English, although each belonging to different branches of the Indo-European family of languages, have a common denominator: Latin. In the case of Spanish, Latin (i.e., *Vulgar* Latin) has the role of direct ancestor (Comrie, 227-228; Asher, 4074); in the case of English, Latin has the role of source language for culturally- and intellectually-motivated linguistic borrowing (Baugh, 222,258). Thus, while the phonology and lexicon of Spanish is infused with both Basque and Arabic elements, it is, as a whole, definitely Latinate. Conversely, while English is a West Germanic language, the extensive borrowing from Latin to English (and from Latin to English through French) that took place through centuries

of linguistic development has made the English word-stock almost as much Latinate as Saxonic.

With this common denominator in mind, it is easy to see how conversions from English to Spanish can take place, provided, of course, that the words that come into play are Latinate, and that corresponding words[3] exist in both languages. In the context of intellectualization, this does not present any real problem, for English words of relevance to intellectualization are more often than not Latinate (Marchand, 7), not coincidentally due to the once-prominent role of Latin in English scholarship and, consequently, in the subsequent intellectualization of English (Baugh, 258). Problems do arise, however, when a "Spanish" form is incorrectly assumed by the Filipino speaker to correspond to an English word. Such errors provide an important insight in that they point to the fact that these words in question are ultimately derived from English, and not from Spanish; they further suggest that other words not resulting from mistakes *may* have been derived from English.

CORRECT

theory	→	*teoría*		*effect*	→	*efecto*
public	→	*público*		*idea*	→	*idea*
mode	→	*moda*		*concrete*	→	*concreto*

INCORRECT

*objectivo → *obhektibo*

          (CORRECT: *objective* → *objetivo*)

*magica → *mahika*

          (CORRECT: *magic* → *magia*)

Of course, the Spanish words presented above are not necessarily morphologically simple: *objetivo* is derived (*objet* + *iv* + *o*), while *moda* can be analyzed as a lexical root *mod* + the gender marker *−a*.

1.1.2 CONVERSION OF AFFIXES

Of the various morphological processes (affixation, compounding, back-formation, neo-classical compounding, zero-derivation, suppletion, subtraction, etc. [Asher 1994; Marchand 1960]), the one of greatest relevance to the issue of English-Spanish-Filipino intellectualization is that of affixation[4]—the addition of an obligatorily bound non-root morpheme to a word (Asher 1994: 44) resulting either in (1) a change in one or more of the word's morphosyntactic properties (e.g., singular to plural, first person to third) but not in its basic meaning—in which case it is an *inflectional* affix; or (2) a change in the word's meaning, which may be accompanied by a further change from one word-class to another (e.g., noun to verb, adjective to adverb)—in which case it is a *derivational* affix (Malmkjær 1995: 318-319). As can be seen, this morphological process straddles the dividing line between (1) inflectional morphology, which is concerned with paradigms and morphosyntactic oppositions, and (2) derivational morphology, which is concerned with the relationship between a complex lexeme and a simple(r) lexeme (Matthews 1991: 37).

Affixes may be further subclassified into prefixes, suffixes, infixes, or circumfixes, depending on their position relative to the word they modify. Prefixes occur before a word (*in·decent*, *pre·historic*); suffixes after a word (*discern·ment*, *nasal·ly*); infixes within a word (s·*um*·ulat, g·*in*·ulat); and circumfixes around the word (*pag·tulung·an*, *pag-isip·an*). English and Spanish do not make use of infixes and circumfixes; in addition, the inflectional affixes of these languages are always suffixes.

In English to Spanish conversion, Spanish affixes are substituted for corresponding affixes in English, a process made doubly problematic by the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between the affixes of the two languages and by the Filipino speaker's incomplete knowledge of Spanish morphology. While the more regular correspondences are correctly recognized, the less

regular ones are not widely known, leading to "errors"[5] in conversion. Once more, as in the case of lexical substitution, these errors imply that English is a more active source of intellectualization for Filipino than Spanish.

