Bakit-Why? An Analysis of the Sociolinguistic Motivations behind Taglish

By

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Abstract

Taglish, the mixture of Tagalog and English, is prevalent among Filipinos inside and outside of the Philippines. It is found nearly everywhere in the country and in diasporic communities in the United States: it is present in quick exchanges of strangers in the streets, throughout dialogues in various media programs, as well as formal discourse in places like universities and courthouses. In this thesis paper, I identify the underlying foundations and uses for code-switching in Taglish, switching between Tagalog and English in specifically sentential-level. Through a corpus of Taglish instances collected from Philippine media, Youtube, and live informants, I analyze code-switching to propose its meaningful use among its speakers. I draw on current linguistic and ethnographic data to assess the advantages that code-switching offers to Filipinos in the Philippines as well as the United States. Through linguistic and anthropological lenses, I uncover how Taglish allows Filipinos to alter their perceptions of self and establish inclusion to certain established groups. By identifying the intricacies of its syntax and sociolinguistic motivations, I suggest that the use of Taglish in the motherland and abroad does not pave the way for either complete adaptation or rejection of the English language in the country, but rather offers an enrichment of communication among its speakers.
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Introduction

Spend just a few hours in the Philippines and one easily notices the prominence of Taglish, the mixture of Tagalog (or Filipino) and English in the country. From its use in daily street parlance to even more formal occurrences in universities and courthouses, Taglish exemplifies the embeddedness not only of English in the Philippine language, but of glamorized ideas tied to the foreign language within the traditional Filipino culture.

Occupied by the Spaniards, Japanese, and Americans for a collective three and a half centuries, it is not surprising to see that the Philippines has maintained traces of colonialism, which manifests itself more noticeably in the country’s dialects. Having been colonized for three hundred years by the Spaniards, a small part of the Spanish lexicon has been adapted and admitted into Filipino, the present national language of the country. The case of Taglish, on the other hand, is the result of alternation between the mixing of Tagalog and a distinctively English lexicon in both word and inter-sentential levels:

(1) word level:
   a. mafi-feel [could feel]
   b. magcomputer [to use the computer]
   c. chineck [to have checked]

(2) sentential level:
   a. I love you po for making this vid.
      [I love you (‘honorific’) for making this vid]
   b. You know, ang damping ganun dito.
      ['You know, there are so many like them here.]
c. *Parang,* why are you making *tiis*?

*[It’s like, why choose to suffer?]*

Aside from borrowed, often modern, English words that do not exist in Tagalog lexicon, the use of English in a phrase that could be perfectly uttered in Tagalog illustrates a real code-switching phenomenon that is motivated by factors other than necessity or inability to grasp the borrowed language.

**Purpose**

This thesis examines the motivations behind the Taglish code-switching phenomenon, both through linguistic and anthropological lenses. Hoping to draw examples from the corpus I have collected, presentation of previous code-switching research will provide the framework with which I analyze Taglish. Through fieldwork and analysis, I hope to answer the following questions: (1) what are the linguistic inner workings of Taglish constructions, (2) what sociolinguistic factors currently motivate the use of Taglish among speakers in the Philippines as well as the United States, and finally, (3) what can these previous questions tell us about the current linguistic attitudes of Filipinos today? From these, I hope to illustrate a working understanding of Taglish as a purposeful code and, by observing how it shapes the conception of identity of Filipinos in and outside of the motherland, I hope to investigate how linguistic attitudes might dictate the direction of Tagalog in the country.

**Literature Review**

The overlap between linguistics and anthropology is an inevitable one when it comes to the
topic of code-switching. A number of linguistic analyses, one like Pieter Muysken’s (2000), indicates universal processes present in all code-switching occurrences, including Taglish. Other research indicate the nuances that arise in the mixing of two languages with differing syntax and morphologies, a topic Maria Lourdes S. Bautista’s works tackled (1980, 1991, 2004). Previous literature often credits the very first instances of code-switching to inter-population mixing (Myers-Scotton 1993; Romaine 1989) and ethnographic studies shed light on the sentiments and sociolinguistic changes that such interactions have brought (Myers-Scotton 1993; Rafael 2000; Thompson 2003; Velasco 2008). The undeniable prevalence of Taglish among Filipinos in the Philippines, as well as diasporic communities in the United States, is a topic of interest to many linguists, whose works provide insight into both the unique and the predictable constructions of Taglish (Bautista 1980, 1991, 2004; Myers-Scotton 1993; Muysken 2000).

Taglish linguistics is a fairly newly-integrated field in the linguistic and anthropology departments in the Philippines. The first well-recognized study of Taglish code-switching in the Philippines was a 1967 thesis concerning a corpus of Tagalog and English instances in one publication of a biweekly newspaper known as The Sun (Bautista 2004). More prominent works came in the following couple of decades, encompassing deeper investigations mostly on the corpus of borrowed English words found in publications and radio broadcasts. These early theses and dissertations recognized Taglish as a legitimate sociolinguistic phenomenon in the country, which soon led to an increased of interest in the closer examination of corpora in order to identify underlying linguistic processes in Taglish code-switching. One of the most revolutionary works regarding this endeavor came in the
1980 publication of Maria Lourdes S. Bautista's dissertation. Compiling a comprehensive data of Taglish from transcribed interviews on the radio, Bautista did more than point out the undeniable prominence of code-switching over the use of pure Tagalog or pure English in broadcasting parlance - she found patterns and limitations on Taglish code-switching (1980, 2004). Her work, spanning a couple of decades, serves as one of the primary sources for this thesis.

**Overview of the thesis**

The syntactic analysis will rely on works by Pieter Muysken and Maria Lourdes S. Bautista on code-switching patterns; its anthropological counterpart, on the other hand, will rely on a wide array of literature written on the Philippines and Filipinos living outside of the country. While exploring the limitations of both Muysken and Bautista’s frameworks, I determine specific sociolinguistic motivations behind such patterns of code-switching. Finally, I rely on previous ethnographic work and field studies on Philippine culture, both in the homeland and abroad, in order to draw inferences on the role of colonialism and globalization in the acceptance and promotion of Taglish in various communities (Soriano 2011; Thompson 2003; Velasco 2008; Vergara 2009). I compare my own data with these studies and make inferences regarding Filipino identity as expressed through language. Both a linguistic and anthropological project, this thesis is an ethnographic study of communication of Filipinos in various settings.

**Methodology**
I observed the prominence of code-switching among Filipinos by compiling a modern corpus from two main sources: the media and living Taglish speakers. From this corpus, I selected and analyzed tokens, or Taglish instances, to gain insight into how people use it in different environments. By looking at media, I acquired access to code-switching tokens from the Philippines; by conducting interviews and sending out an online survey, I was able to observe Taglish use among speakers living in the United States. By collecting tokens from these two settings, I created a corpus of tokens that possess a variety of important sociological factors, including geographic location, language attitudes, and personal values.

**Collecting Data from the Media**

I chose a number of media programs, in order to acquire a corpus of Taglish from as wide an array of social situations as possible. In formulating the logistics of collecting data for this thesis, I sought to find the variety of code-switching instances and sociolinguistic motivations identified by linguists and scholars in Taglish. I gathered tokens from various Philippine media sources, including a film made in the country and a number of television programs of different genres. This selection of shows provides a great range of Taglish speakers from different backgrounds and interactions. Some are more formal and scripted, while others have more room for improvisation and a greater awareness of an audience. In this thesis, I include only excerpts of meaningful Taglish instances as opposed to transcriptions of entire programs, taking careful note of the sociolinguistic environment in which these utterances appeared.
I relied on two sources to collect my data from media: The Filipino Channel (TFC) and YouTube. TFC is a special network aimed towards televising programs from the Philippines to other parts of the world where many Filipinos have immigrated, like the United States, Japan, or the United Kingdom. Using a DVR, I recorded and watched programs on a cable subscription to TFC through Comcast, which allowed me to transcribe various television shows. This paid, satellite subscription also grants me access to TFC’s website, where I viewed programs wherever there is internet access instead of having to use a DVR and television. I also collected Taglish tokens from a few videos and movies posted on YouTube. What all these media programs have in common is the expectation of viewership: scripted or not, these television shows, movies, and videos are filmed and aired with the prime intention of providing entertainment to an audience. These programs allowed me to observe why Taglish is used in television programs, a medium that does not permit turn-taking from the audience. Since previous literature on code-switching has mostly focused on interactions where speakers are able to adjust to the flow of conversations, code-switching found in this medium can reveal what Filipinos, portrayed by Filipino writers in tune with the linguistic norms in the country, believe to be the right terms in using Taglish in a given context.

Since many of these programs are made purposely for a Filipino audience in the Philippines, watching them from the United States lends me the role of an expatriate trying to establish or maintain a connection with the culture. This sentiment - a desire to connect to the motherland - is in fact, the main reason for the conception of networks like TFC. As a spectator, I was able to use my fluency in Tagalog to recognize the programs’ cultural and
historical references. As an anthropologist conducting ethnographic study, however, I was forced to be more objective and detached from the shows as not to gloss over subtle nuances about the production of the programs, including the underlying message behind them, the visual presentation of the actors and hosts, and most importantly, the language used in them. The following are the programs produced by ABS-CBN, and aired in TFC, where I have gathered my some of Taglish tokens.

- ‘Gandang Gabi, Vice! [Good Evening, Vice!]’ a weekly talk show hosted by a stand-up comedian named Vice Ganda. In addition to interviews, Vice performs sketches and dance acts with the weekly celebrity guests.
- Goin' Bulilit [Goin' Little Kids]: a weekly comedy show with a cast that mostly features very young, Filipino child actors. Each episode is a compilation of different, previously recorded, scripted comedy-sketches.
- The X Factor Philippines: a franchise of the UK version, it is a singing competition televised weekly, where contestants perform in front of a large crowd, and are then judged by three well-established Filipino artists. Although the episodes are pre-recorded, the dialogues between the judges and contestants are entirely unscripted.
- Wedding Tayo, Wedding Hindi [Maybe We'll Get Married, Maybe We Won’t]: a Filipino film produced and endorsed by ABS-CBN, the head network of TFC. The story revolves around two female cousins who are facing different aspects of married life, featuring characters and issues that affect both the upper and lower class.
I also watched and transcribed videos on YouTube that include dialogue in Taglish. The videos I have chosen were generally made by Filipino YouTube members who reside in the Philippines. Most of the data comes from videos created by the user named Anna Tan, under the account name of ‘TheCountessAnna’. She covers topics ranging from nursing schools in the Philippines and everyday events like going to the gym, which she explains in Taglish. Since YouTube is accessible through the internet almost anywhere in the world, users like Anna Tan, are able to reach out to viewers from different countries, and their chosen speech styles demonstrate which audience with whom they are trying to communicate, and how the users want to be perceived by them.

I also collected written Taglish comments on the videos and included them in the corpus. These posts offer insight as to how fellow Taglish speakers respond to the Taglish videos. Having a written, instead of a spoken form, may pose interesting questions regarding the use of Taglish in media. For this thesis, however, the two forms are essentially treated as one, and any substantial findings about their differences are only discussed briefly. Unlike television shows, Youtube enables its users to both present themselves to a large-scale audience as well as accept responses through the form of written comments or videos. This allowed me to observe the notable differences, or lack thereof, between the use of Taglish in the two broadcasted mediums.

**Collecting Data from Live Informants**

In addition to collecting tokens from media programs, I used a digital recorder to record and transcribe conversations of Taglish speakers in three different social gatherings in
various places in New Jersey and California. I chose these communities due to their established Filipino populations; the former is one that I belong to, and the latter is considered to be one of the largest diasporic communities in the country. Observing one gathering by itself can offer a multitude of Taglish tokens, and by choosing to record three conversations, I hoped to provide tokens that vary in sociolinguistic differences between their speakers, the surroundings in which they were uttered, and the topics with which they were discussed. The data from New Jersey comes from conversations that occurred between my own family members and close friends; the data from California comes from similar personal conversations between family, with the addition of tokens from various public places. I chose to do fieldwork in Daly City as its entire population currently holds roughly 30 percent self-identified Filipino. With such a large diasporic community, the linguistic attitudes and the use of Taglish in this area is crucial to this analysis. Unlike smaller communities in which Taglish use may be reserved to personal or more private conversations, Daly City uniquely offers a large-scale environment well capable of promoting code-switching both in and outside of families’ homes. This high level of exposure to code-switching is one that is conducive to raising children using a mix of the two major languages in the area. This setting closely resembles those of urban, upper class communities in the Philippines. Using these two locations where both Tagalog and English are constantly at play, I draw inferences in the similarities and differences of Filipino’s speech styles and perceptions of self in those environments.

I also examine the linguistic attitudes of Filipino-Americans through their experiences with Taglish. Having tokens from different states in the country offers a variety
of sociolinguistic motivations present in one setting, but not others. Again, speaking in Tagalog in communities in New Jersey affords privacy from non-Tagalog speakers in a public setting, allowing speakers to talk about more personal topics. In a place like Daly City, however, switching to Tagalog in an environment filled with Tagalog speakers does not offer such privacy. It is thus evident that setting influences Taglish use to some degree.

Most of the social gatherings I recorded were largely private and informal, held in Filipino households among friends and family on a number of special occasions, including Christmas day. The number of speakers partaking in the conversations featured in this paper varied for each recording, ranging from two speakers at a time to more than five per conversation. A small number of tokens were collected from public places, like malls in Daly City, and were recorded in writing instead of a recording device. For the private conversations, I briefed the informants about the thesis, asked for oral consent to record and transcribe, and left the digital recorder near them. I placed the recorder in a somewhat hidden place in order to make the speakers feel as comfortable and less self-conscious as possible in the hopes of reducing forced or inorganic elicitation. For example, for conversations during meals, I placed the digital recorder under the dining table on my lap; for conversations during house gatherings, on the other hand, I placed the digital recorder on the coffee table behind another object to hide it from view, again, only after first gaining consent from all present. Included in my disclaimer was contact information, so that informants had the option to revoke permission for the use of their tokens in this project.

I also conducted interviews with a select number of informants, three from Daly City, California, and two from Burlington, New Jersey. The informants’ ages vary, but all exceed
eighteen. Their fluency in English as well as Tagalog varies as well. These Taglish speakers have many social and cultural differences, some of which include age, amount of time spent living in the Philippines and United States, level of education, perceived proficiency in English, current occupations, and relationship with the interviewee (which will not be discussed in detail to protect their identities). In order to build rapport and allow the interviewees to feel more comfortable, I attempted to match their linguistic styles and choice of language. To do this, I specifically informed them of my proficiency in both Tagalog and English before conducting the interview and gauged their language preferences even before the recordings began. Once I recognized the language with which they are most comfortable using, I attempted to accommodate to their speech styles by speaking in either English, Tagalog, or Taglish throughout the entire recorded interview. These interviews were conducted in different settings with varying levels of formality. Only two were conducted over the phone, while the rest were face-to-face. In order to avoid sensitive topics and information that could compromise their anonymity, I tailored the questions to acquire their linguistic prowess and linguistic attitudes, not their identities.

