Taglish and the Social Role of Code Switching in the Philippines

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It is a truism that English is deeply entrenched in Filipino everyday life. This paper concerns itself with the coexistence of English alongside Tagalog in the contexts of bilingualism, code switching and diglossia by taking into account that the two languages are seldom clearly distinguished within authentic Filipino speech patterns. In particular, a closer look at the mixed variety commonly referred to as "Taglish" (i.e. Tagalog and English) on a phonetic, morphological, syntactic and discursive level revealed that, while there is no emerging grammaticalization of Taglish, it is neither a matter of incomplete command of either language nor of idiosyncratic choices. Rather, Taglish is a discursive strategy within a social norm, very much similar to Low-varieties in diglossic language situations.

1. Introduction

Among the many cultural and linguistic elements that Filipinos have adopted over the past centuries, English belongs to their more recent foreign acquisitions. Ever since the American tutelage, English has been gaining increasing influence on the Philippine language situation, adding even more to its original complexity. Not least due to the growing importance of English as a global lingua franca, there has been the rise of a variety called 'Taglish' within the Filipino vernacular, i.e. a mixture of Tagalog and English. This new variety, however, appears to have become more than just an arbitrary mix. Besides providing a descriptive analysis of this mixed variety in the first part, this paper is devoted to examining Taglish on a discursive level in the second part and determining whether it qualifies as a new code in itself and what the status of such a code might be.

2. The Philippine language situation prior to English

The Philippine language situation is heavily characterized by *language contact*. Due to its geography, there is a significant disparity among the archipelago's native languages, which all bear traces of foreign influences to a certain degree. There are said to be 118 separate languages and over 400 dialects that differ in degrees of mutual intelligibility (McFarland 2004). In the midst of such diversity, Tagalog – the Austronesian language spoken in the nation's capital – was chosen to serve as the basis for the country's national language as well as its lingua franca in 1937.[1] 'Filipino', as the national language is called today, includes lexical items that are borrowed from other Philippine languages as well as foreign languages (Thompson 2003).

Traces of language contact in Tagalog[2] are attributed to various stages of Philippine history. While words such as *mutya* ('pearl') or *ama*

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[1] In many non-Tagalog speaking regions, the language rivalry even exists between English, Filipino and the peoples' native languages, what with Filipino being the nation's lingua franca for cross-regional communication.

[2] Although the Philippine national language has been renamed, this paper shall largely refer to it as 'Tagalog' while 'Filipino' shall denote attributes describing the Philippine people.

('father') are found to be of Sanskrit origin, other words like *pinto* ('door'), *alak* ('wine') and *maya* ('bird') are believed to have been introduced by the Chinese, the Arabs and the Mexicans, respectively (Zaide 1999). Most significant, perhaps, is the mark that the Spanish left on Tagalog: besides the innumerous amount of expressions found in Tagalog, Filipinos still tell the time and count money in Spanish to this day, although Spanish is no longer spoken by most of the population.

3. English in the Philippines

After the USA bought the Philippines in 1898 and democratized the Philippine education system, English was introduced as the new medium of instruction and replaced Spanish, which had prior been reserved for the elite. By 1986, English had replaced Spanish in the domain of government as well (Thompson 2003), where it plays a vital role up to today. Having permeated virtually all levels of Philippine everyday life, English is considered to be functionally native to Filipinos (Bautista 2000a). Their proficiency of the English language also adds to the country's economic value as it enables the Philippines to host a number of call centers[3], which cater to an international, in particular American, clientele.

The nature of this English, however, has certainly changed over the decades as Filipinos no longer acquire it via 'first hand tradition' and have a different exposure to it thanks to the recent possibilities of mass media. While older speakers may have grammatical and idiomatic proficiency, younger generations can more easily mimic an American-like pronunciation and acquire recent colloquialisms.

Llamzon's (1969) observation of 'Standard Filipino English' (SFE) reveals that the main differences it bears to General American English (GAE) are found in its pronunciation. Depending on educational, geographic and socioeconomic factors, Filipinos may vary from GAE more or less and thus speak more basilectal or acrolectal varieties of SFE (Tayao 2004). Llamzon (1997), however, already recognized a socio-linguistic element in these variations when he noted that "when educated Filipinos speak to their fellow Filipinos, they speak English the Filipino way" (cit. in Tayao 2004:80f). Llamzon is therefore indirectly saying that basilectal variety is not necessarily the result of a language deficiency. Rather, absolute assimilation to GAE when speaking to fellow Filipinos is thought to be anti-social.

In a similar vein, Gonzales (2004), among others, also observed a social dimension in the Filipinos' language variation but extended to the interplay of English with Filipino: while Filipino is said to be spoken in the homes and lower-class establishments, English dominates in the field of education, government administration, professional life, worship, five-star establishments and international relations. Although this understanding is somewhat accurate, it takes for granted that English and Filipino are distinct entities within Filipino speech behavior. In fact, English has also made its way into everyday life and

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[3] Greenlees (2006) remarked that Filipinos are so much attuned to the Western culture that they easily adapt to a variety of accents. Call centers even offer specific training in the accent of the countries that their employees will be calling.

penetrated all levels of the society (Bautista 2000a).

4. Taglish

Thompson (2003) traces the rise of Taglish back to the late 1980s at the end of the Marcos regime, when student activists demanded the switch from English to Filipino in schools. This created the need for a number of neologisms that proved to be too cumbersome, however, so that even educated Filipinos started to mix English words into the Filipino discourse. This mix, which was later called Taglish, rapidly spread to the "general populace" (41), becoming the people's vernacular. Today, written Taglish is commonly encountered in tabloids, comics and the internet.

