One step closer to phase 4 in Schneider's Dynamic Model

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Abstract

This paper examines linguistic insecurity among Filipinos as a hindrance to the progress of Philippine English in Schneider's Dynamic Model. Using Watts' sociocognitive approach to language and Rosenberg and Hovland's (1960) tripartite model of attitude, the connection among language myths in the Philippines, standard-language ideology and prescriptivism is unraveled with the aim of showing that PhE is progressing towards endonormative stabilization. Moreover, this paper introduces the concept of *debate tradition,* and advances that it is a powerful catalyst in the alteration of linguistic prescriptivism. It is argued that it is necessary to alter the discourse archive of prescriptivism that governs General American English for PhE norm to be completely accepted by Filipinos. To prove diminishing prescriptivism, the change in language attitude towards PhE is shown by comparing surveys. Finally, a graph is presented that clearly shows the weakening of the complaint tradition, which is a strong indicator of endonormative stabilization.

Keywords: *complaint tradition, Dynamic Model, linguistic insecurity, prescriptivism, standard language ideology*

Introduction

The Dynamic Model of Evolution of Postcolonial Englishes

With the objective of accounting for the commonalities observed among the New Englishes, Schneider (2007) developed a model that claims that "a shared underlying process" (p. 29) operates behind the historical development of these Englishes.[*] His Dynamic Model of Evolution of Postcolonial Englishes (DME of PCEs) postulates that linguistic changes are a result of a series of identity revisions prompted by extralinguistic factors such as historical events and political affairs. The modification of identity and its resultant linguistic development recurs in five consequent phases respectively called: 1) foundation, 2) exonormative stabilization, 3) nativization, 4) endonormative stabilization, and 5) differentiation.

While the developmental phases of most postcolonial Englishes have been satisfactorily located using the Dynamic Model (DM) (Seoane, 2016), some varieties refuse straightforward placement. A case in point is Philippine English (PhE). PhE appears to have a fascinating historical development based on Schneider's DME. After its very rapid progress from Phase 1 to Phase 2, which "practically merged" (Schneider, 2007, p. 140) due to the rapidity of the spread of English

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across the archipelago through public education (Martin, 2014), it lingered in Phase 3 (Nativization), gradually approached Phase 4 (Endonormative Stabilization), then halted, "showing no signs of proceeding any further" (Schneider, 2007, p. 143). However, Borlongan (2011) disagrees with Schneider and suggests the relocation of Philippine English, which made identifying the exact developmental phase of PhE a dilemma. Collins' (2015) and Kirkpatrick's (2018) placing of PhE in the transition space between Phase 3 and Phase 4 intensifies this dilemma. This uncertainty has sparked an animated discussion among Filipino language scholars. For instance, while Borlongan (2016) takes the assertive approach and maintains that PhE indeed has progressed to Phase 4, Martin (2014), on the other hand, displays a cautionary stance. The present study aims to contribute to this debate, in general, and to support the assertive position, in particular.

The Current Debate about Philippine English
Schneider (2007) summarizes the evolution of PCEs as "a sequence of characteristic stages of identity rewritings and associated linguistic changes …" (p. 29). In Phase 4, these correlative abstract phenomena are realized when an Event X ushers in a psychological independence resulting in "the acceptance of a new, indigenous identity" (p. 49). Consequently, the new local English variety will be accepted and adopted in formal usage, therefore divesting itself of its formerly stigmatized nature. Ultimately, it will acquire the privilege of being an identity symbol for its speakers, and the creative among them develop linguistic self-confidence, which empowers them to use the local English in producing laudable literary works. Aitchison (2004) puts it grandly, thus:

> Once standardization has occurred, and a whole population has accepted one particular variety as standard, it becomes a strong unifying force and often a source of national pride and symbol of independence. (p. 258)

Borlongan (2016) maintains that these Phase 4 indicators have already manifested in PhE evolution. To prove his claim, he starts by identifying not only an Event X or the historical landmark considered as the onset of Phase 4, but also by mentioning two post-Event X incidents that he believes intensified the Filipinos' yearning to break loose completely from their former colonizers' residual grip. According to him, the ratification and implementation of the Tydings Rehabilitation Act and the Bell Trade Relations (both post-World War II economic acts) are the Event X. These are augmented by the rejection of the U. S. Military Bases in 1991 and the determination to disregard the US government's condemnation of the Philippines' decision to pull out their small humanitarian contingent in Iraq in July 2004 in response to the demands of the terrorists who kidnapped the OFW Angelo de la Cruz. Surprisingly, this set of Event X and post-Event X's did not bring either of the two expected results: the rejection of the General American English and the identification with Philippine English (Martin, 2014). This is most likely because, in the Philippine context, the matrilect is associated with elitism (Martin, 2014; Tupas, 2008) more than with colonialism, which Schneider considers one factor that can disrupt the development of PCEs. Hence, even if the former colonizers left for good, the language is here to stay (Skinner, 1998, p. 71). Consequently, the attitude towards the language remains the same.

Borlongan (2016) also attempts to prove his claim that PhE is in Phase 4 by looking into the results of his and other Filipino linguists' attitude surveys, and concludes that PhE has already been accepted by Filipinos. However, Martin (2014) emphasizes that "there are doubts about how

widespread the acceptability of PE is, given that the language remains associated with the educated class" (p. 79), rendering the variety a poor choice to be "an identity carrier for most Filipinos" (p. 81). Moreover, the distinction of being a symbol of independence already belongs to Filipino, the national language of the Philippines, and it appears improbable for PhE to have a chance to share the title with Filipino, much less to usurp it. Deliberate promotion of a national language is another factor for developmental fossilization, not to mention the massive attempt at cultural revolution since former President C. Aquino's time.