"REGULAR"

reservation	→	reservación	effective	→	efectivo
preoccupation	→	preocupación	civilized	→	civilizado
manifestation	→	manifestación	traditional	→	tradicional

"IRREGULAR"

calculation	→	cálculo	(not * calculación	→	kalkulasyon)
technical	→	técnico	(not * tecnical	→	teknikal)
theoretical	→	teórico	(not * teoretical	→	teoretikal)
theorist	→	teórico	(not * teorista	→	teorista)
estabished	→	establecido	(not * establisado	→	establisado)

Again, it is obvious that the Spanish derivational suffix –*ivo* (*iv* + *o*) and inflectional suffix -*ado* (*ad* + *o*) are not morphologically simple, but neither is English –*ive* (-*iv* + *e,* where -*e* is the Old French "substitute" for the Latin -*us*), strictly speaking. Besides, it is arguable whether –*iv*- and –*ad*- operate independently from -*o,* since the forms *objetiv* and *civilizad* do not occur (compare Eng. *expressionism,* which still occurs without –*ism*). It would perhaps be better, for the sake of simplicity, to regard these Spanish suffixes as wholes, at least in the context of this paper.

Note also that no affix correspondence exists between *calculation/ cálculo* and *technical/ técnico,* since the Spanish words in both sets are not derived words (-*o,* although it may be considered an affix, is not derivational), unlike their English counterparts, which are derivations of Latinate English words.[6] The same is not true for the examples *theoretical/ teórico* and *theorist/ teórico,* since all four are derivations, nor for *estabished/ establecido,* since both are

inflected forms. It may be said that in the first set of pairs, the "error" of conversion occurred at word level; in the second set, the error occurred at affix level. It is important to realize, however, that the conversion from English to Filipino in the first set of pairs did not bypass Spanish; although the final forms of the words approximate their English counterparts, the words are stressed in their final syllables—in a manner imitative of similar, existing Spanish words—and not in the penultimate and initial syllables, as in the corresponding English words, respectively. It may be further stated that the conversion that took place in all of these erroneous examples was one from English to "pseudo-Spanish" forms, which, although not bona fide Spanish words, possess the characteristics thereof, since they were formed (presumably) through analogy, thus: *reservacíon* : *calculacíon* / *medical* : *tecnical* : *teoretical* / *impresionista* : *teorista*. The example of *establisado* is a different case—it arose out of the Filipino regularization of the participial ending *-ado* (as well as of the verbal theme vowel *-a-*, since the base form of most borrowed Spanish verbs are those of verbs in *-ar*, e.g., Fil. *establisa*). In this case, *-ado* subsumed *-ido*, which is the proper suffix for *establecer*.

A more comprehensive (although not exhaustive) list of correspondences between English and Spanish affixes is given below:[7]

Table 1. Partial List of English and Spanish Prefixes and Suffixes, with Examples

PREFIXES

a-	*assymetrical*	a-	*asimétrico*
ante-	*antenuptial*	ante-	*antenupcial*
anti-	*anticorrosive*	anti-	*anticorrosivo*
arch-	*archdeacon*	archi-	*archidiácono*
auto-	*autogenesis*	auto-	*autogénesis*
bi-	*bichloride*	bi-	*bicloruro*

