

**TAGLISH IN METRO MANILA:  
AN ANALYSIS OF TAGALOG-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING**

*by*

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*Para sa parents ko, dahil two languages ang binigyan nila sa akin.*

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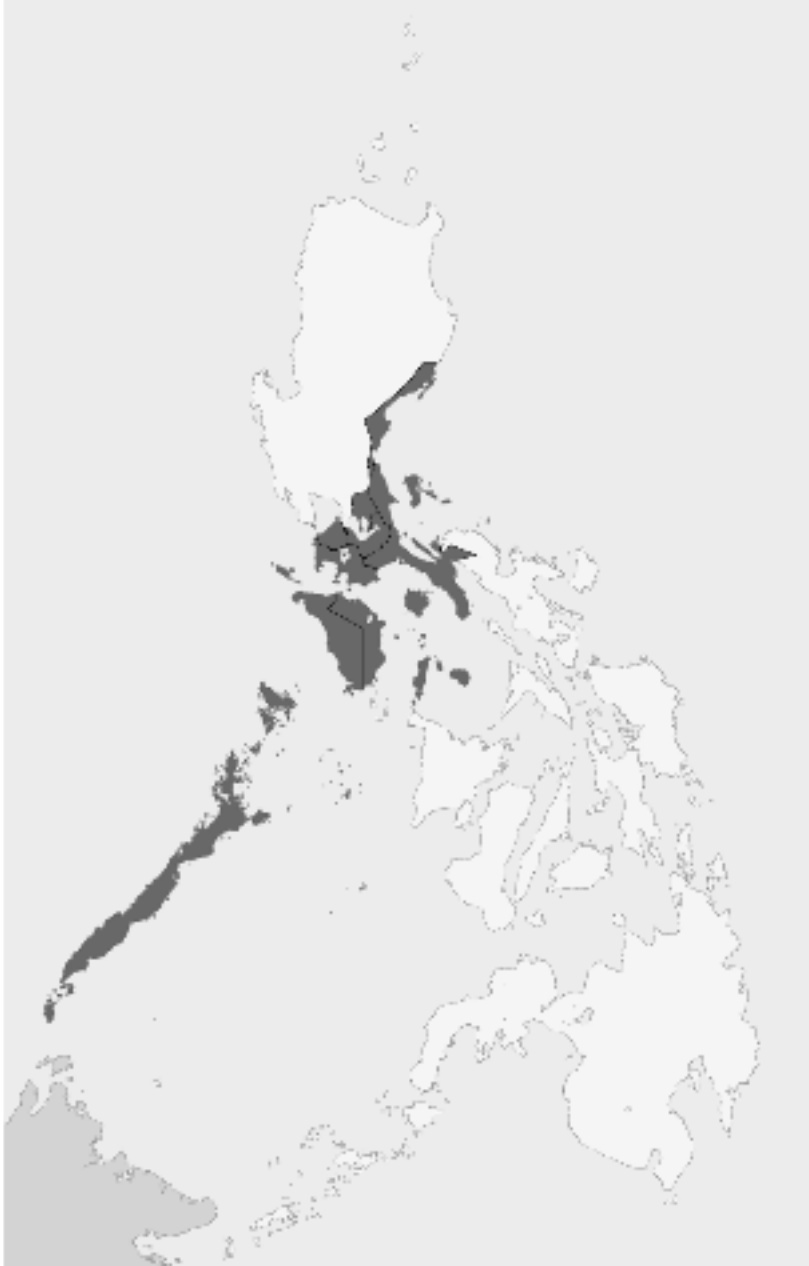
Finally, and above all, I thank God for the life I have in Him.

**Abstract**

Code-switching is the mixing of two or more language varieties within a single utterance or conversation. This linguistic phenomenon is the basis of Taglish, the code-switching variety of the bilingual Tagalog-English community of Metro Manila, Philippines. Currently, general research on code-switching is widely available, but our understanding of Tagalog-English code-switching remains limited. This study examines the language contact situation in Metro Manila, synthesizes previous code-switching scholarship from numerous authors, and analyzes a corpus of new Taglish data collected in the Philippines in 2016. The present thesis demonstrates that Tagalog-English code-switching patterns and strategies reveal the high linguistic proficiency of the Filipino bilingual.

### Glossing Abbreviations

~	reduplication marker	OBJFOC	object focus
< >	infix separation	PH	phrase
-	prefix/suffix connection	PL	plural
1	first person	POSS	possessive
2	second person	PM	possessive marker
3	third person	PREP	preposition
ACTFOC	actor focus	PRO	pronoun
ADJ	adjective	Q	question
ADV	adverb	SG	singular
BEN	benefactive focus		
CAUS	causative		
COMP	comparative		
COMPL	completive aspect		
CONJ	conjunction		
CONT	contemplative aspect		
DET	determiner		
DEM	demonstrative		
DIR	direct case		
EL	Embedded Language		
ENC	enclitic		
EX	exclusive		
EXT	existential marker		
GEN	genitive case		
HON	honorific		
IN	inclusive		
INF	infinitive		
INT	interjection		
INV	inversion marker		
LK	linker		
LOC	locative		
MLF	Matrix Language Frame		
ML	Matrix Language		
NEG	negation marker		
N	noun		
NG	gen		
NP	noun phrase		
OB	oblique marker		



**Map 1:** Tagalog-speaking region of the Philippines (pictured in dark grey).



## Introduction

The linguistic phenomenon of code-switching refers to the mixing of two or more language varieties within a single utterance or conversation. Such a practice is common in the Republic of the Philippines, a nation of vast linguistic diversity. In a combined land mass about equal in size to the state of Arizona, some 170 languages—many mutually unintelligible—are spoken daily. Two of these languages have been given national status: Filipino (the standardized register of Tagalog) and English (the language propagated during the American imperial era). Tagalog and English coexist in a complex and ever-evolving relationship; in the late 1960s, decades of contact resulted in the emergence of a widely-used Tagalog-English code-switching system: Taglish.

Taglish has been described as “a very widespread predominantly spoken “mixed” language variety, whose phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics have been greatly influenced by English and Tagalog” (Tangco and Ricardo 2002, 391). Taglish is common throughout the Tagalog-speaking region of the Philippines and is largely considered “the normal acceptable conversation style of speaking and writing” (Goulet 1971, 83). Tagalog-English code-switching can also be heard in Filipino diasporic communities across the Anglosphere. Since its emergence, the speech system has become increasingly systematic and patterned; Taglish can be understood as a result of several sociolinguistic factors (Thompson 2003: 40).

The purpose of the present thesis is threefold:

- 1) to consider the sociolinguistic and historical circumstances which gave rise to Taglish,
- 2) to analyze the systematic code switches observed in Tagalog-English bilinguals, and
- 3) to explain the factors which motivate speakers to switch between languages.

Drawing on previous code-switching scholarship (work by Myers-Scotton, Muysken, Sankoff & Poplack, Grosjean, Gumperz), existing Taglish research (Bautista, Goulet), and my own

fieldwork data from Manila Taglish, I hope to reach a more comprehensive, holistic understanding of Tagalog-English code-switching. Such conclusions could strengthen the field's understanding of bilingual competence, code-switching grammars, and sociolinguistics within the Philippines, and could also provide direction to the increasingly challenging Philippine bilingual education policy.

Though the science of linguistics has invested much in the study of general code-switching as a bilingual phenomenon, relatively few linguists have examined the case of Taglish; thus, it is a necessary and worthy subject of further research.

The purpose of Chapter 1 is to describe the current language contact situation within the Taglish-speaking regions of the Philippines, and to illuminate the historical, social, and cultural factors which have allowed for such a variety to arise. From there, the literature review will synthesize previous research done on code-switching and Tagalog-English bilingualism. Following an explanation of my research methodology, I will offer an analysis of the corpus of Taglish data I have collected. Finally, I shall conclude with a number of key findings and implications for the future study of code-switching in Filipino-English bilinguals.

*Chapter 1*  
**The Contact Situation**

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### **1.1. Broad Overview of Taglish**

An English-speaking tourist stepping foot in Manila for the first time might be struck by the inescapable snippets of the English language throughout the diglossic Filipino society. From kindergarten classrooms and morning radio to political speeches and grocery store transactions, sound bytes of English words and phrases can be heard in almost every corner of Metro Manila. These recognizable pieces of English are the Filipino bilingual's code-switching capacity at work. Taglish is visible in newspapers, audible in churches, and the norm on CNN Philippines.

Taglish as a social phenomenon was first observed in the late 1960s, but became firmly established following the enactment of the 1973 Bilingual Education Policy; the greatest increase in the use of the code-switching variety took place over the fifteen years that followed, through 1988 (Thompson 2003). Bonifacio Sibayan, a Filipino linguist, predicted in 1985 that the national language of tomorrow would indeed be Taglish (Sibayan 1985). Today, Tagalog-English code-switching is most commonly observed among the educated, middle- and upper-class urbanites of the Philippines.

Furthermore, as a result of mass media, Taglish has exceeded the boundaries of the Tagalog-speaking region, and is now characteristic of bilinguals outside the Metro Manila urban reach. In my research, I have observed Taglish speakers as far as Tacloban, Leyte in the Waray- and Cebuano-speaking Eastern Visayas, hundreds of miles from the capital. The code-switching system has also been mass exported via the Filipino diaspora, primarily to English-speaking countries such as Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Taglish is far more complex than basic borrowing and Taglicization of English terms; it involves frequent, patterned, systematic alternation between the two languages, including blending characterized by the affixation of Tagalog grammatical elements to English lexical items and vice versa. The code-switching discourse has its own distinct rules and regularities, and the alternations and insertions can occur in many places within the morpheme, word, or phrase levels. A 1993 study revealed that educated Filipino bilinguals “were employing—at the clause level—Filipino/Tagalog 23% of the time, English 27%, and Filipino-English conversational code-switching variety 50%” (Tangco et al 2002). The same study found that word-level switches (both word-to-word and intraword) comprised nearly 50% of all Tagalog-English switches, while clause- and phrase-level switches constituted 21% and 31%, respectively.

Some argue that the system is even beginning to show characteristics of a creole or mixed language, as the lines between the languages become more blurred and young Filipinos grow up speaking Taglish as a first language.

## **1.2 A Brief Philippine History**

To fully grasp the origin of Taglish and the Filipino bilingual, it is necessary to zoom out and examine the history of the Philippines and its centuries-long language contact situation. I believe this section to be important, as a nuanced study of code-switching requires us to consider both sociohistorical and linguistic factors.

The southeast Asian islands which would become the Philippines were prehistorically settled by Austronesian-speaking peoples thousands of years ago. Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan arrived on the island of Cebu in the Central Visayas in 1521; the archipelago was subsequently claimed for the Spanish crown, beginning the 333-year colonization of *Las Islas Filipinas*, named for

King Philip II. The territory's tenure within the Spanish empire brought merchants and Catholic missionaries to its shores, who catalyzed a dramatic and lasting impact on the lexicons of the islands' native languages. The Spaniards did not establish an educational system nor did they force their subjects to speak Spanish. This was decided under the belief that Filipinos would revolt against Spain if they became 'enlightened' (Bernabe 1978). Thus, unlike Spain's New World colonies, Spanish never became a *lingua franca* of the islands, but was, however, spoken by the upper crust of society. Meanwhile, indigenous Philippine languages maintained their social dominance for the entirety of the Spanish era.

Presently, Spanish is largely absent throughout the Philippines, surviving only through thousands of lexical borrowings, within the Spanish and Spanish-Filipino mestizo populations, and the family of Spanish-based creole languages collectively known as "Chabacano." It is worth noting that the Philippines had brief contact with the English language upon the capture of Manila by the British in 1762; Spain reclaimed the territory just two years later.

Following the Spanish-American War of 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States. Subsequently, hundreds of English teachers were sent to the territory to educate and Anglicize the new American islands. President William McKinley designated English to be the medium of instruction for the Philippine public education system on April 7, 1900. In the decades following, English would spread rapidly throughout the archipelago.

In 1937, in an effort to unite the Philippine islands as a nation-state, the colonial government declared the newly-coined "Pilipino" as the *Pambansang Wika* (national language). It was intended to be a new, innovative Tagalog-based language which amalgamated lexical items from other major Philippine languages as well. In reality, this intent was never realized; to this day, the glossonyms

'Filipino' and 'Tagalog' are essentially synonymous. This creation of an artificial-in-name, conglomerate national language—and its relation to English—is detailed by Smolicz and Nical:

Even as late as 1971, the Constitutional Convention showed deep divisions of opinion and a hostility towards Pilipino—the name adopted for the “national” version of Tagalog. The opposition to Tagalog/Pilipino was “so fierce that there was the danger that a foreign language like English might be adopted as the Philippine national language” (Bautista 1981: 6). In order to forestall such a possibility, the linguists and educators committed to Pilipino resorted to a compromise involving an agreement to develop a national language through the fusion of all the languages of the Philippines, to give rise to a “multi-based” language to be called Filipino. While this type of “universal approach” was sanctioned by the 1973 constitution, it immediately engendered much skepticism, with Gonzales (1974) labelling it as “legal fiction”. This proved to be the case, since in the subsequent years the “enriched” Tagalog/Pilipino was adopted under the label of Filipino (Gonzalez 1996: 230) and assumed the role of both a national and official language, sharing the latter title with English and Spanish,” (Smolicz and Nical 1997: 512).

The Republic of the Philippines gained full sovereignty in 1946, following World War II and 381 years of Western colonization. In 1973, English was made a national language, in addition to the Tagalog-based Filipino language. Spanish was demoted from its official status in 1987, and with Arabic, was recommended for use in education on an optional basis.

### *A Note on Terminology*

Though the official name of the national language is “Filipino” (formerly “Pilipino”), for the purposes of linguistic analysis and simplicity, I will refer to the language as “Tagalog” where appropriate, as it is the glossonym used by most Filipinos. I use “Taglish” and “Tagalog-English code-switching” interchangeably. Though Filipinos may very well be proficient in any number of languages, I use “Filipino bilingual” to refer to speakers of at least Tagalog and English, i.e. a multilingual who speaks Tagalog, English, Spanish, and Kapampangan, and a bilingual who speaks only Tagalog and English might both be referred to as a “Filipino bilingual.”

