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MA. LOURDES S. BAUTISTA

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

A recent development in the areas of language teaching and sociolinguistics is the interest in the new varieties of English. These "new Englishes," as they have been called, have developed in countries where English is not natively spoken but is a second language widely used as a *lingua franca* and/or medium of instruction and/or official language. Commonly cited examples are Indian English, Singapore English, and Philippine English.

The pioneering work in Philippine English is Llamzon's *Standard Filipino English*.¹ In this work, Llamzon used the language of influentials like Ferdinand Marcos, Raul Manglapus, the president of Ateneo de Manila University as the basis for his "standard Filipino English." On the other hand, the most comprehensive description of Philippine English to date is Gonzalez and Alberca's *Philippine English of the Mass Media*,² which documents the language of media practitioners, the assumed pacesetters for the "standard Philippine English" that is a-borning.

A longer and more theoretically elaborated version of this paper was presented at the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre Seminar on New Varieties of English, held 20-24 April 1981, in Singapore.

I would like to thank Bro. Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, President of De La Salle University, and Mr. Robert Salazar, a colleague in the Behavioral Sciences Department of De La Salle, for helping me formulate the research problem and the methodology; Mrs. Sevie Santos and Sr. Mary Asuncion Bonafe, OSB, for allowing me to conduct interviews in their schools; Mrs. Glory Arias, for facilitating my interaction with the *yayas*; Mrs. Hiroko Okada, for assisting me in the interviews; and most of all, the *yayas*, for being very accommodating and helpful.

1. Teodoro A. Llamzon, *Standard Filipino English* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1969).

2. Andrew Gonzalez and Wilfredo Alberca, *Philippine English of the Mass Media*, preliminary edition. (Manila: Research Council, De La Salle University, 1978).

The English that has been described in these two works is the educated variety of Philippine English; it is the purpose of my study to look at another variety of Philippine English — that variety which is spoken by the less educated and more rural Filipinos.

For this purpose, it was decided to look at the English of *yayas*. The *yaya* — the Filipino version of the European governess or the Chinese *amah* and an ubiquitous feature in the home of young Filipino families of the upper and middle class — is typically not equipped to speak English, being a girl from the province who may not have finished grade school. And yet in her role as *yaya* she is actually compelled to use English. This is because, for both practical and snobbish reasons, it has become almost customary for young affluent or upwardly mobile Filipino families to bring up their children speaking English.

At this point it is important to highlight the central role played by the *yaya* in the Filipino home. Unlike the family cook or the family laundrywoman, the *yaya* participates in the life of the family to a great degree. She watches over the children and keeps them company (frequently sleeping in the same room as the children), she disciplines them, tells them bedtime stories, and reports on their behavior to the parents. In her interactions with the children, the main medium she uses is English.

What are the characteristic features of the English spoken by the *yaya*? The answer to that question will allow us to glean the features of a kind of English that is a composite of the little English originally learned in a barrio school, the English picked up from the mass media and from an urban setting, and the stock expressions acquired from living with a high or middle income family. These are the features of what can be called the unschooled variety of Philippine English, or the English spoken by the Filipino who is not at home in English.

METHODOLOGY

INSTRUMENT AND SUBJECTS

Focused individual and group interviews were conducted at a play center for one-and-a-half to three year old children in a very exclusive subdivision in Makati, Metro Manila. The set-up of the

play center was ideal for the purposes of this study: interviews could be conducted while the children had their story telling sessions with their teacher, and observations of *yaya* interaction with children could be done during the children's supervised play and snack periods.

Since I did not want the *yayas* to be self-conscious about their language, I told them that I was studying their child-rearing practices. Thus I asked them how they made the children obey them, how they disciplined misbehaving children, what kind of bedtime stories they told the children. I put them into role-playing situations, with me taking the role of the misbehaving child. In all of these, the object was to make them talk in English.

Still it was not easy to make them use English; expectedly, since they were being interviewed by a fellow Filipino, they frequently reverted to Pilipino. After two sessions of only moderately successful interviews, I brought in a research assistant – a Japanese girl whom I introduced as someone who wanted to do a similar study on child-rearing practices in Japan. This third session was a great success, not only because the interviewees could not use Pilipino with the Japanese interviewer but also because the assistant's kind of English seemed to put them at ease.