PREFIXES

circum-	*circumpolar*	circum-	*circumpolar*
	circumlocution	circun-	*circunlocución*
cis-	*cisatlantic*	cis-	*cisatlántico*
co-	*coessential*	co-	*coesencial*
counter-	*counterattack*	contra-	*contraataque*
de-	*demilitarization*	des-	*desmilitarización*
	deform	de-	*deformar*
demi-	*demigod*	semi-	*semidiós*
di-	*dichromate*	di-	*dicromato*
dia-	*diamagnetism*	dia-	*diamagnetismo*
dis-	*disarticulate*	des-	*desarticulación*
em-	*embalm*	em-	*embalsama*
en-	*encastle*	en-	*encastillar*
epi-	*epigastric*	epi-	*epigástrico*
ex-	*ex-president*	ex-	*expresidente*
extra-	*extramundane*	extra-	*extramundano*
hyper-	*hypercritical*	hiper-	*hipercrítico*
hypo-	*hyposulphate*	hipo-	*hiposulfato*
in-	*inexpert*	in-	*inexperto*
inter-	*international*	inter-	*internacional*
intra-	*intrauterine*	intra-	*intrauterino*
mal-	*maltreat*	mal-	*maltratar*
meta-	*metaphysical*	meta-	*metafísico*
micro-	*microbiology*	micro-	*microbiología*
mono-	*monosyllable*	mono-	*monosilábico*
multi-	*multimillionaire*	multi-	*multimillonario*
neo-	*neo-Catholic*	neo-	*neocatólico*
pan-	*pan-Americanism*	pan-	*panamericanismo*
para-	*parathyroid*	para-	*paratiroides*
per-	*perchloride*	per-	*percloruro*
peri-	*perisystole*	peri-	*perisístole*
poly-	*polychromatic*	poli-	*policromatico*
post-	*postdiluvian*	post-	*postdiluviano*

PREFIXES

pre-	*pre-existence*	pre-	*preexistencia*
preter-	*preternatural*	preter-	*preternatural*
pro-	*proconsul*	pro-	*procónsul*
proto-	*protoxide*	proto-	*protóxido*
pseudo-	*pseudo-apostle*	seudo-	*seudoapóstol*
re-	*reorganize*	re-	*reorganizar*
retro-	*retro-rocket*	retro-	*retrocohete*
semi-	*semidiameter*	semi-	*semidiámetro*
sub-	*subtropical*	sub-	*subtropical*
super-	*superexcellent*	sobre-	*sobreexcelente*
	supermarket	super-	*supermercado*
supra-	*suprarenal*	supra-	*suprarenal*
trans-	*transalpine*	trans-	*transalpino*
tri-	*trisyllable*	tri-	*trisílaba*
ultra-	*ultramodern*	ultra-	*ultramoderno*
un-	*unaccessible*	in-	*inaccesible*
	unaccompanied	des-	*desacompañado*
uni-	*unisexual*	uni-	*unisexual*
vice-	*vice-admiral*	vice-	*vicealmirante*

SUFFIXES

-able	*dispensable*	-able	*dispensable*
-acy	*diplomacy*	-acia	*diplomacia*
-age	*voltage*	-aje	*voltaje*
-al	*logical*	-o	*lógico*
	medical	-al	*medical*
-an	*Republican*	-ano	*Republicano*
	Dominican	-o	*Dominico*
-ance, -ence		-ancia, -encia	
	concordance		*concordancia*
	preference		*preferencia*

SUFFIXES

-ancy, -ency		-ancia, -encia	
	elegancy		*elegancia*
	efficiency		*eficiencia*
-ant, -ent		-ante, ente	
	informant		*informante*
	absorbent		*absorbente*
-arian	*parliamentarian*	-ario	*parlamentario*
-ary	*visionary*	-ario	*visionario*
-ate	*activate*	-ar (inf.)	*activar*
-ation	*canonization*	-ación	*canonización*
-ed	*prepared*	-ado	*preparado*
	inscribed	-ido	*inscribido*
-er	*miner*	-ero	*minero*
-ery	*distillery*	-ería	*destilería*
-ess	*baroness*	-esa	*baronesa*
-ic	*atomic*	-ico	*atómico*
-ing	*conforming*	-ando	*conformando*
	inscribing	-iendo	*inscribiendo*
-ism	*symbolism*	-ismo	*simbolismo*
-ist	*realist*	-ista	*realista*
-ity	*curiosity*	-idad	*curiosidad*
-ive	*executive*	-ivo	*ejecutivo*
-ize	*harmonize*	-izar (inf.)	*armonizar*
-ly	*naturally*	-mente	*naturalmente*
-ory	*statutory*	-ario	*estatutario*
-ous	*industrious*	-oso	*industrioso*
-ure	*legislature*	-ura	*legislatura*