### 1.3 Current Language Situation

The Philippines remains a highly multilingual nation; approximately 170 languages are spoken by the nation's 103,000,000 citizens. Of these, the most widely-spoken languages are:

1. Filipino (Tagalog): 45,000,000 speakers
2. English: 40,020,000 speakers
3. Cebuano: 15,800,000 speakers
4. Ilokano: 7,016,400 speakers
5. Hiligaynon (Ilonggo): 5,770,000 speakers
6. Bicolano: 4,580,000 speakers
7. Waray: 2,560,000 speakers
8. Kapampangan: 1,905,430 speakers
9. Pangasinense: 1,162,140 speakers
10. Maguindanaon: 1,100,000 speakers
11. Tausug: 1,062,000 speakers
12. Masbateño: 600,000 speakers

(Ethnologue 2017)

The differences between these languages are notable: many of them are mutually unintelligible. Curtis McFarland notes:

The linguistic diversity of the Philippines arises from natural processes broadly relating to language change, the divergence between linguistic communities caused by lack of communication, and the converse convergence caused by a high rate of communication between communities. The people of the Philippines are experiencing a period of language convergence, marked by high levels of borrowing from large languages such as English, Tagalog, as well as from regionally important languages. In this process, for better or worse, some languages are abandoned altogether and become extinct (McFarland 2004, 59).

Here, McFarland notes that Philippine languages, by and large, are in a season of convergence. We can conclude that the emergence of a systematic Tagalog-English code-switching system is one of numerous outcomes of this process.

The Philippines is also home to numerous creole languages: a body of Spanish-lexified creoles emerged throughout the archipelago during the 18th and 19th centuries and are still spoken widely today. In addition, Hokaglish—a contact language derived from trilingual communities

code-switching between Hokkien, Tagalog, and English—is used by more than 100,000 Chinese Filipinos (Gonzales, W. D. W. 2016).

#### **1.4 A Land of Linguistic Fluidity**

The Philippine case indicates a notable level of “linguistic fluidity.” By this, I mean that Filipinos, historically and generally speaking, are inclined towards widespread linguistic pluralism and language change as a result of factors such as geography, colonialism, religious conversion, cultural imperialism, and mass media. A central result of this phenomenon is a cultural trend toward linguistic flexibility in Filipinos’ day-to-day conversations.

To illustrate this idea, consider first the widespread multilingualism in the Philippines. The many Austronesian languages native to the Philippines are a historic result of the multitude of islands and often difficult, mountainous terrain within each island. Hundreds of distinct ethnolinguistic groups arose over the course of thousands of years as a result of limited intra-island communication. Over the past several hundred years, significant language contact, intranational movement, migration to the Philippines, and the growth of urban centers has resulted in a widely multilingual and ethnically mixed population. This common multilingualism is evidence of the general linguistic flexibility of the Filipino.

According to the 2012 Bilingual Education Policy established by the Department of Education, upon graduation from high school, Filipino pupils are to be competent in at least two languages—Filipino (Tagalog) and English (Department of Education, 2013). Hundreds of thousands more (mainly those outside the Metro Manila area) will also be fluent in a local language and a major regional language. Take, for example, a person living on the island of Negros



Occidental: this individual might speak Ilonggo in the home, use Cebuano in the greater community, gain Filipino through school and mass media, and also learn English from third grade onward. The speaker might switch between any of the four languages throughout the course of his/her day, depending on situational context. All in all, Filipinos do not hold fast to their mother tongue in the same way Westerners do. This notion is manifested in the quickness of Filipinos to move from a mother tongue to a local or national language and back.

In terms of language attitudes, Filipinos are also quick to abandon one language to reap the social benefits of another. During my time in the Philippines, I recall visiting a family who has decided to raise their young children exclusively using English, excluding their native Waray, Cebuano, and Filipino from their home. When asked about their motivation for such a decision, they claimed it would be better for their children and family—educationally, socially, and economically. This common mentality illustrates that English remains the language of prestige, and is yet again evidence of the concept of linguistic fluidity.

The notion of linguistic can also be observed in Philippine historical contexts. For example, educated Filipinos during the Spanish colonial era willingly assimilated to Spanish—then, the language of prestige. Following the annexation of the Philippines by the United States, American teachers imposed English education upon the Filipinos, who widely accepted the foreign language throughout the colonial society. Another clear example can be seen in the proliferation of loanwords: Tagalog speakers have incorporated thousands of loanwords from Spanish, English, Malay, Hokkienese, Tamil, Sanskrit, and Arabic, to name a few. The practice of creating new words for concepts in Philippine languages is rare; direct borrowing and phonologically adapting foreign words into the Philippine lexicons is a more common convention.

Moreover, language also plays a major role in the Filipino social conception of humor. Plays with words, comments on linguistic errors, regional accents, word puns, and jokes involving pronunciation or intentional mispronunciation are prominent throughout the culture. Undoubtedly, speech and language are central elements to the unique form of Philippine comedy.

Rosalina Morales Goulet (1971: 81) illuminates the cultural reach of this linguistic fluidity as follows:

[T]he cosmopolitan society of Manila and its suburbs has been in part responsible for the non-hostile attitude toward borrowing on the part of the Tagalog speaker. Another factor which might have contributed to a favorable attitude toward language in general is the Tagalog's love for words. This is manifested in many ways. For instance, traditional courtship is conducted in high-flown literary language. At wakes, singing and composing of verses provide entertainment and comfort to the bereaved family and their sympathizers. The traditional literary forms, the *balagtasán* (a poetic verbal joust), the *bugtong* (riddles) and the *tula* (poems) as well as the modern declamation and oratorical contests are favorite ways of displaying one's mastery of words.

In school, spelling contests and annual oratorical tourneys are held with much fanfare. ...

The Tagalogs also enjoy punning, usually in more than one language. Indeed, the more language they know, the better they are equipped to manipulate words and the wider range of choices for their word games.

Additionally, the way a Filipino speaks is understood to be a notable pillar of one's identity.

Linguistic styles and registers denote education level, geographical origin, ethnolinguistic heritage, gender identity, and socioeconomic status; such markers are widely accepted and taken with seriousness within Philippine society.

In sum, Filipinos are largely liberal when it comes to linguistic identity. Language choices evidently play a vital role in Philippine society and personal expression. This feature of the Philippine language situation is important to our understanding of Tagalog-English code-switching.

By keeping in mind this idea, we can extract that Taglish is one of many realizations of the notion of linguistic fluidity.

### 1.5 The English and Tagalog Domains

To understand the mixing of these two languages, it is important to understand the typical contexts in which Tagalog and English are used within Philippine society. Of course, what I offer are not hard-and-fast rules, but rather broad generalizations extrapolated from literature, fieldwork, and cultural exposure.

Consider first the role of English: Philippine English is well established in fields such as science, health, education, and government. Filipino schoolchildren begin taking formal classes in English language and literature as young as age 8. Professional fields—commerce, public policy, media, and medicine—will default to English for most situations; technical writing in these contexts are also almost exclusively English. Street signs, advertisements, nutrition labeling, and place names are commonly in English.

Over the past century, the English spoken in the Philippines has become widely standardized, distinct from other Southeast Asian and World Englishes, and unique in terms of lexicon and phonological makeup.<sup>1</sup> Philippine English is most heavily influenced by Standard American English, as a result of colonial and postcolonial relations. Danilo Manarpaac puts it well: “Philippine English has established itself as an indispensable medium of social and intellectual exchange and a legitimate vehicle of the Filipino people’s vision,” (Manarpaac 2003: 479). As far as language attitudes, Filipinos view English as a means to attain a successful career, a comfortable

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<sup>1</sup> A phonology of Philippine English is provided in Appendix C.

future, or opportunity outside the Philippines. In recent years, increasingly more upper-middle class, educated families have come to prefer English at home in place of Tagalog. Still, Sibayan (1972) describes English as “the language of distance, of the semi-formal and formal.” At the same time, the status of English has been vehemently opposed by certain nationalists, perceived as a colonial and imperial relic of yesterday’s Philippine Islands.

Compared with English, Tagalog maintains a more dominant role in the contemporary Philippine society. Sibayan’s (1972) quote above continues as follows: “[Tagalog] is the language of intimacy or nearness and remains the language of the home, the neighborhood, and the marketplace.” Tagalog remains the dominant mother tongue throughout the original Tagalog-speaking region on the islands of Luzon, Marinduque, Mindoro, and Palawan.

In recent years, a revitalized interest in a unique national identity and language has manifested, further elevating Tagalog. This renaissance has materialized in various ways: the government has invested in translating names of federal offices into Tagalog, encouraged that all legal and official correspondence be done in Tagalog, and mandated that schools teach basic *baybayin*, an ancient Sanskrit-based Tagalog writing system that was used before the sixteenth century colonial era. From the late twentieth century through today, an increase in Tagalog creative writing, degree programs in Tagalog literature, and use of Tagalog in formal contexts are also manifestations of a resurgence of interest in the language. Many of these efforts seek to legitimize the Philippines’ identity as a truly Asian country with its own national language. However, some historians argue that the augmentation of Tagalog’s status is in reality motivated by a desire to weaken the status of English, for reasons aforementioned.

The domains of Tagalog and English in Philippine society continue to ebb and flow to this day. The question of whether one of the national languages will entirely eclipse the other is indeterminable given the current reality. All in all, it is imperative that Taglish research be continued as the language situation progresses and evolves with time. We can gather that the deeply intertwined and ever-changing attitudes surrounding these two official languages are yet another important factor promoting the emergence of Taglish.

### **1.6 Bilingualism and Diglossia**

Given our understanding of the Philippine language situation and the different contexts in which Tagalog and English are observed, we can now move toward an understanding of the Filipino as a bilingual. Bautista comments on Filipino multilingual competency as such: “Such bilingualism is a resource, and the switching between languages is an additional resource” (Bautista 2004: 230-1).

For the purpose of this thesis, we must consider a nuanced contrast between bilingualism and diglossia and how both of these linguistic states play into the emergence of Taglish. Simply put, we can understand Filipinos who are fluent in both Tagalog and English to be “bilingual.” Joshua A. Fishman (1967:29) defines diglossia, on the other hand, as “the use of several separate codes within a single society (and their stable maintenance rather than the displacement of one by the other over time).” He credits Gumperz with the conclusion that diglossia can be present in both 1) multilingual societies which have multiple official languages, and 2) multilingual societies which have “separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind” (Fishman 1967: 30).

Fishman goes on to explain that there are four different societal situations that can exist:

- 1) both diglossia and bilingualism

- 2) bilingualism without diglossia
- 3) diglossia without bilingualism
- 4) neither diglossia nor bilingualism

In the context of the Philippine situation, we see the first case: both diglossia and bilingualism. Most members of Metro Manila can control both English and Tagalog (i.e. bilingualism) while the society as a whole employs both systems (i.e. diglossia). Thus, the emergence of Taglish is itself a result of widespread bilingualism and societal diglossia; such code-switching practices have *not* surfaced from speakers who are competent in one language and not the other, nor was it a result of a monolingual society that was home to a population of bilingual speakers. Taking this fact into consideration helps us to understand the ways in which Taglish has become established.

Certain scholars understand Filipino bilingualism, diglossia, and code-switching as a manifestation of resistance towards monolingualism and globalization. Discussion of this notion only scratches the surface of the depth of scholarship on the more sociolinguistic aspects of Filipino bilingualism and its relation to Taglish. Notably, Tupas (1999: 2) offers the following:

In the Philippines, the forces of globalism, nationalism, and ethnicity attempt to construct a reductive and simplistic view of reality, where reality is neat, one-sided, static, and/or easily compartmentalized. Arguments for English are arguments for globalism as well, thus the discourse of language as a pragmatic tool. ... Nationalist sentiments are single-handedly pro-Filipino language, thus the discourse of language as a symbol of national identity and pride. ... Ethnic concerns call for the use of vernacular languages, thus the discourse of language as a repository of culture and tradition. ... These discourses are 'true' but homogenizing indeed. Specific statements adhere only to one particular language, and a language adheres only to a particular aspect of reality. Discourses on language and politics in the Philippines largely do not account for the pressure each of these discourses exerts on each other, thus ignoring the conflicting set of experiences in which Filipinos negotiate their daily lives. It is within this set of conflicting and intersecting experiences where we can locate code-switching as resistance.

Tupas offers that code-switching is a result of centuries' worth of colonialism yielding a multi-faceted Filipino identity—one which must navigate complex understandings of language, ethnicity, and nationality. He posits that code-switching is a manifestation of linguistic confusion and protest—a response to the centuries' worth of shifting world views and philosophical stances as they pertain to language and identity. These sentiments illustrate how deeply established language attitude and linguistic identity has become within the very foundations of modern Philippine society, and how Tagalog-English code-switching is far more complex than simply speech creativity.

All in all, we conclude that Taglish is a product of a histories and complex language situation, juggling shifting language attitudes, policies, domains, and cultural phenomena. It is likely that a systematic Tagalog-English code-switching system might have never emerged had there been a change in one or several of these major contributing factors. Undoubtedly, an understanding of these sociological and sociolinguistic facets allows us to attain a far more holistic understanding of Taglish.

*Chapter 2*  
**Literature Review**

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The purpose of this section is to provide a theoretical foundation for analysis of Tagalog-English code switches. I begin by reviewing some of the widely agreed-upon code-switching models in recent scholarship, and from there focus on the best-known studies on Tagalog-English code-switching in particular.

Research on the sociolinguistic subset of code-switching is long and well documented. Linguists such as Carol Myers-Scotton, Shana Poplack, David Sankoff, and Pieter Muysken have contributed much to our understanding of bilingual code-switching. The code-switching models and constraints offered by these scholars will be discussed in this chapter. The purpose of examining a wide array of code-switching theories is to allow for a broad understanding of the Tagalog-English bilingual's competence; by examining a variety of ways of thinking, one can appreciate the complexity of the code-switching system from multiple perspectives. To examine only one framework within this thesis could perhaps limit our understanding of Taglish as a complex and nuanced code-switching system.

## **2.1 Code-Switching Frameworks**

### **2.1.1 Myers-Scotton**

Arguably, one of the most dominant models of code-switching and bilingual language processing and production is Carol Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. Her theory designates the participating languages within code-switching scenarios as either the Matrix Language or the Embedded Language. The Matrix Language (ML) is the dominant system in the



bilingual clause, while the Embedded Language (EL) contributes either content morphemes, phrase-level constituents, or both (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009: 337). Additionally, the MLF model differentiates between content and system morphemes: content morphemes assign or receive thematic roles, while system morphemes do not. The MLF model can be summarized in three important principles:

1. Participating languages do not play equal roles in the bilingual clause.
2. In bilingual constituents within this clause, not all morpheme types can come equally from the ML and the EL.
3. The SMP (System Morpheme Principle) limits the occurrence of system morphemes that build clausal structure of the ML. In other words, the model predicts that only the ML can supply the morphemes which serve as grammatical frames (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2009).

