

Code-switching in Television-mediated Political Campaign Ads in the Philippines

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Abstract

The present study examines code-switching in a political type of discourse, particularly the television-mediated political campaign advertisement (TPCA) in a multilingual society such as the Philippines. In a well-planned and carefully scripted TPCA, the mixing of two or more languages such as English and Tagalog is not accidental. Culture may sometimes dictate what is appropriate to use in varied situations. There may be different reasons for choosing or mixing one language with another in a multilingual society. In this study, the functions, occurrences, and patterns of code-switching in a TPCA are examined and analysed. The corpus is composed of TPCAs in the Philippine senatorial elections. Some TPCAs were recorded during 'real time' or the actual time they were shown on television during the campaign period while the rest are acquired from the Internet. The occurrences of code-switching (CS) are traced and drawn from the three types of TPCA texts: the spoken, written, and sung. The structure of CS is generally described in terms of its location in a discourse, whether intersentential or intrasentential. The analysis of functions is based on Gumperz's (1982) framework for conversational functions of code-switching namely: quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and personalization versus objectivization. Despite the predominance of Tagalog, code-switching from Tagalog to English is manifested in the TPCA. Code-switching may have many functions in a discourse; some of them are 'involvement in the message', reducing social distance, or providing objective information - functions that are vital in persuasion, the overall function of a TPCA. Aside from eliciting the uniqueness of a TPCA as a type of political discourse, the present study uncovers a political genre that is reflective of its socio-cultural context through an examination of code-switching and the purpose it serves in discourse.

Keywords: Philippines, Television, Code, Switching

Introduction

Code-switching is a natural phenomenon in bilingual and multilingual communities such as the Philippines.

As listed in the 16th edition of *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, there are 175 languages spoken in the country; 171 are living languages and four have no known speakers (Lewis: 2009). Reid (2000) lists 150 languages spoken in the Philippines and classifies Tagalog as a major language among eight other major languages, namely Sebuano, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Samar-Leyte, Kapampanga, Pangasinan, Maguindanao and Maranao. As the national language of the Philippines, Tagalog is taught in elementary and high school as a required subject in the curriculum, under the course code name Filipino. Tagalog is spoken in Manila, most of Luzon (except in the north), and Mindoro.

Of the numerous Philippine languages in the country, English is considered as a second language since it is the medium of instruction in the country and it is generally used in trade and formal functions in society. In the Philippine House of Congress, for example, politicians may often conduct their formal hearings and debates in English. Similarly, English is the prevailing language in business meetings or conferences. CS may exist not only in naturally-occurring conversations but also in media such as print and television ads. The present study examines its form and function in a pervasive and interdisciplinary discourse – the television-mediated political campaign ads of the senatorial candidates in the Philippines.

There have been numerous attempts to identify and define CS, but as Romaine (1995, p. 180) claims, the problems in defining CS “continue to plague the study of language contact phenomena with terms such as code-switching, mixing, and borrowing”. Gumperz (1982, p. 59) defines CS as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical system or subsystems”. As Bautista notes (1998), “passages of speech” is vague because it may refer to a word or phrase. Bonvillain (2003, p. 355) defines it as a process that uses linguistic material from two (or more) languages within a conversational segment and retains its own phonological and grammatical patterns and constraints unlike borrowing which occurs

“when host languages adapt sounds and intonation patterns to suit their native rules”. There may be other definitions of code-switching, but as Eastman (1992 in Romaine 1995, p. 180) claims, “efforts to distinguish code-switching, code mixing and borrowing are doomed”. Romaine (1995) concurs in saying that what is important is to understand the cognitive, social and cultural processes involved in language contact. Considering all these definitions of CS, the present study adapts its own definition from Gumperz (1982), whereby any juxtaposition of two patterns of speech belonging to two different languages within a speech passage is considered code switching; thus, code mixing and borrowing are similar terms that are considered as code switching.

Amidst a rich background of research on definition alone, the present study adopts the view of Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975 in Romaine 1995, p. 124) that CS is a “type of borrowing” that can be “thought of as constituting a continuum ranging from whole sentences, clauses, and other chunks of discourse to single words, which could be inserted into a grammatical sentence”. Furthermore, this perspective maintains that loans start off as code switches, and achieve the status of loanwords by recurring over time.

The structure of CS is generally described in terms of its location in a discourse, whether intersentential or intrasentential. Bautista (1998: 130) defines intersentential as a “Tagalog sentence (with or without English elements) followed by an English sentence (with or without Tagalog elements), and vice-versa”, whereas intrasentential refers to switches to English within a sentence (and vice-versa), whether in the form of embedded clauses, phrases, or words. In the present study, since the unit of analysis is the utterance, parallel categories for the intersentential and intrasentential classification of CS are adapted. Thus the parallel category of intersentential is referred to as *inter-utterance*, while the intrasentential category is referred to as *intra-utterance*. CS in a TPCA occurs within an utterance (intra) or independently (inter) in different syntactic forms such as independent clauses, embedded clauses, phrases, and words. As discussed earlier, an utterance is defined in the present study as a sentence or a sentence fragment that is distinguished through its falling intonation for the spoken text or through the use of a period in the case of written text.

Aside from its structure, the function of code-switching is worthy of study as may be gleaned from the research outlined below.