Of course, not all of the converted affixes find their way into Filipino. Since the Filipino speaker's grasp of Spanish word-formation is merely intuitive, he does not have access to all of the Spanish forms. In cases of such unavailability, English derivations are directly borrowed, or the Spanish stems are derived using Filipino

morphology (*philosophizing*→*filosofando*→*namimilosopo*). Also worthy of note is the absence of a one-to-one correspondence between the affixes of English and Spanish—Eng. *un-*, for example, corresponds either to Sp. *in-* or *des-*; *-ed* to either *-ido* or *-ado*—which can lead to mismatches between stems and affixes, as in the case of *establecer.*

With regard to the diachronic aspect of such formations as *inexpert/inexperto*, it must be said that while these forms may have been borrowed directly from Latin in the case of both Spanish and English, the affixes they contain are productive, and are hence bona fide derivational affixes, in those languages. The same is true with the affixes of Spanish words like *panamericanismo*, which may have had their source in English but are nonetheless productive in Spanish.

1.2 PHONOLOGY

Following the conversion of the English words and affixes into Spanish, the resultant forms are again converted, this time from Spanish to Filipino. Such a conversion is one of phonological substitution: Spanish phonology contains sounds not present in Tagalog, and those sounds are supplanted by the closest Tagalog sounds—a process that facilitates the incorporation of Spanish words into Filipino.[8]

Phonological substitution between Spanish and Filipino is not completely analogous to, e.g., English and Filipino, for while the Filipino speaker is, in general, aware of such differences as exist between English /æ/ and Filipino /a/, he is not similarly aware of that existing between Spanish /x/ and Filipino /h/, or Spanish [β] and Filipino /b/. As a result, some of the components of phonological substitution from Spanish to Filipino are "unconscious," i.e., they are taken for granted, as if no substitution had taken place.

Goulet (18-19) enumerates the more common substitutions:[9]

Table 2. Filipino Phonological Substitutions for Spanish Sounds

SUBSTITUTION			SPANISH WORD	FILIPINO WORD
/p/	for	/f/	*bufete*	*bupete*
/b/	for	[β][10]	*favor*	*pabor*
/d/	for	[ð]	*seda*	*seda*
/g/	for	[γ]	*agua*	*agwa*
/s/	for	[z]	*desde*	*desde*
/s/	for	/θ/	*juzgado*	*husgado*
/h/	for	/x/	*jefe*	*hepe*
/r/	for	/r/	*corriente*	*kuryente*

It must be kept in mind that the changes presented here involve sounds in isolation; in reality, additional changes take place as a result of phonological rules in Filipino that are not present in Spanish.

2.0 DATA AND ANALYSIS

With the above definitions and examples in place, it is imperative that they be supported, and further exemplified, by samples from actual intellectualized Filipino discourse. To this end, borrowed words of relevance to intellectualization have been collected from the essay "Ang Pangungusap ng mga Mangmang at ang Pangungusap ng May-Akda: Ang Binibigkas, Ang Sinusulat, Ang Kulturang Binabago" by Jaime Biron-Polo (1989: 1,3-7). The words, having been reduced to their "basic" form (i.e., stripped of any Tagalog affixes that may have accompanied them in the text) are then juxtaposed to their Spanish and English equivalents as seen below.