Additionally, the Morpheme-Order Principle states that “In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 83).

The three principles listed above all hinge on the idea of asymmetry--a notion summarized by Myers-Scotton as follows:

The MLF model implicitly makes two theoretical claims having to do with asymmetry at two levels. First, the model proposes that there is always an asymmetry between the participating languages in regard to their grammatical roles: the Matrix Language (ML) sets the grammatical frame of the bilingual clause and the Embedded Language (EL) contributes largely only content elements or short phrases entirely in the EL. Second, a complementary asymmetry is that morpheme types do not all pattern alike in CS corpora in regard to their frequency and whether or not they come from the ML. It specifically makes a division between content morphemes and system morphemes.

(Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016: 3)

The distinction between Myers-Scotton’s class of content morphemes versus system morphemes is key to our understanding of the MLF model. Content morphemes are those which carry semantic and pragmatic meaning, typically nouns and verbs (which receive or assign the thematic roles of a clause, respectively) (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016: 4). In contrast, system

morphemes do not assign or receive thematic roles. The differences between the two classes of morphemes are further elucidated within the 4-M Model below.

Furthermore, Myers-Scotton's MLF model describes all code-switching as one of two types: classic or composite. Classic code-switching can be understood as bilingual productions with a morphosyntactic basis which comes from only one of the source languages. This class of code-switching is seen in speakers who have "full access to the morphosyntactic frame of one of the participating languages (the source of the Matrix Language)," (Myers-Scotton 2002, 105). Moreover, this type of code-switching requires that speakers have enough understanding of the Matrix Language to do one of three things: "(i) insert Embedded Language content morphemes into mixed constituents framed by the Matrix Language or (ii) produce well-formed Embedded Language islands," or (iii) both (Myers-Scotton 2002: 105).

Composite code-switching, on the other hand, is a phenomenon in which morphemes from two source languages are uttered by a bilingual, with a composite morphosyntactic frame informed by both sources. This form of switching is seen in language attrition and shift, occurring when speakers might not have proficiency in or access to the morphosyntactic frame of the Matrix Language (Myers-Scotton 2002: 105).

An important pillar of Myers-Scotton's model is the identification of the Matrix Language within a code-switching utterance. She explains: "The single definition which best achieves empirical verification, however, is based on the relative frequency of morphemes from the ML and the EL in the interaction type which includes the CS data under study" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 66-67). The linguist offers three different criteria for determining the ML:

1. **Psycholinguistic component:** A speaker's L1 serves as the ML the majority of the time. She notes that this is not a perfect indicator of which language in an utterance is the ML.

2. **Sociolinguistic component:** Myers-Scotton believes that sociolinguistic criteria can help determine the ML: a bilingual community's more dominant language is typically the ML; the unmarked choice language is often the ML. Still, this standard remains flawed in determining the ML.
3. **Frequency-based criterion:** The language which comprises the majority of the morphemes in utterances is the ML.

Based on Myers-Scotton's criteria, we can gather that there are gaps in accurately determining the ML in every code-switching utterance. This issue will be revisited and examined within Tagalog-English switches in the following chapters.

Myers-Scotton's 4-M model is a supplement to the MLF model. It posits that both types of morphemes in the MLF model (content and system--the latter of which can be one of three types: early SMs, bridge late SMs and outsider late SMs) can be categorized according to empirically-evident syntactic roles (Myers-Scotton and Jake: 2000). The model also offers theories about how these types of morphemes are elected psycholinguistically. The morpheme types are defined as follows:

- **content morpheme:** assign and receive thematic roles
- **early system morpheme:** occur with content morphemes (their heads) and they flesh out the meaning of their heads, e.g. plural affixes, determiners
- **bridge late system morpheme:** [connect] elements that make up larger constituents
- **outsider late system morpheme:** primary way that argument structure is indicated and agreement relations are maintained in any clause, e.g. morphemes marking subject or object-verb agreement; case affixes in some languages

(Myers-Scotton and Jake: 2000)

Furthermore, Myers-Scotton offers a supplementary model for code-switching motivations and strategies which she calls the Negotiation Principle and Markedness Model. She concludes that speakers switch codes for personally-motivated reasons or to negotiate position within a conversation. She explains:

Modelled after Grice's 'co-operative principle' (1975), a 'negotiation principle' is seen as underlying all code choices: Choose the *form* of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and

addressee for the current exchange. This principle embodies the strongest and central claim of the theory presented here: that all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of such speaker motivations.

(Myers-Scotton 1993b: 113)

Further, all code switches can be arranged according to levels of markedness as follows: “1) the ‘unmarked-choice maxim’: the speaker wishes to operate within a context of unmarked rights and obligations, 2) the ‘marked-choice maxim’: switching as a marked choice, meaning that the speaker has departed from the unmarked choice to signal a desire to negotiate a new set of rights and obligations, and 3) the ‘exploratory-choice maxim’: switching as a strategy of multiple identities, meaning that an unmarked choice is not apparent and switching is an exploratory strategy to arrive at an unmarked choice,” (Myers Scotton 1990: 93-100, summary from Bautista 2004: 229).

Additionally, Myers-Scotton also offers a distinction between two classes of unmarked code-switching: (a) sequential unmarked choices, in which speakers switch codes due to an external situation occurrence (topic changes, participants change), or (b) over-all switching, where speakers switch codes because they simply have two linguistic identities and languages available.

Myers-Scotton’s framework builds upon an understanding of a speaker’s bilingual competence. She explains:

The degree and nature of bilingual ability depends on which languages are known, on when, why, where, and how they were acquired, and also how much of each, and how well, the languages were mastered and are presently known. Mackey (2003) comes up with a series of questions and indicates that their answers demarcate or describe bilingual competence. These include (i) Which languages? (ii) What is the interlingual distance between the speaker’s L1 and an L2? The less distance, the easier the L2 is to learn. (iii) Where was the L2 learned? Was it learned at home, on the street, in school, at work? (iv) When was the L2 learned? Was the language learned as a child or not? (v) Why did the speaker become bilingual? (vi) Was it by choice or necessity? (vii) How much and to which skills did learning apply? To speaking, reading, writing? (viii) To what extent was their learning in each of these skills? Measuring bilingual proficiency, however, is still a problem.

(Myers-Scotton 2002, 33) (Mackey 2003)

The question of bilingual competency continues to be contested, and is indeed an important point of discussion within the study of Filipino-English bilingualism.

Undoubtedly, Carol Myers-Scotton has contributed a wealth of knowledge to the study of code-switching. Her work has been the foundation for many subsequent studies, and will be revisited within my data analysis. The MLF model and its addenda are the framework I have selected for the analysis of my data for several reasons:

1. The MLF model attempts to describe and explain the ways in which code-switching corpora is produced, instead of providing a framework of constraints or limits.
2. The MLF model zooms in on the morphemic level of code-switching instances, distinguishing between content morphemes and system morphemes. Because Taglish comprises a wealth of intraclausal and intraword switches, this level of morphemic examination is most productive for the analysis.
3. The MLF model does more than just categorize and codify the types of switches observed; rather, it seeks to offer a description of the linguistic processes being executed within the mind of the bilingual.

For these reasons, Carol Myers-Scotton's MLF model is the ideal frame of reference for my analysis of Tagalog-English code-switching. The remainder of this chapter will investigate other models and frameworks of code-switching.

### **2.1.2 Muysken**

Muysken's research develops on the complex phenomenon of intrasentential code-mixing (a type of code-switch that is easily observable in Filipino-English bilinguals). It is important to note that Muysken hesitates to offer a single model for code-switching; he believes that no single model can encapsulate the vastness of code-switching possibilities. He notes, "The challenge is to account for the patterns found in terms of general properties of grammar. Notice that only in this way can the phenomena of code-mixing help refine our perspective on general grammatical theory. If there were a special and separate theory of code-mixing, it might well be less relevant to general

theoretical concerns” (Muysken 2000: 3). With this as a precursor, he concludes that intrasentential code-switching can be categorized into three distinct processes (but not a singular model):

1. **insertion** of material (lexical items of entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language
2. **alternation** between structures from languages
3. **congruent lexicalization** of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure

(Muysken 2000: 3)

Insertion builds upon the aforementioned model by Myers-Scotton (1993), in which there exists a foundational grammatical structure onto which the code switches are applied; he likens this type of mixing to borrowing, as it is the injection of a lexical item or phrase from an L2 structure onto an L1 structure. These insertions can take on a variety of forms: adverbial phrases, single morphemes, or determiner + noun combinations.

The second process, alternation, stems from the research of Poplack (1980) and suggests that mixing is constrained by the grammatical compatibility of both languages at the switch point. In other words, the code-mixing occurs as an alternating pattern between the two languages. He emphasizes: “In the case of alternation, there is a true switch from one language to the other, involving both grammar and lexicon” (Muysken 2000: 5).

The final process—congruent lexicalization—suggests that there exists a widely (although not entirely) shared syntactic structure that is lexically informed by either language (Muysken 2000: 5). He offers evidence which does not appear to obey grammatical rules specific to just the Matrix Language, but rather to both languages.

Muysken also explores the question of whether we can determine which type of switching we observe in every case, claiming the following criteria:

- (i) when several constituents in a row are switched, which together do *not* form a constituent, alternation is more likely

- (ii) when the switched element is at the periphery of an utterance, alternation is a clear possibility
- (iii) longer stretches of other-language material are more likely to be alternations

(Muysken 1995, 180)

As we can gather, Muysken's bottom-up approach in describing the switches (as opposed to formulating a set of concrete constraints for code-switching) is one that is vital to a fuller understanding of the workings of Tagalog-English code-switching.

### 2.1.3 Sankoff & Poplack

David Sankoff and Shana Poplack's 1981 paper "A Formal Grammar for Code-Switching" has also been widely used in linguistic research. Their syntax model posits that intrasentential switches can only occur within the frame of two constraints:

1. **The free morpheme constraint:** a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme.
2. **The equivalence constraint:** the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously. This requires some specification: the local co-grammaticality or equivalence of the two languages in the vicinity of the switch holds as long as the order of any two sentence elements, one before and one after the switch point, is not excluded in either language.

(Sankoff & Poplack 1981: 5-6)

Their research zooms in on data from switches between Puerto Rican Spanish and English, both SVO, Indo-European languages with relatively high levels of cognates. They also verify their two constraints in Swedish-English, Greek-English, French-English, and Italian-English code switching corpora, but do not offer any testing against languages such as Tagalog—a language with a flexible VSO word order and an Austronesian lexicon and grammar. They note this gap in data: "It is not

clear how the free morpheme constraint might operate in a situation involving English and some highly inflected or agglutinative language, nor what might be the scope of the equivalence constraint for languages with highly different word orders” (Sankoff & Poplack 1981: 7).

Additionally, they qualify their argument, allowing that “establishing the status of the free morpheme and equivalence constraints as universal or near-universal conditions on switching would require much comparative empirical work” (Sankoff & Poplack 1981: 7).

Sankoff and Poplack push back against the model proposed by Myers-Scotton, claiming that the process of denoting a Matrix Language from an Embedded Language is arbitrary. They cite the following example of Spanish-English switching:

There was a guy, you know, *que he se monto*. He started playing with *congas*, you know, and *se monto y empezò a brincar* and all this shit (Sankoff & Poplack 1981: 11-12).

Based on this utterance, they claim that no Matrix Language can be ascertained due to the speaker’s frequent alternation and insertion: “No algorithm to determine “base language” so far proposed applies consistently and convincingly to performance data containing multiply switched sentences” (Sankoff & Poplack 1981: 12). On this specific argument, I agree with Sankoff and Poplack: it is clear that Myers-Scotton’s method for distinguishing a Matrix Language versus an Embedded Language is one based on broad conventions and not standard rules which can hold for any code-switching utterance. In many cases of Filipino-English code-switching, switches are as frequent as the ones exemplified above by Sankoff and Poplack; indeed, Myers-Scotton’s approach is not entirely perfect. Of course, each of these models and propositions has their own share of weaknesses.

On the other hand, it is important to note that Sankoff & Poplack’s constraint model zooms in on the places where code switches *cannot* occur instead of modeling where code switches *do* occur.



In my data, I have located numerous instances where Tagalog-English code-switching violates the constraints proposed by Sankoff and Poplack. These gaps in the model will be revealed by my data and my analyses in Chapter 3.

#### 2.1.4 Grosjean

Part of Francois Grosjean's research grapples with the question, "What distinguishes code-switching from borrowing?" In *Bilingual* (Grosjean 2012), his analysis is founded on the belief that bilingual conversations have a base language and a guest language, the latter of which can be brought in through one of two means—code-switching or borrowing. He outlines the distinction between the two as such: code-switching is "the alternate use of two languages, that is, the speaker makes a complete shift to another language for a word, phrase, or sentence and then reverts back to the base language," while borrowing can be defined as "borrowing a word or short expression from that language and adapting it morphologically (and often phonologically) into the base language" (Grosjean 2012: 51-62). In terms of motivations, Grosjean believes that most code-switching can be attributed to one of three motivations:

1. Ease of expression in the guest language versus the base language.
2. For the filling of lexical gaps.
3. To quote what someone said in the guest language (he notes, "It would sound unnatural to translate it for a bilingual who understands the other language perfectly").

(Grosjean 2012: 54)

Furthermore, he comments that code-switching is also employed "as a communicative or social strategy, to show speaker involvement, mark group identity, exclude someone, raise one's status, [or] show expertise" (Grosjean 2012: 54-55).

Grosjean adds that, when code-switching in writing, writers might denote the words or phrases with quotation marks or underlining. This practice is almost entirely absent in written

Filipino-English code-switching. Another contested aspect of Grosjean's findings are the phonetic characteristics of the switches; he claims, "there is indeed a sudden and complete sound shift to the other language at the switch break but that the prosody may, at time, remain that of the base language" (Grosjean 2012: 57). This idea is not entirely supported within Taglish data, as certain examples illustrate that the phonological characteristics of the switches are not "complete sound shift[s]", as Grosjean suggests.

On the other hand, Grosjean qualifies borrowing as "the integration of one language into another," a type of blending involving morphological and phonological change (Grosjean 2012: 58). He does add, however, that there are still questions surrounding whether borrowings must be completely phonologically adapted to the base language; linguists are more certain about the adaptation in morphology.