Bautista (1999), in her analysis of code switching using email messages, found that CS was inevitable because the interlocutors had dual languages at their disposal. It was also noted that communicative efficiency or the fastest, easiest, most effective way of saying something was an essential factor in code switching. In conclusion, the study pointed out that competence of educated Filipino bilinguals and communicative efficiency were two important factors in Filipino code switching.

In a pioneering study on the pragmatics of code switching in the Philippine business domain, Pascasio (1996) investigated the socio-cultural factors affecting code switching and the dynamics of code switching among Filipino bilinguals. The study concluded that individuals who engaged in business negotiations used communicative strategies that not only relied on a good command of English but also on code switching based on an awareness of socio-cultural factors such as role-relationships, speech functions, and topics.

In the mass media, Chanco, Francisco, and Talamisan (1999 in Bautista 1999) investigated the code-switching patterns of some television hosts in Metro Manila. Their findings include the following: 1) despite the proficiency of the television hosts, CS was used in their talk shows; 2) some hosts used English as the base language for their shows, while others used Filipino; 3) the predominant use of intra-sentential CS of the fluent bilingual hosts displayed an advanced degree of language competence in both English and Filipino, based on the assumption of Poplack (1980 as cited in Bautista & Tan, 1999); 4) the noun was the most common code-switched syntactic category used, followed by the adjective; and 5) the authors claimed, without giving any figures, that CS was employed when the discussants "felt compelled to express strong emotions" (Chanco, et al., p. 34).

In another study, Thompson (2003) analysed 292 Philippine television commercials taped in 1997 and found that English was the predominant language in TV commercials. The study also noted the cultural dynamics of CS to English in promoting social messages such as the promotion of good character and fortune, and even in the promotion of luxuries like smoking, drinking, and gambling. Dayag (2004), in a survey of Philippine media, observed that the Philippine

print media were still dominated by English, although in the broadcast media there seemed to be a rapid expansion of Filipino, which may have been caused by the popularity of soap operas and the shift of news programs from English to Filipino. In a recent study on television advertisements, Gaerlan (2008) found that code-switched advertisements were predominant over advertisements in English or Filipino.

In politics, Goheco (2006) conducted a case study of the State of the Nation Address of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo on July 24, 2006. This study found that English was the predominant language used, with code-switched insertions of Visayan and Kapampangan languages for the purpose of solidarity.

Research studies have examined language choice and code-switching in various domains in society, but code-switching in Philippine political discourse remains under-explored. In particular, a significant type of political discourse such as television-mediated political campaign advertisements (TPCAs) merits a serious study concerning choice of language use and code-switching. The multidisciplinary nature of TPCAs renders an added complexity that entails a thorough examination of its code-switching features that are reflective of the disciplines of linguistics, politics, advertising, and media.

The present study aims to fill this gap by looking into the language choice and code-switching patterns in TPCAs by answering the following research questions:

- (1) What is the predominant language used in TPCAs?
- (2) What types of code-switching patterns may be observed in TPCAs, in terms of their syntactic units and location in the discourse?
- (3) What are the functions of code-switching in TPCAs?

Methodology

Corpus

The corpus consists of 60 TPCAs that were recorded during the campaign period of the May 14, 2007 senatorial elections in the Philippines. These campaign ads were shown on television during primetime viewing. The TPCAs were categorized into spoken texts, written texts, and songs. Only the spoken text (ST) and written text

(WT) were analysed since the structure of these texts, being constitutive of real or simulated interactions in the discourse, may be considered close to the adopted framework of Gumperz 1982), which was originally used for conversations. Thus the song mode, having a distinct structure of its own, was excluded from analysis in this study.

Data Analysis

First, the predominant language used was identified. Then the pattern of CS insertions were analyzed according to their form (syntactic units and location) and functions (speech acts) in the discourse.

To analyse the form of CS, the data were investigated in terms of their syntactic units, whether they are words, phrases, or clauses.

The CS insertions are further described in terms of their location in the TPCAs: intra-utterance (inside the utterance) or inter-utterance (stands by itself), as exemplified in the following excerpts.

- (1) Oo naman, *but it's cool* bukol, dahil palipat-lipat na lang tayo ng iba-ibang stasyon eh.
[Of course, but it's cool ([lump] - word play), because we just transfer from one station to another, eh.]
- (2) Pinangangalagaan niya ang kalikasan. *He's my idol!*
[He takes care of the environment]

Excerpt (1) is an example of an intra-utterance CS, while Excerpt (2) shows an inter-utterance CS. The rules in categorization lie in the location of CS: in (1) the utterance *but it's cool* is embedded inside the utterance; on the other hand, the CS insertion *He's my idol* is an independent clause and thus classified as an inter-utterance.

An important feature in the analysis of the CS is the examination of the functions of this linguistic phenomenon. Code switching may have many functions in a discourse; one of them is 'involvement in the message' or reducing social distance (Gumperz 1982, in Bonvillain 2003). The present study draws from Gumperz's (1982: 75-84) framework of code switching which is based on the functions that they serve in conversation, as follows:

1. Quotation. CS is identifiable as direct quotations or reported speech.

2. Addressee specification. CS serves to direct the message to one of several possible addressees.
3. Interjection. CS serves to mark interjection or sentence filler.
4. Repetition. CS repeats a message in the other code, whether literally or in a somewhat modified form.
5. Message qualification. CS qualifies a statement through the use of a sentence and verb complements or predicates following a copula.
6. Personalization versus objectivization. CS relates to the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact.