5. The study

The question that arises from the interplay between English and Tagalog is whether Taglish can in any way be considered a new code or whether Taglish relies on purely arbitrary factors. To describe the act of speakers alternating between two (or more) languages at their disposal, authors have coined the term *Code Switching*[4] (CS). Although CS used to be associated with uncompleted language acquisition, it is now acknowledged as a behavior deliberately applied by bilinguals. In fact, the act of CS may even be shared by whole bilingual speech communities and display degrees of predictability (MacSwan 1999). Therefore, the main interest of this study is to see whether Taglish displays any regularities and whether these regularities are shared by an

entire speech community. In particular, occurrences of Taglish will be investigated for the criteria of *recurrence*, *structure* and *function*.[5] While the criterion of recurrence will be based on statistical tokens, structure is concerned with the nature of CS and function looks at Taglish on a discursive level.

The data

The data was collected from the fifth 90-minute episode of the *Philippine Idol* season broadcast by ABC on 29 October 2006. The choice of data was grounded in the fact that this genre offers a platform for both authentic casual as well as formal speech style. Therefore, it covers what Gonzales might have called 'five-star establishments' as well as a familiar environment with ABC featuring celebrated artists as the judges and participants referring to one another with their first names. In order to facilitate decipherment for the purposes of this analysis, the conversations were transcribed literally.

Recurrence

The criterion of *recurrence* in this study is limited to the occurrence of actual switches and does not consider the recurrence of specific forms. The distribution of English word tokens and Tagalog word tokens is relatively even: with a total of 6655 words, roughly 42% belong to the Tagalog vocabulary while 57% are English. The remaining 1% are mixed formations where English lexemes are embedded into Tagalog forms. In

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[4] Since there is no unanimity in the literature as to the specific differences between *Code Switching* and *Code Mixing*, the former term shall be used in this paper.

[5] These criteria were inspired by Maschler's (1998) study of CS between English and Hebrew. However, they are largely adapted to the purposes of this paper.

terms of discourse fragments[6], 65% utterances are mixed while 13% are Tagalog and 22% are in English. Of the mixed utterances, 56% rely on Tagalog structures, 39% are based on English and the remaining 5% cannot clearly be assigned to either variety (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1. *Count of total word tokens*

Tagalog	English	Mixed
2819 (42%)	3792 (57%)	44 (<1%)

Table 2. *Count of total speech acts*

Tagalog	English	Mixed TAGALOG DOMINANT	Mixed ENGLISH DOMINANT
45 (13%)	75 (22%)	87 (25%)	124 (36%)

This raises the question of which of the two varieties serves as the *Matrix Language* (ML), i.e. the variety whose morphosyntactic structures accommodates the elements of another variety, which is also referred to as the *Embedded Language* (EL) (Myers-Scotton 1993, Jacobson 2001). The paradox we are faced with in Taglish is that although English numerically dominates in terms of word tokens and utterances, Tagalog is the variety more likely to act as an ML on a morphosyntactic level (cf. Table 2). In fact, the data presents us with two types of CS, illustrated in Table 3:

Table 3. *.Alternative switching in Taglish*

	Variety 1	CS Variety 1 (EF)	CS Variety 2 (FE)	Variety 2
ML: EL:	Tagalog	Tagalog English (INFLECTED WITH TAGALOG MORPHEMES)	English Tagalog (UNINFLECTED)	English

The data indicates the use of four different varieties: Variety 1 (Tagalog), Variety 2 (English) and two mixed varieties: CS Variety 1 (English-Filipino or EF) and CS Variety 2 (Filipino-English or FE). While there are utterances that rely solely on Tagalog, there are also such in which Tagalog serves as the ML morphosyntactically with embedded English lexemes (EF). On the other hand, there are also utterances in straight English as well as a mixed variety, which displays English morphosyntactic features and Tagalog lexical insertions, but without accommodating them morphologically (FE). One could infer, therefore, that Taglish does not simply switch between merely two varieties but rather between two forms of CS with either of the varieties serving as the ML.

Structure

The criterion of *structure* in this paper investigates the nature of CS in terms of phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax.

Taglish phonology

Similar to Llamzon's (1969) observations, the speakers in our data

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[6] These comprise turns, speech incidents, and sentences.

also exhibit a pronunciation of English that strives towards GAE. Within FE contexts, therefore, they all appear to belong to the acrolectal group. There are but a few indicators that point to Philippine English characteristics, such as the lacking differentiation between voiced and voiceless *S* or the lack of aspirated consonants (cf. Tayao 2004: 83). With regard to CS that occurs intersententially, speakers adjust their phonology accordingly. That is, Tagalog sentences are pronounced in regular Tagalog and English sentences are spoken with near-GAE pronunciation. Unfortunately, there are no occurrences of basilectal speech in our data to corroborate the sociolingistic observations made by Llamzon. Perhaps this is due to nature of the situation as being, after all, a public appearance.

In intrasentential CS, Tagalog lexemes are less flexible than English ones. Whenever English lexemes are inflected with Tagalog morphemes, they tend to be influenced by Tagalog phonological rules, though not entirely. For example, the /r/, which in Tagalog is commonly realized as [r], turns into [ɹ] in the final position of a word or as the coda of a syllable but maintains its Tagalog form if it is in initial position or part of an onset cluster as in *maremember* ('to remember'), pronounced [mɒrɛmɛbəɹ]. What is also striking is the the phoneme /k/, which is realized as [x] when it occurs between two vowel sounds, such as in words like *nakakatakot* ('scary'), pronounced [nʌxʌxˈtaːxot]. Similarly, the word *okay* in our data is pronounced [oˈxei] while *no comment* is repeatedly realized as [noˈxomɛnt]. Simultaneously, with the inclusion of English lexemes, Taglish extends the phonological rules of Tagalog with

English features. For example, while it is not possible in Tagalog syllables for diphthongs to be followed by consonants, this is a common combination in Taglish, as is shown in the example of *magcriticize* ('to criticize').

Certain instances of basilectal pronunciation patterns we find in Taglish occur in switches concerning single words. These seem to be on the verge of becoming lexical borrowings, such as *contestant*, commonly pronounced as [konˈtɛstant] instead of [kʰʌnˈtʰɛstnt]. In the same way, the expression *in love* is repeatedly realized as [ɪnˈlʌb], as in *'parang in love na in love ka yata a'*. Such lexical borrowings shall further be discussed in the next section.