In three sessions held at the play center, a total of fifteen interviews were conducted, ranging in length from seven to fifteen minutes. There were only two refusals: One *yaya* refused to be interviewed by my Japanese assistant because she said she did not speak English; the other *yaya* refused because she worked for conservative employers who might not approve of her being interviewed. Of the fifteen interviewees, one *yaya* consistently answered all questions in Pilipino, and that interview has been discarded. One interview conducted at another school has been added to make a total of fifteen *yayas*.³ Total tape time is three hours and forty-five minutes.

All fifteen *yayas* are from outside Metro Manila: six are from provinces in Luzon, eleven from the Visayas, and one from Minda-

3. Between the first and second sessions at the play center, I attempted to interview some *yayas* at another school. I met with little success there since the *yayas* were allowed into the school compound only to pick up the children. At that time both *yaya* and child were in a hurry to be off and could not be unduly detained for an interview. As a result, only one fairly detailed interview could be used from the interviews done at that school.

nao. Nine of the fifteen had gone to Manila directly from rural communities; the remaining six had studied for some time in cities in their provinces before going to Manila. The age range is from eighteen to forty-seven, with twenty-two as the median age. The range of length of stay in Manila is from one year to twenty-five years, and median number of years' stay in Manila is three.

Although I had expected these yayas to be more sophisticated than their peers, being in the employ of very affluent families, I was still surprised at the group's high educational attainment: Of the fifteen yayas, only two did not go beyond grade school; five went to, or finished high school; and eight had had some education beyond high school (hair and beauty culture, secretarial, midwifery, nursing, engineering).

It can be said that these yayas are not representative of Filipino yayas — their poise and alertness, and their educational attainment put them ahead of other yayas; however, their kind of English can reasonably be taken as illustrative of yaya English. And although I grant that these yayas certainly are not unschooled, if we consider the other kinds of Philippine English already described, the English of these yayas can still be considered as being of the less "educated" variety.

METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Features of yaya English were culled from the data in the following way: I listened to the yayas' tapes and wrote down instances when phonological, syntactic, and lexical features appeared to be different from what I knew of standard American English and from what I used as a typical speaker of educated Philippine English.⁴ Since many of these features deviate in a gross way from standard usage and patently are "errors," it was not difficult picking them out.

In this way a list of phonological, syntactic, and lexical deviations was prepared for each yaya. These deviations were then reviewed several times and possible categories of features were drawn up.

Although I had initially planned to prepare sections on phono-

4. In laymen's language, phonological refers to features of pronunciation, syntactic means grammar, and lexical features indicate vocabulary usage.

logical, syntactic, and lexical features (following the divisions of Gonzalez and Alberca), I eventually decided to forego including a phonological analysis. My impression of the phonological features of yaya English is that they are predictable from the first language background of the yayas. Since several contrastive analyses of Philippine languages and English have been prepared, and since the discussion of the phonological features of Philippine English in Gonzalez and Alberca is fairly detailed, I saw no need to analyze the phonology of yaya English. In contrast, the syntactic structures of yaya English and the quality of deviations from standard American English and educated Philippine English were surprising and unpredictable.

To ensure that the features are features of competence and not of performance,⁵ and are not idiolectal (that is, peculiar to an individual) but dialectal (that is, characteristic of a group), I adopted the following operational criterion (suggested by the operational criterion of Gonzalez and Alberca): to qualify as a characteristic feature, the syntactic or lexical feature had to appear at least twice in the speech of one speaker, and across at least four speakers. If this two-part criterion was not met, the feature has been called a minor feature. The characteristic features will of course be focused on, but minor features will also be discussed for two reasons: it is possible that the minor features might have become characteristic features if only the interviews had been longer or the interviewees more voluble, and the minor features may indicate trends that are developing and worth looking into.

In the following discussion, all citations will use the exact words of the yayas, with the point under discussion underscored. If the context is needed to make the utterance understandable, the context is enclosed in square brackets. My comments will also be in square brackets. If, from the utterance alone, it is not clear what the correct form is, the correct form is indicated within parentheses. The gloss of Pilipino words is given within single quotation marks.