Results and Discussion

Language Choice

As may be gleaned from Table 1, Tagalog is the base language while the CS insertions are in English. Considering the contrived nature of pre-conceived messages in the TPCA, the choice of language may be considered intentional rather than accidental.

Table 1

Profile of language use: Tagalog and CS utterances in ST and WT

Utterances with CS	Tagalog	Total Utterances
99 (18.3%)	441 (81.7%)	540 100%

The predominance of Tagalog may be contrary to the notion that the English language is generally used in politics, media, and other formal disciplines in the country today. Both the State of the Nation Address (SONA) and the TPCA are political types of discourse that are scripted, but statistics in Table 1 show that there is a difference in their language choice. Whereas English was the popular language choice in SONAs, on the other hand the data gathered in Table 1 shows that Tagalog was the dominant language used in TPCAs. It must be noted that the corpus used in this study consists of TPCAs during the campaign period of the senatorial

elections held on May 14, 2007. A plausible explanation may lie in the peculiarities of the genres in terms of audience and the communicative purposes that each may have. The differences in medium, audience and purpose may have contributed to the divergent choices of languages and CS insertions.

First, the TPCA is not delivered in a political arena such as the House of Congress; rather, it is primarily disseminated through the medium of television and received in the home domain and other places that may be considered less formal than the political domain of Congress where the SONA is held. Although the SONA is aired nationwide, the immediate audience are the people inside Congress, which consists of the Vice President of the Philippines and Cabinet members, the Chief Justice and Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the upper and lower chambers of Congress, representatives from the diplomatic corps, and other guests inside the Congress. Thus, the immediate audience of the SONA belong to the elite in society, while the audience for the TPCA is varied and widely scattered throughout the nation due to its medium, television.

Second, the SONA and the TPCA differ in their objectives. The aim of the SONA is to inform the nation about the nation's progress and state of affairs; at the same time, there is an implicit attempt to persuade the nation of the credibility of the contents of the SONA. On the other hand, the TPCA has a more urgent goal of stirring the target audience to act and vote for the political candidate. Biocca (1991) aptly describes political advertising as having an undisguised persuasive intent. Thus, with no pretence of having any other purpose, the TPCA mimics the speech style of its target audience, a language accommodation style which, according to Bell (1997), is a way to win the approval of the audience. Unlike the 'live' political audience of the SONA in Congress, the TPCA does not have to consider any other audience but the Filipino electorate whose L1 is Tagalog. Being the mother tongue of Filipinos in general, one does not need to go to school to learn it. Therefore, it makes sense that a persuasive discourse such as a TPCA, with a target audience who speaks Tagalog as their first language employs Tagalog as its base.

It must be noted here that English was generally used as the base language in SONAs in 2008 and the previous years in the Philippines, although in the recent SONAs of the incumbent President in 2010 and 2011 Tagalog was used.

Syntactic units and location of CS in TPCAs

The choice of Tagalog as the base language does not preclude instances of CS in the TPCA. There are a total of 21 code switches that are excluded from the counting of CS in the present study. Specifically, these are insertions of English phrases that are the proper names of laws, which do not have any other translation in the Tagalog language. These phrases include the following: Republic Act 9178, Barangay Micro-Business Enterprises Law, Republic Act 9399 Tax Amnesty and Republic Act 9400 Tax Regime. In the study these are regarded as names or parts of names, which have no other terms or referents in the Tagalog language thus making their usage inevitable. Due to this nominal nature of these code switches, they were excluded from the counting of CS in the study as they do not contribute to the function of CS in interaction.

Further investigation reveals that there are multiple instances of CS within the 99 utterances; thus the total number of instances of CS in ST and WT is 127 total utterances, as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2

Frequency distribution of CS utterances in the corpus

ST	WT	Total
89	38	127
70.1%	29.9 %	100 %

The spoken texts account for 70.1% frequency of occurrence, while the written texts account for 29.9% frequency of total occurrences. This may be due to the degree of interaction in the modes of texts. The spoken text may be considered as more interactional than the written texts because of the immediate response that is entailed in dialogues. It may be true that the target audience or the electorate is not in a position to immediately interact; however, the dialogues between the social actors serve as simulated conversations between the speakers and the hearers. Therefore, the ST mode of texts entails an interactional scenario wherein CS, being an interactional linguistic feature, may abound.

The TPCA transcripts exhibit CS insertions at word, phrase, or clause level. They may also occur as a stand-alone grammatical

constituent (inter-utterance) or they may be embedded within an utterance (intra-utterance). Table 3 shows a profile of the syntactic forms of CS employed and the corresponding interactional functions in the corpus.

Table 3

Frequency distribution of syntactic units and interactional functions of CS in the corpus

	Q	AS	I	R	MQ	P/	O	Total	%
Word	0	6	1	1	32	1	16	57	41.3%
Phrase	0	0	0	3	17	2	32	54	39.1%
Clause	6	7	0	0	3	6	5	27	19.6%
Total	6	13	1	4	52	9	53	138	100.%
%	4.3%	9.4%	0.7%	2.9%	37.7%	6.5%	38.4%	100%	

Legend:

- Q - Qualification
- AS - Addressee Specification
- I - Interjection
- R - Repetition
- MQ - Message Qualification
- P - Personalization
- O - Objectivization

As may be seen in Table 3, the largest incidence of CS insertions is constituted by words, which account for 41.3% of total frequency of occurrences, followed closely by phrases at 39.1%. Most of the code switches are intra-utterance, accounting for 62.6% of total occurrences.

