

Ideological Perspectives on the Dynamics of Code-Switching in the Business Domain¹

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Through the years, advances in bilingual research has led scholars to believe that code-switching (CS) is more than a systematic, rule-governed behavior. However, attempts at formulating a data-driven model that incorporates aspects of culture have been deemed problematic due to theoretical and methodological issues concerning the determination of particular aspects of culture that need to be analyzed in bilingual interaction. This paper revisits the dynamics of code-switching in the business domain. An extension of interactional sociolinguistics, this investigation employs the use of ideological analysis in order to describe the role of CS in interactions in the business domain. It proceeds with an examination of apparent ideologies in selected communicative situations in the aforementioned domain. The findings of the study suggest that code-switching in business transactions is governed by ideology as manifestation of power. In addition, this paper concludes with possible implications for studying bilingual behavior in the context of different domains.

Key words: code-switching, bilingualism, cultural competence, linguistic ideologies

1. Introduction

Code-switching (henceforth CS) research has been a cornerstone in Philippine sociolinguistics for more than thirty years. Interest in this area has yielded different perspectives and a better understanding of how Filipino bilinguals use linguistic resources to be communicatively competent (Lorente, 2001; Bautista, 1974, 1997, 1999 and 2004). Interestingly, the scholarship in this area has widened its angle in terms of linguistic and sociolinguistic descriptions of the said language practice (Bautista, 1997 and 1999; Pascasio, 1978; Lorente, 2001). Also, the domains where code-switching had been described have largely been documented in the past 20 years (Racquel, 1979; Nivera, 2001; De Torres, 1987; Lowenberg, 2005).

However, despite descriptions of code-switching in varying contexts, the literature appears to be wanting in terms of

explaining the reasons why Filipino bilinguals code-switch. Perhaps, this may be attributed to variations in data analysis and certain theoretical constraints that have hampered researchers in determining the reasons for code-switching. For instance, Bautista (1999) points out that the reason for code-switching is communicative efficiency. CS allows speakers to draw on rich linguistic resources to negotiate meaning effectively during interaction. Considering this premise, does this mean that speakers only consider their intended meaning and thus would resort to code-switching? This appears to be problematic if one takes into consideration that speakers bring knowledge and experiences into the fore which serve as 'cultural capital' that shapes interaction.

With the influx of cultural studies in applied linguistics scholarship, several authors have included political aspects of code-switching. For the purposes of this study, Tupas (1998) believes that code-

switching seems to be a form of linguistic resistance among Filipinos. He argues that the use of code-switching is a means to negotiate identities in order to compensate for the effects of social forces that compound its speakers. Though these assumptions deserve further investigation, there is a need to develop explanatory models of code-switching that integrate aspects of culture. One important dimension in examining culture is determining dominant ideologies that influence language use. Since ideologies do not only represent an individual's belief system but rather encompass a group's set of beliefs and practices, analyzing code-switching from an ideological perspective may be helpful in considering the role of institutional norms and forms of power in interaction (Stroud, 2004). Also, Philippson (1992) believes that ideological influences on language use may be helpful in determining structures or 'concrete' manifestations of discursive practices that govern speakers to use language in certain ways.

Several years ago, Pascasio (1978) examined the functions of code-switching in the business domain employing Gumperz's typology. The present study furthers the analysis by looking into ideologies present in bilingual interaction. It is hoped that through an analysis of embedded ideologies, this would lead to new insights on the influence of culture on language use.

2. Review of related literature

Poplack (2001, p. 2062), defines code-switching (CS) as the, "mixing by bilinguals of two or more languages in discourse." Gumperz (1982) expounds on this definition by saying that "[Code-switching] is the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages

belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p. 59).

Apparently, many have defined code-switching with their syntactic nature (whether inter or intra-sentential) (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980; Kachru, 1978) or in contrast to borrowing (Poplack, 1980). However, Boztepe (2005) cites Eastman (1992, p. 1) on the dangers of over-defining code-switching, thus: "Definitions [of CS] are doomed if we want to understand the social and cultural process of code-switching" (p. 8).