The major question at the intersection of Grosjean's research and Taglish scholarship can be summed up as follows:

[W]hen a borrowing comes into a sentence and does not require a morphological marking, and if [it] is not phonologically integrated—that is, pronounced with the phonetics of the base language—it is difficult to distinguish it from a one-word code-switch. This has caused much debate among specialists about whether we are dealing with a code-switch or a borrowing. ...When nouns are concerned, they are adapted to the noun morphology of the base language—for example, they may be given a plural form and a gender when the borrowing language requires it.

(Grosjean 2012: 59)

Regarding borrowing motivations, Grosjean cites semantic accuracy and ease of lexical access. He offers an explanation of the process by which borrowings become an accepted part of the base language's vocabulary and used by monolinguals as well: "some words are borrowed very quickly while others go through a long process; some are brought in by one bilingual and others are

accepted by a large bilingual community before being transferred to the monolingual group” (Grosjean 2012: 61).

In sum, Grosjean offers an insightful look into the contrast between code-switching and borrowing. He comments, “If a domain is covered wholly or partly by a language other than the one we are speaking, and the situation is conducive to code-switching, then we will bring in the words and expressions we need, either because they are the only ones we have or because they are the most readily available” (Grosjean 2010: 54). Grosjean’s suggestion here is not unlike Bautista’s observation of Tagalog-English code-switching for reasons of lexical gaps and communicative efficiency. His views will be revisited and discussed in subsequent chapters, particularly his answer to the question “What constitutes a code-switch versus a borrowing?”

### 2.1.6 Gumperz

John Gumperz’ *Discourse Strategies* zooms in on the pragmatic and conversational aspects of code-switching. Using data from an array of bilingual conversations, he identifies six distinct conversational functions of code-switching:

1. **Quotation**—where the code-switch is clearly identifiable either as a direct quotation or as reported speech.
2. **Addressee specification**—where the switch serves to direct the message to one of several possible addressees.
3. **Interjection**—where the code-switch serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler
4. **Reiteration**—where the code-switch repeats a message in one code in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form.
5. **Message qualification**—where the code-switch consists of a qualifying construction such as a sentence and verb complement or a predicate following a copula.
6. **Personalization vs. objectivization**—where the code-switch relates to such things as the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement or distance from a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact.

(Gumperz 1982: 75-84; summary from Bautista 1999: 21)

Gumperz' research has been revisited by numerous code-switching experts.

## **2.2 Taglish Scholarship**

The language situation in the Philippines has undoubtedly been a topic of extensive research. Bonifacio Sibayan, a founding member of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, claims that “the language situation in the Philippines is probably the most studied in the world,” (Thompson 2003: 4). The majority of the scholarly works consider topics such as language policy and planning, continuation of English usage, Philippine Standard English, and language usage surveys. Studies on bilingual language attitudes, the politics of code-switching, and bilingual patterns in mass media have also been conducted.

Further, at the intersection of the study of code-switching and the Philippine situation, research on Tagalog-English code-switching remains underdeveloped. The initial study of Taglish was in a 1967 thesis by Azores; in it, he examined written code-switching in the biweekly publication *The Sun*, which Bautista notes as “the first periodical to record Tagalog-English code switching in print” (Bautista 2004: 227). Notable are the theses and dissertations by Filipino linguists Bautista, Pascasio, Marasigan, Marfil & Pasiona, Palines, Pimentel, Sadicon, and Sobolewski (Bautista 2004: 227). Most of these breakthrough studies occurred in the 1970s and early 1980s; there has been more limited recent scholarship on the linguistics of Taglish and Filipino-English bilingualism. As the linguistic phenomenon becomes more widespread in usage and standardization, it is important to pursue research on the topic.

### **2.3.1 Bautista**

Maria Lourdes S. Bautista is one of the foremost scholars on the topic of Taglish. Her decades of research are anchored by her 1980 dissertation, “The Filipino Bilingual’s Competence: A Model Based on an Analysis of Tagalog-English Code Switching,” in which she concluded that it was possible to switch between the two languages at any point where the structures of Tagalog and English were compatible. Additionally, she has juxtaposed Myers-Scotton’s MLF model and Sankoff & Poplack’s 1988 framework with extensive data from Tagalog-English bilinguals. The paper entitled “Tagalog-English Code-Switching as a Mode of Discourse” revisits the morphosyntactic, lexical, semantic, and sociolinguistic aspects first examined in her dissertation. She conclusively argues that Taglish is “a mode of discourse that might even serve as a form of linguistic resistance...to monolingualism and globalization,” (Bautista 2004: 231). Bautista codifies Tagalog-English code-switching within two distinct classes:

Bautista (1999) labeled the first type of code-switching as deficiency-driven code-switching, that is, the person is not fully competent in the use of one language and therefore has to go back to the other language. In the second type of code-switching, labeled proficiency-driven code-switching, the person is competent in the two languages and can easily switch from one to the other, for maximum efficiency or effect (Bautista 2004: 227).

Bautista gives the following as an example of “deficiency-driven code-switching”:

One kind is the case of a five-year old boy trying to answer his mother’s question in English: “Francis, why don’t you play the piano for your godmother?” And the boy’s answer: “Mommy, I don’t want. It’s so *hirap eb*. [Because it’s so difficult.]” (Bautista 2004: 227).

The second type, “proficiency-driven code-switching” is seen in this excerpt (a conversation with a renowned TV journalist):

*Sa GMA ’yung* objectivity has become part *na* of the culture [At GMA, objectivity has already become part of the culture]. I can tell you with a straight face *na wala kaming age-agenda* [that we have nothing like an agenda] – you know, make this person look good and that person look bad. It’s really plain and simple journalism. *Kung mayroon kang binira, kunin mo ’yung kabilang* side [If you attack somebody, then get the other side] so that both sides are fairly presented (Bautista 2004: 227).

From this point of distinction, she considers proficiency-driven code-switching in the educated communities of Metro Manila. Bautista's research found that bilingual speakers are able to switch codes at any point where the grammatical structures of Tagalog and English converged.

Further, she claims that it is necessary to first determine a "base language" from which any code switch was made to understand the seemingly random switches between the systems. To determine this, one must examine the syntactical structure and constituents seen in the utterance. The concept of a "base language" was reinterpreted by Myers-Scotton's MLF model in 1993, with the aforementioned labels of Matrix Language and Embedded Language.

In a 1998 publication, Bautista "looked at the linguistic structure and switch points in Tagalog-English code-switching...in a sample of e-mail messages written by seven brothers and sisters, using the framework of Sankoff and Poplack (1988)" (Bautista 1999: 19). She notes four code-switching mechanisms:

1. smooth switching
2. flagged (non-smooth) switching
3. constituent insertion
4. nonce borrowing

She aligns herself with Poplack's argument (1980: 614) that code-switching is a mode of discourse, i.e. it is [the choice (or not) of this mode which is of significance to the participants rather than the choice of switch points" (Bautista 1999: 20).

Furthermore, Bautista's 1999 study entitled "An analysis of the functions of Tagalog-English code-switching: Data from one case" begs the question "*Why* do Filipino bilinguals code switch?" Building upon her 1998 publication and working within the Negotiation Principle and Markedness Model offered by Carol Myers-Scotton, she posits that a percentage of Tagalog-English switches occur on account of what Bautista calls "communicative efficiency," explaining that these code

switches allow the speaker to convey meaning using the most accurate, expressive, or succinct lexical items available to them—whether English or Tagalog. She offers four categories of insertional switches which demonstrate the notion of communicative efficiency (Bautista 2004: 230):

1. *Function words* — especially in terms of what Filipino linguists call Tagalog enclitic particles, adverbials that occur only in certain fixed word-order relations to other sentence elements and whose meanings constitute a rather heterogeneous grouping (Schachter & Otones, 1972). For example:
  - a. After my meeting, I'll go home *na* ["already"].
  - b. We attended *pa* ["still"] a children's party at 5 p.m.
  - c. That night, we had a Cantonese dinner *naman* ["on the other hand"] in a restaurant near the hotel. ...

The enclitics are a short-cut for the more circumlocutious English phrase. It would be difficult for Filipinos to convey the meaning of *daw* "according to someone", *pala* "it turns out, by the way", *naman* "on the other hand", *nga* "affirmation or confirmation", in terse English. ...
2. *Content words* — local words for local realities such as food words, kinship terms, culture-specific lexical items. ...
3. *Idioms* — metaphorical expressions that are available in one language but not available in the other. ...
4. *Linguistic play* — achieving a *humorous effect* by playing on the Tagalog or English word. ...

In sum, Bautista's description of "communicative efficiency" explains one of several major motivational explanations for Taglish insertions within the discourse mode. However, the conclusion is limited, as it only gives explanation for a small number of the switches observed in Tagalog-English code-switching.

She adds, "This kind of strategic competence is currently very evident in texting, typing out message via mobile phones (and the Philippines has been called the texting capital of the world) — the texter can choose between English, Tagalog, or Taglish to state the message in the fastest, easiest way possible," (Bautista 2004: 230).

Bautista contests that the Filipino bilingual code switches in order to access the “easiest, fastest, most effective, or most colorful way of saying something. The bilingual switches to the code that facilitates the best expression of the content he or she has in mind, and the switching can involve a word, a phrase, a pre-packaged idiom or expression, a clause, a sentence, and therefore CS occurs intrasententially or intersententially” (Bautista 1999: 29). In sum, Bautista’s body of research brings the study of Taglish to the conclusion that Tagalog-English code-switching is an unmarked yet flexible performance of bilingual competence and an attempt at communicative efficiency in daily conversations.

### 2.2.2 Goulet

Rosalina Morales Goulet is yet another prolific Philippine linguist. Regarding language attitudes and usage surrounding Taglish in her 1971 publication, she notes the following:

Among educated Tagalogs, mixing is considered the normal acceptable conversational style of speaking and writing. The bilingual uses borrowings generously, shifts from one language to another easily and does not resist the adoption of loans. The linguistically sophisticated person, secure in his knowledge, uses only English or Tagalog in strictly formal speaking and writing situations, but he will not hesitate to mix the languages in informal settings or when there seems to be a good reason for it. As a matter of fact, pure Tagalog spoken in an informal situation is not considered natural. One is easily identified as a non-native speaker of Tagalog if he uses pure Tagalog where a native speaker would not hesitate to use loans.

(Goulet 1971: 83)

Goulet attributes switches between Filipino and English to the following motivations: for precision, for transition, for comic effect, for atmosphere, to bridge or create social distance, for snob appeal, and for secrecy (Goulet 1971: 84).



### *Summary*

The present literature review has examined the code-switching models and frameworks offered by numerous linguists, presented alongside the findings of scholars who specialize in Tagalog-English code-switching. Evidently, the body of research on code-switching is well developed; on the other hand, Taglish research still remains somewhat limited. The following chapter will build upon the foundation of these models, mainly Carol Myers-Scotton's MLF model. From here, we can analyze a new corpus of Taglish data with a broad understanding of the existing ways of thinking about bilingual code-switching.

*Chapter 3*  
**Research**

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### **3.1 Methodology**

In order to gather current Taglish data, I conducted fieldwork with bilingual Tagalog-English speakers in the Philippines. Interviews were held in Makati, Metro Manila in August 2016. The Metro Manila area has the highest concentration of educated, full-proficiency Filipino/English bilinguals. Makati, as the epicenter of the Philippines' national and international business and trade activities, is no exception to this language situation. Were the interviews conducted outside the Metro Manila area, it is likely that we would observe speakers code-switching with full proficiency in Tagalog and more limited proficiency in English. This would undoubtedly change the nature of the data collected, as I sought to find speakers who are fully bilingual. The consultants' abilities in both languages produced what Bautista has described as "proficiency-driven code-switching" (as opposed to deficiency-driven code-switching).

Research participants were young professionals working in a multinational corporation. All are fluent and comfortable with Manila Tagalog and Philippine Standard English. Most consultants were born and raised in the Tagalog-speaking Metro Manila region (in cities such as Alabang, Pasig, and Quezon City). Two consultants were raised in the greater periphery of Tagalog sphere, in Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, both to the north of Metro Manila. All consultants' parents are also bilingual in the two languages. Some were also proficient in Spanish (through college curriculum) or had comprehension skills in other regional languages (Ilokano, Kapampangan, etc.) through parents and grandparents who lived with them during childhood. The consultants all had at least a college

degree, and some were in the process of obtaining masters degrees. Notably, to exemplify the level of English proficiency, one consultant was a masters student in English language and literature.

Research participants were born between 1980 and 1989. Generally speaking, the generation of Metro Manila millennials exhibits a uniquely productive style of Tagalog-English code-switching as compared to older generations. This could very well be due to the prominence of social media and influence of mass media on the generation born in the last decades of the 20th century; many of these outlets feature Taglish-speaking bilinguals. This is not to say that older generations of bilinguals do not code-switch; they simply do so in a relatively more conservative fashion compared to millennials.

The professions of the participants are also important to the study. English and Taglish play more important roles within the worlds of commerce and higher education in the Philippines than other fields such as agriculture or food service, for example. This is the case for two reasons: 1) the lexicons required to adequately convey ideas in the business and education worlds are more dependent on English terminology, and 2) both fields make more direct and regular contact with the rest of the Anglosphere (e.g. sales representatives contacting clients in London or Toronto, educators looking to American research and textbooks, call center operators servicing Australian clients). It is well known in Philippine society that business and education are two spheres where Taglish can be regularly observed. In contrast, other career fields are able to rely less on English and more on Tagalog in the workplace. In sum, the participants' occupations are an important factor to the type of consistent, regular code-switching data I hope to exemplify.

Furthermore, the genders of the participants are another facet to take into consideration. Though the majority of my research consultants were female, I do not think that this altered the

types of code-switching present in the dataset. Filipino-English bilinguals are only remotely divided by speech across gender lines (i.e. females, by-and-large, tend to be slightly more creative in their switching and linguistic innovation—a trend not unlike those seen in gender linguistics globally). Of course, I realize that there is an entirely different, ongoing study of gender, sexuality, and linguistics: that of Swardspeak, the argot of gay men and transgendered women in the Philippines' vibrant LGBTQ community. Though the Tagalog-English code-switching and in-group slang of this particular community is highly productive and idiosyncratic, it constitutes an entirely different code-switching variety—one that will not be addressed within this thesis. All in all, the gender makeup of my consultant pool is one that accurately reflects the type of code-switching in the Metro Manila region.