Through Qualtrics, an online survey platform approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB), I created and released a survey pertaining to Filipinos and Taglish speakers. Easy access and promotion of the survey allowed me to collect data from participants of different demographic backgrounds, all of whom are age eighteen or over. The first half of the survey included questions about the participants' basic information and backgrounds as well as their self-reported language proficiencies and heritage; the second half included a list of Taglish sentences. Through my own grasp on Taglish, aided by research
mentioned in this thesis, I intentionally constructed a number of awkward or incorrect Taglish sentences in order to gauge the participants’ proficiencies. Some sentences were taken from actual recorded utterances from my corpus, others from television shows and samples from Taglish linguists. As with the interviews, I provided contact information should the participants revoke their permission to use their responses. All names are replaced with pseudonyms.

**Data Protection and Deletion**

Collecting tokens from informants in the United States greatly contributes to the sociolinguistic analysis of the project. While the tokens from TFC television shows and YouTube primarily come from the Philippines, tokens from live informants come from diasporic communities in the United States. Thus, the difference in location offers insight on how speakers use code-switching over the major languages spoken in the country in which they live in - Tagalog in the Philippines and English in the United States.

After gaining permission through oral consent, any collected data from all informants are used for the intents and purposes of this thesis only, solely stored in my laptop’s hard drive in the year-long duration of the thesis. Any written notes from observations will be kept in the safety of my own dorm room in Bryn Mawr College. Again, to account for the informants’ privacies, I assign pseudonyms and alter or omit any identifying traits (like names of school clubs and groups to which they belong) while maintaining characteristics that may be crucial to analysis (such as age, gender, occupation, etc.). Upon analysis and completion, I deleted and disposed of all audio recordings and written responses stored in
Qualtrics and in my computer’s hard drive. I also shredded pages from the notebooks that included any hand-written observations.

**Linguistic Research on Code-switching**

Current literature proposes a handful of theories for the patterns and rules of code-switching; however, a complete study of its syntax lies beyond the scope and purposes of this paper. Scholars have offered many analyses on the universalities of code-switching structures, most of which are applicable to any spoken utterance of any rising or well-established mixed language. These analyses portray a true linguistic phenomenon governed by definite rules. At the same time, the variability in patterns between code-switching illustrate the difficulty in laying down all-encompassing rules for the emergence and use of code-switching. For this thesis, I include sociolinguistic analyses primarily on sentence-level code-switching only; although I briefly mention word-level code-switching in certain assessments, I refrain from going into detail since the former is most pertinent to the questions this thesis poses to answer.

**Pieter Muysken’s Code-Switching Patterns**

Giving examples in Spanglish, the mixture of Spanish and English, Pieter Muysken’s analysis of code-switching (2000) provides different types of switching that occurs in a single sentence, also known as an intra-sentential utterance. Muysken’s analysis (2000) identifies three forms of the phenomenon: alternation, insertion, and congruent lexicalization. Alternation is a form of intra-sentential code-switching that describes a
complete switch from one language (L1) to another (L2). In the example below, the speaker switches from Tagalog to English in both grammar and lexicon halfway through the sentence:

(1) actually not all nurses e mataas ang sahod

[Actually not all nurses have high salaries]

Muysken clarifies that in alternation code-switching, there should be no ambiguity as to whether or not the L2 segment differs in grammatical structure and lexicon of the base L1. Insertion, on the other hand, only describes embedding of L2’s lexicon into L1’s grammar. This involves lexical items or complete constituents like noun, prepositional, or adverbial phrases inserted into the base language sentence, while still adhering to the grammatical structure of the base language.

(2) sobrang pagod kami at the end of the day na pagkauwi ko sa dorm natulog na lang ako.

[We were so tired at the end of the day that as soon as I got back to the dorm, I just went to sleep.]

In (2), the English prepositional phrase ‘at the end of the day’ is the constituent inserted into the Tagalog structure. Afterwards, the speaker switches back to Tagalog to finish the sentence, exemplifying how switching can occur in various positions within a single utterance. Out of the three patterns, congruent lexicalization is perhaps the one that warrants the most explanation. Muysken states that this type of code-switching occurs in

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sentences that share one grammatical structure, allowing back-and-forth lexical switching from the two languages where it is syntactically permissible (2000). Here, congruent lexicalization appears to be a blend of the first two patterns described earlier: in sentences like this, there is definite alternating of constituents from two lexicons, and a possibility of having a segment with an L1 lexical item embedded into L2 grammar. The difference among the three lies in the existence of a shared grammar, instead of two distinct grammars that switch at a certain point in a sentence. Congruent lexicalization allows the speaker to freely alternate, when they are able, between two languages' lexicon and sentence structures. An analysis by Maria Lourdes S. Bautista (1995) sheds some light to the congruent lexicalization of the following example:

(3) How big your *bukol* \(^3\)

[Your bump is so big!]

In a study of code-switching by Filipino students in the Philippines, Bautista explains that “...the ‘base language’ of [most] conversations is English, with a shift to Tagalog for particles and special expressions and occasional whole sentences,” but in utterances like (3) however “a very striking feature is the fact that... the syntax seems to be more Tagalog than English” (1995: 100). According to Bautista, the syntactic structure is characteristically of Tagalog: predicate + subject, “big” + “___ your *bukol*,” a noticeably verbless sentence. In pure Tagalog, the translated construction should read: predicate + subject, “*ang laki*” + “*ng *bukol mo,*” with the verb filled in. The English counterpart should have a subject + predicate structure: “your *bukol*” + “is so big.” This utterance is entirely permissible in Taglish, and

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\(^3\) example by Bautista.
although it carries certain connotations, it is perfectly understandable. What makes it unique is the use of primarily English lexicon and the lack of verb, in a Tagalog syntactic structure. Hence, a good example of the simultaneously confusing and amusing construction of congruent lexicalization.

These rules of permissibility vary in code-switching languages, further motivated by different sociolinguistic influences. One of the goals of this paper is to present an overview of the latter in Taglish use among speakers in various settings, but examining a general model is essential in clarifying what makes Taglish code-switching unique. Carol Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model provides a foundation that is applicable in many code-switching languages, despite their different backgrounds and histories.

**Carol Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model (1995)**

Carol Myers-Scotton (1995) proposes the Markedness Model to account for certain socio-psychological motivations when switching from one language to another. According to Myers-Scotton, these reasonings are rooted in multiple, but related, disciplines that include linguistic anthropology, pragmatics, as well as sociology of language. The Markedness Model investigates code-switching as a deliberate linguistic choice, where speakers make the conscious decision to alternate from one language to another. This is of great importance to the thesis since it differentiates between speaker’s use of Taglish as a crutch and Taglish as a purposeful strategy. More specifically, Myers-Scotton’s model builds on the alternation between the Matrix Language (ML) or the base language, to the Embedded Language (EL), the borrowed language (Scotton 1995). A language choice or
a single utterance is ‘unmarked’ if it goes unnoticed, if it fits naturally with the flow or formality previously established by speakers in a society or a specific conversation. Something ‘marked’ would then be an utterance that stands out or derails from the current, accepted speech style. Since markedness posits an opposition between the base language and the borrowed language, she indicates that switching to EL carries “a shock value based not just on their own attributes, but on the fact such usage is a departure from the unmarked choice, from the expected” (1995:83) This illustrates code-switching as a communicative tool that accomplishes more than referential meaning. In his study of Taglish use on Philippines blogs, Frank P. Smedley relies on this Matrix Language Framework to investigate the sociolinguistic orientation of communication online (2008). Citing Myers-Scotton’s earlier study, he provides a checklist that illustrates that the use of code-switching as the unmarked choice can:

1. be intrasentential often occurring within a word
2. occur between bilingual peers
3. symbolise dual and collective identities
4. require reasonable proficiency in the two languages unless most of the switching simply involves single insertions into the morphosyntactic framework
5. and require that the speakers are accustomed to using the two languages together (2008).

In the Philippines, particularly in the capital of Manila and various metropolitan cities, Taglish has become the expected spoken language. Thus, following Myers-Scotton’s model, Taglish is considered the unmarked choice particularly in areas populated or
frequented by Tagalog and English bilinguals. Its pervasiveness has caused many scholars to suggest that a purely monolingual interaction in either English or Tagalog is more likely the marked choice (Smedley 2008; Thompson 2003; Bautista 1980).

In his paper, Frank P. Smedley concludes that Taglish has all of the previously mentioned characteristics, further specifying that it “exhibits a great deal of both intra-sentential switching with morphosyntactic integration as well as intersentential switching with stretches of alternation between Tagalog and English... [indicating] that a high level of proficiency in both languages is required” (Smedley 2008: 18). While it can be proven that Taglish as an unmarked choice adheres to many of Myers-Scotton's characteristics, and that bilinguals have an easier command and access to both languages, I later argue against Smedley in his claim that bilingualism, or even a “high level of proficiency in both languages” is a strict and necessary prerequisite to code-switching.

**Code-switching Examples**

Maria Lourdes S. Bautista is one of the most prolific scholars of Philippine linguistics, and most pertinent to this thesis, of Taglish. In 1980, she wrote a dissertation on code-switching and its underlying syntax, suggesting that insertion and alternation are often used by speakers (1980). Although not explicitly addressed in her thesis, Bautista’s initial work essentially displays Tagalog greatly utilizing congruent lexicalization in its subscription to both Tagalog and English syntaxes. As shown in her analyses of various Taglish tokens recorded in the Philippines, the matrix or base language of an utterance is easier to spot in examples of insertion or alternation, where the switch to borrowed words and grammar
stand out, but is decidedly more difficult to identify in examples of congruent lexicalization. Bautista’s dissertation largely preceded Muysken’s initial analyses of code-switching; it would not be until 1995 that the idea of congruent lexicalization was proposed, and not until 2000 that it was solidified in code-switching literature. Instead of acceptance of a mixture of highly distinguishable lexicon and syntax, where the lack of a matrix language is permissible, the bulk of Bautista’s dissertation proposes strict phrase structures based on the initial identification of the matrix language of a Taglish utterance. While this endeavor is of great importance to the field of Taglish linguistics, especially in its detailed inclusion of syntax, phonetics, and semantics in creating the phrase structures, this thesis relies more on Bautista’s later works that closely examine the sociolinguistics of Taglish. One such contribution has already been discussed in the earlier example of congruent lexicalization in Taglish among students.

In a follow-up investigation of Taglish in the Philippines, Emy M. Pascasio expands on Bautista’s earlier works by providing the following list of circumstances where a speaker might utilize code-switching in formal settings, like business and academic institutions, in the Philippines (1978). In support of these sociolinguistic motivations, the samples below come from the corpus created for this thesis.

Quotations

(4) And then she was like, "normal pa yan.""^4

[And then she was like, “That’s still normal.”]

(5) It’s like, okay, *ilang beses na*, you know, I’m asking that, ‘Where do you wanna eat?’ or ‘What’s your idea for a group work?’ ‘E, *hindi ko alam. Kahit ano, kahit ano.*’

[‘It’s like, okay, how many times, you know, I ask “Where do you wanna eat?” or “What’s your idea for a group work?” ‘, I don’t know. Anything, anything.]

Interjections

(6) *Galing!* instant fan *ako kahit di ako* nursing haha! congrats *wa* (sic) *pa* 1 month almost hundred views *na.*

[How cool! I’m an instant fan even though I’m not a nursing student, haha. Congrats, not even one month yet and almost a hundred views already.]

(7) *Kasi nung Dec 2011 exams, SHET*…

[Because during the December 2011 exams, shit.]

(8) *Tapos, nakita ko yung face nya, parang ‘Oh my god!’*

[Then I saw her face and it was like, Oh my god!”]

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Personalization versus Objectivization

Pascasio defines this reason for code-switching as an occurrence where “the speaker at
time, distinguishes between opinion and fact by code switching” (1978: 81)

(9) “yeah, that’s right// ito ang ano namin, ma’am. dito nami nacoconfirm ang reservation”

[Yeah, that’s right. This is our, umm, ma’am, this is where we confirm the reservation.]

(10) you calculate also from a certain place to a certain place// kung magkakano ang aabutin ‘nung transportation// and then we meet halfway...

[You also calculate from certain places how much transportation costs, and then we meet halfway.]

(11) SUUUUPER nakakarelate ako sayo... I’m also a nursing student.. tuyot na tuyot na utak sa kakagawa ng NCP, at sampu pa ha! Tas tomorrow ang submission?? Kalooookka!!

[I can really relate to you. I’m also a nursing student. My brain has dried out from having to create NCPs, and ten of them, no less! And the submission date is

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9 example by Pascasio
10 example by Pascasio
Expressions of Politeness

(12) “Jean / excuse me/ ano ba ito, tatanggapin ba natin?”
[Jean, excuse me, what should we do, should we accept it?]

(13) I LOVE YOU po for making this vid!
[I love you [honorific] for making this video!]

Borrowing at Word Level

(14) “WOW! ang galing! ... puro xerox nlng xa ng notes kc palaging tulog s lectures!... thumbs up s [sic] lhat ng re-enactment mo!”
[Wow! That’s good! He would just xerox the notes because he always sleeps in lectures. Thumbs up to all your re-enactments]

(15) “Hello? Inay! Este, mother! Mother! How are you down there in the... mountain province? I can’t speak Tagalog already in Manila. Ano po? What, a what?”

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12 example by Pascasio.
15 This is a YouTube comment which includes a number of words spelled phonetically. When these words are written correctly in their respective languages it reads: “Wow! Ang galing! Puro xerox na lang ng notes kasi palaging tulog sa lectures! Thumbs up sa lahat ng re-enactment mo!”
[Hello? Mom! I mean, mother! Mother! How are you down there in the... mountain province? I can’t speak Tagalog already in Manila. What was that (honorific)?]

(16) “Which is your priority nursing intervention tapos maeeliminate mo yung dalawa sa choices. Badtrip ang hirap mamili kapag dalawa nalang.”

[Which is your priority, nursing intervention? And then it is possible to eliminate the two choice. What bad luck, it is hard to make a choice when there are only two left.]

(17) flashback talaga ‘teh! grabe.  

“What a flashback, Ate (honorific name for older sister). Really.”

Lexical Borrowing at the Phrase Level

(18) tamaa, para ngang yaya... walang humpay na THERAPEUTIC ENVIRONMENT!

[You’re right, you’re like a yaya fostering never-ending therapeutic environment!]

(19) “and always be prepared to present them- lalo na kung walng mapagtripan ang Cl.”