Reviewing the literature would indicate that code-switching has been analyzed from different viewpoints and have had several typologies. From a linguistic perspective, Poplack (1980) derived two rules which determine the linguistic behavior of CS, namely, the free morpheme constraint in which CS may happen in "constituents in discourse" and the equivalence constraint in which switching tends to happen without violating the first language (L_1) and second language (L_2) rules. In the case of Tagalog-English code-switching, the research done by Bautista (1975), Azores (1967), Marfil and Pasigna (1970), Palines (1981), and Sadicon (1978) have examined the linguistic features of code-switching in either English with Tagalog or with other Philippine languages. Based on the aforementioned studies, it can be surmised that code-switching (in the Philippine context) is a rule-governed and predictable process.

On the other side of the continuum, however, scholars such as Gumperz (1982), Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Myers-Scotton (1988) believe that there is a sociolinguistic explanation for code-switching. The main claim in their research is that social factors are attributable to code choice. Building on the concept of diglossia by Ferguson (1959), Blom and

Gumperz (1972) argue that there are two types of code-switching; metaphorical and situational code-switching. Metaphorical code-switching is CS that is triggered by the change of conversational topic, whereas situational shifting pertains to the CS triggered by changes in situational factors and is triggered by the interlocutors' attempt to assert their rights and obligations in the conversation. Gumperz (1982) further theorizes that code-switching can be seen as a contextualization cue in order to negotiate identities embodied by a certain language. He proposed a "we/they" code distinction, in which the "we" code represents the language of solidarity and is used for in-group communication, while the "they" code is used to mark "otherness" and "prestige" and for outward group communication. Delving further into the sociolinguistic aspects of CS, Myers-Scotton's (1988) Markedness Model posits that code-switching is a way of negotiating (indexing) certain rights and obligations in interaction. In the Philippine context, applying a sociolinguistic view of code-switching data has revealed that CS is a way of negotiating meaning and serves a variety of communicative purposes in different contexts (Pascasio, 1978; Bautista, 1998; Bautista, 1999).

A third perspective of code-switching is from a critical viewpoint that sees the said linguistic phenomenon as a result of local and national hegemonies (Stroud, 2004; Lin & Martin, 2005; Martin, 2005; Canagarajah, 2005; Probyn, 2005), a way of expressing resistance (Tupas, 1998) to colonial forces that allow the bilingual speaker to "negotiate his/her identity" during interaction or even manifest "cultural nationalism and linguistic independence" (Sibayan, 1978). In addition, scholars have even attempted to "demythologize" code-switching by

viewing it as part of making language as a social institution that has the ability to create social identity among its speakers (Gafaranga, 2005; Cameron, 1990).

Focusing on code-switching in the business domain, Pascasio's (1978) investigation of the functions of code-switching in the Philippine business domain revealed that language choice is strongly influenced by role relationships, speech functions and topics, leading her to conclude that "selection of a language is governed and patterned by a set of cultural rules" (p. 40). Moreover, she believes that the typology of functions set by Gumperz (1982) is apparent in the work context. However, De Torres' (1987) investigation of code-switching in the business domain in Batangas reveals finer points in the different speech functions of code-switching such as ease, assent/dissent, echo and clarification (p. 72). Furthermore, she believes that CS is used because business mostly deals with "foreign concepts" that are not present in Philippine business culture. Examining further, she found that borrowings were common to nouns and verbs and are at the word level while CS was at the word, phrase, clause and sentence level. "Verbal inflection" of English verbs converted to Tagalog was also seen in her corpus. She concludes that the sociolinguistic variables affecting code-switching are topic, setting, motivational factors, functions of CS, and role relationships between interlocutors. De Torres (1987) even recommends that "personal idiosyncrasy" of the interlocutor should also be considered in understanding CS. Jan (2003), on the other hand, sees a more critical view of the use of CS in the Malaysian business context. He posits that since Malaysia is a bilingual community that has several ethnic denominations, CS is used for power wielding among the Malaysian managers under study. He

believes that CS is a way to manipulate the discourse among workers, manifest power among subordinates, and mark social class differences among workers.

