

Tagalog or Taglish: the Lingua Franca of Filipino Urban Factory Workers

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Abstract

The present study aims to investigate the preferred medium of communication among Filipino factory labor workers. A total of 28 labor workers (22 male and 6 female) were observed for three months dating from November 2011 to January 2012. Additionally, five of them were informally interviewed. An audio-recorder was further used after the aforementioned duration of the study so as to make the findings more consistent, valid, and reliable. The results found that they favor the use of Tagalog as their primary medium of communication when conversing among themselves, their peers, and their respective families. The results would also reveal that their main reason for using the aforementioned language when communicating with others is that they would like to be socially accepted within their social group.

Keywords: Language and society, bilingual communities, code switching, lexical borrowing, Taglish

Introduction

A plethora of research has already documented that code switching, the use of two or more languages when engaged in discourse, is one of the most widely used communicative strategies by speakers in bilingual/multilingual communities (Henson & Tan, 1998; Mashiri, 2002; Bautista, 2004, 2009; Gonzales, 2004; Chung, 2006; Smedley, 2006; Piao, 2007; Rezaei & Gheitanchian, 2008; Durano, 2009; Goldbarg, 2009; Kuo, 2009; Mercado, 2010; Pagano, 2010; Ramos, 2010; Erwin-Billones, 2012). The use of this particular linguistic strategy enables such communities to achieve better communicative competence (Càrdenas-Claros & Isharyanti, 2009), helping them cater to their social needs. It could also be assumed then that the easiest and most effective way of communicating meaning in

a bilingual/multilingual country like the Philippines is through the use of code-switching (Durano, 2009).

According to Poplack (1980), there are two types of bilingual speakers in bilingual countries: the fluent bilinguals who have attained fluency, if not mastery, of both languages and are able to use them alternately in discourse and the non-fluent bilinguals who have fluency in only one language and are only somewhat knowledgeable on the other but nonetheless are still able to use both, albeit somewhat constrained or limited, when communicating with others. Those who could be considered as fluent bilinguals, therefore, are usually those who are educated as they have been trained to be fluent in one or more languages; whereas those who could be considered as non-fluent bilinguals are usually those who lack proper education, thus making them less skillful and less fluent, mainly due to lack of adequate training and experience in one or more languages aside from their L1.

Thompson (2003) and Bautista (2004) claimed that one of the main reasons why many Filipinos are comfortable in code switching between English and Tagalog or Filipino, the Philippine national language, when they communicate with others is that they had been born and raised in a community where both of these languages are mostly used everywhere as media of communication. Additionally, researchers such as Bago (2001), Vizconde (2006), and Tupas and Lorente (2011) noted that Filipinos were fully exposed to a bilingual/multilingual community after the implementation of the *Bilingual Policy of Education of 1974* in the Philippines, which recognizes both English and Tagalog/Filipino as official languages in the government, business, and education sectors throughout the country. Moreover, Henson and Tan (1998) iterated that some Filipinos, aside from their native language, were already familiar with English words from as early as 1900s. Hence, it could be said that, through these exposures, the use of Tagalog and English code switching, or more commonly known as 'Taglish', between and among Filipinos would only be natural, regardless of their social status in life.

The emergence of the use of Taglish or the alternation/switch between Tagalog and English in discourse among Filipinos (Bautista, 2004) has caught the attention of various researchers and linguists around the world. Their studies showed substantial evidence of its

effectiveness as a communicative strategy in various types of discourse among its users who had used it in their daily conversations. Thus, it could be said that there is now an acceptance regarding the use of Taglish among the majority of Filipinos both inside and outside the country.

As a result of its widespread use, Taglish, according to Bautista (2004), though still considered as a linguistic phenomenon by some, is now properly accepted as the “lingua franca in Philippine cities” as most Filipinos living in urbanized-areas of the country always tend to code switch in natural/informal conversations they partake every day (p. 226). Metila (2009) also noted in her study that the actual use of Tagalog-English code switching among Filipinos in informal contexts/settings is already considered as a proven fact and is thus uncontested. Metin (2006) and Baladad (2011) further established that it is now widely used all over the country, and, therefore, it could already be considered as the **de facto national language**. Finally, Thompson (2003) posited that Taglish could already be essentially seen and heard everywhere in the Philippines (i.e. billboards, newspapers, televisions, streets, and the like); hence, it is only natural for Filipinos, like many other bilinguals living in bilingual/multilingual communities, to code switch.

However, there are also those who maintain that Tagalog is still the preferred medium of communication among Tagalog-speaking communities, especially those who live outside the capital, more specifically in rural areas, among the non-fluent bilinguals. Researchers who had immersed themselves in studying Filipino ethnicity like Taya (2010), for instance, had asserted that while there are many other languages being used in the Philippines, the dominant medium of communication among Filipinos is still Tagalog.