Taglish lexemes

Lexical switches or *insertions* are usually what first come to mind when we speak of language mixing. It is also the type that speakers are most conscious of. The difference between insertions and actual borrowings is that they have not (yet) been fully adopted by the base language and, therefore, lack assimilation (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993:21). That is, they do not follow phonological or orthographic norms of the ML and are mostly considered ad hoc solutions for when the appropriate word in the ML does not come to mind. This view of insertions is supported by the data in the following examples, which show what I shall call 'involuntary' insertions: there is no Tagalog equivalent for *Halloween*, e.g., while *attitude* bears more cheeky connotations than does its

Tagalog counterpart *ugali* (lit. 'manner'), and the word *idol* is more fitting than idolo in the context of the show. The same is true for idioms, such as '*constructive criticism*', '*hopeless romantic*' or '*voting procedures*', where insertions are adjoined by semantic dependants. However, there is also what seem like arbitrary insertions in our data, when single lexical units from the EL are seemingly randomly placed where its equivalent could just as well have been used, such as '*minsan dumarating din yung time na nagwowonder ka*' ('SOMETIMES THERE COMES A TIME WHEN YOU WONDER'), where 'time' takes the place of the equally represented *panahon*.

In determining the relationship of Tagalog and English, we are faced with the obstacle of Spanish loanwords coming into play. While Spanish and English words may be similar most of the time, it is still intriguing whether—on a psycholinguistic level—speakers draw on one or the other.

EXAMPLE 1

> HOST: *pero komportable ka*
> ('BUT YOU ARE COMFORTABLE')

> CONTESTANT: *oo*, I'm comfortable, *siyempre*
> ('YES, I'M COMFORTABLE, OF COURSE')

In Example 1, it may be somewhat apparent that the host uses a naturalized Spanish loanword while the contestant clearly switches to English. Therefore, one might conclude that English insertions are not yet assimilated phonetically while Spanish ones are. However, if we hark back on popular Taglish usages such as *suporta* ('support') or *populasyon* ('population'), we must heed the fact that the Spanish translation of these are actually *ayudar* and *población*, respectively. This raises the question whether occurrences like *bumoto* (from: *voto* or *votar* 'to vote'), *desisyon* ('decision'), *kontrolado* ('controlled'), *impluensiya* ('influence'), *importante* ('important'), *opisiyal* ('official'), *paborito* ('favorite'), *pamilyar* ('familiar'), *parte* ('part') and *situasyon* ('situation') actually represent Spanish borrowings or English insertions that have been adapted to Tagalog norms.

Taglish morphology

It might be worth repeating at this point, however, that morphological code switches only occur in *EF*, that is, in instances where Tagalog serves as the ML. The data does not show cases of Tagalog lexemes connected with English affixes in *FE*. With regard to morphological CS, there has been the supposition that CS does not occur before or after bound morphemes. This so called *free morpheme constraint* theory introduced by Poplack (Muysken, 2000: 14), however, has been contested by various other studies and is equally disproved by the current data. The plural marker *mga*, as in '*mga technique*' ('techniques'), for example, disproves the free morpheme constraint in that *technique* belongs to English whereas its corresponding plural marker belongs to Tagalog. What is particularly interesting with these switches is their redundancy: out of 24 cases in total, there are 19 instances where, despite the presence of *mga*, the English noun still takes on

the plural form: e.g. '*mayroon ka bang mga expectations para sa ating mga idol hopefuls?*' ('DO YOU HAVE ANY EXPECTATIONS FOR OUR IDOL HOPEFULS?')

In addition to *mga*, there is the use of the particle *na*, which, among other things, connects attributives with their corresponding nouns. The example '*memories na*[t] *happy*[e]' ('HAPPY MEMORIES'), therefore, also represents a morphological switch around a bound morpheme with *happy* belonging to English, its adjective marker *na*, conversely, being Tagalog. Yet another bound morpheme that is written separately is the comparative marker *mas*, which originated in Spanish: '*kung mas*[t] *glamorous*[e] *iba ang pormang gagawin mo*' ('IF IT WAS MORE GLAMOROUS YOU WOULD DO A DIFFERENT GET-UP'). Such morphological code switches involving *mga*, *na* and *mas*, however, are limited to but a few occurrences.

Our data shows that morphological code switches mostly affect words that function as verbs or verb derivations. Of the eleven focal forms existent in Tagalog, the verbs in our data appear to be inflected with *mag-*, *in-* and *ma-* forms.[7] One of the most common verb forms used when embedding English elements into Tagalog morphology is *mag-* to denote 'Actor Focus', drawing attention to an action or or the one who performs it. Whenever such morphological switches occur, the English infinitive form is treated as a Tagalog root and inflected accordingly. In the few cases where English nouns

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[7] Even though the label 'focus' is criticized by some authors as the term is already used for another phenomenon (Himmelmann, 1987: 62ff), I use the terminology adapted from Samson and Kelz (1998) in this paper.

are employed, the same principle is applied:

EXAMPLES FOR MAG-VERBS (ACTOR FOCUS)

'to wonder'	*nagwowonder* ka kung IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT: NAG + 1. SYLLABLE + STEM ano kaya yung feeling 'you're wondering what the feeling could be like'
'to improve'	but I know *magiimprove* ka talaga INCHOATIVE ASPECT: MAG + INITIAL VOWEL + STEM 'but I know you will really improve'
'singing career'	pag nag-decide na akong *magsinging-career* INFINITIVE: MAG + STEM 'when I've decided to [pursue a] singing career'

With this particular verb form, it is important to note, however, that when initial consonants are followed by another one, the latter is omitted in the central syllable insertion: the imperfective aspect of *magdrive* is thus *nagdadrive* instead of **nagdradrive* ('to drive'). This might be explained by the fact that there are no successive consonants within Tagalog syllables. Moreover, if the initial syllable of the English word includes a diphthong, this is reduced to monophthongs when used as an infix, since Tagalog does not dispose of such. The imperfective aspect of *magshow* ('to make a show') is therefore not pronounced as **[nʌgʃoʊˈʃoʊ]* but rather [nʌgʃɔˈʃoʊ]. Finally, we observe that the Actor Focus using the alternative *um*-form is never used within such morpheme switches at all even though it is equally represented in Tagalog parts of discourse.