3. Conceptual framework

The present study is grounded on the ideologies apparent in bilingual interaction. Since ideology is considered as an “interface between socio-cultural values and cognitive representations [or models]” of human attitudes and actions that represent the individual and societal perceptions of certain phenomenon (van Dijk, 1995, p. 248), the present study used Woolard’s (1998) three operational definitions of linguistic ideologies, namely, ideologies as constructs, ideology as product of experience, and ideology as manifestation/s of power.

Woolard (1998) attempted to describe ideology in the context of language research and has posited that since language is finely ingrained in social practices, there are several strands of ideology that may be considered by language researchers. The first strand of ideology lies in the notion of concepts constructed by language. In this case, it is said that language is not only used for communication but rather for shaping certain constructs that govern man’s notion of the world. The second definition of ideology lies in the experiences “[in order] to serve the interests of particular groups of people” (p. 6). In this case, language is used as an instrument to mark or maintain power. Similar to the second strand of linguistic ideology, the third strand represents certain attempts of groups of

people in order to maintain power. These can be seen in linguistic or cultural practices that may suppress or control others’ rights. Another aspect of ideology may also be seen when people use language in order to manipulate, and distort or rationalize certain modes of thought. In this paper, the manifestation of power as used in language shall be analyzed since these are related to notions of social inequality in bureaucratic settings (Philips, 2004).

4. Methodology

4.1 Sources of data

This study utilized transcripts from a corpus of naturally occurring data from the business domain. The corpus was collected for a period of three months. The reason for collecting data from the business domain is to realize the principles of Li (1998), Labov (1970), Altheide (1996), and Johnstone (2000) in examining characteristic patterns in bilingual speech which are reflective of real life interaction. From five recorded communicative situations, the study utilized three samples since two of the recorded data had yielded very few code-switching occurrences due to the presence of the “halo effect” which may affect the findings of the study.

As shown in Table 1, the following communicative situations were the sources of data since there are conventional role-relationships between interlocutors, setting, and topics influencing language use in the said situations (Fishman, 1965; Sibayan, 1999; 2000; Pascasio, 2005).

Table 1. Description of samples

Domain	Sample	Communicative Situation	Setting	Participants
Business	B ₁	Bank officials' meeting regarding implementing policies for leasing of property	Major banking institution, Makati	Bank manager, head and members of leasing department
	B ₂	Client and agent meeting regarding an insurance policy	Major coffee shop, Ortigas	Insurance agent-client
	B ₃	General assembly of a university cooperative	Tertiary education institution, Cavite	Cooperative officials and members

In the transcription of the corpus, certain stretches of discourse in the samples were repeated several times in order to arrive at an accurate transcription of the interaction. In addition, enhancement of the sound quality was done through Windows Media Player and Audacity in order to clearly transcribe the closely interlapping utterances found in the samples. The cited technique was applied to all samples.

Considering that samples appeared to be confusing due to the absence of cohesive markers that link the discourse making the transcripts incoherent for analysis, these were addressed through consultation with the contacts responsible for recording the interaction and informal consultations with resource persons knowledgeable in technical terms used of business. As regards transcription conventions, ten Have's (1998) system was used in order to systematically categorize the utterances used for analysis.

4.2 Analysis of data

The samples recorded were segmented according to their respective discourse structure in order to fully explain how CS plays a role in the respective structures of the different communicative situations. Due to the voluminous amount of data, segmenting the different communicative situations also allowed the researcher to explain CS occurrences as used within the context of a particular stage of interaction and relate it to the context of the whole communicative situation. Furthermore, segmenting the communicative situations also prevented the making of 'sweeping' generalizations regarding the observed CS occurrences, thus realizing a more inductive approach to data analysis in which particular nuances and language behaviors were noted among the different samples analyzed. One concern in this research is the description of power in the code-switching samples in

the study. Due to the pervasiveness of the definition of power, the study shares Walkinshaw's (2009) definition of power as the "ability to influence or control the behavior of others" (p. 53). Likewise, the segments were analyzed based on French and Raven's (1959) bases of power. Walkinshaw (2009, p. 52) describes these as follows:

- Reward power – Refers to a Person's (*P*) view that *O* (may refer to a speaker, a role, a norm, members of a group or a group itself) can provide rewards for him/her.
- Coercive power – Refers to *P*'s view that *O* can impose sanctions on him/her.
- Legitimate power – Refers to *P*'s view that *O* has institutionally bestowed authority to prescribe behavior for him/her.
- Referent power – Refers to *P*'s identification with *O*.
- Expert power – Refers to the view that *O* has expertise that *P* needs.

also contribute to the construction of power.

Examples:

Sample B₁ – Episode 15-Lines 83-86

Context: Though speaker B (bank official) acknowledges speaker A's (Presenter) suggestion that a scheme stipulating the amount that will go to one client be made, B questions (as seen in line 84) the basis for establishing the amount.

5. Results and discussion

5.1 Code-switching and power in business interaction: Some examples

As regards ideology as manifestation of power, business interactions appear to be highly influenced by speakers indexing a particular identity. In addition, the identities of speakers seem to be tied to the business institution's hierarchical structure. Therefore, power in the business domain may be attributed to the social status accorded by business institutions to speakers in the interaction. Furthermore, institutional interests seem to

83 A: =of course *at siguro* at which case what I would suggest *siguro wag muna noh* we structure *na kung ano pupunta sa kanya* in terms of amount.

84 B: [oo yes] =kaya nga kaya amount gusto rin naming malaman isa isa *how do we establish amount* ano yung *basis* nung *amount* (.) *rental?*

85 A: =ok rental just for a year *kunyari* (.)

86 B: [yung yung yeah] =ano yung *rental or yung type of property*(.) *collateral* ganun.

In line 84, speaker B uses English intersententially to raise a question (*kaya nga kaya amount gusto rin naming malaman isa isa how do we establish amount ano yung basis nung amount (.) rental?//that's why we want to know what factors or how do we establish amount. Is it rental?*). The question posed by speaker B may be interpreted not only as an attempt to scrutinize speaker A's stipulations in the proposal but also as a means for speaker B to assert her role as a superior that possesses the technical knowledge in business.

In the cited episode, it can be inferred that speaker B's questions are related to her attempts to investigate on the details of the lease. In addition, these attempts show speaker B's authority designated to her by the company which in turn accords her certain rights and obligations. Specifically, as a bank official, her role in the company is to make sure that her institution benefits from any transactions made with clients. Based on the description, it can be said that this is an example of legitimate power through the

use of CS. Examining the social context closely, participants of the business meeting seem to be familiar with each other as they interact having shared knowledge of the topic of interaction. This is evident in the apparent incoherence of the utterances. Also, the familiarity of the speakers is also evident as they use Filipino in the majority of the sequences. In terms of social identities, the use of code-switching seems to be initiated by the one with higher social status. In the case of this sequence, speaker B has social status accorded by the institution as she does not only initiate questioning to other speakers but has more options in terms of the choice of language to use to achieve her communicative purposes.

Sample B₂ – Episode 17-Line 50

Context: Speaker B (Presiding officer) issues a directive that requires the cooperative members to approve (or otherwise) the proposal to purchase service vehicles for their institution.

47 B: Ok so let us decide. Medyo inaantok na tayo siguro may mga singers tayo dito tulad si ((mentions name)) kakanta uh meron bang objection o approved an gating proposal? (.) o sige //approved na noh// *for the record* puwede bang makita yung kamay natin// *for the record please raise your hands* kung kayo// ay *thank you*// po ang *take off* po niyan is *November 2006* ah

In this episode, speaker B uses English intersententially to assert that the proposal has been approved and to direct the cooperative members to formalize the approval (*o sige approved na noh for the record puwede bang makita yung kamay natin for the record please raise your hands//Ok for the proposal is approved. For the record can we raise our hands*).