These examples mostly come from transcripts of Youtube videos and comments posted on them. Most of them respond to TheCountessAnna’s video about the reasons behind her choice of career, which is nursing. Throughout the video, Anna speaks in Taglish. The majority of the written responses left on the comment section of her Youtube video are also written in Taglish, some of which are included here. These examples, following Pascasio’s analysis, reveals that Taglish is present in formal environments in the Philippines as well as online websites like Youtube. These examples display how code-switching can be motivated by the various goals of the speaker and settings he or she is in; at the same time, certain insertions display a rather spontaneous choice to code-switch. These are not the only causes for code-switching in formal environments, or for code-switching in general.

This section only provides a quick glimpse of the wide usages of Taglish in real life, in recorded media like published Youtube videos, and in interactive online discussions in the form of Youtube comments. While this thesis investigates the construction of Taglish utterances, it is also of great importance to understand how the language came about in the Philippines in order to fully analyze its prevalence today among Filipinos today. The following assessment provides a rather brief overview of the long history of languages and language ideologies in the Philippines.

**Philippine Language and History**

Gerardo P. Sicat, a renowned Philippine economist of the Philippines, once summarized
the seemingly never-ending dilemma of nationalism in the country:

   It seems to me a profound irony that while the Filipino people have risen admirably to the challenges of economic and social development, the national language so fundamental to the achievement of a true national identity and consciousness has lagged behind the needs of our times and of the future (1976: 4).

Indeed, as Sicat laments, the goal to promote a national identity through linguistic unity has escaped the Philippines for many years. With 181 currently living languages, such wide variety in such a small country is only one of the factors that hinder unity (Paul et al. 2013). Internally, various socio-political events in the then-colonized nation, further complicated by its vast ethnic and economic differences, contribute to the ever-changing language attitudes among Filipinos. External forces, promoted by globalization and technology, also continue to influence the country’s developments, especially with respect to transnational interactions; these changes within the socio-economic realm is often measured by the Philippines’ subscription to foreign goods, ideas, and even languages. Although the country has chosen national languages -- Tagalog and English -- it is not hard to see that various internal and external factors continue to lengthen the distance between language and nationalism, a relationship that is considered a given in many other nations. To account for this issue, numerous programs have been developed and enforced by the government in order to monitor and promote language use and education. A glimpse into the country’s history illustrates how the social, political, and economic struggles of Filipinos play a part in shaping language attitudes. With goals to balance local languages, navigate through postcolonial sentiments, and promote progress, the history of language in the
country reflects the difficulty in finding a solid conception of nationalism.

**History of Colonialism**

The first colonizers arrived in March 1521, when Portuguese explorer, Ferdinand Magellan led the Spanish expedition for King Philip II, after whom the country was named. Despite countless uprisings and resistance from the locals, Spanish control expanded throughout the country and the Philippines became one of the most prominent commercial centers among Spain’s colonies (DLSU-Manila 2013). The blooming economy furthered not only the exchange of goods and ideas, but of people in both neighboring and far away countries. According to historian, Roger Thompson, it was around the mid-1800s when the Philippines emerged from an isolated outpost to a flourishing and vital conduit of goods in East Asia, vigorously interacting with economic powerhouses like China. In consequence, “…increased trade created a new wealthy class of Chinese mestizos who controlled commerce throughout the islands. They eagerly learned Spanish and spread it throughout the Philippines along with their business interests” (Thompson 2003: 16). Thompson claims that even though Chinese merchants and the Spaniards in Madrid both supported the promotion of Spanish across the country, a commercial tactic for the former and a largely religious one for the latter, the Spanish colonizers in the Philippines were financially limited in implementing language education to the public. As a result, diglossia emerged within various cities in the country, most notably in the capital of Manila where Spanish became the language of the wealthy business families, and the local languages, of the poor. Maintaining diglossia translated to a well-established divide between the wealthy
Filipino business owners who sided with the powerful Spaniards and the poorer Filipino locals who dreamed of freedom from the colonizers; suppressing anti-colonial sentiments was one of the main reasons as to why the Spanish language did not take over the colony. These revolts were also inspired by the Chinese mestizos who studied in Spain. Upon their return to the Philippines, they brought with them European liberal ideas which, along with anti-colonialist sentiments by a number of prominent upper-class Filipinos, gave birth to the term *ilustrados*, inspiring the “Propaganda Movement that demanded political, religious, and educational reform” (Thompson 2003: 16).

With Spanish as a lingua franca between the Filipinos and the Chinese, the Spaniards saw it fit to further discourage or even deprive the locals from learning the language. In order to prevent rebellions, they banished into exile and executed Filipino *ilustrados* of the time, a few of whom include historical figures now recognized as Philippines’ national heroes like Emilio Aguinaldo and Jose Rizal (Thompson 2003, 17). Thus, the three hundred year rule of Spain never resulted in a takeover of the language, as is usually the case with colonized countries; at the very least, it allowed for lexical borrowings from Spanish into a number of provincial languages, one of which is the Spanish-based creole of Chabacano then spoken in Manila.

Towards the late 1800s, the country saw its most prominent rebellions that led to a full-fledged revolution. During the Spanish-American War 1898 the Filipino rebels, supplied by the U.S. navy, succeeded in overthrowing the Spaniards, after which they “declared their independence and established a republic under the first democratic constitution ever known in Asia... “ (DLSU-Manila 2013). Shortly after, Spain’s colonial rule ended as the
Spanish-American war closed - with the signing Treaty of Paris in 1898, Spain transferred control of the Philippines to the United States, beginning the forty-year colonialism by the Americans. Until 1935, the United States kept the country under its control, “[defining] its colonial mission as one of tutelage and preparing the Philippines for eventual independence” (DLSU-Manila 2013)). With the publication of its first constitution and the election of Manuel Quezon as the president, the first taste of independence came with the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, a political move that the United States considered to be a grace period of ten-year transition to complete independence. When WWII broke out and the Japanese attacked the country in 1941, it was once again overtaken by foreign control and the Japanese occupation lasted until September 2, 1945 (DLSU-Manila 2013)). Shortly after, the Philippines acquired independence from the United States on July 4, 1946, with president Manuel R. Roxas establishing the republic as it is now.

**What’s in a Name?**

The changes in the political sphere brought along alterations to the linguistic realm of the entire country. During the Commonwealth in 1937, then-president Quezon created the National Language Institute primarily to put focus on the language ideologies of the country. The same year, the Romualdez Law passed through the institute, officially choosing ‘Tagalog’ as the national language among the Philippine languages due to its prevalence among the speakers in Manila, the political center of the country (Tupas & Lorente 2013). While Tagalog was the main language in Luzon, one of the three main regions of the
Philippines, other southern languages like Bisaya and Cebuano were the more prevalent choice among those living in the other two regions of the country, Visayas and Mindanao. The numerical superiority of Bisaya and Cebuano over Tagalog resulted in social unrest (Tupas & Lorente 2013). Academics and historians agree that the choice of Tagalog over these two major languages resulted in tensions in the ethnolinguistic sphere within the already politically-charged issue of national language; for years, this created a hindrance to achieving unity through language among the different regions of the country. In order to ameliorate the circumstances, the Department of Education issued a memorandum in 1949, changing the name of the national language to Pilipino in order to move away from the perceived, and unfair, preference for Tagalog (Tupas & Lorente 2013, Yamamoto 2007). Interestingly, according to Andrew B. Gonzalez, author of *Language and nationalism: the Philippine experience thus far*, Tagalog and Pilipino are one and the same; the change was merely an attempt to ‘de-ethnicize’ the national language and implement nationhood without alienating the speakers of lesser politically-powerful languages (1980). Pilipino held its title as the country’s national language throughout the 1950s and the 1960s without much political debate. In the early 1970s, however, linguistic unrest rose up again during the rewriting of the Philippine Constitution. That year, the national language changed to ‘Filipino’, then a non-existent term, under the provision of Article XV of the 1973 constitution. This stated that:

The National Assembly shall take steps towards the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino.

A cunning move among the country’s National Assembly, politicians deemed the new
language of ‘Filipino’ to be revolutionary in its intended inclusion and unification of multiple Philippine languages. Both ambitious and controversial, this plan for the ‘development and formal adoption of a common national language’ called for the integration of syntactic structures and lexicon from other Philippine languages into a Tagalog base. Despite what history books have written, however, the reality of this revision depicts a different story: while the national language seemed to change in paper, with different concepts and sentiments behind ‘Tagalog’, ‘Pilipino’, and ‘Filipino’, the country essentially maintained a Tagalog-based language under many names. In short, previous addendums and constitutional revisions were merely a facade to implement a political compromise among the National Assembly; there were never formal alterations to the Tagalog syntax or lexicon. The promotions of Tagalog in 1937, Pilipino in 1949, and Filipino in 1974 depicted the struggle to address changing linguistic ideologies.¹ The government commandeered these alterations in order to deal with the issue of language in two areas: internally, they appeased the speakers and proponents of languages like Bisaya and Cebuano in what appeared to be a disfavoring of Tagalog, and externally, they attempted to portray unity and self-governance through the promotion of a national language in the post-colonial era. This constant struggle to theoretically unify the nation through language became apparent in various education policies in the Philippines.

In the article “Nation-Building and Integration Policy in the Philippines,” Kazuya Yamamoto analyzes the history of integration policies in the country (2007). He finds that the independent Philippine government has employed two different strategies in nation-building through education policies: first formalizing the national language itself as a
subject in all schools and second, using it as the actual medium of instruction for other subjects. While the former has been an endeavor easily implemented since the country gained its independence from the United States, the latter has proved to be more of a challenge. Citing Gonzalez’ studies, Yamamoto reiterates that the first attempt on actualizing the second type of policy was in 1969, when the Board of Education attempted to utilize Tagalog as the medium of instruction nationwide, but failed to do so due to the lack of funding for material and instructors (Yamamoto 2007: 205). Around this time, the National Language Institute promoted the use of the regions’ indigenous languages to teach up to the second grade, Tagalog for the following upper levels, and English solely for the subject in the natural sciences. Then, in 1973, the Marcos Administration approved the Bilingual Education Policy in an effort to spread Tagalog as well as the recently added language of English - popularizing the two national languages of the country in order to achieve the self-explanatory goal of the policy. This attempt to completely prohibit instruction in indigenous languages, while maintaining the use of Tagalog as the mode of instruction for subjects other than the natural sciences, which promoted the use of English. The latter portion of the policy proved itself to be more sensible and achievable due to the inherently foreign terms and concepts in math and sciences. Like other education and language policies, however, the government failed to fully implement the changes throughout the nation, especially concerning the first part of the policy - advocating for the use of Tagalog as the sole language of instruction in all schools. This failure is again accounted to the lack of resources in achieving an especially unrealistic goal of national integration through the promotion of languages that the majority of the nation is unfamiliar
with. In fact, according to Yamamoto’s calculations, the successes of integration policies estimate the population of Tagalog speakers to be a mere 19.4 percent in 1948, the year of its independence, and a projected 28.9 percent in 2050, placing Tagalog-proficiency below a third of the nation (2007: 208). Naturally, given the multitude of languages and dialects that exist in the country, the strict promotion of one Philippine language and disregard for other local ones seem harsh, dictatorial, and beyond ambitious. With this record of numerous failed policies, Yamamoto’s analysis then suggests that instead of merely teaching Tagalog, or even using it as the primary mode of instruction as a way of inducing national unity, “the Philippine government needs to consider more the second type of integration policy that enables the creation of a state where diverse groups can coexist, instead of pursuing the forced national integration by the first type of policy” (2007: 210). He proposes the creation of a multiculturalist policy, an idea that has gained popularity and success in both developing and already developed countries in Europe and the Americas. Indeed, multiculturalism would suit the Philippines better in its approach that promotes unity outside of a language-focused coordination policy, acknowledging and enabling the coexistence of languages, cultures, and beliefs of the various ethnic groups of one nation (2007). This historical account and analysis of the Philippine languages, of Tagalog in particular, reveals the controversial topic of language ideology in the nation. Its education policies lend evidence that centuries of colonialism has left the country desiring for methods with which to foster unity and proclaim self-governance. Unfortunately, nation-building mobilized through linguistic means still has not reached fruition in the Philippines. While this analysis displays how forced language policies that are situated in
the political sphere highlight the divide among its speakers, an intriguing assessment of how Filipinos utilize the languages in the country’s public realm illustrates a more complex story.

Diglossia

The centuries-long colonial periods of the country has motivated inevitable sociolinguistic phenomena in the Philippines, one of the most significant of which is ‘diglossia.’ First coined and analyzed by sociolinguist Charles A. Ferguson in 1959, diglossia is:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety... which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation (1971: 435).

In short, diglossia summarizes the linguistic phenomenon where two stable languages exist, one considered to be of low prestige (L) and the other of high prestige (H). Nearly a decade later, linguist Joshua A. Fishman published Extended Diglossia (1967) to further define the areas in which this phenomenon may apply. He also clarifies that diglossia is a gradient and variable occurrence, countering the initial notion that diglossic communities function in a binary system. Another linguist, Suzanne Romaine, also expands on Ferguson and Fishman’s foundations in her 1989 publication of Bilingualism (1989). She reiterates that the language considered the L is usually the mother tongue, the language learned and
used at home as well as other informal, familiar interactions. The language that garners H is often learned later in life in academic settings and through socialization, and is therefore spoken outside the home; as Ferguson defines it, H is considered the more grammatically complex variety reserved for more formal purposes. According to these linguists, there are nine different areas where diglossia may apply: social function, social prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology (Ferguson 1959; Romaine 1989). As a country that boasts the maintenance of many languages, both indigenous and foreign, there have been, and there still are, much debate on whether Filipinos foster either diglossic or bilingual communities - or perhaps, both.

According to Fishman (1967) and Romaine (1989), both diglossia and bilingualism can occur simultaneously without assuming a causal relationship; similarly, one can exist without the other. In *Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism*, Fishman (1967) highlights the characteristics of diglossic societies that are inapplicable in bilingual ones:

Where one set of behaviors, attitudes and values supported - and was expressed in - one language, another set of behaviors, attitudes and values supported and was expressed in the other. Both sets of behaviors, attitudes and values were fully accepted as culturally legitimate and complementary (i.e. non-conflictual)... (Fishman 1967: 81).