Table 3. Some Filipino Words with Their Spanish and English Equivalents

	FILIPINO WORD	SPANISH EQUIVALENT	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
1.	aktuwal	actual	actual
2.	alyenasyon	alienación	alienation
3.	antropologo	antropólogo	anthropologist
4.	bersyon	versión	version
5.	burokratiko	burocrático	bureaucratic
6.	dibisyon	división	division
7.	direkta	directo	direct
8.	dokumento	documento	document
9.	edukasyon	educación	education
10.	ekonomiya	economía	economy
11.	elemento	elemento	element
12.	epektibo	efectivo	effective
13.	epiko	épico	epic
14.	esensiya	esencia	essence
15.	espiritwal	espiritual	spiritual
16.	estilo	estilo	style
17.	gramatika	gramática	grammar
18.	henerasyon	generación	generation
19.	ideyolohiya	ideología	ideology
20.	impormasyon	información	information
21.	institusyon	institución	institution
22.	kalkulasyon	cálculo	calculation
23.	kategorya	categoría	category
24.	klase	clase	class
25.	kolehiyo	colegio	college
26.	kolektibo	colectivo	collective
27.	komunidad	comunidad	community
28.	kondisyon	condición	condition
29.	konkreto	concreto	concrete
30.	konsepto	concepto	concept
31.	konsulta	consulta(r)	consult

	FILIPINO WORD	SPANISH EQUIVALENT	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
32.	konteksto	contexto	context
33.	kosmolohiya	cosmología	cosmology
34.	kultura	cultura	culture
35.	kumbinasyon	combinación	combination
36.	linggwistika	lingüística	linguistic
37.	lohika	lógica	logic
38.	lokal	local	local
39.	mahika	magia	magic
40.	mediko	médico	medic
41.	mito	mito	myth
42.	modelo	modelo	model
43.	morpolohiya	morfología	morphology
44.	nasyon	nación	nation
45.	nobela	novela	novel
46.	obhektibo	objetivo	objective
47.	obserba	observa(r)	observe
48.	obserbasyon	observación	observation
49.	opisyal	oficial	official
50.	orihinal	original	original
51.	pagano	pagano	pagan
52.	panatiko	fanático	fanatic
53.	paradigma	paradigma	paradigm
54.	partikular	particular	particular
55.	ponetika	fonética	phonetic
56.	pormal	formal	formal
57.	posisyon	posición	position
58.	produksyon	producción	production
59.	propesor	profesor	professor
60.	proseso	proceso	process
61.	publiko	público	public
62.	pulitika	política	politics
63.	relihiyon	religión	religion
64.	ritwal	ritual	ritual

FILIPINO WORD	SPANISH EQUIVALENT	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
65. sektor	sector	sector
66. sibilisado	civilizado	civilized
67. sibilisasyon	civilización	civilization
68. sistema	sistema	system
69. sosyal	social	social
70. teknikal	técnico	technical
71. teknolohiya	tecnología	technology
72. teksto	texto	text
73. telebisyon	televisión	television
74. tradisyon	tradición	tradition
75. tradisyonal	tradicional	traditional
76. unibersidad	universidad	university

With the words from all three languages conveniently side-by-side, the conversions that took place between them may easily be listed thus:

Table 4. Sample List of (A) English to Spanish Morphological Conversion and (B) Spanish to Tagalog Phonological Substitution

A. English to Spanish Morphological Conversion

1. Word-conversion (word-only)

actual→actual (→aktuwal)
version→versión (→bersyon)
direct→directa (→direkta)
document→documento (→dokumento)
economy→economía (→ekonomiya)
element→elemento (→elemento)
epic→épico (→epiko)
essence→esencia (→esensiya)
style→estilo (→estilo)

grammar→gramática (→gramatika)

category→categoría (→kategorya)

class→clase (→klase)

college→colegio (→kolehiyo)

community→comunidad (→komunidad)

condition→condición (→kondisyon)

concrete→concreto (→konkreto)

concept→concepto (→konsepto)

consult→consulta(r) (→konsulta)

context→contexto (→ikonteksto)

culture→cultura (→kultura)

logic→lógica (→lohika)

local→local (→lokal)

magic→magia (→mahika*)

medic→médico (→mediko)

myth→mito (→mito)