In the cited episode, the presiding officer has the right to direct cooperative members to a certain course of action. This may be attributed to the nature of cooperatives which elect a set of officers responsible for the cooperative's operations. Specifically, the directive issued by the presiding officer is a means for him to make decisions made by the body official.

Similar to the first sample, the second episode suggests that CS is used to

manifest legitimate power. Examining the interaction closely, it can be said that Filipino is the language used in the majority of the sequences analyzed. However, unlike in the first sample, the use of Filipino does not mean that the speakers are familiar with each other, but rather, since the meeting involves several hundred participants, it can be assumed that the speaker's use of Filipino is an attempt to negotiate meaning in a presumably diverse audience.

Sample B₃ – Episode 16-Lines 112-114

Context: Speaker A (Agent) explains that the insurance policy also serves as a savings account because a certain amount may be invested in stocks and/or bonds.

112 A: it's easy in traditional we call it a loan and your charged thirty one now it's ten percent-

113 B: [Di ba ah oh yan ok]

114 A: =dito walang interest *and it will keep your money it's your savings account*

In line 114, the agent shifts to English to point out that the insurance policy is like a savings account since funds withdrawn from the policy does not incur interest like a savings account (*dito walang interest and it will keep your money it's your savings account// In this insurance policy there is no interest and it will keep your money like a savings account*). Speaker A's statement indicates her expert knowledge of the product being sold.

In the cited episode, the agent's expert knowledge seems to allow her to regulate the information given to the client. In turn, this ability accords her the power to convince the client to avail himself of the insurance policy. Based on the interaction, it can be said that expert power through the use of CS is observed.

Analysis of the three samples has resulted in several inferences. First, code-switching in the business domain is closely related to indexing of social identities

during interaction (Philips, 2004). For instance, samples B₁ and B₂ both show code-switching used to manifest legitimate power for speakers. Speaker B in sample B₁ used code-switching during questioning in order to index her identity as superior of the organization. On the hand, the speaker in sample B₂ used code-switching to issue a directive in order to have members of the cooperative take a course of action regarding a particular proposal presented. While in sample B₃, the agent uses code-switching not only to index an expert's identity but also to manifest expert power during the business meeting to convince the client to avail of the insurance policy being sold.

Second, the use of code-switching in the business domain reflects the apparent shift from English to Filipino in business transactions. Though earlier studies have pointed out that English is confined to meetings among top/middle management, it appears that code-switching has become more acceptable and may be attributed to the differences of social relations (social distance as seen in samples B₁ and B₃) and number of participants (B₂) during interaction.

Third, the use of code-switching also helps ensure that negotiations are mutually beneficial. For instance, samples B₁ and B₂ reveal that speakers do not only represent themselves but as representatives of the organizations as they negotiate particular details of proposals in order to ensure that their organizations benefit from such deals. For instance, speaker B₁'s use of code-switching during questioning may be interpreted as her attempt to scrutinize the details of the proposal so that clients will be given the best rates without sacrificing her institution's projected income. On the other hand, the presiding officer's use of code-switching during the approval of the proposal is an attempt of

the speaker to direct members of the cooperative to approve the proposal of acquiring service vehicles in order for the cooperative to earn revenue from this project. Lastly, the agent in the third sample uses code-switching to explain particular details of the insurance policy being sold. This guarantees that the client fully understands the benefits and responsibilities when he avails of the insurance plan.