This status of being ‘culturally legitimate’ warrants the recognition and maintenance of a stable, societal arrangement, which harkens back to socially-imposed ascriptions of H and L. This description refers to a diglossic, but not necessarily bilingual, speech community.
Linguists like Romaine and Fishman have developed a distinction between these two linguistic phenomena, “...[limiting] the term bilingualism to describe when individuals use two or more languages and diglossia to describe when a society does so” (Thompson 2003: 70). An example of such non-bilingual, diglossic community existed during the Philippines’ colonial days, where it flourished in the capital of Manila between the upper-class Filipinos, and the lower-class speakers of Tagalog and other local languages. Here, the foreign language of Spanish was considered $H$, and the Philippine languages, $L$. As mentioned in the history section of this thesis, only a small portion of the Filipino population were capable of speaking in Spanish, and were considered bilingual. This kind of diglossia fostered structural inequality, which Romaine explains is “marked not only by these compartmentalization restrictions, but also by access restriction. That is, entry to formal institutions such as school and government requires knowledge of $H$” (1989: 33). During this era, diglossia was apparent not only in spoken interactions, but also in writing, as exemplified by the personal letters and poems scripted in the archaic written system of Baybayin. Afterwards, during the post-colonial era, Spanish lexicon became more integrated into the various languages of the country, just as proficiency in Spanish lost its prestige. A more modern form of diglossia later appeared within the local languages of the country, but its non-bilingual structure continued. Most notably, the advocation of Tagalog as the national language and its concurrent popularity in Manila resulted in its branding as a high-prestige variety, $H$, as the other regional languages then became the $L$ varieties.

The expansion of Manila as the country’s center of commerce and vast economic opportunities helped embed the connotations of modernity and progress into Tagalog,
especially in the minds of provincial Filipinos who live in rural, slow-paced communities where other regional languages are spoken. This inspired the grand migration of Filipinos from rural regions to more urban areas. As a result, the most pronounced internal diglossia of the country thus currently exists in Metro Manila, with the dichotomy between the language of the urban *Manileño*, a native of Manila, and the language of the rural *probinsiyano*, a native of provincial or bucolic regions of the Philippines. Here, the pattern of diglossia-without-bilingualism is more apparent in the intermingling of the *probinsiyanos* and the *manileños*. A *probinsiyano* in Manila is often considered to be of low prestige: he or she is looked down upon by *manileños* due to accented speech or lack of fluency in the high-prestige language of Tagalog; thus, their language style reveals their status as a migrant from the provinces who often acquire menial jobs in the city. In sum, a speech community comprising of migrants with the same mother tongue would then be considered diglossic due to their assigned usages of different languages for different social situations.

This assessment of diglossia in the Philippines is significant for two reasons: it illustrates the interconnectedness of social and economic forces surrounding language, and it sets the stage for discussions of the simultaneous existence of a local and a foreign language in the country. The diglossia involving two different Philippine languages is only one noteworthy linguistic phenomenon at play; alongside this form of diglossia is the emergence of a new high-prestige language in the growing popularity of English rooted in American colonialist ideals.

**The Rise of English**
The length of American colonialism may be short in comparison to that of the Spaniards, but it does not deter from the great impact it has made on the country. According to the scholar of Philippine language and history, Andrew Gonzalez, the rapid spread of English can be contributed to “the positive attitude of Filipinos towards Americans; and the incentives given to Filipinos to learn English in terms of career opportunities, government service, and politics” (1980: 27-28). Looking back at the previously mentioned diglossic situations, English also eventually acquired high-prestige over Philippine languages. This time, just as the Spanish language signaled inclusion to the upper class during the Spanish era, and Tagalog paved the way to economic mobility in Manila, “English came to be identified with the ‘progressive’ American ideals of ‘enlightenment’, ‘democracy’ and ‘self-governance’” (Tupas & Lorente 2013). Long before its designation as the country’s official co-national language in 1973, the prominence of English in the everyday, urban life is evident even outside the educational, political, and economic realm. Fifty years prior to the Bilingual Education Policy, the media popularized English through, quite literally, advertisement of an Americanized way of life. Catering mostly to women of the emerging middle class, the 1920s saw a boom in imported beauty products and electronic appliances in the country. Around this time, beauty parlors rose in popularity, publishing advertisements in Tagalog with English words, introducing the use of Taglish in the public sphere. An example of a beauty parlor slogan: “‘flat wave, round wave, finger wave, at [and] ringlets’ and sold assorted hairdressing products to keep waves in place: ‘kagaya ng [just like] Frederick’s liquid, hair trane at Brilliantine” (Reyes 2012: 210). Written mostly in English, the advertisement targets, first and foremost, the educated middle and upper
sanchez - those who are proficient enough in English and are affluent enough to afford the services. Advertisements like this attempt to insert Tagalog words in order to attract a larger consumer crowd and impart a sense of familiarity within the fairly modern and foreign ideals. As Thompson puts it, “English, being a symbol of good character, is mixed with Tagalog to indicate the truthfulness of what was being said. It is the language of slogans, maxims, and vows” (2003: 191). In addition, historian Raquel A. G. Reyes suggests that these imported products and services convey the message that American goods embody the modern and sophisticated woman that Filipino women should aspire to be. Furthermore, she adds that luxury technological goods came to embody certain moral qualities that an individual could assert—a fine discerning taste regarding material things, even the demonstration of such moral virtues as healthful living, cleanliness, and physical good looks, and a cosmopolitan outlook... The promises [these goods] held, the possibilities they offered, brought a perceptual and experiential understanding of the good life (2012: 211)

This illustrates a parallel between the consumption of American goods and the consumption of American ideals. The appeal of innovative goods imported from the United States influenced the material culture of Filipinos, introducing products whose possession enabled its consumers access to a sense of superiority, one that exceeded the measurable display of economic ability. These imported goods lent an imagined sense of superiority through the embodiment of Western sophistication, something unachievable through the purchase of local goods, no matter how expensive they were. They paved the
way for the adoption of new moral values, especially among the rising middle class and the upper class - symbolizing what every average joe hoped to be. With this came the rise of English in the economic and social spheres, which further permeated the society alongside its promotion in the educational and political realms. Thus, the prevalence of the English language in the country resulted in a full-forced diglossia evident in these aspects of society. By the close of American rule, it had become the language of modernity and affluence; to be able to speak it was to be associated with high prestige. While these examples illustrate the gradual acceptance of English in the Philippines, later shifts in linguistic attitude depicts an intriguing portrait of the country's stance towards foreign, as well as local, forces. These changing attitudes begs the question of the future of language in the country.

The Rise of Taglish

English flourished throughout the period of American colonialism. As the first policy advocating for the formalized education of a foreign language, Ferdinand Marcos' Bilingual Education Policy received mixed reviews from the mass public. On one hand, it portrayed the administration as progressive, vying to boost the competence of Filipinos in the international market at the cusp of globalization, an endeavor that was only truly afforded by the upper class able to pay for higher education. On the other hand, many Tagalog purists and nationalists found the language to be intrusive of Filipino culture: supporting the language of colonizers in an era attempting to stabilize self-goverance seemed ironic and self-defeating. Still, the government's promotion of English had a tangible effect on
Filipinos, and many learned the language in hopes of emulating, and someday acquiring, the grandeur of the elite (Gonzalez 1980; Thompson 2003). The Bilingual Education Policy, along with many, became associated with Ferdinand Marcos’ administration. The public’s resistance to his presidency beginning in the 1960s, however, contributed to rise of the mixing of English and Tagalog, the massive development of Taglish in the country.

In *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (2000), Rafael turns to public news and cartoons in order to analyze the politically-charged ideologies surrounding Taglish in the 1960s. A well-known political cartoon strip known as *Kado*, featured the main character, a rat, and a few followers holding picket signs in protest. They scream:

(20) “Let’s make *baka*, don’t be *takot***!!!” (Rafael 2000: 117)

[Let’s fight, don’t be afraid!!!]

An example of a Taglish utterance, this cartoon utilizes code-switching to provide social and political commentary, and in a humorous way. This strip emulates a well-known radical cry from the 1960s, “Makibaka, Huwag Matakot,” which translates to “Let’s fight, Don’t be afraid.” From a political standpoint, Rafael explains that this particular cartoon is a nod towards the 1960s movement of student and women’s organization known as the *Malayang Kilusan Ng Bagong Kababaihan* (Independent Movement of New Women) or MAKIBAKA. The speech style reveals the demographics of the rallyers in the cartoon: this form of Taglish utterance is “linked to the rise of a middle-class feminist movement alongside the complex coalitions of cause-oriented groups mobilizing against the Marcoses” (2000: 117). Thus, the strip displays the willingness of the upper class to join in with the lower class in their anti-Marcos sentiments, a rare assemblage of its time. The
humor of the cartoon is portrayed not only in the accepted aloofness of this form of Taglish at the time, but also in the dual meaning of the phrase “make baka.” The word, baka, has two definitions in Tagalog: the verb form means ‘to rally together and fight’ and the noun form means ‘beef.’ Inserted into the make + verb construction, a typical formula in the colegiala Taglish jargon, “make baka” thus gains two different meanings. When looking at the verb form of the word, it assumes the Taglish colegiala construction and retains the infinitive outcome of ‘to rally together and fight.’ Using the noun form of the word, however, baka is seen as a plain Tagalog word inserted into an English-based sentence, which then simply means “to make beef.” Rafael comments that “Marcelo’s strip becomes a social hieroglyph where the conjunction and reinscription of languages constitute dense layers of historical associations articulated in novel public settings” (2000: 117). Indeed, language became a significant tool in the political functions of this era.

Thus, the beginnings of Taglish can be pinpointed to Metro Manila in the 1960s, with its conception rooted in the nationalistic sentiments of the Marcos Administration. The nationalist movement hailed for a purging of colonial traces and disassociation with the Western culture, which includes the English language. It was during this time that Taglish rose to popularity as a kind of solidarity language among its protesters, who were comprised of both the lower class, primarily Tagalog speakers, and the upper class, primarily English speakers. While it is evident that the Bilingual Education Policy sparked the spread of Taglish as it was later used as a political response, the policy was also responsible for the popularization of the mixed language in the educational settings. As Thompson notes, the instructors as well as the students found it difficult to switch from
English to the intellectualized variety of Tagalog. What ameliorated the situation was switching between English and Tagalog, and “once the educated accepted Taglish in the schools, it rapidly spread to other domains that had once been reserved for English, making it less important to use pure English (Thompson 2003: 258). This occurrence not only popularized the hybrid language among the educated English-supporters of the public, but also provided reason to disassociate English with privilege, lessening the diglossia at the time. The media and educational settings thus became the arenas for the linguistic apex of the country, with English vying to defend its high-prestige title and Taglish spearheading the cultural revolution in support of nationalism and the eventual restoration of Tagalog. While this mixture of Tagalog and English maintained a comfortable niche within the society for decades, it did not flourish without scrutiny from scholars in the country.

What’s in a Name Again?

Despite its benefits in the challenging domains of academia and politics, Taglish popularity was met with harsh criticism. At the rise of the mixed language, a number of academics, nationalists, and even Tagalog purists of the late 1960s and 1970s believed that it was simply a dilution of Tagalog. As historian Vicente Rafael summarizes, many scholars felt that:

[Taglish] reflected the ignorance of its speakers – in this case, largely middle-class, university-educated, English-speaking, Manila-based, postwar youth along with radio announcers and movie personalities…Taglish came across as a “bastard
language” designed for the marketplace rather than the task of national unification (2000: 170).

This view of Taglish reflected the lament of high-class Filipinos over the apparent ‘bastardization’ of the Philippine language. As this criticism trickled down among the mass public, the popularity of Taglish waned.

Rafael notes that the most notable, and effective, of such nationalists’ attempts to contain the mixed language is found within the discourse regarding the lower classes’ use of it. The Tagalog word ‘bakya’ became associated with this negative connotation of Taglish. Bakya is a term borrowed from the type of cheap, wooden shoes closely associated with the poor. In the 1960s, film director and national artist, Lamberto Avellana, coined the term to describe exactly the kind of audience his high-brow, intellectual films were not suited for: the lower class. The term spread like wildfire outside of the film industry. The bakya crowd embodied the population who supported Taglish, but were looked down upon for their use of it. Their Taglish speech “was characterized by an English full of humorous malapropisms. To recognize such bakya speech is precisely to see it as funny; but it also requires that one reproduce such speech, setting oneself apart from its ostensive speakers” (Rafael 2000: 174). This statement is significant for many reasons: first and foremost, it solidifies the fact Taglish was an aid for a lack fluency for both English and Tagalog speakers. Illustrating the prevailing diglossia that gave preference to English, it also implies that contempt for the inability to speak only one of the national languages just applied to the non-English-speaking lower class, not the non-Tagalog speakers of the elite class. Deliberately reproducing bakya speech reiterates the humorous verbal play that
code-switching offered to both bilingual and English-inept speakers -- something often employed in the political sphere around this time. Acknowledging the use of Taglish both as an aid for incompetence as well as a bilingual's tool in communication reflects what Filipino linguist, Maria Lourdes S. Bautista, calls the deficiency-driven and proficiency-driven code-switching (2004). She determined that deficiency-driven code-switching, otherwise known as ‘Koño English’ or ‘Engalog’ is conceptually distinctively different from proficiency-driven Taglish speakers: this speech community comprises of upper class English speakers “...who use Tagalog insertions as a way of indexing their Filipino-ness” (Smedley 2006: 40). The rallyers illustrated in the ‘Kado’ strip would fall under this category, with their colegiala code-switching as one of the notorious koño speech styles. They also include the bakya crowd, the lower classes who switch to English, however ungrammatical, in an attempt to acquire the high-prestige sentiments that it provided.

This assessment thus lends evidence to Filipino’s use of code-switching as a tool not only to enrich communication, but also to momentarily alter their conceptions of self. Since the distinction between the two types of code-switching was not recognized until the end of the 20th century, the negative connotations of koño English tainted any associations that Taglish once had with social prestige. For the general public, and many of the scholars and critics then and now, Taglish and koño English are mistakenly one and the same. For the intents and purposes of this thesis, both types of code-switching fall under the umbrella term of Taglish. The delayed acknowledgment of the separation of the two led to confusion about the necessary proficiency required to effectively code-switch. This unpopular
distinction is often an oversight that leads many, including scholars like Roger S. Thompson, to assume bilingualism in Taglish speakers.

**Who Code-switches?**

It is evident that Filipinos are witnesses to the long history of changing linguistic views in the country. Constantly influenced by forces that divide the country, Filipinos have internalized the traces of colonialism, government disagreements, and ethnolinguistic controversies; these forces permeates the currents views of Filipinos on language, privilege, nationalism and identity. This thesis attempts to make sense of the sentiments that shape the current linguistic ideologies of Filipinos in both the Philippines and the United States. In this final chapter, using my corpus, I draw from previous ethnographic research as well anthropological analyses to argue that code-switching is essentially a purposeful linguistic tool that Filipinos use with respect to identities that they currently have and entities they hope to emulate. I present a number of subgroups to organize the types of Taglish users that I have found in my data: the *balikbayans*, the *bakya* crowd, the Filipino elites, and the second-generation Filipino-American immigrants. It is too generalizing to say that all Taglish-speaking Filipinos must belong to one of these categories; but these are socially recognized identities with definable characteristics, some of which include idiosyncratic Taglish styles. What is worth reiterating, then, is that Taglish can be telling of the speakers' identity; at the same time, it can be used to deliberately portray belonging, even a fake one, to any of these groups. Thus, belonging to such groups is not a rigid assignment. With the exception of identities that depend on birthplace, a person’s
assumed or portrayed identities can change over time, along with their linguistic prowess and speech styles. Language enables its speakers to embody certain entities at any point in time, anywhere, in front of anyone - an ability that Taglish lends to its Filipino patrons.