Finally, according to Schneider, literary creativity in the new variety, which symbolizes not only linguistic but also cultural independence, is another indicator that it has progressed to Phase 4. Kanaganayakam (2012) asserts that Philippine literature in English is a "distinctive and important segment of postcolonial writing in English" (p. 383), and laments that not much attention is given to it in postcolonial literature anthologies. However, in the past three decades, this situation has significantly changed (Ney, 2012). There is now, to borrow Kanaganayakam's words, "intense activity and excitement about [postcolonial] literature and its role in the Philippines itself" (p. 385). Yet, this impression seems to be unfounded because widespread colonial mentality seems to undermine the patronization of one's own literature in English. Martin (2014) reported that the curricula for literature education in the country still prefer Anglo-American literature to Philippine literature in English. This institutional preference causes what Kachru calls "self-doubt" (2005, p. 17) about the prestige and value of one's own postcolonial literature in the individual level. Unsurprisingly, it has been observed that "most Filipinos hardly read Filipino novels in English" (Hau, 2008, p. 322).

Reasonably, Martin (2014) leaves us with a caveat: "Whether or not that English progresses into a variety of Endonormative Stabilization remains to be seen" (p. 81). Undiscouraged, Borlongan (2016) accentuates that what really is intriguing is "… *how*, not *if*, Philippine English will progress in Schneider's model" (p. 7, italics original). So, now a more challenging question has confronted Filipino language researchers: with all the factors that produce linguistic insecurity among speakers of PhE, how can it progress in Schneider's DME?

Saraceni (2010) describes the attitudes of speakers towards a New English variety as an "additional element of enquiry" in World Englishes. However, in this essay, this additional element is the central element of enquiry. Through many studies in sociolinguistics, it is known that attitudes towards languages and their varieties are likely to underpin numerous short- and long-term behavioral results that may help in determining if a language or a language variety will spread (Garrett et al., 2003; McKenzie, 2010). Thus, this paper argues that Philippine English will progress further in Schneider's Dynamic Model by overcoming the deep-rooted linguistic insecurity harbored by many of its speakers. This can be achieved by altering the *discourse archive* (Watts, 2010) that governs General American English (GAE) and PhE. And what can alter this discourse archive is the *debate tradition*.

Conceptual Framework

According to Paterno (2018), a large portion of the issue of language attitude towards English was conditioned not just by historical and economic factors, but by social factors as well. Thus, "[i]t is not enough to [merely] articulate our own beliefs and attitudes; it is important that we examine them in the light of their interconnectedness with broader ideologies circulating in society and in the world as well" (Tupas, 2018, p. 93). Thus, Labov (2010) urges language scholars to examine ideology as it has the potential to facilitate or delay language development since nonstructural changes are also involved in language evolution (Mufwene, 2003). For example, in *An*

Investigation of Attitudes Towards English Accents—A Case Study of a University in China, Fang (2017) examines the extent to which Chinese students' attitudes towards their English accents have been influenced by standard language ideology and how this, in turn, affects the growth of a possible local English variety.

Watts' Sociocognitive Approach to Language
Watts (2010) maintains that if language is socially acquired and becomes integrated within cognition, it is necessary to develop a socio-cognitive theory of language. This theory must be "able to deal with variability, change, flexibility, and creativity precisely because it hinges on a historical understanding of the … development of language" (p., 6). It appears that his model will be an invaluable supplement to Schneider's Dynamic Model, which also hinges on a historical understanding of postcolonial Englishes. In fact, Schneider (2007) is convinced that:

> … there are possible effects of the relationship between language and cognition. In recent years, linguists have come to increasingly accept that language is not a self-sufficient "system," hanging out there somewhere "in thin air," as it were, but it is determined strongly by human cognition and its conditions. Hence, cognitive principles (of whatever kind) … clearly play a role in language evolution. (p. 98)

Watts' theory begins with discussing *orthodoxa,* a term that Bourdieu introduced in 1977 to refer to a set of taken for granted beliefs in the society. Myths are examples of these taken for granted beliefs. People propagate this set of beliefs putatively accepted as "truths" through various forms of discourse without examining their factual bases. Collectively, this prevalent set of taken for granted beliefs may be referred to as an ideology. In the context of language, Watts asserts that as language myths grow more tenacious due to social reproduction through discourse, or the more myths are supportive of one another, the more probable that a language ideology will manifest. Once this language ideology is embedded in the "dominant hegemonic discourse" (p. 23), statements that are considered "laws" arise, thus engendering a *discourse archive* of what can/not be said or believed in a society (Foucault, 1972 as cited in Watts, 2010). However, vis-à-vis orthodoxa is *heterodoxa*, a term Bourdieu used to refer to beliefs that challenge ideologies, which opens the possibility to modify or nullify myths.