5.2 Code-switching and ideology in the business domain

In order to clearly demonstrate the existing language ideologies as manifestation of power in business transactions, there is a need to discuss the role of English, Filipino and code-switching in the business domain. This is because language ideology represents views of language and discourse, "that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group...[which in turn results in] attempts to use language as the site at which to promote, protect, and legitimate those interests" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 501). Lazaro and Medalla (2004) point out that English is often used in business transactions especially among top officials of middle/higher management. Also, with the emergence of the call center industry, Filipino employees use English whenever dealing with clients (Friginal, 2007). On the other hand, Filipino is used among lower ranking employees or is used whenever personal matters are discussed. Such relegation of English and Filipino for specific roles during interaction strengthens Philips' (2004) claim regarding language and power relations. She points out:

The relative value of features of language is in

turn related in part to the social contexts, particularly the social identities, with which the forms of talk are associated. Because forms of talk carry meaning, information, or ideas, when some forms of talk are valued over others, this also entails the valuing of some ideologies or ways of thinking over others. Ideas about the causes of the emergence and maintenance of systems of social inequality also figure prominently in theories of language and social inequality. (p. 489)

The diametrically opposed roles of English and Filipino in the business domain reveal several realities. First, it appears that Filipino remains inadequate amidst attempts at intellectualization due to the apparent lack of registers/lexicon which can accommodate effective business transactions in the said language. Second, access to English remains to be a class issue (Tupas, 2007) in which speakers who have had quality education are not only able to get favorable job opportunities, but are allowed to participate in business transactions in a language favored by the elites (Philips, 2004).

However, code-switching seems to be a 'compromising' strategy for speakers to accommodate the demands of negotiating with other speakers during business meetings. As Rafael (2009) posits, code-switching or Taglish (in his terms) represent the Filipino bilingual's attempt to fluidly shift identity through the use of two languages. Since the use of English in business encounters denotes formality in communicative situations and Filipino seems to symbolize the opposite,

code-switching serves as a middle ground for these speakers. Examining ideology as manifestation of power embedded in bilingual interaction suggests that aside from linguistic competence in the two language systems – Filipino and English (Bautista, 1974; Lorente, 2001) – the Filipino bilingual uses code-switching as a means to determine the direction of interaction through topics that are relevant to the communicative situation. In turn, these topics of interaction impart experiences that allow speakers to choose different sets of rights and obligations which, in turn, are regulated through the use of CS (Myers-Scotton, 1993). In addition to indexing particular identities, speakers use CS as a means to manifest power relations between and among interlocutors. In the business context, code-switching does not only ensure that negotiations are mutually beneficial to the parties involved, but also is a means to articulate the interests of institutions of which the speakers are part. Although Bautista (1998) claims that the primary reason why speakers code-switch is to be communicatively efficient, the data suggests that Filipino bilinguals are also culturally competent (Valdez, 2008). Expounding on the concept of cultural competence, the Filipino bilingual uses the two linguistic systems that carry valuable resources in order for them to be communicatively competent, considering the context of the situation and the institution/domain where the interaction takes place. Hence, the speaker's use of Filipino and English to articulate topics, regulate interaction, index identities and wield power, reflects their attempts to observe the accepted norms (cultural practices) as members of a speech community (sub-culture/culture).

6. Conclusion

Based on the findings of the study, it can be concluded that code-switching does not only achieve communicative efficiency, but reveals ideologies that reflect social practices in the business domain. Considering the “hazy” nature of ideologies, this paper has found Woolard’s typology of linguistic ideologies to be a useful framework that can help describe subtle manifestations of power through social roles indexed by speakers during interaction. These social roles are not merely decided on during the course of interaction but rather may be bestowed upon by the institutions with which the speakers are affiliated. The examination of embedded ideologies in bilingual interaction reveals that speakers use Filipino and English as a manifestation of their cultural competence in order to be communicatively competent.

Though this paper has focused only on one domain, the usefulness of ideological explanations for code-switching behavior may help reveal the influence of culture in language use. Considering that research in applied linguistics has departed from description to explanation of linguistic practices in the context of culture, perhaps ideological explanations of code-switching in both controlling and non-controlling domains in the Philippines may help describe the linguistic culture of the country, which may prove useful in developing language policies for a linguistically diverse nation.

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Note

1. This paper is dedicated to the late Professor Emy Pascasio (Ateneo de Manila University). Her beliefs in the need for studying code-switching and culture have been influential in the author's motivation to investigate these areas in bilingual research.