The Balikbayans

Massive migrations to other countries are often motivated by economic or political reasons; the emigration of Filipinos is no different. Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), also known as Overseas Contract Workers (OCWs), is a term that gained prominence in the early eighties, when the percentage of workers abroad increased by 1,900 percent (Tyner and Kuhlke 2000). This migration pattern is linked to the economically challenging and politically-charged Marcos Era from 1972 to 1981, when then president Ferdinand Marcos declared Martial Law that imposed harsh, military rule throughout the country, resulting in thousands of people’s loss of basic freedom, jobs, and even lives.

In the Philippines, the search for a better future has surpassed the local migration from provincial to urban areas, expanding the movement from national job search to international. The OFWs’ participation in the international labour market, where most of their wages are remitted back to the families that they support in the Philippines, has shown to contribute to around 20% of the country’s economy’s export earnings. Author, Rolando Tolentino describes this movement of OFWs in his book, “National/Transnational, Subject Formation, Media and Cultural Politics in and on the Philippines.” He writes that “the men were concentrated mostly in the Middle East, working in the spending spree of the oil boom. Women were mostly in the centers of established and emerging First World formations - chambermaids in Europe: domestic helpers in Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, and
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Singapore; entertainers in Japan; nurses in the US; and mail-order brides in the First World” (2001: 8). Educated men and women are trading their degrees for menial jobs abroad for the possibility of higher salaries to earn. Life in the Philippines has gotten so difficult that the mothers and fathers can no longer afford to stay at home and care for the kids. The female agency in the financial aspect of Filipino household continues to challenge the conservative, social dynamics long present in the country; the emergence of female OFWs as the breadwinner of the family has become so prevalent that it has been deemed both socially acceptable and as popular as the norm. With this constant flux of hopeful OFWs leaving and returning to the country, the concept of a balikbayan rose in popularity.

*Balikbayan,* composed of two Tagalog words, *balik* (return) and *bayan* (nation), is a term that describes Filipinos returning to the Philippines. Today, it carries a number of definitions of returnees: “a Filipino citizen who has been continuously out of the Philippines for a period of at least one a year, a Filipino overseas worker, or a former Filipino citizen and his family... who had been naturalized in a foreign country” (Velasco 2009: 52). In this paper, a *balikbayan* applies to any Filipino citizen settling abroad, Philippine-born or otherwise, who has returned to the country temporarily or permanently; it is a term bestowed to an expatriate upon his return, and is commonly only used in the Philippines.

Current literature presents the *balikbayan* in two, contrasting lights: one as a symbol of betrayal and the other, of heroism. In his study of Filipino communities in Daly City, California, Benito Vergara observes how immigrants shape their identities as immigrants and second-generation Filipino-Americans not only through their personal experiences in
the United States, but also influenced by their remaining connections with the Philippines.

In the introduction of his book, *Pinoy Capital: The Filipino Nation in Daly City*, Vergara explains that

> Many of the people who left—specifically, those who left for the United States—have a complicated, ambivalent relationship with the country and the people they left behind. They are accused of betrayal, are tugged in different directions by familial and national obligations, experience nostalgia and guilt, and repeatedly turn between the homeland and their adopted country. (1996: px)

In this section, Vergara summarizes the various dichotomies through which many immigrants must navigate when attempting to maintain a connection with their home countries and simultaneously settling into their “adopted” ones. Current literature echoes Vergara’s claims that portray a balikbayan as “both a traitor to the nation, as well as a figure to admire and emulate” (Velasco 2008: 54) Since many OFWs decide to go abroad for primarily financial reasons, the duty of providing for their family back in the Philippines reflects the familial as well as the national obligations mentioned in the excerpt. For some, as long as one focuses on how these Filipinos abroad have honored such responsibilities, their prescribed identity as a balikbayan can bear the noble reputation often associated with hardworking and self-sacrificing heroes. For others, however, the entity of a balikbayan only carries negative connotations. As some historians note, “Whereas overseas contract workers are seen to return from conditions of near abjection, balikbayans are frequently viewed to be steeped in their own sense of superiority, serving only to fill others with a sense of envy”(Rafael 2001: 208). Here, Vicente L. Rafael, author of
White Love and Other Events in Filipino History, proposes the mutual exclusivity between heroic OCWs, or OFWs, and shameful balikbayan by looking at both the contrast of the different qualities of life that Filipino immigrants obtain overseas, as well as their attitudes upon coming back to the country. According to Rafael, only OFWs who have struggled abroad in can be considered honorable. He thus reserves the term, balikbayan, for successful expatriates whose main purpose of returning to the motherland is boasting. In his definition, the entity of balikbayan is wholly dishonorable - one that cannot be bestowed upon returning Filipino workers who have selflessly worked overseas; this definition is stripped of the literal sense of the word. Further intensifying such unfavorable connotation is the focus on the emigrant’s choice to move to other countries in search of jobs that pay more, in lieu of staying in the Philippines with jobs that pay less but ultimately helps better the economy; even worse are those who sever all connections from their homeland and proceed to permanently subscribe to the lifestyle and culture of their adopted countries. These factors mainly contribute to the notes of betrayal and unpatriotism tied to the term, balikbayan.

For some, the ability to earn more and assume a higher social status overseas leads to the kinds of snobbery and the sense of superiority mentioned earlier, which Vergara encounters in his study of Filipino immigrants in Daly City, California. As one of his informants describes about other Filipinos, there exists a “...general loathsomeness attributed to the upper-middle-class Filipino immigrant, whether in the United States or back in the Philippines... she calls them “Balikyabang” (1996: 148). This play on the term, yabang means ‘to boast’
*balikbayan*, reflects the heightened sense of self that some Filipinos make a point to flaunt to other countrymen both during their return to the motherland as well as their interactions with fellow immigrants abroad; this is often accomplished through common display of superiority in linguistic prowess as well as in financial and social statuses. Opposite them are the kind of OFWs that maintain a humble and nationalistic persona, thereby presenting the term *balikbayan* in a positive light.

Bearing connotations of success, heroism, and worldliness, the identity of these *balikbayans* represents a certain rags-to-riches story that continues to persuade many Filipinos from those of low economic statuses to work abroad. A survey conducted almost a decade ago reveals that around one in five Filipinos residing in the Philippines consider the country’s living situation to be “hopeless,” finding the opportunity of working or living abroad both an ideal and an attractive one (Vergara 1996: px). Despite the ongoing quests and stories of success, however, statistics show that while a daily average of 3,000 Filipinos migrate to find work abroad in order to support their families, five return to the country in a coffin (San Juan Jr., 2003). Though this number seems small, it is not telling of the discrimination, exploitations, and dangers that many OFWs have survived within the realm of international labor. Still, this horrific downside of working abroad fails to deter many aspiring OFWs, who find the mere possibility of earning money, a salary drastically higher than what is possible to earn in the Philippines, a risk well worth taking. The selfless choice to whether unknown conditions abroad in hopes of supporting families at home is the primary reason for dubbing OFWs as heroes, thus allowing the honorable connotations association with OFWs to transfer to the entity of a *balikbayan*. 
In order to avoid working in terrible and dangerous regions, many hopeful OFWs migrate to already-established Filipino-ridden areas, also known as diasporic communities. Daly City, California proves to be one, if not the most, popular destinations for Filipinos hoping to establish a new life in the United States. With a demographic of around 30 percent Filipinos, Daly City bears the reputation of being the Pinoy, or Filipino, capital of the country -- teeming with establishments, cultural events, and neighborhoods run and occupied by Filipino immigrants. In this setting, culture shock is reduced to a minimum, and the usual harsh transition to new living and work spaces is abated by others’ willingness to help out fellow Filipinos in the area. During my week-long field work in Daly City, I was able to observe the constructed environments and personal relationships that contribute to the maintenance and continuing expansion of the famous diasporic community. Although Filipino immigrants in Daly City hail from various regions of the Philippines, and are native speakers of different languages and dialects, many of the Filipinos I encountered were raised by Tagalog-speaking families. Taglish is then widely spoken in the area, making code-switching a vital part of the community.

The Balikbayan as portrayed by Media

Language plays a big part for both contrasting balikbayan figures. In terms of navigating through their acquired identities as expatriates, language emerges as a vital tool in the validation of their superiority over others as well as the preservation of their native culture. A Filipino film called “Wedding Tayo, Wedding Hindi” accurately portrays how an OFW who has recently returned to the Philippines, a female balikbayan, displays
her transformed identity through language. As exemplified by “Wedding Tayo, Wedding Hindi,” more and more Philippine movies are titled in Taglish or in pure English, even though not one Filipino movie has yet been filmed entirely in English. The title is a pun on the Tagalog word, *puwede*, which conveys the possibility for one event to happen or the ability of one person to do something. *Puwedeng tayo* translates to “It could be us” while *puwedeng hindi* roughly translates to “maybe not.” Add the meaning of *wedding* and one can gloss the title to convey “To get married or not,” the central conflict of the movie. The protagonists are two female cousins, one of which is the character of Belay, the OFW who returns to the Philippines from Japan to marry her high school sweetheart. Like many Filipinos who left the country for socioeconomic reasons, Belay reveals the need to quit her job as a teacher and move to Japan to work as a performer in order to better support her family. Before her departure, the film shows that Belay is raised in a close-knit Filipino family, embodying the epitome of the traditional Filipina figure: simple, soft-spoken, responsible, and conservative. After working abroad for three years, we see that these Filipino characteristics have been replaced with the exact opposite. A crucial scene in the movie is Belay’s arrival at the airport. Wearing heavy make up, a rather revealing and glittery dress, a fur robe, sunglasses, and high heels, Belay struts towards her family with her two OFW partners donned in similar outfits. While it is reflective of the typical Filipina OFW in Japan who earns a living as a performer in night clubs, their ludicrous and flashy outfits poke fun at the many *balikbayans* who attempt to flaunt their raised economic statuses through image, sure to display designer labels and extravagant articles of clothing even if they contradict the tropical weather in the country. Aside from her physical
appearance, her demeanor and language illustrates an altered persona. Upon seeing her family, Belay screams “Mudra”\(^{22}\) when she sees her mother, a term endemic to the Philippine gay lingo, Swardspeak. No longer demure or reserved, Belay greets her family and introduces her comrades as the *Bekis*, a term also derived from Swardspeak. Her tone and diction is also reminiscent of gay parlance: loud, assertive, melodic, and purposely comical. Gone is the soft-spoken Belay who calmly and carefully speaks in fluent Tagalog; the new *balikbayan* Belay peppers her Tagalog with both gay and English terms.

When Belay embraces her fiance, Oka, she exclaims in Swardspeak-inflected tone:

\[(21) \text{“Missed you talaga!” (Reyes 2011)}\]

[I really missed you!]

This utterance displays an insertion of a Tagalog enclitic at the end of an English phrase; it exemplifies a common Taglish construction used to display solidarity with other Filipinos in its Tagalog-final formation. Keeping up with her gaudy fashion is the kind of Taglish speech that reinforces the notion that she is a *balikbayan* - implying her transformation as a more privileged, high-class, and modern Filipino because of her ability to increase her socioeconomic stance among fellow countrymen.

Immediately following this welcome scene in the airport is a conversation between Belay and her parents that illustrates the typical reception of *balikbayans* by the families they support at home. Belay’s parents gush about her siblings’ achievements, presenting her with certificate and medals and animatedly telling her about their personal accomplishments, such as her brother’s drug recovery. They are undoubtedly grateful for

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\(^{22}\) slang for mother
what her remittances from Japan have financed. Belay responds with:

(22) “I’m so proud talaga” (Reyes 2011)

[I’m truly so proud]

not only displaying her go-to Taglish construction, but also exemplifying what Filipino films consider to be the proper sentiments of an OFW: willing and proud to work overseas in order to help their loved ones. In Japan, Belay entered an industry that promotes commodification of women, a move so prominent among OFWs that the occupation has garnered a proper term, Japayuki, along with negative connotations both in the Philippines and in Japan. Historian, Rolando Tolentino, elaborates the vulnerability of female OFWs like Belay in his claim that “...For most Filipinas, to be an overseas contract worker is to be in a triple bind: first as a foreigner, second as a woman in patriarchal societies, and third as a woman working in professions regarded as menial and even socially undesirable” (2001; 8). With the Japayuki figure faced with all three challenges, an OFW’s decision to go abroad and deliberately enter into the field almost always brands them as an heroic balikbayan who endured hardship abroad for their families back home. In order to cope, OFWs like Belay settle into diasporic communities in search of support from fictive kins. For Belay, her two sidekicks, the Bekis, make up her fictive kin. Throughout the movie, Belay and the Bekis embody the figure of changed OFWs in their aloof and aggressive personas, a facade which Belay later confesses to be a strategic move that she acquired in Japan in order to appear more self-sufficient and less vulnerable in a foreign country. The three employ humor in their language through Swardspeak and code-switching in order to portray distant and easy-going demeanors. Throughout the movie, Belay maintains
this language style and continues to interact with her relatives and friends in Taglish. At one point, she takes her fiance aside and says:

(23) “Call mo na akong ‘Maribel.’ Ganun talaga para mas sosyal,” (Reyes 2011)

[Just call me Maribel. It should be that way so it’s more classy.]

With this request to change her nickname from the provincial and Tagalog-sounding, Belay, to her formal real name of Maribel, the main character explicitly displays a desire to distance herself from her past identity. This quote is a significant indicator of Belay’s identity for two reasons: its context shows a transformed sense of self after working abroad and, ironically, its Taglish formation, though brief, belays her true socioeconomic roots. In this case, her insistence to be called a different name to appear more “sosyal” implies her belonging to the Bakya crowd, another category of Taglish speakers.

The Bakya Crowd

When it comes to the cinema in the Philippines, a correlation can be found between the movies as a national pastime and as an indicator of economic stature; watching certain movies became a determiner of economic class. Often, the bakya crowd includes those who prefer films with superficial plots over those that require deeper interpretations, those who choose saccharine melodramas over historical or political documentaries. Moreover, the bakya crowd supports films in Tagalog over those in English, frankly because most impoverished Filipino cannot afford education and thus, do not understand the foreign language. This helped the coinage surpass its usage in the realm of cinema, later becoming a regular term within the social paradigm: “The class distinctions exposed by the
word *bakya* point to another truth, and it’s this: *bakya* is a social condition—the condition of the majority of Filipinos. To be poor is to be *bakya*; what sociologists call cultural deprivation brings about the bad taste of masscult” (Lacaba 2008). The *bakya* crowd became closely and inextricably associated with the uneducated, lower-class audience who cannot speak English. The noun, *bakya*, refers to all popular things that are considered cheap, naive, and provincial; it is the antithesis of *classy*—an adjective in Philippine English used to describe all things stylish, sophisticated, and expensive. Its literal translation in Tagalog is *sosyal*—an example of Bakya jargon that Belay uses in the film. To this day, Tagalog movies and shows bear the imagery of *bakya*, while Hollywood films or foreign shows bear that of class. Thus, even with the newer sociological connotations that *bakya* carries, its association with the cinema was never severed. The practice of movie-going has since been rendered class-specific: essentially, the upper classes watch more foreign, often Hollywood, films while the lower classes watch the Tagalog productions. When it comes media, such stark division of audiences has been so consistent and widespread that spectators have been put into categories to help explain spectatorship in the Philippines.