In terms of functions, a large number of the switchings serves the function of objectivization, which accounts for 38.4% of total occurrences, and message qualification, which accounts for 37.7%.

The syntactic units and functions of CS are further discussed in the following sections.

Word level. The CS insertion at the word level is the most predominant type of switching in the corpus. A significant finding is that 100 % of the code-switched words are content words. Further examination of the CS noun insertions reveals that the code-switched words are referential units that are used to qualify either persons (or participants in the TPCA) or aspirations of individuals or society as a whole. The persons referred to may be the political candidate, an addressee, or a third party. The interactional function of a CS insertion may be exemplified by the following excerpt.

- (1) *Amigo* ng Bayan!
[Friend of the People]

The code-switched word in (1), *amigo*, is a Spanish word that has become an integral part of most Visayan languages in the Philippines. In English, the word means *friend* while in Tagalog its equivalent is *kaibigan*. It is important to note that before English became a second language in the Philippines, Spanish was the language used in schools and formal functions in the country. Thus it is natural for Tagalog to have many borrowed words from Spanish. *Amigo* is one of these words which has become an integral part of other Philippine languages, especially those spoken in the Visayas, one of the three regions in the Philippines. In this case, linguistic necessity or a lack of lexical equivalence may be ruled out as a reason for CS for two reasons: first, the word has an accessible equivalent in Tagalog; second, the TPCA is a scripted discourse, which makes the CS a deliberate manner of expression.

A plausible explanation, therefore, is the interactional function that CS may provide in a discourse. Language, as Fishman (1972 in Mahootian 2002: 1497) notes, serves “to identify and unite speakers of the same language as part of a community or nation”. The CS in (1) seems to account for the function of expressing identity and friendship with the Visayan group in the target audience, of which the candidate is a member himself. At the same time, the word *amigo* is generally known to the rest of the electorate to mean ‘friend’, which suggests a positive quality that may be attributed to the candidate.

Using Gumperz's (1982) framework, this particular use of CS may be categorized as personalization, a CS function that qualifies the degree of speaker involvement in an utterance. The expression of identity with a certain sector of the audience creates a personal and an emotional appeal that is essential in wooing or persuading an audience.

Another function of the CS that may be attributed to (1) is the exploitation of the sound pattern of words. The play on words works well in coining the candidate's slogan "*Amigo ng Bayan*", i.e. Friend of the People. The second syllable of the switched word *amigo* repeats the first three letters of the candidate's name *Migz*. Word play is discussed in more detail in the following section.

The next utterances show the use of CS in attributing positive qualities to the candidate through words that put the candidate in a positive light.

(2) *Champion* ka talaga!

(3) *Idol*

Utterances (2) and (3) consist of code-switched words, *idol* and *champion*, that are identical with the Tagalog words *idolo* and *kampeon* which originated from the Spanish words *idolo* and *campeon*. The code-switched words may be considered as borrowed words that are commonly used these days. The CS, in these cases, may be considered as words that appeal to both young and adults alike since the Tagalog equivalent words may be considered as more formal or uncontemporary. Due to common usage, *idol* and *champion* have become a part of the linguistic repertoire of the Filipinos, although they still retain their original phonology.

The CS in (2) and (3) may be considered as attempts on the part of the sender of the message to simulate authentic conversations of the audience in attributing personal referential qualities of being a champion and an idol. The function of utterances (2) and (3) may be considered as message qualification (complement following a copula) since the terms attribute referential qualities to the candidate.

Aside from positive qualities, CS may also emphasize negative elements that need to be addressed, as illustrated in (4).

(4) Pimentel, Palaban, Gamit ang pagkabar *topnotcher* para labanan ang *corrupt* at abusado.

[Pimentel. Fighter. Armed with his being a bar topnotcher to fight against the corrupt and the abusive].

The whole utterance in (4) expresses society's desire to fight the ills in society, with an emphasis on the *corrupt*. Initially, utterance (4) qualifies the kind of a fighter the candidate is: qualified and efficient owing to his being a *bar topnotcher*. Next, the term *corrupt* qualifies the kind of fight that the candidate will engage in: a fight against the corrupt government officials, as the term has generally been used as a political term to refer to corrupt politicians or government officials.

In a similar vein, the following excerpt illustrates another negative term that is emphasized through CS:

(5) Celebrity endorser:

*Mahigit isang-libong NGO na ang natutulungan ni Kiko (1)
sa housing, mga scholarship at classroom, sa hustisya, at sa
youth development. 1*

[Kiko has helped more than a thousand NGOs in housing, in scholarships and classrooms, in justice and in youth development.]

Trabahong totoo 2

[Real work]

Hindi gimmick. 3

[Not a gimmick]

Kaya kasama mo ako dito! 4

[That's why I am with you in this!]

The term *gimmick* refers to a dubious strategy that may be employed in promoting jobs, and is negated in utterance 3.