Mentalist Approach to Language Attitude
There are two general approaches to attitude studies—the behaviorist and the mentalist. For the purposes of this study, the latter approach, which views attitude as an "internal state of readiness" (McKenzie, 2010, p. 21) will be adopted. One frequently invoked conception of attitude within the mentalist approach is Rosenberg and Hovland's (1960 as cited in Garrett et al., 2003) *tripartite model*. This model hypothesizes that attitude has a triadic nature comprising an affective, a conative, and a cognitive component. A person's propensity to behave in one way or another forms the conative component of attitude, while his emotional response to an attitudinal object forms the affective component, and his beliefs make up the cognitive component (McKenzie, 2010).
Beliefs, which are essentially cognitive in nature (Garrett et al., 2003), can be grouped into two kinds: descriptive and prescriptive beliefs. Descriptive beliefs involve "perceptions or hypotheses about the world" (p. 20), whereas prescriptive beliefs contain statements with deontic modals such as *should* or *ought to* (McKenzie, 2010). These two kinds of beliefs correspond neatly to the two broad approaches to linguistics, which are descriptivism and prescriptivism. If a

discourse archive is fundamentally a set of taken for granted beliefs, and if beliefs are a component of attitude, then it can be assumed that attitude is influenced by a discourse archive. In the context of language, this suggests that language attitude is influenced, if not determined, by the discourse archive on language.

Myths about English in the Philippines

According to Tupas (2018), the language ideologies that Filipinos hold about English must be tackled, unpacked, and transformed to end the hegemonic reign of English in the Philippines. However, in order to do this, the origins of these language ideologies must be identified first. Watts (2000) advises that to succeed in tracing the evolution of a language ideology, it is necessary to identify the convolution of myths that make up the foundation of taken for granted beliefs constructing that ideology. In the Philippines, Martin (2010) identifies and discusses four myths about English: Myth 1: American English is the only correct English; Myth 2: English is the only cure to all economic ailments; Myth 3: English and Filipino are languages in opposition; and Myth 4: English is the only language of knowledge.

Applying Watts' conceptual framework, these are the taken for granted beliefs in the Philippine society. This complex of myths represents the "truth" about GAE in the country. In foresight, Martin (2010) warns that, if these present-day myths perdure, they will hold back the Filipinos from completely accepting PhE as their own reputable English variety.

Looking at the myths closely, one will notice that while myth 3 is of a slightly different nature, the rest of the myths are directly connected and supportive of one another. Specifically, myth 2 and myth 4 support myth 1. The beliefs that English is the panacea to all problems concerning Philippine economy and that it serves as the only access to knowledge necessary for students to learn in school strengthen the misconception that GAE is the only correct English variety in the Philippines. Conversely, PhE is viewed as a substandard or deficient variety. Arguably, this view is an outgrowth of the first phase of English studies in the Philippines, which focused on error analysis (Bautista, 2000). This approach looks and assesses a new variety in terms of its relationship with the standard of the matrilect, resulting in negative judgments and attitudes that evoke linguistic insecurity (Mazzon, 2000).

Standard-language Ideology and Prescriptivism

The tenacity of myth 1 resulted in the emergence of what has been known as the standard-language ideology (Milroy & Milroy, 2012; Lippi-Green, 2012). This language ideology refers to the dominant set of beliefs that there is only one "correct" variety of a language and the rest are "incorrect" because they are "nonstandard". In the Philippine context, the correct variety corresponds to GAE and the incorrect variety to PhE. According to Bernardo (2018), it is imperative that Filipino students understand the debates revolving on the standard language ideology. Essentially, the misguided subscription to the standard-language ideology gives rise to prescriptivism, "which requires that in language use, as in other matters, things shall be done in the 'right' way" (Milroy & Milroy, 2012, p. 1). What we can see here is the instantiation of the two kinds of beliefs, the descriptive and the prescriptive, which constitute the cognitive component of the triadic structure of attitude. The standard-language ideology, a kind of prescriptive belief, results in prescriptivism. Clearly, all this suggests that the language attitude of Filipinos towards PhE is strongly influenced by the standard language ideology prevalent in the country.

Curzan (2014) elaborates on the behavioral effect of prescriptivism by defining it as "the conscious and explicit efforts to regulate the language of others that carry institutional authority— typically, the authority that comes with publication and adoption in the educational system" (p.

17). Furthermore, analyzing the various aims of prescriptive rules, she came up with four strands of institutional prescriptivism, namely: 1) standardizing prescriptivism, 2) stylistic prescriptivism, 3) restorative prescriptivism, and 4) politically responsive prescriptivism.

These prescriptivism strands are differentiated from one another based on their aims. While standardizing prescriptivism comprises rules/judgments that aim to "promote and enforce standardization and 'standard' usage", stylistic prescriptivism encompasses rules/judgments that aim to "differentiate among (often fine) points of style within standard usage." On the other hand, restorative prescriptivism is limited to those rules/judgments that aim to "restore earlier, but now relatively obsolete, usage and/or turn to older forms to purify usage"; whereas, politically responsive prescriptivism refers to rules/judgments that aim to "promote inclusive, nondiscriminatory, politically correct, and/or politically expedient usage" (p. 24).

This prescriptivism quartet is the main instrument in promoting the standard-language ideology (Milroy & Milroy, 2012; Curzan, 2014). Over an adequate period of time, these prescriptive rules, especially the standardizing ones, become naturalized that people consider them exempted from critical questioning (Lippi-Green, 2012). In short, they are transformed into some sort of "laws" (Curzan, 2014) that elevate standard English varieties as the only "correct Englishes" and render nonstandard ones as "incorrect". As has been defined in section 3.1, the discourse archive is like a set of "laws" of what can/not be said or believed in a society. Thus, prescriptivism corresponds to what Watts calls the discourse archive. Curzan has presupposed this incorporation of prescriptivism into the study of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes when she projected that "institutionalized prescriptivism as a sociolinguistic phenomenon has yet to be effectively integrated as a factor into the broader study of 'language change' in the history of English" (p. 9).

Linguistic Insecurity

According to Curzan, assuming a pseudo-legal authority, prescriptivism can have serious linguistic and attitudinal impacts to individuals, i. e. they become anxious of what they think and feel are licensed to express about theirs and others' linguistic performance. This anxiety is known as linguistic insecurity (Delahunty & Garvey, 2010).