According to Vicente Rafael, there exists various categories of audiences within the Philippine media. At the top of the tier are those who belong in the classes ‘A’ and ‘B,’ those "discerning, educated, urban, and economically well-off audiences fluent in English who watch mostly Hollywood movies and the occasional ‘quality’ Filipino film that may have garnered some kind of international reputation” (1996: 182). Below them are the audiences belonging to classes C and D who are often less-educated and are considerably poorer.
These two bottom categories primarily make up the bakya crowd. Comprising of approximately 70 percent of the population, these lower class groups are what highbrow, classy filmmakers hope to eschew at the risk of seeming kitschy or unsophisticated; on the other hand, this is the same crowd that Tagalog productions aim to please in order to earn the most revenues. In this way, there exists an implicit hierarchy in media spectatorship that solidifies classism in a society with a virtually non-existent middle class. The profit-oriented film and television industries prosper by catering to the lower classes. As Rafael summarizes, “To maintain a level of profitability, local films tend to bank on formulaic plots: melodramas, action and comedy genres, or what middle-class urban critics derisively call iyakan, bakbakan, tawan (all crying, all fighting, all laughing)” (2001: 181). It is then no surprise that the most successful movies and television shows are those approved by the bakya crowd. In the Philippines, moviegoers supporting these Tagalog films signal their belonging to the low classes; outside of the country, however, spectatorship of the same shows warrants a different association regarding economic ability. This hierarchical division of spectators is thus closely linked to the expansion of Taglish use for Filipinos both in and outside of the country. Interestingly, the bakya crowd starkly contrasts another set of Taglish users in the Philippines: the upper class.

The Filipino Elites

As the country’s co-official language occupying the high-prestige position in diglossic urban communities, English dominates many governing institutions the in the Philippines. Most of those who hold powerful positions in these political and economic spheres are of
the elite class. To be born into the upper class is to be familiar with the English language since birth, perhaps even more so that with any other languages in the country. A recent feature writing published in 2011 illustrates this trend among the affluent Filipino youths in the country. The article, written by James Soriano, is controversial in its confessional description of the shaping of his own linguistic ideology - one that illustrates succinctly the sentiments of the elite youths in their strategic use of Tagalog, English, and Taglish.

A student of the prestigious Ateneo de Manila University at the time, Soriano began his article with: “English is the language of learning” (2011). Describing his childhood even before going to school, he shares how his mother attempted to raise him in an English-friendly environment through English cartoons, music, coloring books, and storybooks. Upon his entrance to primary school, he describes learning everything in English - “numbers, equations, and variables... the moon and the stars... shapes and colors... [he] learned about God in English, and [he] prayed to him in English” (Soriano 2011). It is thus no surprise what Soriano’s first language is, and why he claims it to be his language of learning. He then turns towards Tagalog to portray its role in his life and its juxtaposition against English. He writes,

Filipino, on the other hand, was always the ‘other’ subject — almost a special subject like PE or Home Economics, except that it was graded the same way as Science, Math, Religion, and English. My classmates and I used to complain about Filipino all the time. Filipino was a chore, like washing the dishes; it was not the language of learning. It was the language we used to speak to the people who washed our dishes. (2011)
Here, Soriano gives his readers a very telling glimpse into his lifestyle and upbringing through his education. For the most part, his schools follow the education policy of the country in their usage of English as the language of instruction for math and science, but they also extend it to other subjects like religion. This flexibility, as well as the addition of a religion class, is indicative of private, catholic school education in the country. The prevalence of English in such an educational setting results in a gap between Philippine-born youths like Soriano, and Tagalog, the local national language of the country. Like he states, Tagalog or Filipino was merely a subject, and one that brings him and his friends annoyance, no less; he expresses no nationalistic disposition when speaking about Tagalog. In fact, he and his friends complain about having to learn them at school, insinuating that the language has no place or use in academia.

Soriano also illustrates the clear diglossia in the country by describing the sociolinguistic difference between the educated, English-speaking upper class, and the Tagalog-speaking, lower class Filipinos who work for them. He goes on to explain that he reserves the use of Tagalog for practical reasons, which, to his definition, are reasons that have to do with navigating the world outside of academia. It is the language he uses to speak to those of lower socioeconomic classes because it is the language of the streets. Speaking for the Filipino elites just like him, Soriano writes, “These [Tagalog] skills were required to survive in the outside world, because we are forced to relate with the tinderas and the manongs and the katulong[s]23 of this world. If we wanted to communicate to these people — or otherwise avoid being mugged on the jeepney — we needed to learn

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23 corner store sellers, honorific name for older men, like ‘sir’; and housemaids
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Filipino,” (2011). Describing an ‘outside world’ associated with such people, his narrative implies his belonging to another world imparted by being a native English-speaker.

For elite youths like Soriano, Tagalog provides a tool that helps them function in the foreign, outside world of the Tagalog-speaking public. For them, the conversants -- the Tagalog-speaking tinderas, manongs, and katulongs -- warrant the switch from their preferred language of English to Tagalog. As he also suggests, Tagalog allows them to blend in with the crowd and avoid calling the attention of muggers; since speaking in English is associated with affluence in the Philippines, it is not hard to see why English-speakers find it imperative to stick with the local language when in public. This thus exemplifies how switching to Tagalog can be motivated by the situations or locations that speakers occupy at the time. While Soriano fails to go into detail on the types of code-switching he utilizes, he does acknowledge that “there are ideas and concepts unique to Filipino that can never be translated into another” and invites his readers to “try translating bayanihan, tagay, kilig or diskarte,” (2011). From this, one can assume his use of insertion in code-switching utterances for terms of which that he finds no equivalence in English. His awareness of untranslatable concepts and ideas leads him to perceive “Filipino as the language of identity: the language emotion, experience, and even of learning” (2011), the first positive outlook he expresses in the article. Soriano, however, is not wholly convinced of Tagalog’s usefulness to him, or to anyone standing in the same socioeconomic position as he is. Admitting his status as a ‘split-level Filipino,’ whose inherent preference is of the foreign language over the local one betrays his Filipino heritage, Soriano finds comfort in his conception that “while Filipino may be the language
of identity, it is the language of the streets. It might have the capacity to be the language of learning, but it is not the language of the learned," (2011). This bears an interesting caveat in the linguistic ideology of those like Soriano: his acknowledgment of English as a foreign language, illustrates that he really does not see it as rightfully his own, despite it being his native tongue and despite English’s longstanding prevalence in the country. Throughout the article, the reader can gather the writer’s sense of belonging to the Filipino culture and language attributed to his heritage and birthplace, one that he undermines and resists through his preference towards English; this predilection roots from the association of English with learning, and Tagalog with those of the illiterate. Towards the end of his article, Soriano reiterates this association and closes with the following:

[Tagalog] is neither the language of the classroom and the laboratory, nor the language of the boardroom, the courtroom, or the operating room. It is not the language of privilege. I may be disconnected from my being Filipino, but with a tongue of privilege I will always have my connections. So I have my education to thank for making English my mother language. (2011)

This article reveals that Soriano, and the Filipino elites just like him, are torn between two languages and are constantly pulled from two different directions: one hailing from nationalistic obligations, the other offering prestige and opportunity. Those like Soriano recognize the socioeconomic advantages of English, and thus assert themselves as members of the high prestige variety of the diglossic community by choosing to primarily communicate in this language. The select instances wherein they switch to the other language, however, is of special interest in this thesis: as Soriano briefly illustrates,
switching to Tagalog can be useful and strategic to this demographic in the Philippines.

**Code-switching types in Upper class Environments**

In 1995, Maria Lourdes S. Bautista published an article on the three sub-varieties of Philippine English. Two out of the three -- *Yaya* English and *Colegiala* English -- fall under the category of code-switching, the main linguistic phenomenon behind them. Both styles operate under various sociolinguistic motivations and are utilized for a number of goals. One commonality that they share, however, is their association with the Filipino elite.

*Yaya* is term that refers to a nanny who often takes care of children from birth, very well into the teenage years. Having a *yaya* is the norm in the Filipino upper class, whose parents are often too busy with work to fully attend to their offsprings. Bautista clarifies that “although the *yaya* is typically not equipped with English language skills, being a girl from the provinces who many not even have reached high school, she is compelled to use English because it has almost become customary for young affluent Filipino families in urban centers to bring up their children speaking English,” (1995: 93). This inadequate grasp of English is then considered of the *Engalog* or *koño* variety, and thus carries negative connotations among the upper class. As the primary caretaker, *yayas* have considerable influence on the linguistic developments of the children. As such, while this speech style is attributed to how *yayas* speak, it is important to clarify that Filipino children also adopt certain features of *yaya* English. Popularly recognized from its coinage in 1995 until today, *yaya* English has permeated the social aspects of society as something that both signifies ridicule as well as prestige.
A recent advertisement seen in the more affluent regions of the Philippines demonstrates the undeniable influence of *yaya* English on the children, reflecting the negative connotations that the language variety carries. It reads:

Do you want your *yaya* to say “Bay – bee” than “beehbeh”? Say, “Bahl” than “Bula”? We at Speak Easy know how important it is for your maids and *yaya* to learn how to speak in English when they spend more than 60% of their time with our kids. (Kapauan-Guerlain 2011)

Speak Easy, presupposes that speaking proper English means speaking with a certain accent, a non-*yaya* English one, more specifically. The company uses an example that claims to fix this aspect of the *yaya* English that often permeates the speech styles of young children, especially before starting school. *Bula* is, in fact, an accented *bola* - the Tagalog word for ball; this alludes to the the typical regional backgrounds of *yayas*, who posses provincial accents that have a tendency to transfer to the children after years of provision. The ad beckons to upper class parents who deem such a speech feature to be undesirable. While *yayas* hail from different provinces and often rural areas of the country, *yaya* English has no predictable phonetic feature; according to Bautista (1995), however, some syntactic and lexical patterns are more observable.

Explicit syntactic features found in *yaya* English include deviations in tense and tense sequences, subject-verb agreement, pronoun-antecedent congruence, use of placement of verbs, and unfamiliarity with verb-proposition collocations (Bautista 1995: 93). While these grammatical mistakes are characteristic of the speech style, they show up only in utterances often entirely in English. Moreover, although these features solidify the
lack of grasp in the foreign language by those who use yaya English, the focus of this thesis is code-switching - not the grammatical errors of English in the Philippine setting. Thus, more pertinent to this analysis are the lexical features of the yaya English. Interestingly, some of these lexical features coincide with those found in the other code-switching the most observable lexical features variety that Bautista investigated: the colegiala English.

The term colegiala is a borrowed Spanish word used to describe female students often in upper level institutions. According to Bautista, colegiala English is a phenomenon “...so called because it is the kind of English spoken by young women studying at exclusive private schools” (1995: 97). A linguistic similarity that yaya and colegiala English share is the insertion of common Tagalog words into English utterances, giving major preference to Tagalog enclitic particles like ha, na, and na lang.24 Below, Bautista provides examples of such insertions found in interactions among yayas and their children, as well as those among colegialas in private schools:

ha

(24)“Don’t do that again ha because Jesus will get mad at you if you do that again”25

[Don’t do that again, okay (?), because Jesus will get mad at you if you do that again.]

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24 ha: interrogative, like ‘okay?’; na: imperative or perfective form, means ‘now’ or ‘already’; na lang: ‘only’
25 example by Bautista.
(25) “Put out the aircon ha.”

[Turn off the air conditioner, okay?]

na

(26) “Close your eyes, drink your milk, sleep na.”

[Close your eyes, drink your milk, and go to sleep already.]

(27) “I got my grades na.”

[I finally got my grades.]

na lang

(28) “You eat na lang this one if you don’t like water.”

[Just eat this one if you don’t like water.]

(29) “Go with us na lang.”

[Just go with us.]

Tagalog enclitic particles fall under two major groups: (1) temporal, which has to do with time or completion of actions; and (2) modal, which denotes moods such as desire, lament, or surprise, and are most relatable to English auxiliary verbs like can, could, and

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26 example by Bautista.
27 example by Bautista.
28 example by Bautista.
29 example by Bautista.
30 example by Bautista.
should (Gallo-Crail 2012). They “...make the Tagalog sentence sound more full and natural. Not using enclitic particles makes the language sound awkward and stilted... enclitic particles [are] the ‘spice’ of the Tagalog sentence” (Gallo-Crail 2012). Insertion of enclitic particles thus enables the speaker to easily alter meaning and enrich any utterance, including an English one, elucidating the lexical and semantic benefits of code-switching.

Besides enclitics, Bautista found that Colegiala English is also identifiable by its use of additional function words, some of which include demonstrative pronouns and conjunctions like talaga, parang, pa, and naman.31

talaga

(30) “Everyone was so happy talaga.”

[Everyone was truly happy.]

parang

(31) “It’s parang fuchsia.”

[It’s like fuchsia.]

pa

(32) “There’s this thing pa about the fat girls.”

[And in addition, there’s this thing about fat girls.]

naman

31 ‘truly’, ‘as if’ or like, inflected ‘more’ or ‘still’, implying protest or denial
(33) He’s not like that naman.

Just like modal enclitic particles, these insertions provide a kind of lexical and semantic boost to an English utterance, truly adding a ‘spice’ to an otherwise straightforward sentence. Another feature found in colegiala English is the well-known construction of ‘make + a Tagalog content word,’ or ‘get + a Tagalog content word’ which Bautista exemplifies below:

(34) “Oh, the one, this person who got sagasaan...”
[Oh, the one, this person who got ran over...]

(35) Make kwento. How did it happen again?
[Tell us the story. How did it happen again?]

While it is perfectly acceptable, and easily doable, to simply say “this person who got ran over” or “tell the story,” as opposed to the above utterances, it is the ‘spice’ that Taglish code-switching delivers that motivates the use of this construction. For the same reason, colegiala speech also features insertion of Tagalog exclamatives, most iconic of which include slang words like baduy, grabe, and kadiri.(Bautista 1995: 99) These constructions in colegiala English exemplify the congruent lexicalization, or mixed grammar and mixed lexicon, of Taglish.