A further verb form frequently found in morphological CS is *-in*, marking a so called 'Patient Focus'. This draws the attention to who or what experiences or endures an action.

Examples for In-Verbs (patient focus)

'to cherish'	iyon talaga yung pinaka *chinecherish* ko IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT: INITIAL CONSONANT + IN + 1. VOWEL + STEM 'that's really what I cherish most'
'energy'	pag *inenergy* niya baka hindi love song PERFECTIVE ASPECT: IN + STEM 'if he had [added] energy it might not have been a love song'

With *in*-verbs, the same principles for successive consonants as well as diphthongs are applicable. What is most striking with mixed forms of *in*-verbs, however, is that they do not occur in the inchoative aspect, at least not in their regular form. Instead, they seem to take on the form of *i*-verbs, which are also expressive of the Patient Focus, but in Tagalog contexts are reserved for words beginning in a glottal stop. While *iaannounce* ('to announce) is perfectly legitimate, for instance, because it has a glottal onset, the inchoative aspect form of the stem *base* ('to base') should be *basein*. However, it appears to be turned into *ibase*.

Taglish syntax

The most prominent feature of Taglish found in our data are syntactic switches. Contrary to lexical and morphological switches, syntactic switches involve more than single word units and engage the interplay of phrases within syntactic restrictions. Although the alternation of languages between complete sentences or utterances in some of the literature strictly no longer qualifies as CS (cf. Muysken, 2000: 189), it remains worth mentioning that such switches occur within Tagalog speech. That is, one sentence may be expressed in one language while the next is realized in another language. More often, however, syntactic CS occurs *intrasententially*, i.e. within single sentences.

A frequent type of intrasentential CS occurs in adverbial phrases. The reason Tagalog adverbs are sometimes switched into English could be that temporal expressions in Tagalog are usually long-winded: in '*last week isang surpresa ang bumulaga sa atin*' ('LAST WEEK A SURPRISE STRUCK US') it is more convenient to opt for the English version when in Tagalog one would have to say *noong nakaraang linggo*. On the other hand, Tagalog prepositional phrases are preferred over English ones because, unlike English, Tagalog only possesses one preposition, ruling out the risk of employing the wrong one. This might be illustrated by the following example: '*napanood ko siya a few days ago sa rehearsals and then kaninang hapon*' ('I WATCHED HER A FEW DAYS AGO DURING THE REHEARSALS AND THEN THIS AFTERNOON'). Of course, *sa* in this case may just as well be translated into *in* or *at* and here, too, *a few days ago* is more convenient than the Tagalog equivalent *ilang araw ang nakaraan*. There are in fact no such temporal references that require *nakaraan* represented in our data.

A very convenient tool for CS seems to be the particle *na* because it is

so multi-faceted. The function of *na* in Tagalog is not only to connect single words but also phrases with modifier words or phrases. Oftentimes, it serves as a transition point in CS to subordinate clauses, which frequently take on the function of adjectives. Subsequently, it can be used as a connector for relative clauses, which would equal the English *that*, as well as subjunctions. The following examples illustrate this: while in '*hindi siya yung best na performance*' ('IT WASN'T THE BEST PERFORMANCE') *na* is used as a link to connect *best* with *performance*, in 'I'm that type of person *na madaling naaapektohan*' ('that is easily affected') *na* takes on the function of what in English stands as a relative pronoun. Another example includes 'there came a point *na* my mom wanted to buy the CD', where the *na* could stand for 'at which' or 'when'. In the case of '*dumating ako sa isang punto ng buhay ko in my relationship na it had to end*' ('I CAME TO A POINT IN MY LIFE IN MY RELATIONSHIP WHERE IT HAD TO END') the insertion of *na* might be caused by the momentary inaccessibility of the appropriate preposition in English. Finally, we see yet another use of *na*. In what appears to be an erratic sentence 'the song talks about *na yung mom niya sobra-sobrang pagmamahal ang binuhos . . .*' (*'THE SONG TALKS ABOUT THAT HIS MOM POURED OUT SO MUCH LOVE . . .'), *na* appears to be a kind of filler word that allows the speaker to amend his statement by continuing in Tagalog without having to take on active corrective measures. We therefore interpret the sentence as meaning something like 'the song talks about how his mom poured out so much love'.

Besides *na*, there are a number of other conjunctions that serve as transition points as well. It is important to note, however, that CS may occur either before or after these conjunctions. E.g. 'we have another surprise announcement for you *pero pupuntahan natin iyan* when we go on with the show' ('BUT WE WILL GO TO THAT'). In this sentence, the conjugation *pero* is taken from the language into which the speaker transits. As a counter example, we have the following sentence: 'I want to make them laugh a little bit but *kung talagang may gusto sila sa akin wala akong magagawa*' ('IF THEY REALLY HAVE A LIKING FOR ME THERE'S NOTHING I CAN DO'). In the latter case, the transition into the new language occurs after the conjunction *but*.