According to *The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics,* linguistic insecurity refers to "the negative attitude by a group within a larger community towards their own language or variety" (Brown & Miller, 2013, p. 268). Specifically, the speakers perceive their (own variety of) language as inferior to others, especially to standard varieties. As Labov (2006) has observed, the development of correctness has brought along with it the development of linguistic insecurity, which, generally speaking, is likely to manifest among speakers who adopt an exonormative standard. This is precisely the reason why linguistic insecurity is typical among speakers of outer and expanding circle varieties (Mooney & Evans, 2015). Based on this, it is reasonable to conclude that the "linguistic insecurity" that Bautista has observed and the "self-doubt about one's literature" that Martin's study revealed, which result in the hesitance to embrace the local norm of PhE decisively, are aftermaths of the high period of prescriptivism in the history of English in the Philippines.

Overcoming Linguistic Insecurity
The "Debate Tradition". As already mentioned, this paper argues that overcoming linguistic insecurity through the alteration of the discourse archive, prescriptivism, is the way for PhE to

progress in Schneider's Dynamic Model. And this alteration of the discourse archive can be accomplished through public debates.

Schneider (2007) wrote about Phase 4 in *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the World*:

> The existence of a new language form is recognized, and this form has lost its former stigma and is positively evaluated. *Ultimately* [emphasis added], the community reaches an understanding that the new local norm, distinct from the norms of the original colonizers, will also be accepted as adequate in formal usage. (p. 50)

Schneider uses the temporal transitional device "ultimately", which, in the foregoing context, denotes both a process and a certain duration of time. But what process does he refer to in his statements? His elaboration of this process is found in his later essay entitled *Developmental Patterns of English: Similar or Different?* (Schneider, 2010), where he wrote:

> At the same time, you typically also find linguists and others who suggest that the educated local variety of English should be accepted as correct and as a model for others. Thus, discussions about what are appropriate norms are widespread in many countries which are at a certain developmental stage…. (p. 374)

This passage clearly shows that Schneider suggests that some sort of counter-discourse arises during the transition of the emergent indigenous English variety from Phase 3 to Phase 4. This is confirmed when he further argues that:

> Typically, such a *public struggle* [emphasis added] for what is and what is not correct in matters linguistic is followed by an increasing tendency towards the acceptance of a new, local variety of English as appropriate even in formal contexts. It is adopted by some first, then spreads gradually in a society until even policy-makers accept it. (p. 374)

It is clear from the foregoing passage that before the ultimate acceptance of the adequacy and appropriateness in formal contexts of the nativized English variety, there is an anterior "public struggle". This sociolinguistic phenomenon may be called the "debate tradition" for terminological parallelism with the Milroys' the "complaint tradition". Based on Schneider's elaboration, the "debate tradition" is hereby defined as a public struggle where linguists promote the adoption and utilization of the newly developed local norm of English.

As has already been mentioned, co-existing with the *orthodoxa,* though marginalized, is *heterodoxa* or beliefs that challenge existing myths. This challenge has the capacity to modify, and even nullify, these myths, which, in turn, will result in the unmasking of an ideology. Ultimately, the unmasking of an ideology will undermine the discourse archive that it supports. In the context of PhE, the "debate tradition" corresponds to the *heterodoxa*. This public struggle of promoting the new local norm has the capacity to nullify, or at least modify, the language myths about English in the Philippines identified by Martin (2010). The modification, or maybe nullification, of these myths, especially myth number one, will result in the unmasking of the standard-language ideology. Eventually, the discourse archive of prescriptivism will disintegrate. The gradual process of disintegration of the discourse archive could be what Schneider was thinking when he decided to use the transitional device "ultimately".

Challenging Prescriptivism in the Philippines. Prescriptivism as a discourse archive manifests in two levels, namely: individual and institutional (Curzan, 2014). Curzan clarifies that, between the two, it is the latter that can invoke linguistic insecurity. She defines institutional prescriptivism as the method of endorsing the doctrine of correctness with the cultural and social power of publication, adoption in schools, and the like. Among the several avenues for prescriptivism, it is schools which introduce the standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 2012). Macedo et al. (2003) argue along the same line when they historicize that "[s]chools, throughout history, have directly helped to devalue … 'varieties' or 'dialects'" (p. 40). Milroy and Milroy (2012) elaborated on this assumed participation of schools by explaining that "[t]he norms of written and formal English have … been codified in dictionaries, grammars and handbooks of usage and inculcated by prescription through the educational system" (p. 30). In short, literacy has become the major instrument in the promotion of the ideology of standard language, unintentionally implanting linguistic insecurity on the students' minds (Hymes, 1996). This makes the school the typical venue where the discourse archive of prescriptivism can be effectively challenged.

In the Philippine context, the myth that American English is the only correct English has started to confront significant challenges. As what Schneider has noted, the approach of a postcolonial English variety to endonormative stabilization phase is heralded by the dissentient voices of linguists who serve as exponents of the new local norm. They champion the acceptance and adoption of this new norm based on its pragmatic functions that render it "pedagogically appropriate" (Tupas, 2010).