5. Features of competence refer to language ability while features of performance mean language use as affected by memory constraints, distractions, hesitations, etc.

SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Characteristic syntactic features of *yaya* English show deviations in: tense or tense sequence, subject-verb agreement, pronoun-antecedent congruence, use of adverbs or adverb placement, and use of articles.

TENSE DEVIATIONS

Some representative examples of deviations in tense are the following.

Use of present for past tense:

1. I *take up* Civil Engineering
2. I *have* classmate, I changed with my classmate.

Use of past for habitual present:

3. He refuse to eat but sometimes I *made* him some jokes so that he will eat.
4. I just close the light and then I *told* her, "It's time, Liza, it's time to sleep already." Then I tell her stories.

Use of present progressive for present:

5. She *is eating* well, that's why she always become baby.
6. *I'm reading* also his book.

Then there are the more difficult constructions:

Passive: 7. So instead of he will eat the little pig, he *was eat* by the pig because he was caught on the boiling water.

Present Perfect: 8. Because I've already *take* care [about nine children]

Do-construction: 9. When Jack was kept in the oven, the giant says like this, [yaya prompts child] What *did* the giant *says*?

10. Last Saturday, we go. . .we went to Manila Zoo, I relate him what *did* he *saw* in Manila Zoo.

Infinitive: 11. For example, the rhyme that I always let them *saying*, "Humpty Dumpty sat on the wall. . ."

Except for very isolated instances of the perfect tense, all the tenses are simple present, past, or future, or present progressive. This is expected because the discourse is oral and colloquial and

therefore instances of the more complex tenses would be relatively few. However, it is clear from a review of the tapes that the yayas have not mastered the present perfect tense:

12. Since she was. . . she were four months, I'm already *watching* her.

13. Matthew *finish na* 'already.' (Matthew has finished.) [*Na* is sometimes used as an aspect marker in Pilipino.]

The yayas have difficulty showing the relationship between two past actions:

14. I finished my six-month training. Then I *specialize* (was specializing) when somebody *get* (got) me. I *specialize* (was specializing) to care a baby, newly-born.

Deviations in tense sequence will be illustrated in the text of "The Monkey and the Turtle" and "Jack and the Beanstalk" below.

AGREEMENT OF SUBJECT AND PREDICATE

This agreement is highly unpredictable in the utterances of the yayas. There appears a randomness in the way a third-person singular *-s* is dropped from or attached to the verb.

There are a great many instances of a third-person singular subject and a plural verb:

15. After *she drink* milk, then she goes to sleep.

16. In taking a bath, sometimes *she don't like* to take out the water because she likes to take a bath.

The following two sentences occur, where the subject is plural and the verb is singular:

17. She said, "You leave it if *they doesn't like* to eat."

18. When *they goes* to the mountain, they see a banana tree.

Then there is the slang-like use of *says*:

19. *I says*, "Once upon a time . . ."

20. *I says*, when she has a friends for example, first of all, *we says*, "You say to your friends, Hello."

PRONOUN-ANTECEDENT CONGRUENCE

The lack of congruence between pronoun and antecedent is usually in gender, as in:

21. There was a widowed *woman* with *his* son named Jack.
22. Then I teach *him* [another *yaya*] if *she* [the child] will not eat, don't force *him* to eat.

The confusion in gender is wide-ranging, as can be seen in the re-telling of "The Monkey and the Turtle" below. It is a common observation that Filipinos have difficulty with the third-person singular pronouns *he* and *she* because Philippine languages use the same pronoun for both *he* and *she*.

The lack of congruence between pronoun and antecedent occasionally lies in number:

23. *The monkey and the turtle* is a *friend*. [The problem here also involves subject-verb agreement.]
24. Don't touch your *shoes*, it's dirty.

An examination of the syntactic features already discussed (and they are the most characteristic features) leads to the impression that the application of rules in *yaya* English is idiosyncratic. Subject and predicate seem as likely not to agree as to agree, pronoun-antecedent congruence seems hit-and-miss, past and present tenses jostle each other seemingly without rhyme or reason.