In some cases of intrasentential CS, there is reason to believe that the switch is not entirely due to the fact that a new clause is being introduced. Our data presents us with several instances which I will refer to as *assimilation*: in the case of assimilation, there has been a preceding lexical CS within the sentence that causes the speaker to continue in the more recent language. E.g.: '*hintayin ninyo iyong go-signal at the end of the show*' ('WAIT FOR THE GO-SIGNAL AT THE END OF THE SHOW'), in which cases 'go-signal' is actually an involuntary insertion (see 7.1) that presents a point of transition, after which the speaker continues in English. The reverse case can also be found in '*when they make puna yung kaisaisang kulang . . .*' ('WHEN THEY MAKE REMARKS THE ONLY THING MISSING IS . . .'), where *puna* ('remark') serves as transition point from English to Tagalog. The motivation behind speakers'

continuing in the other language instead of just switching back remains unclear. It may be motivated by some regularities discussed above. Another possible explanation is that with the insertion of a word from the other language, the linguistic boundaries of the speaker switch as well, which might imply a neurological process taking place.

So far, we have looked at cases where the shift takes place within sentences. We shall now move on to CS within phrases. I wish to point out that Tagalog sentence structures can take on two forms: one is the so called *natural order* (N.O.) while the other one is the *transformed order* (T.O.).[8] The main difference between the natural and the transformed order, in addition to the sequence of subject (S) and predicate (P), is that in the transformed order, the linker ay is omitted. The two variants may thus be visualized as follows:
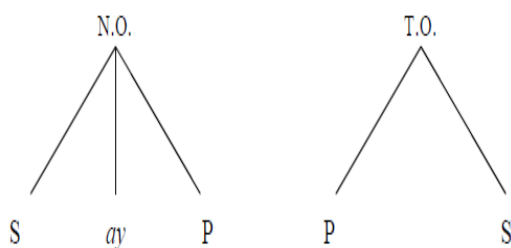

Figure 1. Tagalog sentence structures.

According to our data, there is the possibility of CS for verb phrases within T.O. sentences in *EF*. This results in examples such as '*lacking in energy si Jan*' ('Jan is lacking in energy'), where we find the P *lacking in energy* followed by the S *si Jan*. We also find the reverse case where the P

is in Tagalog while the S is in English. In this constellation, however, it seems compulsory for the English noun to follow Tagalog syntactic rules so that the noun phrase rewrites as [Art^t N$^{t \, or \, e}$]. This can be seen in the example '*kakaiba ang twist*' ('the twist is unusual'), where the English *twist* is legitimized as a noun thanks to the article *ang*. It would, however, not be acceptable to convert the above sentences into *'*kulang sa enerhiya Jan*' or *'*kakaiba twist*', where the verb phrase takes on Tagalog forms while the noun phrase is in English, i.e. without a Tagalog article. Furthermore, this particular alternation is only permissible with predicate nouns or adjectives. As soon as a verb other than 'to be' is involved, which in Tagalog is implicit, the verb must be inflected by Tagalog rules. It would thus be unlikely to hear *'*missing ko palagi ang family ko*' but rather '*namimiss ko palagi ang family ko*' (IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT: 'I always miss my family').

In the N.O., the same principles apply with regard to Tagalog noun phrase structures but, in this case, verb phrases tend to be more acceptable when they are inflected in English. Nonetheless, the N.O. does not seem very prominent in general, therefore, we do not find any instances where *ay* is succeeded with an English verb, although it does precede English predicate nouns or adjectives. In fact, there is a total of merely 20 occurrences of such copulas. In three of these instances, *is* replaces *ay* in the speech of three different speakers, respectively, e.g. '*Ang kakantahin ko ngayon is kailangan ko ikaw*' ('WHAT I'M GOING TO SING NOW IS *KAILANGAN KO IKAW*'). This might indicate that this type of switch is gaining acceptance

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[8] This terminology by Aspillera (1969) is slightly misleading if not unfortunate as the *transformed order* is in no way less natural to speakers of Tagalog. In fact, these labels were inverted by Cena and Ramos (1990).

within the community and is not based on an individual's idiosyncrasy. We can therefore conclude that, firstly, the transformed order is more common than the natural order, secondly, that statements in which the subject precedes the predicate are mostly made in English and, thirdly, that the linker *ay* is being replaced by *is* in Tagalog N.O.-structures, taking on a different role than the original, English word 'is'.

5.1   Function

The purpose of this section is to take a look at Taglish on a discursive level. This will hopefully reveal more clearly the role that Taglish has within the speech community.

Discourse markers

To begin with, let us examine the occurrence of discourse markers. There are relatively few occurrences of Tagalog discourse markers in FE, as shown in Table 4:

Table 4

Tagalog discourse markers occurring in English speech acts

ano	'di ba	lang	talaga
(lit. 'what', used as tag question) (2)	('isn't it') (2)	(lit. 'only', 'just') (1)	('really') (2)

For the most part, when an utterance takes place in one language, discourse markers are taken from that same language. This might indicate that speakers are comfortable and are able to express themselves fully in either language. Nonetheless, there are some singular occurrences when code switches take place with discourse markers. For instance, there is the case of *po*, which in Tagalog is a particle used in the address-form that signals respect. However, it only appears once within an English utterance when a candidate expresses her gratitude for the judges' comments: 'thank you very much ⋯ thank you *po* ⋯ thank you very much'. This does not mean, however, that in English this convention of 'respectful style' is omitted: the data shows that whenever a 'superior' is addressed in English, statements are either preceded by or end in that person's name: in fact, out of twenty seven cases of either *thank you* or *thank you very much*, only two instances do not have the addressees' name within their boundary.

Generally, whenever discourse markers are displaced into the other language, it is from Tagalog into English (i.e. EF) and not the other way around. There is, nonetheless, one discourse marker of English that stands out and is found repeatedly within both Tagalog as well as code-switched speech incidents. This is the case of the conjunction *so* (synonymous to 'therefore'), which often is used as a stalling-device: e.g. '*wala kang masabi so eto lang talaga*' ('you have nothing to say so this is just really it'). However, considering its high frequency and that it is the only case of an English discourse marker appearing within Tagalog patterns, we might, on at least an analytical level, have to regard it as *borrowed* as opposed to an insertional switch.