model→modelo (→modelo)

nation→nación (→nasyon)

novel→novela (→nobela)

observe→observa(r) (→obserba)

pagan→pagano (→pagano)

fanatic→fanático (→panatiko)

paradigm→paradigma (→paradigma)

particular→particular (→partikular)

phonetic→fonética (→ponetika)

position→posición (→posisyon)

professor→profesor (→propesor)

process→proceso (→proseso)

public→público (→publiko)

politics→política (→pulitika)

religion→religión (→relihiyon)

ritual→ritual (→ritwal)

sector→sector (→sektor)

system→sistema (→sistema)

social→social (→sosyal)

text→texto (→teksto)
television→televisión (→telebisyon)
tradition→tradición (→tradisyon)

2. Affix-conversion (affix and word)

alienation→alienación (→alyenasyon)
anthropologist→antropólogo (→antropologo)
bureaucratic→burocrático (→burokratiko)
division→división (→dibisyon)
education→educación (→edukasyon)
effective→efectivo (→epektibo)
spiritual→espiritual (→espiritwal)
generation→generación (→henerasyon)
ideology→ideología (→ideyolohiya[12])
information→información (→impormasyon)
institution→institución (→institusyon)
calculation→cálculo (→kalkulasyon*)
collective→colectivo (→kolektibo)
cosmology→cosmología (→kosmolohiya)
combination→combinación (→kumbinasyon)
linguistic→lingüistica (→linggwistika)
morphology→morfología (→morpolohiya)
objective→objetivo (→obhektibo*)
observation→observación (→obserbasyon)
official→oficial (→opisyal[11])
original→original (→orihinal)
formal→formal (→pormal)
production→producción (→produksyon)
civilized→civilizado (→sibilisado)
civilization→civilización (→sibilisasyon)
technical→técnico (→teknikal*)
technology→tecnología (→teknolohiya)
traditional→tradicional (→tradisyonal)
university→universidad (→unibersidad)

B. Spanish to Tagalog Phonological Substitution

/p/	for	/f/	efectivo	epektibo
			información	impormasyon
			morfología	morpolohiya
			oficial	opisyal
			fanático	panatiko
			fonética	ponetika
			formal	pormal
			profesor	propesor
/b/	for	[β]	división	dibisyon
			efectivo	epektibo
			colectivo	kolektibo
			novela	nobela
			civilizado	sibilisado
			civilización	sibilisasyon
			televisión	telebisyon
			universidad	unibersidad
/d/	for	[ð]	seda	seda
			comunidad	komunidad
			médico	mediko
			modelo	modelo
			paradigma	paradigma
			producción	produksyon
			civilizado	sibilisado
			tradición	tradisyon
			tradicional	tradisyonal
			universidad	unibersidad
/g/	for	[γ]	antropólogo	antropologo
			categoría	kategorya
			pagano	pagano
/s/	for	[z]	(none)	

/s/ for /θ/	alienación	alyenasyon[13]
	educación	edukasyon
	esencia	esensiya
	generación	henerasyon
	información	impormasyon
	institución	institusyon
	condición	kondisyon
	combinación	kumbinasyon
	nación	nasyon
	observación	obserbasyon
	oficial	opisyal
	posición	posisyon
	producción	produksyon
	proceso	proseso
	civilizado	sibilisado
	civilización	sibilisasyon
	social	sosyal
	tradición	tradisyon
	tradicional	tradisyonal
/h/ for /x/	generación	henerasyon
	ideología	ideyolohiya
	colegio	kolehiyo
	cosmología	kosmolohiya
	lógica	lohika
	morfología	morpolohiya
	original	orihinal
	religión	relihiyon
	tecnología	teknolohiya
/r/ for /r/	(none)	

Here the conversions discussed in 1.1 present themselves. First, there is a morphological conversion from English to Spanish; second, there is a phonological conversion from Spanish to Tagalog,

both of which make the incorporation of words from English to Filipino possible. The first conversion takes advantage of the structural (phonological and morphological) compatibility existing between Spanish and Tagalog, which came about as a result of extended contact between the two languages, while the second takes care of all incompatibilities not resolved by the first conversion, namely the phonological disparities between Spanish and Tagalog.