Research was conducted through a series of one-on-one interviews, and audio was captured on a small recording device visible to the speakers. The first portion involved the use of two stimulus tools: Mercer Mayer's wordless picture book *A boy, a dog, and a frog* (Mayer 1967), and the pear story video (Haiweongwas 2008). I asked the speaker to narrate the events in the book as they happened. For the pear story, I showed the entire video to participants and then asked them to retell the events. These visual prompts were particularly strategic in that they prompted a wide array of verb forms and aspects—many of which were uttered using mixed codes. Some narrated the stimuli using a progressive verbal construction, while others used a completive aspect.

The remainder of the interview took on a much more fluid approach: I asked participants open-ended questions about the day, lifestyle, weekend, family, etc. Additionally, I asked follow-up questions in order to make the interview feel less structured and more conversational. Due to the Filipino culture being relatively reserved (i.e. people tend to be particular about keeping separate the

private and public spheres), it was occasionally challenging to obtain comments about a participant's personal life. I learned that personal questions such as "Describe a near-death experience you've had," or "What did you do this past weekend?" were met with hesitancy, perhaps due to the prominent cultural sense of *hiya*, a Filipino concept best expressed in English as 'shame.' Nevertheless, certain respondents were willing to answer the open-ended questions, even though they were relatively personal in nature.

To elicit Taglish responses and allow consultants to feel comfortable switching between Tagalog and English, I conducted the entirety of the interviews in Taglish and informed the participants that I was proficient in both languages. Informants were asked to feel free to respond as they would if they were speaking with friends or family. Furthermore, in giving backchannel and asking follow-up questions, I utilized Taglish to elicit responses rich in code switches.

Undoubtedly, there were levels of observer's paradox present, as the consultants were aware that I was from the United States (they were made known of this due to previous circumstances). Their awareness of my citizenship could have tilted their speech towards English more than Tagalog, perhaps slightly skewing the Taglish they spoke. Nevertheless, the data collected is generally reflective of the speech of a standard Taglish user.

It is plausible that having a Filipino (as opposed to a Filipino American) conduct the interviews might have resulted in different results, i.e. more natural or frequent code switches. This phenomenon is apparent in observations noted in Poplack's research (1978): "It has been demonstrated that the in-group status of the interviewer coupled with relatively unobtrusive data gathering techniques yielded a body of code-switching data qualitatively more diverse and quantitatively more numerous than that which could have been elicited by an outsider to the

community.” As a second-generation Filipino American who is both bicultural and bilingual in Tagalog and English, I do not consider myself to be exactly an “outsider” to the community. Still, it is not surprising that the speakers perceived me as such. Future researchers should note this phenomenon on Filipino foreigner perception for subsequent studies in Tagalog-English code-switching.

Another beneficial data set to have is recorded conversations between Taglish speakers. Such data would provide additional information not always visible in an interview setting (e.g. turn-taking conventions, backchanneling, conversational strategies and repair, etc.). Nevertheless, the data collected from these one-on-one interviews is entirely valuable to attaining a fuller understanding of Tagalog-English code-switching.

Finally, it would be worth examining first-generation Filipino-American Tagalog-English bilinguals’ code-switching patterns. Because such individuals would have native proficiency in Tagalog *and* fluency in both Philippine English and Standard American English (including the colloquialisms and idioms of each variety), such mastery could yield a particularly unique form of code-switching. The nuances between Filipino and Filipino-American code-switching would add to the field’s understanding of the role that proficiency plays in bilingual language phenomenon. The same can be said about the type of code-switching performed by Filipino Canadians, Filipino Australians, British Filipinos, and so on.

### **3.2 Data Analysis**

The data collected in Manila deserves an in-depth examination in light of the previous code-switching models. The purpose of this chapter is to describe, categorize, and analyze some

types of switches observed in Taglish and determine whether or not the data can be explained with previous scholarship on code-switching. On another level, I hope to provide evidence that Taglish exceeds the boundaries of current grammatical proposals, and thus needs continued research.

For reference, below is a listing of the topics I will cover in this chapter:

*A Note on Data Presentation*

- 3.2.1 Tagalog Enclitics
- 3.2.2 Tagalog Conjunctions
- 3.2.3 English Content Morphemes
- 3.2.4 EL Islands & ML Islands
- 3.2.5 Tagalog Tags
- 3.2.6 Mixed Noun Phrases
- 3.2.7 Mixed Verb Formation
  - 3.2.7.1 Prefixed
  - 3.2.7.1 Prefixed with Reduplication
  - 3.2.7.1 Infixed
  - 3.2.7.1 Suffixed

*Summary*

*A Note on Data Presentation*

Within the original utterances, English is presented in plain text, Tagalog is in **bold**, and the switches being referenced are underlined. I include a three-level glossing convention: the top line features a transcription of the speech, the middle line is a gloss including the function and part of speech, and the bottom line is a direct translation of each individual word. The free translations provided below the speech and glosses are not literal, direct translations, but rather, grammatical, vernacular translations into American English which intend to convey the feeling and style of the speaker's original speech. A key to glossing abbreviations is located on page 5.

**3.2.1 Tagalog Enclitics**

One of the most basic code-switching strategies evident in Taglish is the insertion of Tagalog enclitic particles into English utterances. The enclitics are “a class of words and phrases that occur only in certain fixed word-order relations to other sentence elements...the clitics contain pronouns, adverbs, interrogative markers, linking particles and phrases which show the modality” (Moriguchi 2006: 327). These particles are frequently observed within both Tagalog and Taglish conversations; their purpose is to convey important grammatical meaning. Enclitics observed in Taglish data include:

<i>kasi</i>	‘because’
<i>kaya</i>	‘perhaps’
<i>din/ rin</i>	‘too’
<i>lamang/ lang</i>	‘only’
<i>man</i>	‘for a while’
<i>na</i>	‘already’
<i>naman</i>	‘on the other hand’
<i>nga</i>	‘please’, emphasis marker
<i>pa</i>	‘still’
<i>pala</i>	‘so’
<i>tuloy</i>	‘as a result’
<i>ba</i>	question marker
<i>daw/ raw</i>	‘it is said’
<i>po/ ho</i>	honorific marker
<i>sana</i>	‘I hope’
<i>yata</i>	‘seem’
<i>ng/ na</i>	linker

(Moriguchi 2006: 329-330)

To illustrate how Tagalog enclitics are used, consider the following example of a Tagalog utterance:

(1)	<b>Masaya</b>	<b><u>din</u></b>	<b><u>naman</u></b>		<b><u>ako</u></b>	<b><u>dito.</u></b>
	ADJ	ADV	ADV		PRO	PREP
	happy	also	on the other hand		I	here

‘On the other hand, I’m also happy here.’



Example (1) illustrates that the three enclitics *din*, *naman*, and *ako* appear in a fixed word order following the adjectival head ‘happy’. In Tagalog syntax, enclitic particles can only appear after the initial word or constituent, and where there are multiple enclitics, all must agree with the ordering rule. Because Tagalog is VSO in structure, the item in the initial position is typically the verb or the focus of the sentence (e.g. *masaya* ‘happy’). This means that enclitics appear in the postverbal position (or “post-focus” position) in Tagalog syntax, though there are exceptions.

In Taglish syntax, the enclitics are also placed in the postverbal position. We can speculate that the Tagalog grammar is the reason why the enclitics cannot appear before the main verb. To illustrate this idea, consider example (2) (enclitics are underlined):

- (2) **Parang** I fainted lang. So, although, **pero** I regained consciousness  
 ADV                    ADV                    CON  
 seems                    only                    but

naman, but I remember that same day, I had myself or allowed myself to be brought  
 ADV  
 on the other hand

na to the hospital.  
 ADV  
 already

‘It was just as if I fainted, that’s all. Although I still regained consciousness, but I remember that same day, I had myself or allowed myself to just be brought to the hospital.’

In this example, the speaker inserts such enclitics only in the postverbal position, e.g. the Tagalog *lang* ‘only’ must follow the English clause “I fainted”, while *naman* follows “I regained consciousness.” It would be considered ungrammatical to insert the enclitic following the initial head of the construction, the subject (i.e. “I *lang* fainted” or “I *naman* regained consciousness...”). In the final clause of (2), *na* is inserted between a the infinitive verb phrase “to be brought” and the

prepositional phrase “to the hospital”; this still follows the Taglish syntax rule of the enclitic only appearing in the postverbal position.

Example (3) shows the enclitic inserted following the clause “it was a long time”:

(3) Maybe the time that I was—but it was a long time **na**—so, more than 10 years.

ADV

already

‘Maybe the time that I was—but it’s already been a long time—so, more than 10 years.’

Here, the enclitic placement still follows the rule described above, as it appears after the verb phrase and adjoined noun phrase (“a long time”).

Examples (2) and (3) show an English Matrix Language with Tagalog insertions. Within Myers-Scotton’s MLF model, we understand the Tagalog enclitics to be early system morphemes (and not content morphemes) because they add specificity to the content morpheme heads; the enclitic particles are activated to supplement the semantic goals of an utterance.

Below is an additional examples of such insertions:

(4)	He’s into oatmeal	<u><b>na</b></u>	<u><b>rin</b></u>	<u><b>nga</b></u>	<u><b>pala.</b></u>
		ADV	ADV	INT	ADV
		already	also	emphasis	so

‘Oh, he’s also recently gotten into oatmeal.’

(Example (3) from Bautista 1999: 27)

The above examples are also characteristic of one of the four distinct insertional switches (function words) offered by Bautista’s 2004 analysis (see Section 2.3.1).

The use of these standalone closed-class words serve as a way of expressing something more succinctly than if the speaker attempted to express the same thing in English. For example, in (2), in

order to achieve the same semantic effect as “Parang I fainted lang,” the speaker would have to express something like, “It seemed just as if I fainted, that’s all.” Evidently, the Tagalog enclitics *parang* and *lang* express the meanings the speaker wishes to convey. Furthermore, it is possible that Taglish speakers insert enclitic particles into English utterances in an effort to indicate solidarity with Tagalog. All in all, these insertional switches are simply strategies that the bilingual employs for ease and lexical flexibility.

### 3.2.2. Tagalog Conjunctions

Another common insertional practice is the use of Tagalog conjunctions in English frames:

- (5) So that’s something that I probably won’t forget, **pero** it’s been awhile **na.**  
   CONJ  ADV  
   although                                    already

‘So that’s something that I probably won’t forget, although it’s already been awhile.

- (6) It’s good business by the way **kasi** the price of the mini fig goes up.  
   CONJ  
   because

‘It’s good business by the way because the price of the mini fig goes up.

Within the MLF model, Tagalog conjunctions within English ML productions are bridge late system morphemes. Though Myers-Scotton notes that bridge SMs are normally from the ML, the opposite is true here. She notes, “Such morpho-syntactically transparent morphemes can indicate solidarity with the EL without shifting the ML and potential balance of power in an exchange” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016: 6).

A valid question that comes to mind is why would the bilingual insert a Tagalog conjunction where an English one would function just fine. A possible answer is that such conjunctions display

intonational patterns that fulfill specific functions. For instance, *kasi* ‘because’ is pronounced with a rising intonation which serves to express attitude or draw attention to a particular piece of a statement. It is plausible that these particular signals of the speaker’s intention could not be conveyed via the equivalent English conjunctions.

The examples offered to this point have exclusively featured English ML frames. Because Taglish is characteristic of proficiency-driven code-switching—in which speakers have full access to the syntactical structures of both languages—Tagalog can also be the matrix language; this is more often the case than not in Tagalog-English code-switching. The following section will delve into cases where Tagalog is elected as the ML.

### 3.2.3 English Content Morphemes

Within Tagalog matrices, another observable form of code switching is the insertion of English open-class lexical items (mainly nouns, adjectives, and adverbs)<sup>2</sup> into Tagalog ML frames. In the excerpts below, we observe the speaker using English terms within Tagalog utterances. In example (7), the speaker opts for English *girl* and *hat* as opposed to the Tagalog counterparts *batang babae* and *sombrero*.

- (7) **May d<um>aan pa ng isang girl, t<um>ingin**  
 EXT <ACTFOC>-pass ADV GEN one girl <ACTFOC>-look  
 there.is passed still a one girl
- siya tapos ano, kasi yung hat niya, na-lipad.**  
 3.SG CON INT CON DET 3.SG.POSS COMPL-fly  
 he then what because that his flew

‘A girl passed by; he looked, then um, because his hat flew off.’

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<sup>2</sup> English verbs are also inserted frequently into Tagalog matrices, however, they are normally inflected with Tagalog affixes. This phenomenon will be examined later in this discussion.

The insertion of English content morphemes is a classic example of the MLF model’s description of code-switching. Simply put, the Matrix Language is Tagalog, and English supplies content morphemes as the Embedded Language. Noun phrases like “isang girl” and “yung hat niya” are what Myers-Scotton describes as “mixed constituents” (Myers-Scotton 1993); they allow for EL content morphemes to appear even between system morphemes from the ML.

Additional examples of such switches:

- (8) So, dog and boy—yung frog, **an doon**      **pa**      **rin**      yung frog.  
   DEM      PREP.PH      ADV      ADV      DEM  
   that      there      still      too      that

‘So, dog and boy—the frog, the frog is still there.’

- (9) **Ay, libo,**      **ba’t ‘di**      **tayo**      **nag-kita?**      **An doon**      **kami**      **sa**  
   Q      NEG      1.PL      COMP-see      PREP.PH      1.PL.EX      PREP  
   why not      we      saw      there      us      at
- toy section      **nag-hanap**      **ng**      minifigs.  
   COMP-find      GEN  
   found      the      miniature figurines

‘Too bad, why didn’t we see each other? We were over in the toy section. We looked for miniature figurines.’

- (10) ...**kasi nga**      **walang, walang masiyadong** cars.  
   CON      INT      NEG      NEG      ADV  
   because      none      none      really

‘Because there’s really not many cars.’

It is plausible that bilinguals’ act of inserting English terms may express their favoring economy and succinctness, as *frog* in Tagalog would require the three-syllable *palaka*, and concepts like *toy section* and *minifigs* (an abbreviated form of ‘miniature figurines’) would require several additional words to convey in Tagalog.

### 3.2.4. EL Islands & ML Islands

According to the MLF model, Embedded Language islands are “phrases from other varieties participating in the clause, [which] are allowed if they meet EL well-formedness conditions, but also ML conditions applying to the clause as a whole (e.g. phrase placement)” (Myers-Scotton 2002). Moreover, morpheme order within the EL island is according to the EL morphosyntax.