A further noticeable case of word formation is the word *parang* ('like'), which in contrast to *so* is a type of borrowing similar to *calque*. That is, the English word including its particular function has been transferred

into Tagalog while being replaced, however, with a Tagalog equivalent. While in English, the preposition 'like' has evolved to be employed for stalling within discourse, its Tagalog equivalent *parang* seems to have acquired the function of a filler in Tagalog speech, as well: e.g. '*parang* sometimes I don't have to say anything' ('it's like sometimes I don't have to say anything') or '*parang* it's a bit boring sometimes'. Notice that in the latter example, the word *parang* does not have any semantic bearing and functions solely as buffer or hedge, in order to 'soften' the statement. Interestingly enough, the English version 'like' is never used within the data.

Discourse analysis

In the preceding paragraphs, we observed the formal constraints within Taglish. We shall now move on to particular functions language alternation has with regard to personal interaction. There are roughly three categories of speech style that were determined: *Casual speech, Prepared speech* and *Offhand speech*.

Casual Speech

To obtain samples of casual speech style, the conversation between contestants and the host were examined. This is because they presumably perceive one another as peers (belonging to the same age bracket), although, of course, the host will be slightly superior to them given his celebrity and his position in the show. The extracts examined were taken from parts of the show where the contestants have finished performing their number and have heard the judges' comments. The situation thus reflects a time during which the host

tries to ease the tension and therefore needs to create a casual setting by taking up topics which are close to the addressees. Of course, the casualness we are dealing with here is not perfectly authentic as it is, after all, still part of the contest. Still, we can discern that in relatively casual discourse, both languages seem to have the same value:

Casual speech (conversation between the host and contestants)

EXTRACT 1

HOST: good job and it was a risk taking that and *pumasa ka naman, Miguel*
('YOU PASSED, MIGUEL')

EXTRACT 2

HOST: okay, Mau, it's your chance to talk back *kay Mr. C ⋯ niyari ka doon sa suot mo.*
('AT MR. C. ⋯ YOU WERE PUT DOWN FOR WHAT YOU'RE WEARING')

EXTRACT 3

HOST: . . . *ano 'yong mga ginawa mong* adjustments and I was observing also *kanina habang nagshoshow na tayo kausap mo pa rin si Megamel.*
('. . . WHAT WERE THE adjustments THAT YOU MADE and I was observing also EARLIER WHILE WE WERE ALREADY [MAKING THE SHOW] YOU WERE STILL TALKING TO MEGAMEL.')

The extracts show that it is perfectly acceptable in casual setting to switch from one language to the other within the conversation so long as it happens within the formal constraints. In fact, given that there are no occurrences of interpersonal utterances that consist of only Tagalog tokens,

one might even suggest that a requirement for speech accommodation within casual situations is to mix one's languages.

Prepared Speech

The second speech style was gathered from parts of the show when the host recites his address to the studio as well as the TV audience. It is therefore representative of a more formal speech style which is characterized by the fact that it has been prepared beforehand. Examples are provided in the following:

Prepared speech (announcements by host)

EXTRACT 4

HOST: *Halo halo ang kanilang karanasan kaya ibat-ibang uri ng awitin ang maririnig natin ngayong gabi*
('THEIR EXPERIENCE IS MIXED THEREFORE WE WILL HEAR DIFFERENT TYPES OF SONGS TONIGHT')

EXTRACT 5

HOST: if you liked Pow's performance *ito ang inyong gagawin* ⋯ all you have to do is text pow that's P O W send it to two three three nine using Smart and any of the other networks ⋯ *at ang gagawin ni'yo po kung* landline *ang inyong gagamitin, idial ni'yo lang* one nine zero eight five idol zero four that's one nine zero eight idol zero four for Pow
([RESPECTFUL ADDRESS-FORM]: 'THIS IS WHAT YOU DO . . . AND WHAT YOU DO IF YOU WANT TO USE landline, JUST DIAL . . .')

EXTRACT 6

HOST: so just like American Idol voting will be limited to two hours for tonight and voting time starts when I give the signal . . . *uulitin ko. dalawang oras lang kayo puwedeng bumoto. magsisimula ito kapag binigay ko ang* signal
('I REPEAT. YOU [RESPECTFUL] CAN ONLY VOTE FOR TWO HOURS. THIS WILL START WHEN I GIVE THE signal')

As opposed to casual speech, there are some occurrences of continuous Tagalog utterances within this speech style. In fact, in Extract 4, it seems as if there had been a conscious effort put into this statement to contain no English elements. There are several indicators for this based on our data: first of all, the word *awitin* was deliberately chosen instead of the Spanish loanword *kanta* ('song'). Examining the data, namely, it appears that in more natural speech, *kanta* is the preferred variant: while this is the only occurrence of *awitin*, *kanta* and derivations of it appear thirty two times. Similarly, the use of *uri* ('type'), which elsewhere is replaced by the Spanish loanword *klase* or code switched to 'type' or 'kind'. Furthermore, the variants *so* for *kaya* ('therefore') as well as *tonight* for *ngayong gabi* are avoided, two expressions that are regularly code switched in the show.

However, although we see that in formal speech style there are instances of conscious language separation, language alternation is accepted, as well. Extract 5 is a line the host repeats to the audience with each contestant. Of course, he varies with the numbers every time and sometimes his transitions differ. Nonetheless, there are chunks which he always says in the

same language: the part concerning text votes, for instance, is always announced in English, whereas 'PLDT landline' is always succeeded by Tagalog. The only variation employed is that he varies between the use of pronouns, which are either posed in front of the verb '*naman ang inyong gagamitin*' or after the verb '*naman ang gagamitin ni'yo*'. Incidentally, the numbers are always said in English. We can therefore also distinguish an effort to keep the two languages at a balance.