Meanwhile, there is a steady rise on research being done with regard to the use of the said switch as an effective communicative strategy among Filipinos in the past few decades such as informal classroom interactions (Abad, 2005; Metila, 2009; Mercado, 2010; Ramos, 2010), informal conversations, settings and public places (Thompson, 2003; Metin, 2006; Bautista, 2009; Baladad, 2011) printed materials (Henson & Tan, 1998; Erwin-Billones, 2012), weblogs (Smedley, 2006) as well as analyses of its linguistic structure (Bautista, 2004; Tangco & Nolasco, 2002), to cite some. These studies, together with the lack of sufficient empirical data to prove that Tagalog is the

preferred lingua franca in the Philippines, eventually resulted in the conclusion of many researchers and journal writers across the globe as well as bloggers found on various websites and forums on the internet that Taglish is now being considered as the mother tongue of Filipinos. Baylon (2008), for example, claimed that Taglish has already replaced Tagalog/Filipino as the national language, indicating that Filipinos could now see and hear Taglish anywhere and everywhere in the country. In addition, one of the students in Durano's (2009) study claimed that, based on his observation, "Filipinos nowadays do not speak pure Filipino, they mix English all the time" (p.35). Moreover, one anonymous source from a public web forum (commented last May, 2005) boldly stated that using Taglish instead of pure Tagalog when editing or even creating articles is simpler, easier to understand and even sounds better since we already live in the modern age. He went on to say that those who speak pure Tagalog nowadays could be considered as "*pa-feeling magaling mag-Tagalog*" (translated as "[they] feel like they are very good in speaking Tagalog). Finally, Soriano (2011) went as far as to conclude that, based on his experience, Tagalog is not the language of educated people.

However, it is interesting to note that most research done on the alternation of Tagalog and English have mostly targeted middle as well as upper class Filipinos, or those which could be categorized as fluent bilingual speakers. It could be said, then, that there is currently a gap in linguistic literature with regard to whether non-fluent bilingual Filipinos belonging to the lower class use Tagalog or Tagalog-English code-switching when communicating with others, whose estimated number is, based on official census, over 31 million or almost 40% of the total population in the Philippines (Tañada, n.d.).

Statement of the Problem

The present study aims to contribute to the already very large number of studies done with regard to the use of code switching in bilingual/multilingual speech, in general, and, more specifically, the use of Taglish among Filipino bilinguals. At the same time, it would try to fill the gap in literature as regards the dearth of research on non-fluent bilinguals belonging to the labor work force in the Philippines. Specifically, the pilot study aims at providing answers to the following questions:

1. What is the preferred mode of communication of Filipino factory labor workers working in an urban area: Taglish or Tagalog?
2. What are their reasons for opting to use that particular mode of discourse?
3. How do these workers code switch when they use Taglish?

Theoretical/Analytical Framework

Communication Accommodation Theory. One particularly broad communication strategy widely used by many is the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) or more formerly known as Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) which was developed by Howard Giles and colleagues. CAT, simply put, is the adjustment or the adaptation of the way a person communicates with others by either copying or patterning his way and manner of speech in order to sound similar with one particular group of people in order to be socially accepted within their circle, thus firmly establishing his social identity (Coupland, Coupland & Giles, 1991; Giles, 2008; Janzen, 2012; Sand, 2012). Giles (2008), being one of the major authors of the said theory, claims that there are many different ways by which people get accommodated as well as accommodate others, namely (a) accommodation; (b) over-accommodation; (c) under-accommodation; and (d) non-accommodation.

First, accommodation or also known as convergence, is the adaptation of interlocutors to pattern their way of communication with their audience so that they would be more comfortable speaking as well as to further encourage social interaction; this could be done either consciously or unconsciously and also via verbal or non-verbal communication like “smiling or laughing at a joke” (Jansen, 2012: 13).

Second, both over- and under-accommodation are two different forms of divergence and are usually used to denote, express or establish social distance (Babel, 2009; Sand, 2012) Over-accommodation is the process wherein a person tries to accommodate someone who he considers as somewhat below his level or is somewhat inferior to him, but nonetheless maintains the social distance between them; whereas under-accommodation is the process wherein people usually stick to their original speech pattern or their manner of speaking, thereby making a newcomer who is

unused to hearing and speaking that particular style of speech uncomfortable (Giles, 2008; Jansen, 2012).

It should be noted, however, that while both convergence and divergence have two separate functions, people usually use them at the same time, albeit in a somewhat unbalanced manner. This means that these two usually co-exist with one another (Giles & Wadleigh, 2008, as cited in Jansen, 2012).

Lastly, non-accommodation is the process wherein a person entirely refuses to adapt his manner of speech with another; thereby refusing to accommodate any type of audience he may encounter (Sand, 2012); it is usually done to avoid losing one's social identity (Giles, 2008) or to avoid possible embarrassments which he may experience (Jansen, 2012).