One of the staunchest Filipino linguists who keep raising questions about the appropriate norm to adopt in ELT in the Philippines is Tupas, who maintains that, in the sociolinguistics of ELT, the question of norm selection must remain the focal concern. In his essay *Which Norms in Everyday Practice, and Why?* (2010), he suggests that it is of utmost relevance to examine first the nature of pedagogical norms since they are only "social constructs" forged by various forces ranging from the cultural to the ideological. He advances the possibility that this critical approach to pedagogical linguistic norms might result in some sort of "agency in ELT" (p. 576). He explicates:

> The nature of norms as being able to determine parameters of practice is paradoxically a liberating moment: the limits they set may not be successfully transcended easily, but they can be stretched and negotiated so that users of norms … are able to generate creative and fresh ways of thinking and configurations of practice. (p. 576)

He asserts that when teachers participate in the negotiation of established pedagogical norms, they actually engaged in the debate tradition. Tupas's words "liberating," "transcended," "stretched," "negotiated," and his phrase "generate creative and fresh ways of thinking and configurations of practice" all support the stance of this paper that the debate tradition has the capacity to dissipate the discourse archive of prescriptivism. As mentioned earlier, prescriptivism is born out of the standard-language ideology propagated by the myth American English is the only correct English (Martin, 2010).

In one of his latest essays entitled *Teacher Ideology in English Language Education*, Tupas (2018) presents three "theoretical routes" in the reconceptualization of ELT in the Philippines, namely: 1) changing what English to teach, 2) changing how to teach English, and 3) changing how to think about English. He argues that a successful reconceptualization of ELT in the

Philippines is possible through critical discourses of "pernicious [broad] ideologies". He is convinced that:

> the teaching of English is intricately linked with discourses and relations between languages … [which] include ideologies about the superiority of English, especially its "standard" forms, as evidenced by burgeoning attempts to claim English-only spaces in school and the unremitting calls to arrest the perceived decline in standards of English proficiency of Filipino students. (p. 86)

Within Watts' sophisticated conceptualization, it is clear that the three theoretical routes that Tupas proposes correspond to what Bourdieu calls heterodoxa, or counter-discourse that challenges ideologies, which is necessary in altering a discourse archive. In general, Tupas (2010) is of the conviction that the pedagogical debate about which norm to adopt has the potential to alter the linguistic discourse archive because "any choice will inevitably be implicated in ethical and political questions about ideology …" (p. 576). Specifically, he means the democratization of the pedagogical norms of English by giving room to nativized distinctive features and other linguistic modifications.

A tangible response to Tupas's call to action is the development of an endocentric approach to English grammar teaching by Bernardo (2018), who is another key player in the debate tradition. He argues that it is necessary to incorporate PhE norm in ELT in the Philippines, and the ways he suggests in doing this include designing syllabi that are PhE-based and creating ESL textbooks and work texts that feature both PhE and GAE grammar. Moreover, he notes that it is advantageous to juxtapose PhE grammar with GAE norm to make the students aware of the differences between the two varieties and, thus, critical of which variety to use in various situations. However, he points out that the attempt to make PhE appear as a co-norm, if not the norm, in an ESL class is what specifically makes ELT approach endocentric.

Even though Tupas (2010) may be right when he clarifies that a change of pedagogical norm, despite being a "legitimizing practice", still manifests some sort of prescriptivism, Bernardo's endonormative approach to English grammar teaching is of a different nature from the traditional sense of prescriptivism. Curzan (2014) calls it a "linguistically informed prescriptivism", which describes a language teaching approach that provides shared standards for both spoken and written forms without discrimination of either standard.

Thus, Bernardo encourages teachers not to mark wrong the constructions *with regards to, fill up* (in the sense of providing information in a form)*, result to and based from* in students' essays especially if, during the writing process, it is the local readers that are the target audience on the students' minds. With this exhortation, Bernardo could be considered a "Great Permitter", a term coined by the *New York Times* writer William Safire, which refers to "intelligent, determined people" who are willing to accept useful new usages (Aitchison, 2004, p. 258). His suggestion that it is imperative for textbook writers to include contemporary issues concerning the use of PhE to foster a lively debate about its acceptance and adoption proves that he assumes one of the lead roles in the debate tradition stage.

Filipino linguists' collective endeavor to foster a debate tradition in ELT classrooms is certainly an effective catalyst since "the educational system is the heart of the standardization process" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 68).

Altering Discourse Archive: A Sign of Progress in the Dynamic Model
Language Attitude Surveys
As has been mentioned earlier, this paper argues that overcoming linguistic insecurity by altering the linguistic discourse archive through a debate tradition is the way for PhE to progress in Schneider's Dynamic Model. The foregoing discussion aims to establish the fact that the linguistic discourse archive of prescriptivism is the source of linguistic insecurity towards PhE and that the debate tradition striving to alter this status quo has already emerged. Correspondingly, evidence pointing to the conclusion that this debate tradition is on its way to altering the discourse archive must be presented.

One way to see if the debate tradition is successful in eroding the discourse archive of prescriptivism is to compare early and recent surveys on language attitude towards PhE of Filipino teachers and students alike.

In 2000, Bautista conducted two surveys among the English language faculties of a few leading universities in the Philippines to know their attitudes towards PhE (Borlongan, 2016). Her findings revealed that although the respondents acknowledged the legitimacy of PhE and are not embarrassed in using it, they are still hesitant to accept some "deviant" linguistic items. Similarly, Tupas (2010) found that the seven Filipino teacher-students who served as subjects of the study felt empowered by the legitimacy of PhE in World Englishes paradigm but are reluctant to recommend it as a pedagogical model emphasizing that GAE provides social mobility and economic advantages. In a survey of a much bigger sample (185 elementary and high school English teachers) than the previous one, Martin (2010) encounters the same ambivalent attitude towards PhE among the respondents. Despite that more than half of the total number of respondents believed that they speak PhE, nearly the same portion admitted that GAE is the pedagogical model they still aim to teach. To borrow the words of Tupas (2010):

> Their position is both empowering and disempowering, capitulating and resisting, a testament to the conditioned practices of their work as English language teachers. (p. 571)

In 2009, Borlongan (Martin, 2014) conducted an attitude-study to 50 university students from private universities in Manila, and concluded, in contrast to the findings of the foregoing studies, that younger Filipinos exhibit a willingness to extend their use of PhE in more domains of communication, which corresponds to the Kachruvian concept of "range" (p. 12). Moreover, they expressed their belief that Philippine English could serve as a symbol of their national identity as much as Filipino does.