In Taglish corpora, speakers allow EL islands in places where the syntax of both Tagalog and English are compatible (e.g. clausal boundaries, phrase-level boundaries, etc.). The data illustrates that Tagalog-English code-switching supports the MLF model and the theory of Embedded Language Islands.

Consider the following example:

- (11) So, having realized that, he made the sound and signaled to the boy biking **na**  
COMP  
that
- |                       |                      |                        |                               |
|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b><u>mayroon</u></b> | <b><u>siyang</u></b> | <b><u>in-iwan,</u></b> | and then he returned it back. |
| EXT                   | 3.SG                 | OBJFOC-leave           |                               |
| there is              | he                   | left                   |                               |

‘So, having realized that, he made the sound and signaled to the boy biking that he left something, and then he returned it back.’

Here, the underlined portion shows an English ML frame with an embedded Tagalog clause. The switch point is the Tagalog sentential complementizer *na* (comparable to the English *that*). Within the MLF model, we can understand *na* to be a bridge late system morpheme, as it joins together two clauses. The bridge SM allows for the speaker to switch over to a Tagalog grammar,

allowing the EL island to be purely Tagalog in word order and lexicon. The speaker switches back to an ML construction at the clausal boundary beginning with *and*.

A comparable practice is observed in the following example, where Tagalog is the ML (consider the underlined portion of the utterance):

- (12) Oh, yeah, I remember one, **pero** **hindi** **naman** **siya** **kasi** **ganun**  
 CONJ NEG ADV 3.SG CON COMP  
 but not still it because that
- kagrabe** **na** we were just driving **sa** **probinsya**, **mga** **Tuguegarao** level,  
 ADJ LK PREP N PREP PN  
 severe that in rural around city name
- as in long time **na** **wala** **kang** **kasunod** and **kasabay** or something.  
 LK NEG 2.SG N N  
 where none you follower joining

‘Oh yeah, I remember one, but it really wasn’t that severe; we were just driving in the rural area, around Tuguegarao—as in, for a long time, there’s no one following you or [driving] with you or something.’

Again, the Tagalog *na* serves as the bridge late system morpheme, triggering the EL island (an English independent clause). Note that the EL island cannot be considered just EL content morphemes inserted into a Tagalog frame, as the ML grammar does not allow for an SVO construction; the island is not well-formed according to the Tagalog word-order.

Consider example (13), which shows an ML island:

- (13) **Um-akyat** **siya** **ng** **puno** to pick up mangoes and collect them,  
 ACTFOC-climb 3.SG GEN N  
 climbed he the tree

store them in baskets.

‘He climbed the tree to pick up mangoes and collect them, store them in baskets.’

The underlined independent phrase in (13) is the Tagalog ML clause. This is characteristic of an ML island as it is comprised of exclusively ML morphemes, is well-formed according to Tagalog grammar, and shows “internal structural-dependency relations” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 78). The Tagalog ML island is followed by an English EL island: a dependent infinitive clause.

Similar constructions can be observed at points where the speaker adds a Tagalog EL island within an English construction, as shown by the examples in (14), (15), (16) and (17):

- (14) Then, while he was doing so, **may** **d<um>aan** **na bata.**  
 EXT <ACTFOC>-pass LK N  
 there passed child

‘Then, while he was doing so, there was a child that passed by.’

- (15) So after that, yeah, I guess, **tuloy~tuloy na yung** boy to whatever he was supposed  
 V LK DET  
 continue that

to go.

‘So after that, yeah, I guess, the boy went along to whatever he was supposed to go to.’

- (16) So, while he was biking, **na-kita** **niyang,** **may na-kita** **siyang**  
 COMPL-see 3.SG. EXT COMPL-see 3.SG  
 saw he there saw he

girl, about his age, and he seemed to be distracted a bit.

‘So, while he was biking, he saw, he saw a girl about his age, and he seemed to be distracted a bit.’

- (17) Then he turned around **t<um>ingin** **siya,** then when he, when he looked at  
 <ACTFOC>-look 3.SG  
 looked he

the road again, **hindi niya** **pansin may** **bato** **na,** so he fell off the bike and  
 NEG 3.SG V EXT N ADV  
 not he see there rock now

the mangoes fell.



‘Then he turned around, he looked, then when he, when he looked at the road again, he didn’t notice that there was a rock, so he fell off the bike and the mangoes fell.’

### 3.2.5 Tagalog Tags

Another strategy employed by Tagalog-English bilinguals is the use of Tagalog tags. These are content morphemes used to convey pragmatic meaning, typically to express interjection or signal the end of a thought or conversational turn. It is also likely that the use of tags is motivated by a desire for social connectedness through linguistic means.

Consider the following examples of tag-switching:

- (18) And now he’s friends with the frog—**char!**  
 INT  
 joke  
 ‘And now he’s friends with the frog—kidding!’
- (19) And the frog is now at a branch, looking back at him. **Ganun.**  
 PRO  
 like.that  
 ‘And the frog is now at a branch, looking back at him. That’s it.’
- (20) I guess that’s my most nearest death experience. But, yeah, **yun lang.**”  
 DET ADV  
 that just

‘I guess that’s my most nearest death experience. But, yeah, that’s all.’

Example (18) shows the speaker interjecting a comment, while (19) and (20) display the speaker signaling the end of a sentence or turn; the latter two tags were expressed with a falling intonation.

Tags are parallel to what Muysken labels “tag-switching,” and comparable to what Poplack describes as “emblematic switching.” Tags typically occur at the periphery or the main clause. This practice is distinguished from the insertion of Tagalog enclitics (see section 3.2.1.1) as tag-switches

typically help manage the flow of the discourse or signal the end of a conversational turn, whereas the insertion of Tagalog enclitics is essential to the precise meaning the speaker wishes to convey.

### 3.2.6 Mixed Noun Phrases

- (21) **Ano nangyari?** Okay, so the guy is harvesting **yung** fruits **niya**, **tapos**  
 Q ACTFOC-happen DIR 3.SG.POSS CON  
 what happened? those his then
- may d<um>aan na may** goat, and then **may bata, e tapos** while  
 EXT <COMP>-pass LK POSS EXT N INT CON  
 there passed has there child then
- harvesting na nasa taas siya, may d<um>aan na**  
 V LK DEM.LOC N 2.SG EXT <COMP>-pass LK  
 at up he there passed
- bata na may bike, na-nakaw yung** one of his baskets.  
 N LK POSS COMP-steal DIR  
 child has stole that

‘What happened? Okay, so the guy is harvesting his fruits, then someone with a goat passes by, and then there’s a child, and then while up harvesting, a child with a bike passes by and steals one of his baskets.’

There are a number of observations I would like to point out in this example. It is evident that a Matrix Language is difficult to identify, as Myers-Scotton’s proposed criteria are insufficient: the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic components are imperfect tests, while the frequency-based criterion yields an amount of English and Tagalog morphemes so comparable that it is difficult to definitively say that Tagalog is the ML. The frequency of alternational and insertion code switches in this utterance is characteristic of what Muysken calls congruent lexicalization.

One plausible explanation is that the entire NP is constructed in Tagalog, and the speaker generates *fruits* as a borrowing. The Spanish-derived Tagalog counterpart *prutas* is not extremely

phonetically different, and the English *fruits* can arguably be making its way into Tagalog vocabulary as an accepted loanword.

The speaker also inserts English *bike* where we might anticipate the Tagalog counterpart *bisikleta*. This insertion might be explained by a desire for economy: one syllable versus four. The final noun phrase is a case similar to the one discussed above, in which the speaker pairs the Tagalog direct case marker *yung* with an English NP (two additional examples of this type of NP switch are seen in (22) and (23)).

(22)	So, <b>hindi</b>	<b>niya</b>	<b>na-kita</b>	<b>yung</b> rock in front of him.
	NEG	3.SG.POSS	COMP-see	DET
	not	he	see	the

‘So, he didn’t see the rock in front of him.’

(23)	<b>Parang</b>	<b>s&lt;in&gt;undo</b>	<b>niya</b>	<b>yung</b> footprint,
	ADV	<OBJFOC>-follow	3.SG.POSS	DET
	seems	followed	he	the

‘It seems like he followed the footprint,’

The richness of switches in (21) is evidence of the proficiency, flexibility, and creativity of the Filipino-English bilingual. It is apparent that the places where syntactic congruence exists between Tagalog and English allow for frequent alternation and insertion, resulting in a level of mixing that is far more complex than the examples analyzed above.

### 3.2.6 Mixed Verb Formation

An important feature of the collected data is the bilingual verb structures. Quite unlike English, Tagalog is an agglutinative language that features a complex verb system, using prefixes, infixes, and suffixes to mark aspect, mood, and focus. Tangco and Nolasco (2002: 391) have described the phenomenon in the following terms:

To language typologists, [Taglish] has all the makings of a box office mystery considering that Tagalog has been characterized as exhibiting strong ergative or ergativity features. For instance, with English being undoubtedly accusative, it is a wonder how Tagalog speakers nevertheless easily meld their patient-dominant language structures with those of an agent or subject dominant tongue? A very important question is likewise raised: why did the mixture process express itself and acquire certain predictable morphological patterns and forms that it did and not other forms?

In the case of Filipino-English bilinguals, Taglish results in a morphemic-level mixing of the features of each verb system. Evidently, the switches seen here delve deep into the bilingual competency and into the syntactic, semantic, and phonological foundations of each grammatical system. The following section will describe these types of code switches according to the MLF model.

Data in my corpus illustrates that Taglish speakers inflect English verbs for aspect and focus with Tagalog morphemes. This code-switching process is a notable and common trait of the speech of a Filipino bilingual. Consider next the four types of affixing practices: an affix can be prefixed, prefixed with reduplication, infix, and suffixed.

### 3.2.6.1 Prefixed

Example (24) shows the English verb *move* inflected with the Tagalog completive system morpheme *na-*.

- (24) ...**tapos na-move**      **naman yung maribella** in time to move us away from the  
           CON COMP-move ADV    DET N  
           then moved            still    that    car (model)

excavation going to the river.

‘...then the car [ahead of us] still moved in time for us to move away from the excavation going to the river.’

Based on the VSO word order and system morphemes, we see that Tagalog is the ML and English is the EL. According to the MLF model, the verb *move* is a content morpheme, as it assigns a thematic role. The prefix is an early system morpheme because it expresses a semantic or pragmatic concept (here, the SM expresses completion). The grammatical framework of Tagalog determines how the verb is inflected for the completeness aspect.

Why does the speaker select an English word as opposed to the Tagalog counterpart *lumipat*, if either verb could be used in that particular site? The speaker has full access to both lexicons, and the English word is a syllable shorter than the Tagalog counterpart. It is possible that the use of the bilingual verb also triggers the alternational switch for the final prepositional phrase (“in time to move...”).

Similar constructions are seen in the following examples:

- (25) Yeah, **in**-advise      **na**      **rin**      **ako**      **i**-confine.  
           BEN-advise      ADV    ADV    1.SG    BEN-confine  
           advised          now    also    me      confine

Yeah, they also advised me that I be confined [at that time].

- (26) **Sila'**    **y**      **nag**-distribute      **ng**      **mga**    forms    **sa**      **bawa't**  
       3.PL'    INV    COMPL-distribute    GEN    PL            LOC    ADJ  
       they        distributed                            the            to      each

**eskwelahan.**

N  
 school

‘They distributed the forms to each school.’

(Example 30 from Bautista 1980: 34)

As illustrated in (29) and (30), the strategy of adding Tagalog prefixes to English verbs serves to shift the focus or aspect of the verb. The English lexicon supplies the content morphemes (the verb), which is then applied to a Tagalog ML frame with the appropriate prefixes. In (29), the



### 3.2.6.2 Prefixed with Reduplication

Examples (28) and (29) illustrate classic examples of Tagalog feature of reduplication mapped onto an English content morphemes:

(28)	Then	<b>b&lt;um&gt;aba</b>		<b>na</b>	<b>yung</b>
		<ACTFOC>COMP-went-down		ADV	DEM
		went down		now	that

	<b>na-ha~harvest</b>		<b>na</b>	<b>kuya.</b>
	ACTFOC-PROG~harvest		LK	N
	harvesting			elder.brother

‘Then the older man harvesting went down.’

(29)	It’s also about the provincial graduates,	<b>iyong mga</b>	seniors
		DIR	PL
			those

	<b>&lt;nag&gt;ga~graduate</b>		<b>sa</b>	high school.
	<ACTFOC>COMP~graduate		LOC	
	graduating		from	

‘It’s also about the rural graduates, the seniors graduating from high school.’

(Bautista 1980: 34)

To construct the verb, the speaker uses the Tagalog particle *na-* (here, the actor focus) followed by a reduplication of the first morpheme of the English *harvest*. The reduplication marks the progressive aspect.

Similarly, (29) shows the speaker prefixing the English verb *graduate*, but here, the actor focus *nag-* is placed at the onset of the word, followed by a reduplication of the initial consonant of *graduate*. The question of why the speaker does not reduplicate the consonant cluster /gr/ is valid. Initial consonant clusters are not native to Tagalog, so it is likely that the reduplication of only the initial /g/ phoneme is an attempt to phonetically Taglicize the verb construction. Another

possibility is that the speaker is simply attempting to simplify the pronunciation of the word, as /grægræ/ would be perceived as a very foreign or difficult production, even to a Tagalog/English bilingual.

Example (30) features another example of reduplication:

(30)	<b>P&lt;in&gt;ro-process</b>		<b>namin yun,</b>	each time	<b>nag-u-usap</b>		<b>kami.</b>
	<OBJFOC>-PROG-process	3.SG	DEM		ACTFOC~speak		1.PL.EX
	processing	we	that		speak		we

‘We are processing that each time we speak.’

In this utterance, the verb *process* constitutes a content morpheme with Tagalog early system morphemes prefixed. The reduplication occurs once the progressive aspect is applied (*pro-process*), but is disrupted when further inflected with the object focus marker applied following the initial consonant of the first consonant cluster (resulting in *p<in>ro-process*). Unlike (29), this particular speaker does not drop the second consonant of the cluster following reduplication. This would be produced as *pinoprocess*. Such a production is still very much comprehensible and grammatical in Taglish discourse, and is arguably even the preferred construction, as it does not require the use of the foreign consonant cluster.