For these particular syntactic features, it is clear how the Philippine English described by Gonzalez and Alberca and *yaya* English differ. In Philippine English in the mass media, errors in subject-predicate concord, pronoun-antecedent congruence, and tenses are sporadic and seem to have occurred while the speaker or writer was "not looking" or was confused by parenthetical expressions or intervening complex structures. In *yaya* English, it is difficult to delineate the rules governing the variation.

ADVERB USE AND PLACEMENT

The unnecessary adverb or its wrong placement is another characteristic feature of *yaya* English. Consider the most frequently appearing adverbs in the corpus:

- Also: 25. You have *also* like that.

26. He has a crib and I have *also* my own bed.

Only: 27. You sit down *only*.

28. I will be the one to pray myself but then she just listens *only*.

Again: 29. I took *again* Commerce in Laguna Institute.

30. An then she want *again* to go up.

Already: 31. Riza, you go to the bathroom *already* or else I'll tell Mommy and Daddy.

32. She's afraid *already*.

These adverbs translate very easily into the Pilipino enclitics: also "din," only "lang," again "na naman," already "na." In Pilipino sentences, these enclitics generally appear after the first accented word in the sentence; thus, in the typical Verb Noun-Subject Noun-Object Pilipino sentence, after the Verb. Notice that in the sentences of the yayas, the adverb appears between the verb and the complement, as in Pilipino, or at the end of the clause, which seems like an easy slot to plug it in.

USE OF ARTICLES

Most learners of English as a second language have problems with English articles. In yaya English, the article is frequently dropped, as in:

33. She has sister, older than her. Sometimes [they quarrel] because her sister is very naughty girl. Charlotte is very quiet girl, she is very good girl.

34. So if he likes toy, ok, I offer him toy.

35. I went to Los Baños, I have uncle there.

In some instances in the corpus, I felt that article-dropping might be a feature of baby talk. In the following examples, it seems that the yaya drops the article as a way of simplifying her language for the benefit of the young child.

36. Ogre eats child if the child is bad boy.

37. No, you ride boat. Tomorrow you ride horse with your papa.

And in the following instance, a yaya quotes the child:

38. Yaya, we will read book. Tell me story.

For some yayas, perhaps, article-dropping is a way of coping with English articles; for others, it is a form of talking to their "babies."⁶

MINOR SYNTACTIC FEATURES

The minor syntactic features of yaya English involve deviations in: the subcategorization of verbs, the subcategorization of nouns, and agreement of quantifier and noun.

Deviations in subcategorization of verbs are exemplified in the following:

39. If you don't *like* [guava juice], yaya will give you water.
40. You *show* to me, you *show*.
41. You don't *like*? You *try, try*; it's nice.

Examples of deviations in subcategorization of nouns are:

42. You want *peanut*? [*peanut* as a mass noun]
43. I think you just smelled your food because it's *a roast beef*.
[*roast beef* as a count noun]
44. About the, for example, *the Cinderella*, Snow White, like that.

Agreement deviations of quantifier and noun are:

45. She has *one brothers* and two sisters.
46. There was a man who changed the cow into *a beans* but *that beans* is *a magic beans*.
47. Then they have *a fruits* there that is already ripe.

The incongruence of quantifier and noun appears to be the kind of gross error that would not appear in educated Philippine English. However, some speakers of educated Philippine English have problems with the subcategorization of verbs, using *enjoy* and *afford*, for instance, without a complement. The subcategori-

6. As an aside on baby talk, another way of talking to children is by repetition, for example:

There was a beanstalk *high high high* so he wanted to climb up.
Papa Jesus told us that *sharing and sharing* will bring us to heaven.
That's why she always become *taller and taller*.

Yet another feature of baby talk is the overt *you* in directives: "*You* sleep now . . . *you* lie down only and sleep," "*you* play in the sand only," "*you* go out only," "*you* sit down only."

zation of nouns into mass and count nouns also poses difficulties for Philippine English speakers and not only for yayas.

LEXICAL FEATURES

The characteristic lexical features of yaya English are the insertion of Tagalog particles and the use of unusual verb-preposition collocations.