The next utterances show CS words that refer to other participants in a TPCA, except for (10).

(6) *Mom, K na!*

(7) *Ay naku ma'am madumi eh, malalansa po ang mga kamay ko.*

(8) *Mother ni Sen. Manny Villar*

(9) *Boarder po ako sito sa Manila.*

(10) *May malaking bahay diyan, kotse may driver pa!*

In utterances (6) and (7), the CS is used for addressee specification. Again, these words have become integral to Tagalog such that most children in the Philippines today use *mom* or *mommy*

to address their mothers; on the other hand, *ma'am* is generally used by persons of lower rank in society to address their boss or simply to show respect in addressing another person who may be older. In (6), the speaker is a small child addressing her celebrity mother, Sharon Cuneta, who is often pictured as a wholesome actress in roles that depict the common person, such as that of a mother, step-mother, sister, care-giver, and so forth. In short, the image of this celebrity may be considered as family-oriented and decent. Utterance (6) may be considered as one of those typical situations of a small child conversing with her mother. In (7), the fish vendor obviously feels the superior rank of the candidate as a former senator of the country, hence the use of *ma'am* to address her. In sum, the CS in these two utterances similarly lends authenticity to the situations being depicted in the TPCAs.

The code-switched word *Mother* in (8) may be considered as a formal way of introducing the mother of the candidate, an incumbent senator who is over the age of fifty. Using the framework of Gumperz (1982), this may be categorized under objectivization. It would be odd to use a more personal referential noun such as *mommy* to the mother of the candidate with such a stature. The CS, therefore, follows the formality and objectivity that the word *Mother* connotes.

In (9), the word *boarder* is a common CS in Tagalog because of the lack of a concise term to use. The term *boarder* may be translated in Tagalog as '*nangungupahan ng kwarto*' [renter of a room], which is obviously a lengthy translation.

Utterance (10) shows the use of similar cases of borrowing exhibited in (2) to (6), wherein the borrowed words have become integral parts of the recipient language.

The following set of utterances illustrates the referential function of nouns that indicate the aspirations of individuals or society as a whole.

- (11) *Gusto ko maging teacher*
[I want to be a teacher] (T11, 71)

- (12) *Ang bawat pamilya ay magkakaroon ng graduate* (T45, 268)
[Each family will have a graduate]

- (13) *Sana kaya namin ang tution ko...* (T13, WT 1.68)
[I hope we can afford my tuition]

- (14) *Sa kasalukuyan*, one percent lamang ang budget para sa kalusugan. (T7, 29)
[At present, only one percent is (allotted) for the health budget]
- (15) Dapat may *hope*. (103) May pagasa (104) *Hope* (T17, 102)
[There should be hope]
- (16) *Order* (T17, 1.79)
- (17) *Progress* (T17, 1.80)
- (18) *Education* (T17, 1.81)
- (19) Sa libreng *pre-school*, may laban ang anak mo. (T22, 121)
[Through free pre-school, your child has a fighting chance]
- (20) Mahigit isang-*libong* NGO na ang natutulungan ni Kiko, sa *housing*, (T31, 168)
[Kiko has helped more than a thousand NGOs in housing,...]
- (21) mga *scholarship at classroom*, sa *hustisya*, (T31, 168)
[in scholarships and classrooms, in justice...]
- (22) at sa *youth development*. (T31, 168)
[and in youth development.]
- (23) Ito ang pinakamahal na *highway* sa buong mundo. (T52, 318)
[This is the most expensive highway in the whole world]

The code-switched nouns in (11) to (23) refer to individual and collective aspirations of the electorate. For example, some personal aspirations are expressed by the CS insertions such as *graduate* and *teacher*, while the other words refer to societal aspirations or concerns such as *scholarship at classrooms* and *education*, which refer to a national need for better education. The electorate's aspirations, whether individual or societal, are essential in a political campaign since they express the electorate's needs that the political candidate

attempts to overtly address during the campaign. Through code-switching, these needs are highlighted. In addition, switching to English, which is a language that is generally used for formal communication in the Philippines, lends a certain formality and seriousness in the expression of the goals. Overall, the CS insertions in (11) to (23) primarily serve the function of objectivization as the code-switched words lend objectivity to the personal statements of the speaker of the messages.

Phrase level. As may be gleaned from Table 33, the second largest CS insertions that closely follow the CS word insertions are the phrasal CS insertions, which account for 39.1%. Furthermore, the table illustrates that a significant number of these phrases serve the function of objectivization, which accounts for 32 occurrences (i.e. 59.3%), while the second largest function is message qualification, which accounts for 17 occurrences (i.e. 31.5%). The following WT utterances (with their corresponding reference numbers) exemplify the utterances that serve the objectivization function.