A final strategy used in verb formation involving prefixing with reduplication is the use of English nouns as Tagalog verbs. Consider this excerpt, where a speaker is explaining her dietary restrictions:

(31)	So	<b>nag-medicine</b>		<b>ako...</b>	So	<b>hindi na</b>	<b>'ko</b>
	CON	COMP-take.medicine		1.SG	CON	NEG ADV	1.SG
	So	took medicine		I	So	not now	I
		<b><u>nag-ko-coffee</u></b>		<b>noon.</b>		<b>Tapos</b>	
		ACTFOC-PROG~drink.coffee		ADV		CON	
		drinking coffee		since then		Then	
		<b><u>nag-ko-control</u></b>	<b>ako</b>	<b>sa</b>	<b>mga dairy...</b>	<b>hindi na</b>	<b>akong</b>





‘FAPE was only commissioned in order to give an examination—’

(Bautista 1980: 34)

- (33) So,    p<in>ick-up            **nila**    **lahat**    **ng**    mangoes.  
           <OBJFOC>-pick-up    3.PL    N        GEN  
           picked.up                they    all        of

‘So, they picked up all the mangoes.’

(32) shows a classic example of Taglish infixation. The specific English verb *commission* is given the Tagalog <in> infix following the initial consonant to denote the object focus (note that the rest of the utterance is characteristic of a Tagalog matrix except for the insertional switch of *FAPE* (an English acronym) and *examination*).

In example (33), we see the mixed construction of the English verb *pick*. Again, the speaker uses the infix *-in* following the initial consonant of the verb structure *pick* to convey completion. Placing the infix after the initial consonant cluster follows the Tagalog verb formation rules; the English verb *classify* would be infixed as ‘cl<in>assify’.

The latter part of the phrasal verb (“up”) is characteristic of an early system morpheme. “Up” is the verb-satellite of the content morpheme verb “pick”. Myers-Scotton notes, “Early SMs only occur with their content morpheme heads...they carry salient information such as definiteness (as in *the book which was recommended*) or additions and/or modifications of arguments (as in English two-word verb constructions, also called verb-satellite constructions)” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016: 5). In sum, the Taglish grammar allows for the content morpheme “pick” to be inflected with Tagalog infixes, and also allows for the early system morpheme “up” to be realized.

Yet another notable aspect of this utterance is the pairing of the Tagalog genitive case-marking particle *ng* with the English noun *mangoes*. This particular switch can be argued to be an

embedded content morpheme. Still, *mangoes* is becoming more widely accepted over the Tagalog *mangga*.

### 3.2.6.4 Suffixed

A less common usage of the Tagalog affixation practices on English verbs is suffixation. The verbal suffix *-an* is used to denote the verb for object or locative focus. In (34), the speaker uses two Tagalog morphological constructs on the English verb *to fill up*. The reduplication of the first CV cluster of *fill up* marks the contemplative aspect, while the suffixation of *-an* denotes the object focus.

(34)	<b>May</b>	<b>isang</b>	form	<b>doon</b>	<b>na dalawang</b>	<b>kopya,</b>
	EXT	SG		DIST.LOC	LK ADJ	N
	there	one		there	two	copies
		fi~ <b>fill up</b> -an		<b>mo</b>	<b>iyon.</b>	
		CONT~fill-up-OBJFOC		2.SG	DEM.DIR	
		fill up		you	that	

‘There’s two copies of a form there; you’ll fill those out.’

(Bautista 1980: 34)

Indeed, it is necessary that I address the constraint in my analysis here: many linguists argue that such verbal structures are characteristic of borrowing and not code-switching in the genuine sense. I contend that this wide linguistic strategy in Taglish is indeed characteristic of code-switching in the traditional sense (at least for most verbs utilized in this manner).

Thomason (2001: 135) summarizes the objection:

A fourth criterion arises from the structural constraints on code-switching that have been proposed in the literature—most notably, in this context, the Free Morpheme Constraint, which predicts that code-switches will not occur within a word, i.e. between a stem and an

affix or between two affixes. The argument is that if one finds elements from the source and receiving language combined within a word, the source-language element must be a borrowing, not a code-switch. As numerous authors have pointed out, however, some instances of word-internal language alternation look very much like code-switching.

Thomason continues by using data to illustrate that English elements in Maori include phonemes and segments that are not native to Maori, thus comprising corroborating evidence that such words are indeed code-switches and not nonce borrowings as others argue. In the same way, the English verbs incorporated into Taglish speech feature numerous consonant clusters that are not found in Tagalog or any Philippine language for that matter. From this, we understand that these verb structures are characteristic of code-switching and not simply borrowing into Tagalog.

Bautista (1980: 33-4) observes the following on Filipino-English verb structuring:

Typically, in this class of code switches, an English verb root is inflected for aspect and focus by Tagalog affixes. ... Strictly speaking, the discussion now deals with the morpheme level as distinguished from the word level. And the question arises: What is the status of these words as English lexical insertions? Perhaps it is reasonable to say that their Tagalog inflection has converted them into Tagalog words.

Bautista raises an important question, one that carries with it many implications. She argues that many of these English words have been converted to Tagalog borrowings, based on their standardized verb inflections. I disagree with Bautista's posit here, as many of these verbal phrases are still perceived as English switches, and not genuine Tagalog terms.

The practice of affixation in Tagalog-English code-switching is a particularly intriguing point of interest. Though certain linguists may argue that such deep word-level switches must signal borrowing, the evidence suggests that Tagalog-English verb formation is indeed switching between codes.

### *Summary*

As thoroughly evidenced in this chapter, Tagalog-English code-switching takes on a variety of forms and structures. Speakers use both English and Tagalog as the matrix language, depending on the context and the ideas they wish to convey. Not only can switch points occur at clause and phrase boundaries, but are also frequently found within the word and morpheme levels. The Matrix Language Frame model provides an effective framework to analyze Taglish, as it does not lay out constraints for the ways in which code-switching *can* be performed, but rather gives description and explanation for the how code-switching *is* performed. However, the MLF model does make a strong claim regarding the identification of ML and EL switching, which faces difficulty in the case of Taglish, as speakers are proficient in both languages and alternate between MLs frequently. As evidenced, distinguishing between content morphemes, early SMs, and late SMs allows for a nuanced understanding of the grammatical framework underneath Tagalog-English code-switching. Notable in Taglish speech are strategies such as the insertion of meaningful Tagalog enclitics, the formation of mixed verbs, and the flexibility and freedom to switch between the languages with the use of bridge late system morphemes.

*Chapter 4*  
**Key Findings**

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As evidenced in the previous chapter, Tagalog-English code-switching is a vivid illustration of the Filipino bilingual competence. The collected data exhibits three particular aspects of Taglish which have yet to be examined in depth by the field:

1. The frequency of ML switching in Tagalog-English bilinguals going back and forth between Tagalog ML and English ML shows the high proficiency of speakers in the two languages and their keen understanding of the properties of the two grammatical systems.
2. The wide range and variety of code-switching strategies employed by the Filipino bilingual reveals the speaker's understanding of the inner workings of each linguistic system.
3. Evidence from word order in Tagalog-English corpora signal new flexibility in the grammar of Tagalog ML frames, perhaps evidence of deeper language convergence than observed before.

Each of these three ideas will be discussed in depth in order to illustrate the key findings of this thesis.

#### **4.1 ML Turnover**

Examining the Tagalog-English data using Myers-Scotton's MLF model as a frame of reference shed new light on the frequency of ML turnover—the Taglish speaker frequently alternating between Tagalog ML and English ML—an aspect of code-switching that was not widely discussed in previous research on Taglish. Regarding the likelihood of such a phenomenon, Myers-Scotton comments the following:

Any discussion of the nature of the ML is complicated by the fact that ML assignment is dynamic. That is, in CS between two (or more) languages in a given community, one language need not be the ML permanently. The identity of the ML can change either synchronically or diachronically. Synchronically, a change within the same conversation is possible; an extreme case would be a change within the same sentence. Diachronically, a change may occur when the socio-political factors in the community promote some type of shift to an L2.

(Myers-Scotton 1993: 71).

She notes that a change in the ML within the same sentence is “extreme.” However, Taglish data reveals numerous examples of ML alterations (alternating between MLs) from multiple speakers.

Example (35) displays perhaps the richest of such examples:

- (35) **E hindi siyang b<in>aba ng** brights so my dad couldn't see well  
 INT NEG 3.SG OBJFOC-lower GEN  
 well not he lower of
- because naka-bright—yun pala in front of us was **parang** an excavation, so **ano**,  
 PM-bright DEM INT ADV INT  
 bright.on that actually like what
- he had to step on the brakes, **tapos na-move naman yung maribella** in time to  
 CON COMP- ADV DEM (car model)  
 then moved still that car

move us away from the excavation going to the river.

‘Well he didn’t turn off his brights so my dad couldn’t see well because of the brights—it turns out there was like an excavation in front of us, so um, he had to step on the brakes, then the car [ahead of us] still moved in time to move us away from the excavation going to the river.’

This excerpt shows a total of five switches in ML parsing, as illustrated below:

Switch	ML	Evidence for ML	Speech Data
	Tagalog ML	word order	<b>E hindi siyang binaba ng</b> brights
1→	English ML	word order	so my dad couldn't see well
2→	Tagalog ML	system morphemes	because <b>naka-bright—yun pala</b>
3→	English ML	word order	in front of us was <b>parang</b> an excavation, so <b>ano</b> , he had to step on the brakes
4→	Tagalog ML	word order	<b>tapos na-move naman yung maribella</b>
5→	English ML	content morphemes	in time to move us away from the excavation going to the river.

Not only does the speaker switch from Tagalog to English ML frames and back, but the speech excerpt also involves a high frequency of EL content morphemes, including EL islands and mixed verbs and adjectives. Traditionally, ML alternation has been attributed to situational motivations such as a shift in topic, community-wide shifting, or other sociolinguistic factors. Here, the speaker

maintains a single topic, and there is no evidence of situational triggers that would cause the alternation of the ML. As aforementioned, the speakers which provided the data examined here are among the highly educated Tagalog-English bilinguals; this speaks to the level of fluency the interviewees have in each language. The particular community in which I conducted my research did not seem to have a single conventional ML, much unlike the cases discussed by Myers-Scotton (in which most communities did have a stable ML) or Bautista (in which Tagalog was the preferred ML).

All in all, the evidence offered above and also seen throughout the data collected illustrates that Taglish continues to push the boundaries of current code-switching research. Myers-Scotton's model seems to cast the alternation between MLs as a rare phenomenon. Bautista's research does not provide substantial evidence of a balance between the two participating languages as ML, weighing more on Tagalog functioning as ML. The facility of the Taglish code-switcher in speaking both languages is evidenced by the number of times the Matrix Language is turned over within a single stream of speech.

#### **4.2 Range of Strategies**

The collected Taglish data reveal a wide range of code-switching strategies, including: 1) formation of bilingual verbs through prefixing, suffixing, and infixing, 2) an uncanny ability to often switch often between languages at the morphological, word, phrasal, and clausal levels, and 3) the use of system morphemes from the participating language within long stretches of ML content (e.g. Tagalog enclitics, English conjunctions, tags, etc.). Each of these observed patterns builds upon the



scholarship offered by researchers such as Myers-Scotton and Bautista. Consider the following example:

- (36) So after **noon**, **nag-panik** ako, **nag-palpitante** **ako**, **tapos**  
 CON ADV ADV COMPL-panic 1.SG COMPL-palpitate 1.SG CON  
 So after then panicked I palpitated I then
- feeling **ko**, **kung ano mang-ya-yari**, so  
 N 1.SG.POSS CON ADV ACTFOC-CONT~happen CON  
 feeling my if what would happen so
- nag-pa-sugod** **ako sa** hospital. So feeling **ko** **yun**  
 COMPL-CAUS-rush 1.SG PREP N CON N 1.SG.POSS DEM  
 had.rushed me to hospital So feeling my that
- yung** near-death experience **ko** **na hindi ako**  
 DEM ADJ N 1.SG.POSS LK NEG 1.SG  
 that near-death experience my that not I
- na** **maka-hinga** **na** **nag-sa-sweat** ako.  
 LK able.breathe LK COMPL-PROG~sweat 1.SG  
 there can.breathe that sweating I

‘So after that, I panicked, I palpitated, then the feeling [I had], something might happen, so I had myself rushed to the hospital. So in my opinion, that—that was my near-death experience, where I couldn’t breathe and I was sweating.’

In (36), the speaker displays a wide array of the code-switching strategies already discussed. The string of Tagalog ML frame speech includes 3 English conjunctions, 5 English content morphemes, 2 English EL islands, 2 Tagalog-prefixed English verbs, and 1 Tagalog-prefixed English verb with a reduplicated CV. The wide range of code-switching strategies used in this instance (and throughout the greater corpus of data) reveals the true nature of the Tagalog-English bilingual’s competence in a way that has not been examined in previous research. The range of strategies employed within Taglish is supported by the data examined throughout Chapter 3.

### 4.3 SVO in Tagalog ML Frames

Indeed, there are numerous questions that still remain regarding the status of Taglish. Could Taglish as a code-switching variety be promoting the emergence of syntactic convergence between Tagalog and English in Metro Manila? A plausible argument for the display of language convergence in Taglish is the rise of the SVO word order in Tagalog-matrix sentences. Although Tagalog is VSO in word order, inversion of the subject and predicate is possible, but is widely seen as formal or literary; the inverted construction is only used in certain instances.

The following four examples (along with numerous others observed in the corpus but not listed here) are preliminary evidence for a new practice of SVO constructions in Taglish speech:

- (37) After **ako** **nag-breakfast...**  
           1.SG COMP-breakfast  
 After I ate.breakfast

‘After I ate breakfast...’

- (38) **Yung** **acid um-a-akyat** **sa** esophagus **ko**  
 DET N OBJFOC-PROG~climb PREP N 1.SG.POSS  
 That acid climbing in esophagus my

**tapos parang hindi ko maka-hinga.**  
 CON ADV NEG 1.SG able.breathe  
 then seemingly not I can breathe

‘The acid climbs [up] in my esophagus then it seems like I’m not able to breathe.’

- (39) **Kasi yung hat niya na-lipad.**  
 CON DET 3.SG.POSS COMPL-fly  
 because that his flew

‘Because his hat flew [away].’

- (40) **Hindi na akong nag-mi-milk masyado.**  
 NEG ADV 1.SG ACTFOC-PROG~drink.milk ADV  
 not now I drinking milk much

‘I’m not drinking milk much now.’