TAGALOG PARTICLES

The insertion of Tagalog particles is exemplified in the following, which is only a small subsample of the great number of occurrences of these particular particles:

Ha [according to Schachter and Otones, *ha* is a clause-final particle that expresses importunity]:⁷

48. Don't do that again *ha* because Jesus will get mad at you if you do that again.

49. I'll give you *na lang* something *ha*?

Na 'now':

50. You will eat your lunch *na*.

51. Close your eyes, drink your milk, sleep *na*.

Na lang 'just, only':

52. You eat *na lang* this one if you don't like water.

53. I told *na lang* her brother.

Ano [hesitation filler]:

54. Then the harp went *ano* . . . playing with the magic tune like that.

55. Then she was so very *ano* lonely because she was still small.

The sentences below illustrate the other particles that appeared occasionally:

56. Pia, you swallow your food, you chew *muna* 'first,' then swallow.

7. Paul Schachter and Fe T. Otones, *Tagalog Reference Grammar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

57. Then came na *nga* [confirmation] the difficulty that happened to her.
58. I know *naman* [contrary to your thinking] how to hold the scissor.
59. *Tapos* 'then,' and then, finally, she become a human being.
60. *Di ba* 'isn't it' you know how to sing?
61. *Sige* 'all right' you play na lang there.

The insertion of such particles seems to be a feature not of a social dialect but of a particular style. That is, such particles appear in the English of *yayas*, *colegialas*, and professionals (and more so with women than with men) when they are speaking in a casual, familiar style. My impression, however, is that *ano* as a hesitation filler in an English sentence is more prevalent in *yaya* English; in educated Philippine English, the hesitation filler is *uh*.

VERB-PREPOSITION COLLOCATIONS

English verb-preposition collocations give all Filipinos a problem. The most noticeable unusual collocation in *yaya* English concerns the verb *care* or *take care*:

62. They *care* all the patients but we *care* only the post-partum patients and the children.
63. It's not hard to *care* a baby.

In the above instances, the preposition is missing. In the following, the wrong preposition is used:

64. They *take care for* the children in the nighttime.

The lexical set *relate, explain, ask, advice, tell* obviously causes difficulties in prepositional usage, as in:

65. When we go out I *relate* him, I *relate* him what did he saw in Manila Zoo.
66. I just *explain* them [that they should not quarrel]. I'm *explaining* them only.
67. You *ask to* Carina . . . you *ask to* her like that ha?
68. I *advice to* her. . .
69. I *tell to* her father and mother that she's doing bad things for me.

Prepositions in general are a problem area because Pilipino does not have prepositions that discriminate as finely as English prepositions do. If idioms involving prepositions are a problem in educated Philippine English (as the listing from Gonzalez and Alberca shows), they are an even greater problem in yaya English.

MINOR LEXICAL FEATURES

The minor lexical features of yaya English can be enumerated briefly here. First, *make* as a catch-all word:

70. I *made* him some jokes so that he will eat.
71. But I'm going home to *make* a vacation only, then coming back here.
72. Don't *make* quarrel to your cousin.

Second, *make* + Pilipino content word:

73. I *make punas* (give a sponge bath).
74. I have to *make alibi*, *bola-bola* (contrived stories).
75. I tell her I'll *make* you *kurot* (give you a pinch).

Third, Pilipino content words:

Culture-bound

76. The monster ate all the *baon* [snack or meal brought from the home] of Bert and Ernie.
77. Pia, say *babay* [Pilipino word for good-bye] to your friends, Pia.
78. Don't do that because your *lola* (grandmother) will get mad.

Not culture-bound

79. I spanked you because you're so *malikot* (naughty).
80. Santa will not give you a gift, will give you na lang *buhangin* (sand).
81. The *bulati* (worm) will eat your stomach.

Lastly, *plenty* + noun collocation:

82. I will tell your mommy to buy *plenty cheese curls*, Chippy, Clover.
83. And then he fall asleep because he ate *plenty-plenty food*.
84. She saw *plenty things*.

The use of *make* + Pilipino word is becoming a feature of the colloquial style of Philippine English; the use of culture-bound words is to be expected. However, the use of *make* as a catch-all word and *plenty* + noun collocation seems to be peculiar to *yaya* English.