- (24) Political ad paid for Panfilo Lacson (WT: 1.84)
- (25) Political Advertisement paid by the Educators for Tessie Aquino Oreta (WT:1.154)
- (26) Political Advertisement paid for Alan Peter Cayetano. (WT: 1.145)
- (27) Political Advertisement paid for Mike Defensor (WT:1.61)
- (28) Political Advertisement paid for by Pimentel for Senator Movement (WT:1.231)
- (29) Paid for by friends of Vic Magsaysay (WT:1.150)
- (30) Political ad paid for by Friends of Sonia Roco (WT:1.245; 1.248)
- (31) Political Advertisement Paid for Chavit Singson by Chavit Singson for Senator Movement (WT:1.254)
- (32) Political Advertisement paid for Antonio F. Trillanes IV (WT:1.258; 1.259; 1.261; 1.265)

(24) to (32) are phrasal CS that are generally located in the last frames of the TPCAs. These utterances express the candidate's acknowledgement and gratitude for the payment of their ads with more formality and a certain distance brought about by switching to a

language that is considered more formal as it is the language of business. In addition, distance may have been achieved through the passive construction of the utterances. The phrase 'Political Advertisement/Ad' (the Receiver of the verb 'paid') is foregrounded in all utterances except in utterance (29) where the Verb 'paid' is foregrounded. On the other hand, the Agent or whoever was responsible for the payment is not reflected in utterances 24, 26, 27, and 32 while the Agents in 25, 28, 30, and 31 are backgrounded. In summary, all the above utterances indicate the object of payment (political ad), while the Agent was either backgrounded or ellipted.

In politics, monetary and other logistic support may be crucial to a campaign, especially with the high cost of campaign materials and television advertising: a senatorial election is a national election that entails a sizeable amount for a campaign budget. Thus, it may be common practice for political candidates to have donors as may be observed in the above utterances. However, campaign funds may be the source of scandals in politics, as there have been numerous incidents in the past wherein the accusations against some political candidates concern money, more specifically, the source of their campaign funding. Therefore, it would seem that the CS insertions in these utterances serve to dispel any suspicions as far as monetary support is concerned and to preserve a good image for him/herself. The CS insertions serve as formal acknowledgements of funds although the source of funds may either be unreflected in some utterances or backgrounded in some.

Compare (25) to (32) with the following utterance:

(33) Male Adult:

Thanks to Senator Recto!

In (33), the act of acknowledgement is evidently more direct but less formal than the previous examples. Although the subject is ellipted, the speaker is easily known because the speaker himself utters the text. The CS insertion 'Thanks' is obviously available in Tagalog but the preference to say it in English may be an indication of the communicative efficiency of the Filipinos in the two languages. According to Bautista (1999), communicative efficiency in both languages triggers the use of idioms or 'ready-made' structures as CS points. For Filipinos, the use of 'thanks' has become a routine structure in the act of thanking in casual situations. On the other hand, (25) to (32) are more formal CS expressions of gratitude.

Furthermore, in (33) it may be observed that the reason for gratitude is not money; rather, it is the achievement of the candidate. This may be an example of the function of personalization when the topic is on the candidate and his/her personal qualifications; but when the topic is money, as in (25) to (32), the CS insertions become attempts to show objectivity. The mode of the utterance may also contribute to the informality of the spoken text in (33). Notice that all the acknowledgements presented in (25) to (32) are written texts while (33) is a spoken text. The mode of the utterances, whether written or spoken, may also be a contributory factor in the formality of an utterance, the written being a more formal way of communication.

Overall, utterances (25) to (32) may be perceived as objective expressions of acknowledgement while the acknowledgement in (33) is more personal. This behaviour suggests that CS may be used to project formality or distance. On the other hand, when employed to insert a routine structure or conversational expressions, CS may also express personalization in an utterance, since in the latter they have become integrated in the host language.

3.2.3. Clause level

Out of the 27 clausal CS utterances, 23 are inter-utterances. One of the participant speakers in the corpus who belongs not only to the political elite but also to the social and business elite in the country, former Philippine President Corazon Aquino, has a total of three clausal CS in the corpus. One of these utterances is presented in the following excerpt.

(34) Former President Corazon Aquino:
I'm sure he'll make a good senator.

It would be unnatural for the former president, who graduated from an American university, to speak in straight Tagalog, considering her status and educational background.

Romaine (1995: 123) states that intersentential (parallel of inter-utterance CS clause) CS can be thought of "as requiring greater fluency in both languages than tag switching since major portions of the utterance must conform to the rule of both languages". However, Poplack (1980 in Bautista 1999) claims that CS is more a style in

choosing the CS mode of speaking rather than a choice of switch points (whether word, phrase, or clause).

In the case of the TPCA, there is no doubt about the deliberate choice of language and the types of CS insertions employed in the corpus because it is scripted. Seen from this perspective, the intention of TPCA to employ fewer CS utterances may be a conscious decision attributable to the political candidate's desire for solidarity and intelligibility in addressing a large and diverse group of target audience. At the same time, the CS insertions provide the authenticity that the senders of the TPCA messages aim to achieve in the discourse. Most of the scenarios in the TPCA transcripts are simulated conversations between ordinary individuals in naturally occurring conversations, if not dialogues that are addressed to the electorate, a large percentage of which is poor. Despite the conscious attempt to use Tagalog, CS cannot be totally disregarded as it has become a part of the linguistic repertoire of the Filipinos. CS may have been minimized but not totally eliminated as it renders the authenticity that the discourse needs. The functions of CS insertions (at various syntactic points) are further exemplified in the following examples.