One important factor of this assessment is the source of the Taglish corpus: taped conversations among intimate friends on a school campus, which Imelda Q. Perez

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32 example by Bautista.
33 example by Bautista.
34 ‘out of style’; from the Spanish grave, ‘extreme’ or ‘serious’; ‘gross’ or ‘repulsive’
gathered for her Master’s thesis. As Bautista summarizes, “…the natural switching to Tagalog (and the use of such colegiala-indexical words as kadiri, baduy, galing35) contributed to a sense of rapport and solidarity, and also a greater expressiveness to their language” (1995: 101). Thus, this speech style suggests that certain linguistic idiosyncrasies arise through code-switching. While these exemplify the use of code-switching to assert a specific meaning through the use of simple insertions and Taglish constructions, they are neither telling of a speaker’s bilingualism or incompetence in one language. In fact, this judgment rests on the syntactic permissibility of the English constructions found in the same utterances; previous or perceived knowledge of the speaker’s proficiency in either English or Tagalog; or perhaps their accent, which would be entirely based on the preconceived notions that tie certain accents with certain identities in the Philippine socio-cultural setting.

At a glance, the speech styles of those who use yaya and colegiala Englishes closely resemble each other in their insertion of a select Tagalog words into English sentences. The vital difference between the two, however, is language proficiency of the speakers. Those who speak yaya English do so because their occupation requires the use of a language foreign to them, their unfamiliarity with English is evident in their syntactical errors and reliance on Tagalog insertions to assert intended meanings. To them, code-switching is a crutch. Those who speak colegiala English, on the other hand, exhibit a deliberately chosen speech style that utilizes insertion and unique Taglish constructions purposefully; it emerges in certain environments, among specific conversants, and used in

35 exclamative, like ‘how cool!’
certain topics. To them, code-switching is a choice. This dichotomy between Taglish as a crutch and Taglish as a communication enricher is also present in another demographic of Filipino speakers: those who live in the United States.

**The Second Generation Americans**

For diasporic communities, establishing one’s identity is dependent on subscription to an array of cultural markers. Many of those living in diasporic communities are also second-generation immigrants, or U.S.-born children of at least one first-generation immigrant parent. For this thesis, all U.S.-born descendants of first-generation immigrants fall under the category of second-generation Americans, whether they be children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and so on; what is important to note is that they are not emigrants from Philippines, but are raised by people who were.

The Pew Research Center for Social and Demographic Trends recently released their analysis on the 2012 U.S. Census Bureau data regarding second-generation Americans. According to their data, about half of today’s immigrant adults are comprised of those of second-generation Hispanic and Asian Americans. Furthermore, “[they] have higher incomes; more are college graduates and homeowners; and fewer live in poverty. In all of these measures, their characteristics resemble those of the full U.S. adult population” (Pew Research Center). This demographic is more likely to self-report as “typical American,” with nine out of ten proficient in English. Interestingly, the Pews’ study on this subset of second-generation adults found one differing characteristic between the two: while 80 percent of Hispanics of this category are capable of speaking their ancestral
language conversationally, only 40 percent of Asians are able to do so (Pew Research Center). Many factors contribute to this difference, including the population size of the immigrants, the prominence of Spanish in the United States compared to that of the variety of Asian languages, and the wide offering of Spanish language education over other foreign languages in schools. While it is not the goal of this thesis to delve into reasons behind the language differences among all immigrants currently living in the country, it is worth examining the factors that shape the specific linguistic ideology of Filipinos living in the United States, especially those who are second-generation immigrants. Just like the balikbayan and the bakya crowd, Taglish plays an important role in the conception of self for these Filipinos.

The main difference between balikbayan and second-generation Filipino Americans is birthplace: the former are often Philippine-born emigrants, while the latter are born in the United States. With these definitions in mind, the two are deemed mutually exclusive. As shown earlier in this thesis, previous literature identifies a number of sociolinguistic issues that have arisen due to balikbayan’s emigration from their homeland to another country abroad, and back. While this movement does not apply to second-generation Filipino-Americans, the term has sometimes been used to describe children of balikbayan when the entire family visits the Philippines. This mislabeling coincides with the extension of the meanings and reputations that the term holds.

Benito Vergara’s ethnographic study of Daly City, California serves as one of the most informative sources of the Philippine diasporic ways of life in the United States. According to Vergara, many first-generation immigrants avoid speaking to their children in
their Philippine languages in fear of hindering their English or raising them with foreign accents; they hope that speaking only in English would make way for smoother assimilation into the American culture (2009: 65). These beliefs reinforce the sentiments of betrayal that nationalists feel about expatriates due to their refusal to pass down the language to their sons and daughters. Other scholars clarify that “...[this] sense of ‘betrayal’ may or may not transfer to the children of Philippine expatriates. Although viewed with both envy and scorn for their inherent and inherited social capital, Filipino Americans who were born and/or raised in the States have a different relationship to this narrative of national betrayal” (Velasco 2008: 56). Indeed, second-generation immigrants still inherit some negative connotations associated with expatriates, even though they do not possess the same agency that their immigrant ancestors do. They do, however, have the agency to retrace and reclaim their heritage. Through the eyes of many Filipinos living both in and outside of the country, this is a responsibility that every child of Filipino descent should fulfill, no matter their birthplace. Scholars of Philippine culture have observed this reliance on language as a marker of Filipino identity in diasporic communities (Thompson 2009; Velasco 2008; Vergara 2008); it is a disposition that the data gathered for this thesis also supports.

As one of Vergara's informants claims, it is imperative to strike a balance between the Filipino and American identities. Aside from their proficiencies in Tagalog, she relied on food as one of the major contributors to maintaining Filipino heritage. The informant felt that one of her grandchildren was more American “in orientation” due to her predilection for American food, contrasting the other grandchild whom she deems to be more Filipino due to her preference for rice - a staple in Philippine cuisine (2009: 65). Like her, many of the
participants of this thesis' questionnaire referred to food as one of the key things that allow them to maintain their Filipino culture. Aside from language and food, other markers of identity that participants listed include practice of the Catholic religion, support of Filipino music, keeping up with Philippine current events, partaking in cultural events in affinity groups, and subscription to The Filipino Channel or TFC. These thrive in diasporic communities, enabling first-generation immigrants a sense of home amidst the once-foreign, American culture. One of my informants from Daly City, whom I will refer to as Nadine, exemplifies the importance of these markers in the constant negotiations of identity that many Filipino immigrants currently experience.

When asked about the frequency with which she uses Taglish within her community, as well as her children’s responses when she speaks it to them at home, Nadine answers,

*Oo, yes, Taglish. Kasi ayaw nila, parang ikaw, ayaw nilang mawala yung Tagalog... Even on Skype or Facetime or phone. Tagalog talaga... I do not think there will be a sentence at home that we will not mix with a Tagalog word. And then, in this community in Daly City, it’s even harder to talk in English ng dire-direcho because people here mix it, especially if they’re not white (personal interview with author, December 11, 2012).*

[Yes, yes, Taglish. Because they refuse, just like you, to forget Tagalog. Even on Skype or Facetime or phone. It’s really in Tagalog. I do not think there will be a sentence at home that we do not mix with a Tagalog word. And then, in this community in Daly City, it’s even harder to speak solely in English because people here mix it, especially if they’re not white.]
Nadine’s children, who were born and raised in the United States, represent a rare subset of second-generation Filipino immigrants: they were raised in a household that put considerable effort into familiarizing their offsprings with their mother tongue, and, even in adulthood, they continue to communicate in the form of Taglish because of their own desires not to lose proficiency in Tagalog. Nadine’s statement, as well as her narrative style, perfectly exemplifies the significance of both the number of Filipinos residing in such diasporic communities and their choice of language. With the phone interview conducted in Taglish, Nadine’s language displays a considerably conscious choice to code-switch: she responded to me in the same register, not only to build rapport and bring comfort in the formal conversation, but also due to the fact that she finds it more comfortable and efficient to utilize her multilingualism. A fluent speaker of Tagalog, English, and two other provincial languages of the Philippines called Pangasinan and Ilokano, Nadine literally grew up on code-switching. Although she was raised to speak in English and Pangasinan when she was a child in the Philippines, her decades-long residency as an adult in Daly City has led to the promotion of Taglish as her current, primary language. Filipino-Americans who are both fluent in Tagalog and English, like Nadine, use code-switching as a tool to enrich speech. They continue to speak in Tagalog in an English-speaking environment not only to remain proficient in another language, but also to honor their Filipino heritage. For other Filipino-Americans who did not grow up speaking the Philippine language, however, Taglish serves a slightly different purpose.

Tom\textsuperscript{36}, an informant living in New Jersey, is a second-generation immigrant in his

\textsuperscript{36} pseudonym
early twenties. His parents, both of Filipino descent and both fluent in Tagalog and English, immigrated to the United States from the Philippines before he was born. Our interview took place in a house tastefully filled with crosses, a print of Leonardo Da Vinci’s *The Last Supper*, a set of huge wooden spoon and fork, and a Filipino flag decorating the walls. Tom shares that his parents speak to him in Taglish, but just like other Filipino American children, Tom is often able to understand simple Tagalog words and completely incapable of carrying out conversations in the language. The interview was entirely in English.

When asked about how he identifies himself, Tom quickly admits to being a Filipino-American: Filipino, because his parents innately extend this heritage to him, and American, because he was born and raised in the United States, a fact that he voluntarily shared during the interview. Even though many factors exhibit his family’s connections to the Philippine culture - from household objects, to religion, to traditional practices, to Filipino food - all of which Tom appreciates, he feels no tangible or substantial link towards the country. For him, life outside of his home has always been characteristically American; his beliefs and mindset largely conform to an American way of life. At present, he is complacent in his minimal subscription to Filipino culture. Unlike his *balikbayan* parents, who are constantly reminded and pulled by obligations to their motherland, Tom is unburdened by an inherent dual identity. While he expresses an interest in learning Tagalog properly, he is generally satisfied with his current grasp of the language. He refers to other cultural markers, like support of religious practices and cultural traditions, and eating Filipino cuisine, to identify himself as Filipino. Vergara encountered this very same sentiment among his informants in Daly City, and writes,
Cultural differences between immigrant and native-born [Americans], particularly when seen in relation to language, constitute the kernel of the immigrant predicament: to maintain a complicated balance between Filipino and American identities... The differences are also significant because they point to another level of ambivalence about belonging in America” (Vergara 2009: 61)

Tom’s views about being Filipino-American, which differ from those of his parents, reflect this ambivalence. Lacking in substantial ties to the Philippines, he is essentially free from the guilt that often burdens expatriates, and therefore does not find a need to justify or maintain his Filipino identity the way that immigrants do. His family members or friends do not oblige him to strengthen his Filipino side, and aside from this interview, he admits that he has never truly questioned his identity as simultaneously Filipino and American. While expatriates have an ambivalence about belonging in America, as Vergara states, second-generation Filipino-Americans do not experience this sentiment; they see themselves as Americans because they were born and raised in the country. On the other side of the token, having parents of Filipino heritage and passively accepting their upbringing is enough for them to identify as Filipinos as well; they see themselves as Filipinos because of their parents. While immigrants, like Nadine, are constantly seeking for ways to celebrate and maintain their Filipino identity in order to monitor the permeations of American culture, their children, like Tom, are perfectly fine with a large imbalance in their Filipino-American identity. Thus, Tom is content with his currently limited proficiency in Tagalog, and shares that whenever he does code-switch, he often uses common everyday Tagalog terms that he picked up from his parents. During this portion of the interview, he
jokingly says, “It’s *malamig*” (personal interview with author, January 29, 2013) to playfully show his Taglish prowess, yet bashfully stops there when asked to say more. He admits that his Tagalog uses are few and far between. He generally code-switches only around other Filipino friends or relatives, and usually for comedic effect achieved through insertion of his accented Tagalog. Unlike Tom, other second-generation Filipino-Americans find language to be a stronger determiner of Filipino culture, and are more proactive not only in their attempts to increase fluency in it, but also in their participation in Filipino cultural events sans their parents’ urgings. In order to analyze the role of language in this demographic in more detail, I use the data collected from the Qualtrics online questionnaire.

**Questionnaire Data**

As mentioned in the methodology portion of this thesis, the first half of the two-part questionnaire aimed to gauge the participants’ linguistic backgrounds and proficiencies, as well as their nationalistic ties and affiliation with the Filipino or American culture. The second half included twenty Taglish utterances of varying permissibility. A handful was taken from this corpus: there were tokens from interviews and shows that were copied verbatim, while others were altered. A few were examples given by previous studies on code-switching in the Philippines. The majority, however, were newly created sentences constructed through previous syntax research as well as my own familiarity with Taglish. The survey remained open for approximately thirty days, promoted primarily through word

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37 It’s cold.
of mouth and social media.

There is a total of forty-one participants, seven of whom refrained from filling out their names or ages. Those who did provide their ages ranged from nineteen to sixty years old. Nine participants were male and the rest were female. Out of the forty-one, nineteen of them named Philippines as the place where they spent most of their childhood, twenty indicated the United States, and one named a major city in East Asia. Since I did not question the participants’ origins or birthplaces in order to avoid revealing sensitive immigration information, questions about their childhood are the closest indicators of their nationalities. Despite these different places, everyone claimed to have been exposed to English before the critical age of fourteen. More interestingly, every single participant named at least one other language in addition to Tagalog; in fact, twenty-two were exposed to three or more during their childhoods. Everyone reports to be currently fluent or of native proficiency in English. Save for three participants, all of them were also at least a beginner in at least one other language.

To the question regarding language acquisition, the responses reveal that the most common language learned through formal education is English (thirty-two participants). Five participants said that they learned Tagalog through formal education. Other responses indicated French, Spanish, and Italian, while a few named Mandarin, Cantonese, Japanese, and Korean. On the other hand, the most common language learned outside the educational setting (i.e. at home, through travel, film, or music) is Tagalog or another Philippines language. Only four participants claimed not to have acquired Tagalog through non-educational means. Finally, when asked to choose the nationality with which they most
closely identify with, twenty-seven claimed to be Filipino-American, ten chose Filipino, and one answered America; three of them left this question unanswered. Among these participants, I select a handful whose answers are detailed enough to contribute to this analysis of second-generation Filipino-Americans. This group consists of six female informants, all self-reported Filipino-Americans who have spent most of their childhood somewhere in the United States, and were exposed to both Tagalog and English growing up. For this assessment, I focus on their answers to two questions from the survey: numbers (9) and (11), starting with the latter.

Questions 11 asks the informants for ways in which they maintain their Filipino culture. The majority of those included in the second-generation Filipino-American subgroup provided responses that are similar to those of Tom’s: they eat (and sometimes cook) Filipino food, uphold traditions, and practice Catholicism. One participant, whom I refer to as Marie, provided a rather enriching answer to this question. She wrote,

I was raised to appreciate my Filipino culture despite my family choosing not to teach me and my brother to speak the language. I was active in Filipino clubs in high school and college. I have learned most of the Filipino traditional dances. I am close to my family and friends who are Filipino immigrants and often we speak in Taglish.