With a cursory glance, these contradictory results seem baffling, almost anomalous, since the studies, except Bautista's, were conducted around the same period. However, a careful look at the variables will provide an explanation regarding the discrepancy of results. In the set of surveys that yielded sociolinguistic ambivalence, the respondents were teachers, who, inferentially speaking, were older and thus belonged to a period when prescriptive attitude was at its strongest due to the unchallenged standard language ideology. Their beliefs and understanding about PhE are still very much influenced by what Bautista (2000) calls the first phase of PhE studies, technically known as error analysis, which focused on describing the "errors" in PhE. On the other hand, the students, whom Borlongan collectively calls "younger Filipinos", were born in a different time and exposed to a different linguistic milieu. This was when a more enlightened PhE studies was starting to flourish under the aegis of World Englishes. It corresponds to what Bautista calls the fourth phase in PhE studies, the start of codification of Standard Philippine English. Borrowing Crystal's optimistic words, it is possible that:

> In a few years' time, the new generation of schoolchildren, well grounded in pragmatic principles, will be out there in society, able to counter unthinking prescriptive attitudes … . (2004, p. 524)

So, is the change in attitude towards PhE an indication of the dissolution of the standard-language ideology and the alteration of the discourse archive of prescriptivism? In other words, is it a sign of a gradual acceptance of PhE and, hence, its progress in the Dynamic Model? These curious questions will be answered by presenting other pieces of evidence from recent studies.

According to Bernardo (2018), the basis for his decision to design an endocentric approach to English grammar teaching is his two studies conducted in 2013 and 2014. In his 2013-study, he found out that "a majority of college English language teachers *believe* [emphasis added] that they use both American and Philippine Englishes in the ELT classroom and outside borders and that they *aspire* [emphasis added] to formally teach both varieties, i.e., use them as their pedagogical standard, particularly in the teaching of grammar" (p. 102). His 2014 study, which aims to find out the degree of conformity to GAE norm, on the one hand, and the degree of reliance on PhE norm, on the other hand, by English teachers from three prestigious Philippine universities, yielded supportive results. For one, it revealed that "[a] larger population of teachers now *approve of* [emphasis added] not only one variety of English as a pedagogical model in Philippine schools and not only one variety as a model for local usage but a pluricentric variety, i.e., two varieties—one inner-circle variety (American English) and the local and nativized variety (Philippine English [PE])" (p. 102).

What is interesting is Bernardo's lexical choice. He used the verb "believe", which corresponds to the cognitive component of attitude; "aspire" to affective component; and "approve of" to conative component. All three verbs have positive denotations, which clearly shows that there is a change in attitude towards PhE as a variety of English. Moreover, this attitude is in congruence with Schneider's (2007) description of the sociolinguistic conditions in Phase 4 where:

> The existence of a new language form is recognized, and this form has lost its former stigma and is positively evaluated. Ultimately, the community reaches an understanding that the new local norm, distinct from the norms of the original colonizers, will also be accepted as adequate in formal usage. (p. 50)

However, Schneider leaves a reminder that "a linguistic norm can be imposed only for formal written domains and as a target of language education; in oral usage and colloquial contexts all English-speaking communities tolerate some degree of deviance" (p. 50). To this reminder, Bernardo's (2018) findings in his 2013-study of locally published textbooks used in ELT classrooms may serve as a satisfactory response. After finding a plethora of putative PhE distinctive linguistic features in local textbooks, he is convinced that this implies evaluation of these features as reputable not only in spoken but in written discourses as well.

Consolidating these findings, Bernardo concludes that the "thinking that college English language teachers rely solely on GAE now seems unfounded because, in reality, they use two varieties, GAE and PE—GAE as the target or idealized variety but GAE and PE as the propagated varieties" (p. 103). In other words, it is now proven that the reputation awarded GAE as the only language of knowledge in the classroom and the only correct English variety in the Philippines is nothing more than a persistent ideology, a concrete example of the general standard-language ideology (Milroy & Milroy, 2012). However, the specific finding that is of more relevance to the

stance of this essay is the fact that PhE is now a variety that is being "propagated" even in the academia. This is equivalent to saying that the standard-language ideology in the Philippines has been unmasked and the discourse archive of prescriptivism has started to alter. Again, as argued in this paper, the alteration of the linguistic discourse archive through the challenges posed to the standard-language ideology by the debate tradition could facilitate the overcoming of linguistic insecurity. Consequently, PhE will progress in the Dynamic Model.

Nevertheless, both Borlongan (2016) and Bernardo (2018) are cautious in forming a hasty generalization based on their findings due to statistical accuracy of representation of their respondents. The former tries to rationalize the value of his study by emphasizing that although his respondents cannot necessarily represent the entire population of the Philippines considering that they belong in the higher socio-economic stratum, they somehow represent the "native speakers" of Philippine English (Borlongan, 2016). On the other hand, the latter points out that although the findings of his study may not encompass all Filipino English teachers' attitudes towards GAE and PhE, he is optimistic that the results could be indicative of a new linguistic discourse archive—an incipient general acceptance that the PhE norm is tantamount to the GAE norm.