This balancing becomes even more evident with Extract 6, where the same information is explicitly repeated in Tagalog. In addition to language balancing, one might also conclude that the repetition is to ensure that less educated viewers understand the voting rules as well. This would, however, be the only instance during the show conceding that English has retained some of its status as the superior language at least in what concerns socioeconomic value. In general, namely, English utterances are evenly spread across the ninety minute show along with Tagalog statements. And even though in formal speech pure English sentences do not openly dominate in count, they seem to be less constructed than do Tagalog ones.

Offhand speech

Finally, there is a third category of discourse style that becomes apparent in our data, which I wish to refer to as 'offhand' speech. The difference between offhand and casual speech is that it is a part of casual speech, which is uttered 'on a different note' as it were. This distinction comes close to what Gumperz might have meant when he suggested a so-called "we code for in-group relations" as opposed to the

"they code" when he described the possible relation of two languages within a speech community (cit in. Savic, 1996: 26). Even though all of the speakers within our context participate as part of the same linguistic speech community, Tagalog sometimes appears to be used as the 'buffer language' when English statements do not offer the right parameters for the intended level of discourse.

Offhand (conversation among the judges and the contestants)

EXTRACT 7

FEMALE JUDGE: *kailangan daw niya ako Mr. C ⋯ kasi wala daw siyang girlfriend ako daw ang kailangan* (laughs, turns to the contestant) Jan it's so wonderful to see all of you like this, you know, so nicely dressed . . .
([REFERRING TO THE LYRICS SUNG BY A MALE CONTESTANT]: 'HE SAYS HE NEEDS ME, MR. C. ⋯ BECAUSE HE DOESN'T HAVE A girlfriend I'M THE ONE HE NEEDS')

EXTRACT 8

MALE JUDGE: okay, Apple, we've been waiting, actually, me, I've been waiting for you to sing something more intimate because the past three weeks you've been coming on very, very strong ⋯ *parang, nakakatakot lagi, ano* ⋯ but tonight I like it because it's very er intimate and it's very ⋯ I can hear the nice tones, beautiful
('LIKE, IT'S ALWAYS SCARY, RIGHT')

EXTRACT 9

FEMALE JUDGE: . . . and what I can say is, really, that song, really, you need to be in a couch like that because,

really, you really brought ⋯ *ano, para bang yung pag nakaupo ka diyan parang iniimbita mo sila na dito ka nga maupo ⋯ tumabi ka nga sa akin, iyong parang gan'on, di ba* ⋯ Jeli, this is one of the performances that, tonight's performance, that I like that you've done so congratulations ('WHAT, LIKE WHEN YOU'RE SITTING THERE IT'S AS IF YOU'RE INVITING THEM COME SIT HERE ⋯ SIT NEXT TO ME, SOMETHING LIKE THAT, ISN'T IT')

In Extract 7, for instance, we have the case of the female judge joking about how a male contestant is supposedly singing the love song to her. We notice that the Tagalog part is addressed to her peer and co-judge. As soon as she turns to the candidate, however, she shifts to English. Since she still has the same positive mood and lightness in her tone, her use of English might signal that, even though she was joking earlier, her compliments are now sincere. In the next extract, we witness how the male judge inserts a Tagalog phrase into his English statement in order to clarify himself. With the use of the Tagalog insertion, he elaborates on his use of 'coming on very strong' and, at the same time, alleviates the impact of the English by mentioning *nakakatakot* ('scary') which, because of its extremeness, seems comical. Indeed, the contestant nonverbally expresses her confirmation thereafter. The final example shows how with the use of Tagalog, the judge establishes a rapport with the contestant that creates a 'just between you and me'-discourse. At the same time, the shift to Tagalog takes away the seriousness from her statement, which she immediately takes up again in her next sentence in English.

In summary, even though we can surmise that Filipinos feel comfortable speaking to each other in both English and Filipino, we observe that CS is deliberately employed in conversation to effect a casual speech style or at least reduce emotional distance between speakers. Simultaneously, CS can indicate a change of temperament or seriousness within an utterance. In such cases, there is a tendency towards the use of Tagalog as the 'we-variety', even though this distinction is very subtle.

6. Discussion
6.1 Summary

Returning to the three criteria established in the research question, we can now try to assess whether the variety found in our data can be considered a 'new code'. The fact that CS is represented throughout the data indicates that the first indicator, *recurrence*, is given, at least with regard to switch tokens, but not necessarily to switch types. Apart from involuntary lexical code switches, namely, most items that are code switched appear in a non-code switched alternative elsewhere, which implies a degree of arbitrariness.

With the second indicator, *structure*, there is an ambivalence as well. On the one hand, we have the absence of a set ML. That is, both source languages can serve as the ML according to a speaker's choice, even though they behave differently. On the other hand, we have observed certain constraints that need to be respected. These constraints most clearly affect Taglish morphology and syntax, especially in the EF variety.

The third indicator that was examined, *function*, proved to be somewhat controversial, as well.

Because there is freedom as to which variety to use as the ML and both Tagalog and English are represented on all levels of discourse, we can conclude that both varieties to a certain degree are perceived by speakers to be of equal value. In other words, Tagalog or English per se do not necessarily play a specific role within discourse. There does, however, seem to be significant value in the act of CS itself: it serves not only to soften particular statements but also to signal social closeness between speakers. We can thus say that the function of Taglish is not determined by formal criteria but rather by the fact that CS takes place at all.