The morphological conversion from English to Spanish may be divided into two sections: the conversion of non-affixed words (including non-affixed compounds), and the conversion of affixed words, or of words *and* their affixes. While such a division may seem superficial, it is not spurious: such formations as *kalkulasyon* and *teknikal,* among others, demonstrate errors in affix-conversion, but not in the conversion of stems; conversely, a word like *obhektibo* exemplifies an error in stem-conversion, but not in affix-conversion. These support the notion that the conversion from English to Spanish takes place on two levels—affix- and stem-level.

Another matter to which the above listing provides support is the basic premise of this paper—that the intellectualization of Filipino takes place predominantly through the conversion of words from English to Spanish to Filipino. Why not, it may be asked, simply a conversion from English to Filipino, and/or of Spanish to Filipino? The answer lies in such words as *aktuwal, bersyon, produksyon, posisyon, propesor,* and once again, *kalkulasyon, teknikal,* and *obhektibo.* The first five exemplify forms that may have been borrowed either from English or from Spanish, but are pronounced per Spanish pronunciation (as far as is allowed by Tagalog phonology, that is); the next two exemplify forms that were borrowed from English, but are pronounced in analogy to Spanish forms; the last exemplifies forms whose stems were borrowed from English, whose affixes were borrowed from Spanish, and whose pronunciation follows the patterns of Spanish; and all eight demonstrate the phonological changes that take place in the final incorporation of words into Filipino. Given these relationships, it is not unjustified to

say that English is the source language, Spanish is the intermediary language, and Filipino is the destination or target language in all of these conversions.

3.0 CONCLUSION

The preceding sections have brought to light the morphological and phonological processes immediately involved in Filipino-language intellectualization by English through Spanish, namely, "word-conversion," "affix-conversion," and phonological substitution. It has been further shown how these processes work in conjunction to facilitate the incorporation into Filipino of foreign lexical and morphological items necessary for intellectual discourse, items which in their original forms are structurally incompatible with the target language.

The nature of the phenomenon discussed here gives rise to a paradox of sorts: on the one hand, the issue of intellectualization is one of linguistic development, which is a function of the *diachronic* aspect of language; on the other hand, an accurate structural description of intellectualization is impossible if the phenomenon is not examined from a *synchronic* standpoint—with the observer describing what is, not stating what shall or should be. The resolution of this problematic situation is not impossible, however, given the fact that synchrony and diachrony in language are in fact complementary. Thus, even if the observations presented in this paper are meant to describe exclusively English-through-Spanish intellectualization (whose status as the preferred mode of intellectualizing Filipino is far from permanent, given the volatile nature of language change) these observations still constitute a valid description of the intellectualization of Filipino, since they describe the linguistic status quo, or a portion thereof.

NOTES

1 In the context of this paper, *English* refers to *American English*, and *Spanish* to *Castilian*.

2 Spanish-based intellectualization is the de facto "traditional" mode; the present lack of contact between Spanish and Filipino has, however, resulted in the displacement of the former by English, although Spanish still plays the role of intermediary language in the conversion from English to Filipino.

3 The use of the term *cognate*, although desirable, will not account for such correspondences as exist between derived and non-derived words, e.g., *calculation| cálculo.*

4 The processes of compounding and conversion are also involved, but they are not treated here.

5 On the part of the Filipino speaker / writer, such "errors" may be either intentional or unintentional.

6 While it may be true that *calculate* and *calculation* are **both** borrowings (i.e., derivation occurred before borrowing), it cannot be denied that *–tion* is a productive suffix in English, and that *calculation* can be derived from *calculate.*

7 English affixes are from Marchand ; corresponding Spanish affixes were gathered from various dictionaries: Cuyás, De la Cadena et al., Pei, Raventós, and Noble.