Functions

Quotation. There are five CS instances in the corpus that express quotations. Some examples are:

- (35) APC: Alan Peter Cayetano, political candidate
Do you have an account in other parts of the world?
T5, ST22
- (36) FG: First Gentleman
That is none of your business!
T5, ST23 &25
- (37) APC:
No, it is the Filipino's business.
T5, ST24

Excerpts (35) to (37) are utterances of participants in a Senate hearing, where the medium of communication is English. If taken as dialogues in their original setting, the base language may be considered English since it is usually the medium of communication in Senate hearings. Considering the context of the frames, the

utterances are considered as quotations or sample speeches from an earlier time. In the present study, such utterances are classified as quotations from another setting (another political campaign ad) that has English as its normal mode of communication. They are not really part of the actual discourse in the transcript, nor are they dramatizations that simulate electorate experiences; rather, they are statements made in a replayed scene in another time and frame. Evidently, these utterances are extracts from another place that were just shown as a reminder of what the candidate has done in the past. In this case, the utterance “it is the Filipino’s business” is a political slogan of the candidate in another televised political campaign ad.

Another example is the following set of excerpts which are quotations from the candidate’s husband, a deceased former senator:

- (38) WT: *“All my life I’ve fought for an honest government; only an act of God will make me quit the race.”*
- (39) WT: *“One day the Philippines will rise again... and we shall all be proud that we are Filipinos.”*

Most political statements, especially those that are conveyed in more formal occasions, are predictably conveyed in English. Since the source of the message is a deceased politician who ran as President, it may be assumed that the utterances are political statements conveyed in a more formal occasion, although the time and place when the utterances occurred are not clearly indicated. In these situations, CS is used in reporting or quoting utterances in their authentic forms.

From these examples it may be observed that the quotations were employed to either refer to another prominent personality, which may be deemed as an association strategy, or refer to a candidates’s own campaign slogans for repetition strategy. These strategies may be considered as strategies in persuasion.

Addressee specification. Another function of CS is to direct the message to one of several possible addressees. The following CS phrase utterances are directed towards the target addressee, the electorate.

- (40) Joker Arroyo for Senator!
- (41) Richard Gomez for Senator
- (42) Children: *Say Chiz!*

(43) Adult Celebrity: *Say Chiz Escudero sa Mayo!*

Most of these insertions are directives for the electorate to vote for the candidate. These are different ways of saying the same message. For example, the CS insertions in (40) to (41) are conventional utterances in politics when endorsing a political candidate. They may be considered as formulaic structures in endorsing a candidate for a position. Thus, in using the utterances, the senders of the messages assume that the electorate understands that they are pleas for the electorate to vote for the candidate.

On the other hand, (42) to (43) are more informal directives that similarly plead for the electorate to vote for the candidate. The expression *Say Chiz* is based on the common expression when taking pictures *Say cheese*. This is another instance of exploiting the name of the candidate and may be considered as a play on words. These may be different ways of addressing the electorate since the audience is similarly diverse. A part of the electorate may be the more adult and serious members of society while a large percentage belong to the youth sector.

Interjection. The present study exhibits only one interjection, as shown in (44). This may be due the fact that the message in a TPCA is scripted, which allows only limited conversations in dramatizations, and the rest are monologues that are made to simulate conversations with the TV audience.

(44) Celebrity: *Hello Tol!* T9, 57
[*Hello Bro!*]

Repetition. Repetitions are usually a mnemonic strategy. They help the addressee remember the message of the addressor. In a TPCA the repetition may be in the form of a spoken utterance of the VO as a repetition of a prior CS insertion as well as a repetition of the same word in the host language, Tagalog. These utterances illustrate how the modes of the TPCA may complement each other in a frame through repetition of the same message. Other repetitions may be through the repetition of the same utterance in different modes, as shown in the following examples.

(45) *Ito ang pinakamahal na highway sa buong mundo,
the 5.1 kilometer Diosdado Macapagal Highway (WT/ST)*

- (46) *Priced at 1.1 billion pesos. (WT/ST)*
 (47) *Overpriced by seven hundred million pesos. (WT/ST)*

These utterances are repetitions of spoken texts. Aside from repetition, the CS utterances may have overlapping functions such as message qualification for (45) and (47). Utterance (46) provides qualifying information to the previous statement: *Ito ang pinakamahal na highway sa buong mundo*. Similarly, utterance (47) serves the function of message qualification by providing a comment on overpricing. The function of CS in utterance (46) may have overlapping functions of objectivization and message qualification. As message qualification, it provides additional information with respect to the previous statement, *the Diosdado Macapagal Highway*; at the same time, the CS in English provides information using the language of business, which lends a business and formal tone to the utterance.

Message qualification. CS qualifies a statement through the use of a sentence, clause, or phrase. Bautista (1999) concurs with Romaine (1994 in Bautista 1999) in the interpretation of comment as a remark or annotation that form part of message qualification. In the corpus, this may be exemplified by the following:

- (48) VS addresses JDL:
Ang tanda na natin noh T48, 288
 [We're already old, no?]
- (49) JDL: *Oo naman, but it's cool, bukol,* T48, 289
dahil palipat-lipat na lang tayo ng iba-ibang istasyon eh.
 [Of course, but it's cool [lump (word play)],
 because we just transfer from one station to another, eh.]

Utterance (49) manifests dual functions of CS in the discourse: message qualification and personalization.