A BROADER VIEW

The previous sections have presented a point-by-point listing of the characteristic and minor features of the syntax and lexicon of *yaya* English. When many of these features come together in one continuous stretch of speech, the discourse is stamped as belonging to the unschooled variety of Philippine English. Consider the following retelling of the folktale "The Monkey and The Turtle":

85. [Sometimes I said] The monkey and the turtle is a friend. She is a very good friend, like that. And then . . . [I am not telling the story that is . . . only the brief one.] She is a very good friend. When they goes to the mountain, like that . . . uh . . . they see the big banana tree and then they have fruits there that is already ripe.

And then [I said] the turtle doesn't like to go up because she is very small and she cannot go up. Then the monkey will go up and then he said, "Here is the big . . . here is the ripe fruits of the banana."

And then she eat and then the turtle asked her, "You want . . . please, could you give me that banana?"

"No, because I taste it if it is ripe or if it is good to eat." And then sometimes. . . and then asked again and then he said, "No, you cannot eat because it is not ripe yet."

And then she goes. . .when the turtle. . .uh the turtle get mad because she is not. . .the monkey will not give it to her. So he put the thorn in the tree of the banana and then when she goes down she get hurt because of that thorn. [That's enough.]

The *yaya* seemed eager to tell the story and she told it fluently. And yet, close examination of the transcript reveals a great deal of pronoun-antecedent incongruence, lack of subject-predicate concord, wrong tenses, and tense inconsistency. In fact, there seems no pattern to the application of grammar rules.

In addition, someone who is not familiar with the story may well be confused as to who did what. The excerpt shows little logical and verbal elaboration, and dependence on a shared background, qualities which have been taken as the defining qualities

of what has been called the restricted code. In other excerpts from the interview of this *yaya*, the restricted mode of speaking likewise appears.⁸ It is my impression that it is lack of mastery of English that produces the restricted code, as exemplified below.

86. Q: From your experience, is there a difference in the way foreigners and Filipinos bring up their children?

A: Yes, ma'am, that's difference. Difference there is take care for the children in the nighttime. Because the Filipino family wants to take care the children in nighttime with me. And this one [her foreign employers] is not.

87. Q: Any other differences?

A: When the babies fall down, the mother of the white family is, "Never mind, you leave her because that's there naturally." In the Filipino family, my experience is, "Why, why did she fall? Did you not take care?" That's the difference. In the white family, she is very nice than Filipino.

The verbalization of a comparison, as was required by the questions above and as the form that the answer below takes, requires extended discourse and this is where the *yaya*'s restricted mode of speaking surfaces very clearly. Consider this excerpt from the interview of another *yaya*:

88. Q: How long did you study to become a nursing aide?

A: I'm only training about six month only before, but that's free. From nowadays when you study in school, you can pay your schooling. But before, that is free only.

The meaning eventually comes through but at some cost in processing.

The elliptical utterance is yet another manifestation of the *yaya*'s limited command of English, the *yaya*'s restricted mode of speaking:

89. You give them first five minutes, and then, change, change.

8. Perhaps the English of this *yaya* is no poorer than that of the other *yayas*. In fact, she has more confidence and greater fluency. Precisely because she was most accommodating and eager to talk, she gave us a very good interview and, as a result, many of the citations in this section are from her.

(Let them use your toys for five minutes and then you can exchange toys.)

90. When I read the books she sit beside me and "This? This?" because she cannot speak yet. (She sits beside me and she asks, "This? This?")

91. Q: Is there any kind of food that she doesn't like?

A: No, all the things, eat, eat. Yah, even the lemon. . .it's very sour. Or the unripe mango, she likes to eat that. (No, she likes everything, she eats everything.)

It should be made clear that there is a wide range of competence displayed in the tapes, with "The Monkey and the Turtle" and the excerpts just cited as representing the lower end of that competence. As against this, it is only fair to show the higher end; reproduced below is an excerpt from the best retelling of a bedtime story, "Jack and the Beanstalk":

92. . . . And then they slept. When Jack woke up the next day, he saw that the five beans grew up. It went there up to the sky. And then he told himself that he will go up there and he will see if what will happen . . . if what is there on top of that beans.