My family and I are active in the Filipino American community. I cook Filipino food.38 Marie’s upbringing elucidates a the rather contradictory Filipino-American mindsets. One cannot help but wonder why her parents refused to teach her Tagalog, but allowed her to learn it outside their homes; they also did not stop her from joining Filipino clubs and

learning traditional dances. While it is unclear whether her parents advocated for her to join these various groups and communities, Marie's exploration of her Filipino heritage is evident in her active participation and subscription to many cultural markers of identity. It is worth noting, however, that only one other person from the second-generation subgroup and five people from the entire data explicitly wrote language as a way of maintaining culture. Many implied this in their responses that include watching Filipino television shows or listening to music, but these activities are passive and often do not require dialogue; in addition, many of these participants indicated that while they are fluent in English, they consider themselves to be beginners in Tagalog. Thus, it is possible that just like Tom, these participants do not view language as a major factor in gauging their understanding and subscription to Filipino culture. Instead, children of immigrants find other means in order to acquire and express their identities. Interestingly, while many of these Filipino-American English-speaking responders are not fluent in Tagalog, they claim to be capable of code-switching. These participants provide a number of enlightening responses to question 9, which asks to indicate the contexts wherein the participants typically code-switch.

The selected participants in this analysis indicated that ‘people in the conversation’, out of all the factors listed, motivate their use of Taglish. One participant in the survey, whom I have given the pseudonym Nora, clarifies that she switches to Taglish around, “Family, family friends, or if we’re talking about someone in front of us who doesn’t understand Tagalog.”39 Like with most immigrants living in the foreign country, speaking in

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their native tongue among family and friends provides the comfort, informality, and privacy that English fails to do so. Nora’s response also illustrates that the ability to speak in Tagalog enables them to converse privately in public places. In support of this observation, many also indicated that they switch to Tagalog or Taglish depending on the location wherein the conversation takes place, with some of them specifying their use of it at home or at Filipino gatherings. Like Nora, almost all the participants (including those outside the selected group) also stated that they often speak in Tagalog when around Filipino friends and family members, but especially around elders regardless of the participants’ relationship or familiarity with them. This is largely attributed to the existence of honorifics in Tagalog: words like po and ho are inserted in various places in utterances to indicate the speaker’s respect towards his or her conversant. Those who are more comfortable in using a non-Tagalog language can still display respect by inserting such honorifics in their English sentences.

Some participants in the group also admitted that code-switching depending on the topic of the conversation. Nora wrote, “TV/Movies -- ‘OMG sooo kilig!!’, Food names, Daily activities --- I’m gonna take out the basura.”40 Her response indicates the strategic insertions of Tagalog exclamatives and cultural proper nouns in English sentences; she also displays the seemingly random and unpredictable code-switching in her last example. Indeed, there is no profound explanation as to why she says basura instead of ‘trash’ in this utterance. Like Nora, other participants indicated television show or movies, food, and cultural topics to be grounds for code-switching. To sum it up, another informant who goes

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by the pseudonym Sadie, shared that “When speaking of Filipino culture and customs, I go from English to Taglish.”

Aside from conversants, topics, and locations of the conversations, people provided a variety of responses to what prompts Taglish code-switching for them. An interesting insight comes from a woman, whom I call Chelsea, who wrote that: “If I hear someone speaking in English with a Filipino accent, I will speak English with a Tagalog accent, or speak Taglish...” Matching the conversant’s speech style, either through accents or complete use of Taglish, is one tactic that I myself often do, and actually utilized during a few interviews for this thesis. It is an attempt to develop rapport with others, and at times, a way for me to indicate to a stranger that I am a Tagalog-speaking Filipino, which helps establish solidarity.

Conclusions

The idea to pursue the topic of this project came to me during a summer, study abroad program before my junior year in college. In hopes of strengthening Filipino-Americans’ Tagalog proficiency and understanding of the culture, the program offered its participants a structured and intensive, two-month long admittance to a prestigious university in the Philippines. Upon our arrival there, I was struck with the irony of hearing English everywhere - some conversations were peppered with Tagalog words here and there, but many were primarily and entirely spoken in English. Outside the university, Tagalog was more prevalent, but we still encountered English, and Taglish, in other formal institutions, in

restaurants, on billboards, even in television commercials. There was a select number of places where we found pure, untouched Tagalog speech: one was in the Filipino department of the university we attended, and the other was a poetry bar filled with poets whose works were written in Tagalog. Although I was already equipped with a high fluency in the Philippine language, I found myself amazed and perplexed by the deep Tagalog words that these speakers threw at us in normal, fluid, and effortless parlance. I was not the only one who found them difficult to understand; in fact, speaking entirely in Tagalog appeared to be a rarity, an archaic speech style, in the Philippines nowadays. While we had trouble looking for pure Tagalog speech, we also received a number of sermons and warnings about speaking in pure English for a number of reasons: (1) because we were there to learn more Tagalog, and (2) because doing so would make us appear foreign, somewhat snobbish, and susceptible to pick-pocketers in the streets. It appeared that outside our classrooms, the only practical, unmarked, and socially acceptable choice of language was Taglish. This experience imparted in me a greater appreciation for my native tongue, Tagalog, and my adopted one, English. Moreover, it planted itself in a perfect niche in my mind, situated in my interests in cultural idiosyncrasies and inner workings of languages. It incited a fascination that did not wane until I began my research and fieldwork for this thesis.

Through the works of various linguists and historians, I illustrated Taglish as a code-switching variety comprised of Tagalog and English syntaxes and lexica. The blending of the two is manifested in utterances that contain insertions, alternations, and especially a mixture of grammar and lexicon - also known as congruent lexicalization. While
previous research assert the importance of identifying the base language in code-switching instances, this thesis shows that this endeavor is not as relevant as the acceptance of congruent lexicalization: the creation of a hybrid language. But, this is where more questions arise. While scholars like Bautista (2004) consider the identification of Taglish as a new language through creolization, I argue that the rules that govern this code-switching variety, or lack thereof, are not as structured as those found in creole languages\(^42\). In other words, speakers can communicate with each other through a ‘broken’ and unstructured Taglish without impairing meaning. The second part of my Qualtrics questionnaire supports this argument. After providing a number of what would be considered ungrammatical Taglish constructions, results indicated that Taglish speakers are not always sensitive to the errors in code-switching. One example given in the questionnaire is shown below:

(36) *Nag-opened na daw yung bagong tindahan ng mga flower.

[They said that the new flower shop opened.]

There are two errors in this utterance. The first is the use of the Tagalog prefix *nag-*, which changes the verb to past tense, attached to the English insertion of an already past tense verb of ‘opened.’ This construction would be grammatically acceptable if Taglish required for the double proclamation of tenses in verbs. The second mistake is in the noun phrase “*mga flower.*” *Mga* is an article used for plural nouns, thus, the correct Taglish noun phrase should read, “*mga flowers.*” Out of the thirty-nine respondents asked to provide the correct Taglish constructions (if they found them awkward or unacceptable), a mere total of three

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\(^{42}\) Creoles are stable languages born out of the mixing of two, distinct parent languages. One example is Chavacano, a Philippine language that is the only Asian Spanish-based creole in Asia.
people noticed either the first or the second errors. Only two were able to catch both and successfully provided grammatically correct sentences like,

(37) “Nag-open na daw yung bagong tindahan ng mga flowers,” and

(38) “Nag-bukas na daw yung bagong store ng mga flowers.”

What many people found awkward or unacceptable, however, are forced code-switching sentences like:

(39) “It’s like killing two ibons with one stone,”

[It’s like killing two birds with one stone.]

a seemingly unnecessary insertion of a Tagalog word in an well-established and well-formed English idiom. An informant even notes:

“YIKES! ‘It’s like killing two birds with one stone.’ (Again, "bird" is commonly used - many Filipinos know what that is in English so why change bird in the original aphorism?)

However, code-switching of this kind should be deemed grammatically acceptable due to agreement between ‘two’ and ibon made possible by the addition of plural-s, a feature of English grammar. It is worth noting, however, that a limitation of the survey lies in the varying proficiencies of participants in Tagalog. While I argue that Taglish users find mistakes permissible, the low rate of respondents who acknowledged the errors can very well be attributed to their inability to understand Tagalog (in written form, at that) in the first place. Interestingly, three participants who filled out the survey did so in front me, and

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proceeded to comment on the apparent awkwardness and acceptability of certain phrases in this survey. All three are Filipino bilinguals over the age of forty, whose American accents and fluency of speech allowed me to assume their high proficiency in English. Our conversations in Taglish, however, also hinted that Tagalog was their native tongue. Upon discussing these intentionally malformed utterances, all three were keen on noticing the awkwardness and ensuing ridiculosity of sentence (39). When it came to (37), and other subtly ungrammatical sentences, however all three quickly passed by them, deeming the utterances to be perfectly acceptable. Since these informants discussed the questionnaire orally among each other, the difference in spotting mistakes in written Taglish versus the spoken form can be ruled out in this case. Another limitation of the online is the uncertainty of extending this assumption to other respondents. With these arguments in mind, perhaps it is safe to say that the speakers’ grasp of Taglish lies in the not-so-structured communicative and expressive properties that it holds, and not so much on the underlying, strict grammatical rules that come with either of the two languages from which it was created.

Anthropological analysis of this data shows that a wide array of social motivations to code-switching, including, but are not limited to:

- linguistic play and humor
- display and acquirement of socially-established prestige
- intentional display of linguistic prowess
- inclusion to a certain group
- establishment of rapport and solidarity
- ease of communication
- additional expression in language
- cultural homage and remembrance

For Filipinos studied in this thesis, both those in the United States and the Philippines, Taglish proves to be a tool for both bilingual speakers as well as those inefficient in either Tagalog or English. Aside from the linguistic assistance that code-switching offers, this speech style is associated with the conception of identity and acquirement prestige, shaping the linguistic attitudes of Filipinos in and outside of the motherland. While a preference for English is notable in Taglish speakers in both settings, the identification of Tagalog as a marker of identity prevents the foreign language from completely taking over the country. As such, Taglish displays how Filipinos are stuck in a perpetual liminal period. They occupy a transitional space, but never able to cross over: those from the United States - both immigrants and America-born - are torn between two cultures; those who speak English in the Philippines are judged by their subscription to a foreign language and their inherent, and physical, belonging to the motherland. Thus, regarding my question about the direction of Tagalog in the Philippines, I arrive at an impasse. While I assert that Taglish allows Filipinos to embrace and express their culture, which makes it difficult for foreign languages to take over, the strong presence for English and its steady promotion in the social, political, and economic realms of the country prevent the once-colonized people from completely relinquishing the colonial language. Nevertheless, as this thesis attempts to illustrate, Taglish highlights Filipinos’ meaningful use and display of language in many different ways.
Appendix

Informed Consent Statement

I appreciate your help in researching for my senior thesis research project in linguistics and anthropology. Your interview with me is undertaken only with your informed consent such as in your agreement to be interviewed by me at this time. Your participation is entirely voluntary and your privacy will be fully protected. Your name will not be revealed. My thesis will use pseudonyms for all interviews. Please feel free to terminate the interview at any point. Once again, thank you for helping me to learn more about Taglish through my thesis, . Thank you very much.
Interview questions

1. What is your name and how old are you?
2. How do you feel about living in the Philippines? Do you think about visiting or moving there in the future? Why or why not?
3. Where did you spend most of your childhood?
4. What nationality do you consider yourself, and why?
5. What is your first or native language, and what languages can you speak now?
6. How long has this language been your primary or most-often used language?
7. What code do you most often speak on a daily basis (English, Taglish, Tagalog, others)?
8. Does language use vary depending on where you are (ex. at work, at home, or in public)? If so, in what situations are each languages reserved for?
9. If so, with whom do you speak these languages? What are your relationships to them? And do they respond in the same code?
10. Do you have children, and if so, do they speak the same language(s) that you do or do you intend to teach them other languages?
11. How important is language in maintaining identity? In what ways do you think language contributes to how people portray their identities?
Taglish Survey

My name is Vanessa Sanchez and I appreciate your help with my senior thesis project on Taglish at Bryn Mawr College. In order to take part in this survey, you must be 18 years old or over. Please only answer the questions that you are comfortable with, providing detailed responses without revealing sensitive information such as immigration status. Your participation is entirely voluntary and your privacy will be fully protected through pseudonyms. If you would like to withdraw your participation upon completing the survey, or contact me for more information, feel free to send an email to vsanchez@brynmawr.edu.

Thank you for your time.

1. What is your name?

2. How old are you and what is your sex?

3. Where did you spend most of your childhood?

4. What language(s) were you exposed to before the age of fourteen?

5. List all the languages that you currently speak and your proficiency in them (ex. beginner, conversational, native or fluent).

6. What languages have you learned mostly through formal education?

7. What languages have you learned through other means (ex. family used it at home, through film and music, through friends, travel)?

8. In what language do you speak most comfortably, and how long has this been your primary language?
9. Select the contexts in which you might switch from English to Tagalog, or English to Taglish. Provide examples.
   
a. People in the conversation
b. Topic of conversation
c. Location
d. Method of communication
e. Other

10. How would you identify yourself?
   
a. Filipino
b. American
c. Filipino-American

11. In what ways do you maintain your Filipino culture?

12. Please indicate which sentences you find AWKWARD or UNACCEPTABLE by providing the closest, possible correct TAGLISH sentence in the text box. Leaving the text box blank means that you find nothing wrong with the utterance.
   
a. Grabe the injury. Kadiri to death!
b. At least kahit may accent yung English niya marunong siyang mag-English unlike sa ibang lahi dehins marunong mag-English.
c. Ang korni mo! But I love you po for making this.
d. If it was ako, hysterical na magsisisigaw na ako.
e. Kailangan namin ng sampung volunteer para sa sabado at tatlong helper sa linggo.
f. Why siya galit?

g. Why ba siya mad?

h. Why is he so pikon?

i. Nag-opened na daw yung bagong tindahan ng mga flower.

j. Ang kapal ng face niyang magpakita pa ulit dito pagkatapos ng ginawa niya sayo.

k. Ay teka! I forgot my wallet.

l. So chineck niya yung temperature ko, then she was like, "Don’t worry. That’s normal pa nga."

m. Wait lang, I have to jinggel!

n. It’s like killing two ibons with one stone.

o. Parang nakakaasar ka na, ha! Ako ay super inis na talaga sa’yo. I can’t take it anymore.

p. Nag-trainee ka noon? Tinrain ka? Why don’t you make kwento and tell us how you got certified?

q. Wow, napaka-sweet naman ng mister mo. May pa-kiss-kiss pa!

r. Kumain na me pero yung my brother did not.

s. You know those types of girls? Yung pa-demure? You know, ang damping ganun dito.

r. I’m glad that you were able to salvage that skirt that got natapunan by orange juice.
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