Note that each of the above examples includes an English content morpheme that either assigns or receives a thematic role; this suggests that it may be code-switching that is influencing the shift in word order. The examples here are varied, and include a negated sentence, several types of agents and benefactors, and focused and aspectual expressions.

Furthermore, during my time in the Philippines, I also observed evidence which signals high levels of convergence. Although both Filipino (Tagalog) and English are taught as separate languages according to the national educational standards, Metro Manila youth are increasingly using a blend of Tagalog and English lexicons, word orders, and verbal structures in their day-to-day speech, again exhibiting high convergence between the two systems.

Additionally, the prevalence of Taglish in platforms such as government, media, business, entertainment, and education works to perpetuate the CS system and further standardize it. That a news reporter or the president can comfortably and acceptably speak Taglish on national television is quite telling of the current language situation and attitudes surrounding it. On the same note, the use of mixed Tagalog and English in written media (social media platforms, TV news headlines, major newspapers, published books) pushes Taglish farther into societal normalcy and favorable reception.

Continued research into Tagalog-English code-switching is needed in order to determine if word order is in reality being influenced by English. Indeed, only further qualitative analysis paired with quantitative research into the use of SVO in Tagalog-English code-switching will reveal the full scope of the convergence phenomenon.

*Chapter 5*  
**Conclusion**

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The present thesis has examined the sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and syntactic workings of Taglish, the register of Tagalog-English code-switching. I began this paper with three objectives:

- 1) to consider the sociolinguistic and historical circumstances which gave rise to Taglish,
- 2) to examine and analyze the systematic code switches seen in Filipino bilinguals, and
- 3) to explore the factors which motivate speakers to switch between languages.

By examining the history of the Philippine language situation and the sociocultural circumstances arising out of the country's vast linguistic diversity, I illustrated that the emergence of Taglish is largely a result of complex language attitudes and societal diglossia. Our understanding of the historical and social underpinning of Tagalog-English bilingualism allowed for a more holistic and nuanced understanding of the linguistic aspects of this variety of code-switching.

Discussion of the existing scholarship on code-switching and on Taglish laid the foundation for an analysis of new data collected during fieldwork in the summer of 2016. A comprehensive examination of the types, patterns, and categories of code-switches seen in Taglish corroborates the majority of Carol Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model. Furthermore, investigating the types of morphemes, words, phrases, and clauses in which switches can occur brought us to conclude that Taglish reveals the high proficiency of the Tagalog-English bilingual. Undoubtedly, the juxtaposition of two typologically distant languages illuminates the study of code-switching as a contact phenomenon. Still, the present examination of Tagalog-English code-switching data raises questions regarding the absolute identification of an ML in any given utterance.

Finally, I offered three key takeaways brought about by the data. The Taglish corpus exhibits several particular aspects of the code-switching mode which have yet to be examined in depth by

other studies of Tagalog-English code-switching. The frequency of ML turnover in Taglish and the numerous types of switching strategies examined in Chapter 3 reflect the competence of the Filipino bilingual. Observations of SVO word order in Tagalog frames and evidence from the Manila language situation seem to suggest a deeper degree of syntactic convergence than previously seen.

As the Philippine language situation continues to evolve, it is my hope that research on Tagalog-English code-switching would continue to inform significant policies, especially that of Philippine Bilingual Education. My desire is that Tagalog-English code-switching would continue to be examined as a well-established and highly informative way towards a deeper understanding of code-switching.

In 1980, Bautista wrote, “If Tagalog and English continue being in contact as they are now, if the contact between them lasts long enough, and if the mixing of Tagalog and English is fostered by the prestige-carrying members of the community, then Tagalog-English mixing will eventually have to be analyzed within just one linguistic system” (Bautista 1980: 241). This has indeed been the contact situation since 1980. It is my hope that this piece of scholarship advances our understanding of code-switching, of Tagalog-English bilingualism, and of Taglish as an emerging language system.

## Appendix A: Glossary of Tagalog Enclitics

<i>kasi</i>	‘because’
<i>kaya</i>	‘perhaps’
<i>din/ rin</i>	‘too’
<i>lamang/ lang</i>	‘only’
<i>man</i>	‘for a while’
<i>na</i>	‘already’
<i>naman</i>	‘on the other hand’
<i>nga</i>	‘please’, emphasis marker
<i>pa</i>	‘still’
<i>pala</i>	‘so’
<i>tuloy</i>	‘as a result’
<i>ba</i>	question marker
<i>daw/ raw</i>	‘it is said’
<i>po/ ho</i>	honorific marker
<i>sana</i>	‘I hope’
<i>yata</i>	‘seem’
<i>ng/ na</i>	linker

(Moriguchi 2006: 329-330)

## Appendix B: Tagalog Phonology

	Bilabial		Dental/ Alveolar		Post- Alveolar	Palatal	Velar		Glottal
<b>Plosive</b>	p	b	t	d			k	g	ʔ
<b>Nasal</b>	m		n			ɲ	ŋ		
<b>Fricative</b>			s		ʃ				h
<b>Affricate</b>			ts		tʃ				
<b>Tap</b>			ɾ						
<b>Approximant</b>			l			j	w		

	Front	Central	Back
<b>High</b>	i		u
<b>Mid</b>	e		o
<b>Low</b>		a	

## Appendix C: Philippine English Phonology

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Inter-dental		Dental/Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
<b>Plosive</b>	p	b					t	d			k	g	ʔ
<b>Nasal</b>	m						n				ŋ		
<b>Fricative</b>			f	v	θ	ð	s		ʃ	ʒ			h
<b>Affricate</b>									tʃ	dʒ			
<b>Tap</b>							r						
<b>Approximant</b>							l		j		w		

	Front	Central	Back
<b>High</b>	i		u
<b>Mid</b>	ɛ	ʌ	o
<b>Low</b>		a	



## Appendix D: Data Corpus

*Within this corpus, English utterances are seen in plain text, while Tagalog is italicized.*

“**umakyat siya ng puno** to pick up mangoes and collect them, collect them, store them in baskets”

“Then, while he was doing so, **may dumaan na bata**—I’m not sure if that’s his son or any way connected to him—**pero** a boy passed by riding a bicycle, then collected one basket worth of mangoes.”

“So, while he was biking, **nakita niyang, may nakita siyang** girl, about his age, and he seemed to be distracted, a bit.”

“Then he turned around, **tumingin siya**, then when he, when he looked at the road again, **hindi niya pansin may bato na**, so he fell off the bike and the mangoes fell.”

“So, **pinick up nila lahat ng** mangoes, **binalik nila sa** basket, and then helped the boy you know, ride back onto his bicycle again.”

“So, having realized that, he made the sound and signalled to the boy biking **na mayroon siyang iniwan**, and then he returned it back.”

“So after that, yeah, I guess, **tuloy-tuloy na yung** boy to whatever he was supposed to go.”

“So, dog and boy—**yung** frog, **an doon pa rin yung** frog.”

“**Parang sinundo niya yung** footprint(—**na**—)looks like **sa** boy. And sees the net that the boy carried previously.”

“**Parang** frog enters a room or a bathroom.”

“Maybe the time that I was—but it was a long time **na**—so more than 10 years.”

“So that’s something that I probably won’t forget, **pero** it’s been a while **na**.”

“**Parang** I fainted **lang**. So, although, **pero**, I regained consciousness **naman**, but I remember that same day, I had myself or allowed myself to be brought **na** to the hospital.”

“Yeah, **in-advise na rin ako i-confine**.”

“And now he’s friends with the frog—**char!**”

“And the frog is now at a branch, looking back at him. **Ganun**.”

“The frog was left alone and he’s actually sad, **labo na magpahuli tapos gustong, ayaw magisa**—anyway...”

“It’s good business by the way **kasi** the price of the mini fig goes up.”

“**Ay, libo, ba’t ‘di tayo nagkita? An dun kami sa toy section. Naghanap ng minifigs.**”

“Oh, yeah, I remember one, **pero hindi naman siya kasi ganun kagrabe na** we were just driving **sa probinsiya, mga Tuguegarao** level, as in long time **na wala kang kasunod and kasabay** or something.”

“**Tapos, basta, e nakabright kasi yung** from the other side **nakabright yung** lights **niya kasi nga walang, walang masiyadong cars.**”

“**E hindi siyang binaba ng** brights, so my dad couldn’t see well because **nakabright—yun pala** in front of us was **parang** an excavation, so **ano**, he had to step on the brakes, **tapos na-move naman yung maribella** in time to move us away from the excavation going to the river.”

“So **yun** so **parang mediyo kagulit siya** “Aah!”. **Kasi akala mo talaga diba? Yun, yun!** I guess that’s my most nearest death experience. But, yeah, **yun lang.**”

“**Ano nang yari?** Okay, so the guy is harvesting **yung** fruits **niya, tapos may dumaan na may** goat, and then **may bata, e tapos** while harvesting, **na nasa taas siya, may dumaan na bata na may bike, nanakaw yung** one of his baskets.”

“**Tapos, um, nag-bike na yung bata, e may dumaan pa ng isang girl tumingin siya tapos ano, kasi yung hat niya nalipad.** So, **hindi niya nakita yung** rock in front of him.”

“So **natumba siya, so tumapon yung nanakaw niya.** And then three other boys came to help him pick up his fruits **na ninakaw niya. Tapos ano** he gave each of them a fruit as a token of gratitude and then **bumaba na yung nahaharvest na kuya tapos napansin niya na may nagnakaw tas dumaan yung** three boys in front of him eating his fruits.”

“The famous example would be **utang na loob** at **kapwa. Pero parang**, when you say “debt of gratitude”, does debt of gratitude capture what “**utang na loob**” means, **parang**, especially **pagka galit naman. “Wala kang utang na loob!” Ganun.** Or “**utang na loob naman**”. Or **kapwa. Kapwa**, the closest translation they have is “others.” Other people. **Kapwa tao** or something. **Kapwa naman tayo**, or **tulongin mo naman yung kapwa mo.** So **parang pagsinabe ko**, “Help your others,” Like, ‘cause **parang** in the **parang**, the English language, the culture of where the English language originated is, **ano ba ang** term **nila**—not as you know, not as communal? Or **parang** is more individualistic. **Kasi nga**, it stems from your culture. **Kasi kapwa**, because we’re more affiliated, or close with other people. We’re more, **ano, sabi nila**, we’re more communal. **Kaya ganun. Parang** there’s really a sense of connection when you say “**kapwa**” but then in other cultures where it’s more individualistic, **walang masiyadong** sense **yung** you help each other or

connected to each other. You have a shared something, I don't know what that something is. So, yeah. That's the famous example. **Utang na loob and kapwa.**"

**"Ang naalala ko, I remember may isang mama na namimitas ng fruits, tapos may dumaan na kambing, tapos, after that, may nagba-bike na bata na dumaan tapos nakita niya yung isang buong basket ng fruits, tapos kinuha niya. Pagkakuha niya, when he got it, so nagba-bike siya, tapos may nakasalubong siyang batang babaeng nag ba-bike din. At na-distract siya so noong na-distract siya, nabangga siya sa isang malaking rock tapos nalaglag siya. And then noong nalaglag siya, pati lahat ng fruits, yung buong basket nalaglag. Tapos may tatlong tao—tatlong bata—na tumulong sa kanya. So lahat yun, nalagay ulit sa basket and then after noon, noong umalis na, bigla nag-whistle yung isang bata kasi nalaglag yung sombrero noong batang nalaglag sa bike, nanagbabike. Noong nag-whistle yung bata, so binalik niya yung sombrero as exchange, nagbigay siya ng fruits para doon sa balik ng sombrero, tapos, suddenly napansin yung mama na namimitas ng prutas na missing ng isang basket yung kanyang fruits, so ayun, so biglang dumaan yung tatlong bata na kumakain na yung fruits."**

**"Tumakbo yung bata kasama yung aso at parang huhuliin i-ka-catch yung frog."**

**"Kaso, nag-trip yung bata doon sa puno. So nag-end-up nag-swimming na yung palaka sa isang stone. At pati yung frog, sad na kasi na-stuck na siya doon sa pond."**

**"Near death? Hm. Kailan ba? Ewan ko kung near death na yun, but mayroong time na parang kasi may acid reflux ako—so, whenever I drink too much coffee, o kaya naman, nagko-coffee ako o kumakain ako ng masiyadong maraming food, mediyo parang yung acid umaakyat sa esophagus ko tapos parang hindi ko makahinga. So ang tendency, magpapanic attack kasi feeling ko may heart attack o may kung anong nangyayari. Tapos, acid lang pala siya kasi masakit siya sa dibdib. So noong time na yun, so nag--kumakain ako ng barbecue na may vinegar. So pagkakain ko noon dahil nga maasim siya, sour siya. So after noon, nag-panic ako, nag-palpitate ako, tapos feeling ko, kung ano mangyayari, so nagpasugod ako sa hospital. So feeling ko yun na yung near-death experience ko na hindi ako makahinga na nag-sa-sweat ako... And then turns out, acid lang pala siya. Pero yun, yun na yung feeling ko sobrang scary moment."**

**"So nag-medicine ako tapos it turned out, it's acid, so medicine then tanggal ng coffee, tanggal ng caffeine. So hindi na ko nag-ko-coffee noon. Tapos nag ko-control ako sa mga dairy, wala ng dairy, wala ng masiyadong, hindi na akong nagmimilk masiyado at mga...yung mga sour, yung mga sour na pagkain, hindi na rin. Tapos yun. Bawal din sa maraming pagkain."**

**"Masaya naman, masaya parin so far, pero nag-sa-sink-in na yung homesickness, three months na lang pauwi na ulit ako. So parang, okay, nag-sa-sink-in, three months away na lang siya. Siguro okay lang."**

**"Masaya din naman ako dito; happy naman ako sa experience ko. I think makakatulong din to malaki sa, I mean, sa career ko sa Philippines."**

### Appendix E: Data Corpus Statistics

<b>Data Point</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Tagalog Enclitics <i>in English ML</i>	19
Tagalog Conjunctions <i>in English ML</i>	7
English Content Morphemes <i>in Tagalog ML</i>	63
EL Islands	25
Tagalog Tags <i>in English ML</i>	5
Mixed Noun Phrases	9
Prefixing	18
Prefixing with Reduplication	17
Infixing	0
Suffixing	1
Tagalog ML	52%
English ML	48%
Intrasentential ML Turnover	20
Tagalog SVO Construction	5

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