And then when he go up there. . . and then when he went up, he saw the castle, the very, very nice house. *Tapos* 'then', and then he knocked at the door. Then somebody opened there, the old woman opened the door. And then Jack told him that "Can I have some food because I am so hungry."

And then the old woman said, "Yes, you can come in but be careful because this is an ogre's house."

Tapos 'then', when the ogre came, Jack hid himself inside the oven. And then, when the ogre sat down on the table, the ogre said, "Uhm, I smelled. . . I smelled a child." Then the old woman said, "No, I think you just smelled your food because it's a roast beef."

And then he ate his food. And then the ogre said, "You bring me my magic harp." And then the old woman got the magic harp. Then the harp went *ano*. . . playing with the magic tune, like that. Then the ogre said, "You bring me my magic chicken." Then the chicken laid some golden eggs.

And then Jack saw that. . . all things. And then when the ogre slept, Jack stole those *ano*. . . harp and the chicken. And then he ran away and the ogre woke up. And then when the ogre saw that Jack stole those things, he *ano* he went, he ran after Jack.

And then Jack went down the beanstalk and then he's *ano*. . . he's *ano* shouting, "Mother, mother, give me the ax so that I can cut the beanstalk

and kill the ogre." And then when he came down he axed the *ano* beanstalk and then the ogre fell down. Then the ogre died.

And then they's rich *na* 'already' because they have those. . .they have already the golden egg and the harp. And they lived happily ever after.

The errors here are relatively minor and I believe that they can be corrected by the speaker herself if she were given the transcript to read.

FURTHER RESEARCH

The purpose of this study was to look at a variety of Philippine English different from the educated variety already described in Llamzon and in Gonzalez and Alberca. Notwithstanding the fact that the educational attainment of the yayas interviewed was higher than what I had expected, the samples obtained showed features quite different from those features of Philippine English identified in the two previously cited studies. The features uncovered here need to be validated using a larger, less sophisticated sample of yayas, who should be interviewed at greater length than was done here.

One limitation of this study (as in other studies of Philippine English) has been that the analysis has focused on deviations and ill-formed utterances. There has been no consideration of what is well-formed in yaya English, nor did I analyze such indicators of language competence as length of utterance, embedding, cohesion, fluency. There is likewise a need to deliberately elicit structures that did not appear frequently in my corpus: the possessive, embedded questions, the comparative, the perfect tenses.

Another question concerns the influence that employment in an English-speaking family can have on the English originally spoken by the yaya. The corpus contains expressions that had obviously been picked up from the family, for example, "Stop *whining*, that's not good," or "He appeared in another *disguise*." Clearly, the yaya hears a lot of English and gets much practice in using English. (In fact, they see themselves as a cut above the maids, who, they claim, talk to the children in Pilipino because they cannot manage English.) How has this exposure affected their English?

On the other hand, the question can go the other way. What is the influence of yaya English on the children's brand of English?

A cartoon from Nonoy Marcelo, the foremost comic strip writer of the Philippines, speaks to this point:⁹

TISOY

By NONOY MARCELO



My own impression is that the influence of *yaya* English is minimal, and only while the child is very young (before the age of three) and therefore almost completely in the company of the *yaya*. (Thus one hears a mother complaining that her child, for example, confuses /e/ and /i/ or /o/ and /u/.) However, I feel that the influence of the family and of peers easily supersedes the linguistic influence of the *yaya* who, though loved, is really not one's equal.

To return to the original research interest concerning the unschooled variety of Philippine English: it remains for us to obtain and analyze samples from speakers of lower educational attainment and who speak a "pidginized" variety of Philippine English. In this regard, some graduate students at De La Salle University have begun looking into the English spoken by hospital-ity girls and waiters in the Mabini area of Manila and in Olongapo City, near the Subic naval base. Preliminary interviews have shown their educational attainment to be much lower than that of *yayas*. Obviously this study is just the starting point for other studies that will address these questions.

9. This comic strip was the illustration for the article "When shall We Wean the Filipino Child from the Yaya?," by Corazon C. Fiel in *Weekend*, 12 October 1980. If people's recollections are correct, it was Nonoy Marcelo who coined the label "*yaya* English."