But then again, generalization should not be a constant source of worries because Schneider (2010) assures linguists that the local norm is initially adopted by a relatively small portion of a speech community, and then gradually gets accepted by more and more speakers until language policy-makers patronize it.

The Complaint Tradition. In the previous section, it has been proven that sociolinguistic and educational debates concerning linguistic insecurity really seem to affect the linguistic discourse archive in a school, as Rampton (2006) has also observed in one of his studies. However, the educational system is not the sole instrument in propagating the standard-language ideology through prescriptivism.

Outside the classrooms, the standard-language ideology is strongly promoted by writers through what has been known as *the complaint tradition* (Milroy & Milroy, 2012). In this tradition, writers ranging from average language users to respected journalists and renowned litterateurs publicly express their worries about what they perceive as a decline in language standards in the society. In the context of World Englishes, Schneider (2010) defines the complaint tradition as the sociolinguistic phenomenon where "educated, typically high-status speakers, deplore the quality of local linguistic performance and linguistic usage [since they] perceive the local English as … deficient" (p. 374). Based on his observation, he comes up with a generalization that it is a common feature present in the majority of countries where nativized English varieties, such as in the Philippines, have emerged. Quoting Thompson (2003), Schneider shares that the last few decades in the Philippines have witnessed a decline in English language proficiency among Filipinos, which gave rise to the complaint tradition.

According to Schneider, the typical form that the complaint tradition takes is the letter to the editor in reputable newspapers. However, in the Philippines it appears that the two most common journalistic genres that language guardians utilize to promote the standard-language ideology are the opinion column and the editorial. Moreover, there are numerous news articles about the decline in English language proficiency that could be considered quasi-complaints as they also serve as expressions of alarm at the perceived linguistic decline, which reinforces prescriptivism. All this implies that the active language guardians in the Philippines are mostly journalists and not the public readers, who are the common senders of letter of complaints to the

editor. However, this is hardly surprising because "an influential writer-journalist can clearly make interesting suggestions and provide models for others to follow" (Aitchison, 2004, p. 258).

The following graph is a rough statistics of the total number of news and opinion articles about English proficiency decline. Five major Philippine dailies are examined, viz.: *The Philippine Daily Inquirer* (PDI), *Philippine Star* (PS), *Manila Bulletin* (MB), *Manila Times* (MT) and *Malaya* (M). The data for this statistics were taken from two comprehensive periodical indices. The first one is The Index to Philippine Newspaper (IPN) Online: Version 2.0 (Beta), which is the University of the Philippines Main Library's index to major and minor local newspapers. The other one is the Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University Computerized Index to Philippine Periodical Articles. The data comprise five kinds of articles, namely: 1) articles reporting a decline in English language proficiency, 2) articles discussing specific emergent PhE features considered as "errors" or misusages, 3) articles urging the abolition of an educational policy that causes/worsens linguistic decline, 4) articles urging the (re)implementation of an educational policy that can mitigate/arrest the decline, and 5) articles calling to awareness the habits/activities that cause/worsen English incompetence.
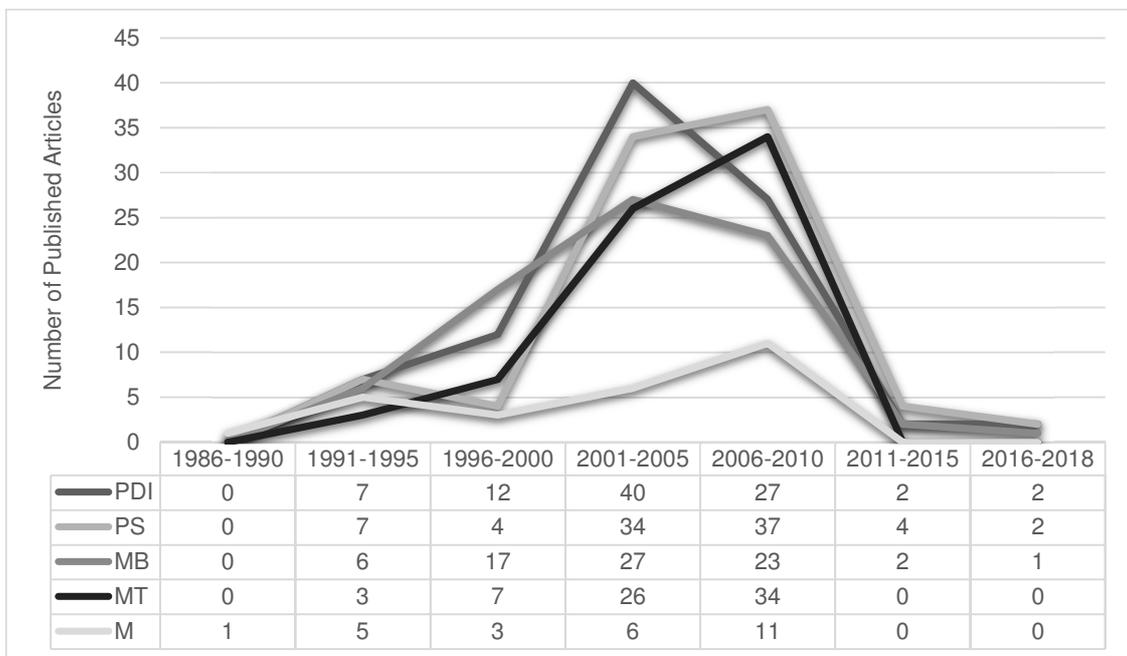