Firstly, the CS function in utterance (49) may be categorized as a message qualification because it provides a clarificatory response to utterance (48). It is a remark that elaborates on the age of the celebrity speakers, in terms of their length of stay in the entertainment industry and their age, in reference to their birthdates. The clause *but it's cool* is a remark that explains how they have withstood the test of time by having survived changes in the major television networks where they have previously worked. In summary, the clause connects the

comment on age in utterance (48) to their durability in the entertainment business.

Secondly, utterance (49) serves the function of personalization, a CS function that is further discussed in the following section. In this particular example, personalization is achieved through the humour and allusion created by the word play in the utterance. For instance, the similarity in the sound of the clause alludes to the speakers' past television sitcom, *Iskul Bukol*. The allusion in utterance (49) may bring about a personal connection between the speakers and the audience, especially those who are familiar with the humour of the comical sitcom. The manipulation of sound patterns (prosody, further discussed in the Word Play section) may be described in two levels of its occurrences: inter-clausal – which is an occurrence of word play between the expressions *it's cool bukol* and its allusion to another expression, the TV sitcom title, *Iskul Bukol* – and intra-clausal which occurs between the words in the clause, *it's cool, bukol*. First, the inter-clausal prosodic relationship is evident in the rhythm and the number of syllables of the two expressions: *it's / cool / bukol* and *Is / kul / Bukol*. Besides having the same number of syllables, the sounds of the syllables in both expressions are very much alike. This prosodic relationship may easily create an allusion to the sitcom that has endeared the celebrity speakers to its audience. On another level, prosody may also be manifested within the clause; through the rhyme of the words, *cool* and *bukol*. The latter kind of word play may spark humour in the discourse since there is no apparent relation between the two words, except for the similar sound patterns of *cool* and the last syllable of *bukol*. The literal meaning of the word *bukol* [lump] does not provide any sense to the meaning of the utterance. This creative combination of code-switched words, phrases and clauses often result in fun and amusement in the discourse. In a transdisciplinary discourse that has an important persuasive goal of persuading the audience to choose the campaigning candidate, personalization through humour and allusion may be an effective way of appealing to the audience's attention and sympathy. The function of personalization is further discussed in the following section.

3.3.6. Personalization versus objectivization

This function describes a continuum of statements that establish distance in ideas or messages expressed in an utterance. Personalization sets off an attitude that may spawn solidarity with the audience, while objectivization may create a certain distance to signal the importance or seriousness of the message. For instance, utterance (50) illustrates how CS may indicate a speaker's wish to elevate a personal statement of opinion by inserting a switched word in another language to establish a more formal attitude, as exemplified in the following utterance.

- (50) *Tapat siyang public servant.*, T60, 363
 [(He) is a true public servant.]

In excerpt (50), the speaker attributes the quality of being true to the term *public servant*. The closest Tagalog equivalent to *public servant* is *tagapaglingkod*, which means *servant* although it lacks the qualification indicated in the CS, that of being a *public servant*. The use of *public servant* provides a shift from the beginning statement of opinion by providing a term that is generally used to refer to government officials or anyone engaged in public service. Consequently, the term creates a more formal attitude by elevating a personal statement through an allusion to a more formal domain, which is political or public instead of just the personal sphere of the speaker.

The occurrences of CS in the corpus make a mark through the functions that they serve in the discourse. Code-switching may have many interactional functions that enable language users to be more emphatic or detached. In addition, CS enables the language users to integrate senses from more than one language and maximize their communicative strategies. Considering the scripted and persuasive nature of the TPCA, it may be concluded that CS is used by choice not only to simulate ordinary conversational scenarios that the electorate can identify with but also to provide the predominant functions of objectivity and message qualification. It is one of the linguistic and discourse strategies that may be exploited in a political discourse such as the TPCA. In conclusion, the TPCA reflects the persistence of CS as it provides immense resources to a bilingual or multilingual society for more efficient communication.

Conclusion

The contrived nature of televised political campaign advertisements substantiates the notion that the use of Tagalog and code-switching in this type of discourse is not accidental. It is one of the linguistic and discourse strategies that may be exploited in a political discourse such as the TPCA. The use of Tagalog as the predominant language in the TPCA manifests a solidarity strategy that is vital in persuasive discourse. Although English is predominantly used as the medium in business and the medium of instruction, a sizeable number of Filipinos, especially in the far-flung areas, speak and understand Filipino better than English. This supports the persuasive nature of political discourse. To be effective, first the message has to be understood by the majority of its audience; in this case, the Filipino language is the medium that is used and understood by the majority of Filipinos. The study has shown that the use of Tagalog enabled the discussants to capture the cultural values that the audience could easily identify with.

On the other hand, the use of code-switched insertions from Tagalog to English is a deliberate attempt to reflect the reality of the language usage patterns that has developed over time in the Philippines. The persistent use of CS even in the scripted dialogues of the TPCA shows that CS has become a language feature of the Filipinos in both formal and informal types of discourse. Code-switching may have many interactional functions that enable language users to be more emphatic or detached. In addition, CS enables the language users to integrate senses from more than one language and maximize their communicative strategies. Considering the scripted and persuasive nature of the TPCA, it may be concluded that CS is used by choice not only to simulate ordinary conversational scenarios that the electorate can identify with but also to provide the predominant functions of objectivity and message qualification. The persistent use of CS in a TPCA demonstrates its significance in the discourse as it provides an immense resource for a more efficient and persuasive type of communication in a multilingual society.

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