8 *Tagalog* and *Filipino* are not here used interchangeably. *Tagalog* denotes the basis or substrate of *Filipino.*

9 Since the vowel systems of Tagalog and Spanish are almost identical, regular and predictable vowel substitutions do nottake place. The examples given by Goulet account for vowel substitutions in Tagalog "corruptions" of Spanish words, which are neither regular nor predictable, and are thus not presented here.

10 According to Comrie, [β], [ð], [γ] occur intervocalically, in complementary distribution with [b], [d], and [g], respectively, which occur elsewhere. [z], meanwhile, occurs infrequently as an allophone of /s/ before voiced obstruents, but not intervocalically. ([β]=[ƀ] ; [γ]=[ǥ].)

11 Words such as these pose problems for analysis: while it may be that, in English, *official* is not derived form *office*, it is also true that the word may be analyzed as *office* + *(i)al.*

12 Although not analyzable as word + affix, such words—formed through a Neo-Latin basis—do contain affixes, and are hence listed here. Moreover, the stems they contain may be viewed as classical "combining forms" of English words: *anthropo-* = *man, cosmo-* = *universe,* etc.

13 In this case, palatalization causes /s/ to be realized as [ç] before /j/.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams,Valerie. *An Introduction to Modern English Word-formation.* London: Longman, 1973.

Asher, R. E., ed. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics.* Oxford: Pergamon, 1994.

Baugh, Albert C. *A History of the English Language.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959.

Biron-Polo, Jaime. "Ang Pangungusap ng mga Mangmang at ang Pangungusap ng May-Akda: Ang Binibigkas, Ang Sinusulat, Ang Kulturang Binabago." *Diliman Review* 37 (3): 1-7, 1989.

Campbell, George L. *Compendium of the World's Languages.* London: Routledge, 1991.

Comrie, Bernard ed. *The Major Languages of Western Europe.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Cuyás, Arturo. *Appleton's New English-Spanish and Spanish-English Dictionary.* London: D. Appleton-Century, 1942.

De la Cadena, Mariano Velázquez, Edward Cray and Juan L. Iribas (1960). *New Revised Velázquez Spanish and English Dictionary.* Chicago: Follett, 1960.

Gaerlan, Barbara. "Some Thoughts on Language of Instruction at the University of the Philippines Diliman." *Edukasyon* 1 (3): 1-34, 1995.

Goulet, Rosalina Morales. *English, Spanish, and Tagalog: A Study of Grammatical, Lexical and Cultural Interference. Philippine Journal of Linguistics.* Special monograph issue no. 1, 1971.

Hadlich, Roger L. *A Transformational Grammar of Spanish.* New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

Kaplan, Jeffrey P. *English Grammar: Principles and Facts,* 2nd ed. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1995.

Klammer, Thomas P. and Muriel R. Shultz. *Analyzing English Grammar,* 2nd ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996.

Malmkjær, Kirsten, ed. *The Linguistics Encyclopedia.* London: Routledge, 1995.

Marchand, Hans. *The Categories and Types of Present-day English Word-formation: A Synchronic-Diachronic Approach.* Götingen: Hubert, 1960.

Matthews, Peter. *Morphology,* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Noble, Judith and Jaime Lacasa. *Complete Handbook of Spanish Verbs.* Chicago: National Textbook, 1984.

Pei, Mario A. and Salvatore Ramondino. *The New World Spanish-English and English-Spanish Dictionary.* New York: New World Publishing Co, 1968.

Raventós, Margaret H. *Random House Spanish-English and English-Spanish Dictionary.* New York: Random House, 1995.

Torres-Yu, Rosario. "Tungo sa Pagbuo ng Filipinong Diskursong Pangkalinangan." *Philippine Humanities Review* 2 (1): 143-155, 1995.