Based on the indicators stated above, the rise of a new 'mixed code' on a typological level will have to be dismissed because none of the three criteria are granted in full. Rather, we will have to move away from the notion of 'linguistic variety' to a 'communicative code'. That is, instead of defining the CS as a set of linguistic norms, it serves as a mechanism of transducing communicative intentions (cf. Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998: 38). Our data has shown that Taglish leaves much room for personal language selection at a minimal number of constraints. Nevertheless, being a part of what seems to be an unwritten rule, Taglish plays a major role in personal interaction in that speakers are expected to CS if they are to be accepted as benign members of the linguistic community. Therefore, if speakers want to show their in-group belongingness or if they want to accommodate their discourse partners, they will at any rate choose to make use of both varieties. This tendency is observed both in formal as well as a casual speech style. CS appears to be

kept at a minimum, i.e. in between whole sentences or with single lexical insertions, in formal utterances (CS_{MIN}) while it is more welcome in casual speech, involving inter- and intrasentential CS (CS_{MAX}):
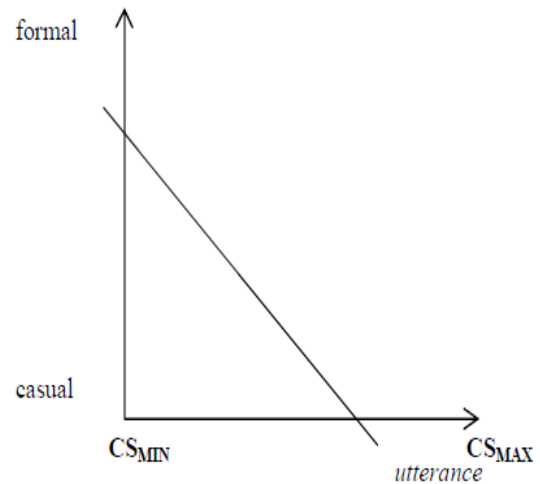

Figure 2. Range of style according to degrees of CS.

We can thus conclude that Taglish is part of a communicative or behavioral code in Filipino conversation. On a more global level, this realization compels us to consider whether the Philippines could actually reflect a *diglossic* society.

6.2 Philippine diglossia?

The term 'diglossia' describes a language situation in which a speech community alternates between two languages, depending on the social circumstances they find themselves in. Ferguson suggested that these two languages are typically related, such as is the case e.g. in Switzerland with High German and Swiss German. According to Fishman, however, this relation is not necessarily imperative. Even two languages that belong to different language families may be

seen as having a diglossic relation given that they are used complementarily. In more formal domains, therefore, such as worship, public administration, school, publications, newspapers, economics, mass media and literature, the so-called *high*-variety (i.e. High German) will find its use whereas the *low*-variety will be spoken in more familiar settings (cf. Dittmar, 1997: 139-141).

There are many opinions in the literature that suggest just that kind of distribution in the case of the Philippines (cf. Gomez 2004), where English is believed to be employed as the high-variety while Tagalog is thought to be reserved for cases in which the low-variety is used. This appears to be a sound supposition, and yet it collides with two determining incidents: first of all, Tagalog is also stated and acknowledged as an official language along with English just as English has penetrated familiar situations and is used alongside Tagalog. Secondly, the classification between the everyday use of Tagalog versus English is not at all distinct, as the data has shown. Although both languages have their autonomous role in the Philippines, it does not seem appropriate, therefore, to appoint one as the high-variety and the other one as the low-variety given the fact that both varieties to some extent are present in all situations. Rather, it seems more feasible to investigate whether, in reality, the diglossia consists of Taglish as the low-variety and Tagalog as well as English as the high-variety. This would mean that Filipinos in high diglossic situations may choose between Tagalog and English, so long as they keep these varieties 'pure'. In low diglossic situations, however, they

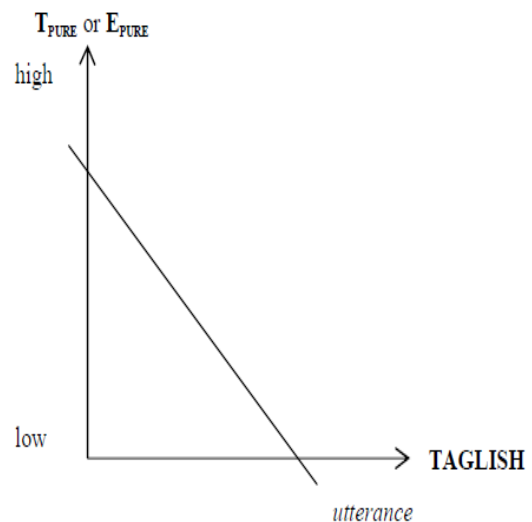are allowed or, rather, required to employ the variety mix:

Figure 3. Diglossic ranking of middle class speakers' speech behavior.

7. Conclusions and outlook

The central theme of this paper was to analyze authentic Filipino speech behavior and the extent to which it comprises a mixture of Tagalog and English, also called 'Taglish'. This was then examined to see whether there is an emerging grammaticization to it. Finally, the functional scope of Taglish was investigated in the societal context provided by our data. The analysis has shown that while Filipinos have maintained the grammar of their native vernacular fairly well, they rely heavily on foreign influences in their discourse when it comes to lexis. While these influences go beyond English, it is currently the most prominent confounding factor with English word tokens making up more than half of the data. As far as grammaticization of Taglish is concerned, there is no particular evidence found. Although certain constraints can be made out, Taglish in itself does not show signs of a newly arising language variety with a

consistent structure as speakers are free to choose in which language they articulate any given utterance. There is therefore no generic rule as to when and where a switch must or must not occur. What is much more imperative than the constraints that govern the particular points of transition, in fact, is the transition itself. The data has shown that an ideal and polite speaker within the Filipino speech community will keep both source languages at a balance. This is to say that in the Philippines, Taglish has moved away from ancient notions of CS that characterize it as idiosyncratic or even stigmatized language alternation to becoming a social norm.

An awareness of the current status of Taglish might be helpful in Philippine language education, both in Tagalog as well as in English. Realizing the intricacies and richness of their native variety, Filipinos will perhaps develop a better appreciation for it and conduce to its maintenance. Similarly, a heightened awareness of Taglish can be helpful in gaining proficiency in English in that more attention will be paid to language interference. Even though the acknowledgement of Taglish might be taboo for teaching Tagalog as a foreign language, it would also seem an invaluable asset for learners in that Taglish, after all, represents authentic Filipino speech. Future research might involve the development of Taglish writing, the actual proficiency Filipinos still have of Tagalog as well as English in light of the fact that Taglish dominates in genuinely intimate situations.

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