	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001-2005	2006-2010	2011-2015	2016-2018
PDI	0	7	12	40	27	2	2
PS	0	7	4	34	37	4	2
MB	0	6	17	27	23	2	1
MT	0	3	7	26	34	0	0
M	1	5	3	6	11	0	0

Figure 1. Complaint tradition in five major Philippine dailies

The figures show that prescriptivism in the Philippines was publicly roused in the 1990s, which supports Thompson's (2003) observation that the 1990s were a critical period for PhE because just as it was being hailed as a legitimate New English, its standard began to deteriorate. However, the actual birth of the complaint tradition was the publication of the news article *Strengthening of English in Schools Urged* in Bulletin Today on September 4, 1981. Twenty-one days later, on September 25, 1981, an article titled *Nix Yanks English for Pinoys* was published, which urges teachers to "teach our children … to speak English correctly in their own Filipino way," (p. 19)—an early forerunner of the debate tradition!

It will be noticed that the complaint tradition intensified after the lustrum 1996-2000, 2000 being the publication year of Bautista's *Defining Standard Philippine English: Its status and*

grammatical features, and thus, essentially coincides with what she calls the Phase 4 of PhE studies, the codification stage. This implies a much stronger prescriptivism as resistance to the endeavor of codifying PhE. However, the most interesting information this statistics reveal is the conspicuous drop in the number of articles about English language proficiency decline. This is because opinion columns about grammatical errors in English have also disappeared. What could have caused this disappearance?

According to Schneider (2007), when a nativized English variety reaches Phase 4, the "complaint tradition" gradually loses its former popularity and potency. Sociolinguistically speaking, linguistic insecurity is slowly being replaced by linguistic self-confidence. But how does this gradual change in attitude exactly happen? Watts (2010) suggests that "all that is needed for a complaint tradition to emerge is a language that is considered to be superior to other languages" (p. 160), which in the Philippine context is realized in the myth: English is the only correct English and the only language of knowledge. Therefore, all that is needed for a complaint tradition to "submerge" is the undermining of the standard-language ideology through the nullification of its underpinning myths. And this is accomplished by endorsing the local English norm, resulting in the "debate tradition". This tradition, which is a reaction to the complaint tradition, challenges the hegemonic discourse and thus, eventually, results in the alteration of the linguistic discourse archive of prescriptivism. This could be equated with some kind of progress in the Dynamic Model. Summarily, there is a movement from a public lament to a public struggle to a public acceptance and adoption.

But how can we be certain that the weakening of the complaint tradition, which began in the lustrum 2011-2015, is an indication of an ongoing discourse archive alteration? As has always been argued, the change in the discourse archive will manifest through the change of attitude from linguistic insecurity to linguistic self-confidence. As early as the 2008-First Quarter Social Weather Survey, the number of Filipinos who think that they have poor proficiency in English has dwindled (Martin, 2010). Before this year, newspapers bore headlines that debunked the myths mentioned above. Some of these headlines are *English doesn't spell progress*, *English won't ease RP's woes—Militants*, *Misplaced emphasis on English*, *Study says English has small roles in gov't deals*, *Labor group bats for English as medium of instruction*, *Order prescribing English as second language opposed* and *Mandating wider use of English in schools questioned before SC*. All these show a changed attitude towards the English language. This made Martin, in 2010, wonder "… if this is an indication of a growing acceptance of or confidence in the language" (p. 261), which is a strong indicator of Phase 4. Eight years later, she seems to answer her own question when she argues that:

> Whether they accept it or not, Filipino teachers of English are already using Philippine English in their classroom. They are already teaching it. (p. 4)

Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to make manifest the fact that PhE is indeed progressing towards endonormative stabilization phase in Schneider's Dynamic Model of Evolution of Postcolonial Englishes (Borlongan 2011; Borlongan, 2016), albeit slowly and inconspicuously. This has been accomplished by investigating linguistic insecurity, the sociolinguistic factor that hinders the acceptance of the newly developed norm of PhE. In investigating linguistic insecurity, Watts' sociocognitive approach to language and mentalist approach to attitude, specifically Rosenberg and Hovland's (1960) tripartite model, have been applied. With the analytic power of the synthesis

of these two approaches, it has been revealed that linguistic insecurity is the result of prescriptivism, the instrument in promoting the standard language ideology, which, in turn, is founded on language myths in the Philippines. Moreover, this paper has introduced the concept of "debate tradition", which, using Schneider's words, could be defined as a public struggle for what is and what is not correct in matters linguistic. This tradition is considered a counter-discourse to the complaint tradition and has been proposed as the catalyst of the alteration of the linguistic discourse archive of prescriptivism. Finally, to prove that prescriptivism is undergoing an alteration, language attitude surveys that support this claim have been presented augmented with a graph that clearly shows the weakening of the complaint tradition—a strong indicator of endonormative stabilization.

Although, as Crystal (2004) rightly puts it, "… changes in linguistic attitudes and practices do not come to be accepted overnight, or even overdecade" (p. 524), this shall not be a source of despair. The first Extraterritorial Englishes namely, Irish English, Scottish English, Canadian English, Australian English, New Zealand English, and American English, were not immediately recognized as independent varieties, much less as new standards (Mazzon, 2000). They all underwent the same long and troubled process of recognition that PhE is currently undergoing. "If American English eventually became an alternate baseline, it did so only after early British speakers repeatedly faulted it for failing to meet expressed standards … (Machan, 2009, p. 244). Crystal (2004) assures us, "it is only a matter of time" (p. 524).

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