Code alternation among bilingual/multilingual speakers.

Bilingual speakers always have the tendency to use two or more languages when conveying their thoughts and feelings with others. It could be posited that such use is due to their desire for convergence, to be socially accepted as they currently live in bilingual communities, and using two or more languages would seem to make them part of it.

The literature on code alternation has made somewhat confusing descriptions of code switching, lexical borrowing and code-mixing. Hence, there is a need to discuss these terms by turn.

Code-switching, as discussed earlier, is a general term referring to the use of two or more languages among bilinguals when engaged in discourse (Poplack, 1980; Bautista, 2004). Through this, they are able to fully express their inner thoughts, feelings, and identity (Smedley, 2006; De Fina, 2007).

Borrowing occurs between a donor (source) language and a recipient language (alternately referred to as dominant language and base language). Borrowed words, according to Mojela (2010), refers to foreign words being adopted into the recipient language's lexicon in order to understand new concepts or terms which were first introduced in a foreign language. For example, when the English word computer is borrowed into Tagalog (kompyuter), English is the donor language and Tagalog is the recipient language. It could be said that this, like code-switching, has been the result of the constant exposure of people to different languages and cultures.

Various researches on code alternation seem to suggest that while code-switching and code-mixing are widely used in bilingual communities (Rezaei & Gheitanchian, 2008), there are different understandings among researchers with regard to how they interpret and distinguish one from the other. Linguists like Redlinger and Park (1980, in Eyo Effiong, 2010), Chavez (2005), Eyo Effiong (2010) and others who had taken their stance posited that code-switching and code-mixing are the same as both refer to the mixture of elements from two or more distinct languages in a single response. Mashiri (2002), Lamidi (2008), Musk (2010), Cakrawarti (2011) and those who share their views, on the other hand, iterated that they are different in that code-switching happens at sentence-level, whereas code-mixing is at word or phrasal-level and are inserted within one sentence.

Code-mixing, most especially the insertion of single lexical items, according to Poplack (2004), seems to somewhat fit in the description of lexical borrowing in that the said switch still follow the grammatical rules of the language bilinguals dominantly use when they speak with one another. She additionally claimed that code-mixing corresponds to the theories given on lexical borrowing. Lipski (2005) further affirmed this by stating that borrowed words are still considered as part of the recipient language as these normally avoid violating the rules of the recipient language. The present study, therefore, follows the notion of Poplack (2004) in that the insertion of single lexical items of a particular language which were mixed with the recipient language and which are still able to abide with the morpho-syntactic structures of the recipient language used is considered as lexical borrowing. Hence, code-mixing and lexical borrowing are regarded the same in the present study.

Researchers around the world have been divided on whether to define borrowing as a form of code-switching or to distinguish them into two separate processes. Many researchers like Myers-Scotton (1992), Boztepe (2003) and Goldbarg (2009) expressed their beliefs that code-switching and borrowing should be considered as a single, distinct process as bilinguals tend to say words they were introduced to in English, therefore making them switch languages, in general. They also added that these two are often indistinguishable as one may never know whether a given foreign word is already considered as part of the recipient language.

Poplack (2004), Lipski, (2005), Ghirardini (2006), Nortier (2011), as well as Poplack and Dior (2011), among other linguists, however, asserted that while the use of borrowing makes a bilingual speaker switch to another language, the word borrowed which was inserted within the recipient language, usually a single item, assumes the morphological, syntactic, as well as the phonological identity of the language and therefore could already be considered as part of a speaker's L1. In addition to this, Fromkin et. al (in Ibrahim, 2006) as well as Mojela (2010) have pointed out that borrowed words could be considered as a primary source of new words as these foreign words are usually adopted into the recipient language's own lexicon.

While all these assertions have valid and logical reasoning, taking into consideration the historical background of the Philippines would clearly indicate that the English language has had a major influence in the country's language, culture and identity (Bago, 2001; Vizconde, 2006; Tupas & Lorente, 2011). Due to this exposure, many English words are constantly being loaned or borrowed into Tagalog, thus adopting them and making them as part of Tagalog's lexicon. Therefore, it could be said that there is a need to separate the two since one could somehow easily distinguish a borrowed word from the use of code-switching here in the Philippines. Thus, the present study would classify these communication strategies into two distinct processes.

Utterances, henceforth, would only be considered as code-switching when more than one lexical item has been inserted within a sentence with the exception of some terms used which could be defined as lexical borrowing (See Below). In addition, single lexical items which were found to observe the grammatical rules of the recipient language would be distinguished as lexical borrowing.

Types of Code-Switching. Code-switching has been subdivided into three different types as people have different manner, style or ways of using this in their conversations. Figure 1 shows the different types of code-switching as proposed by Poplack (1980) in her study. These are (1) intersentential switching; (2) tag-switching; and (3) intrasentential switching.

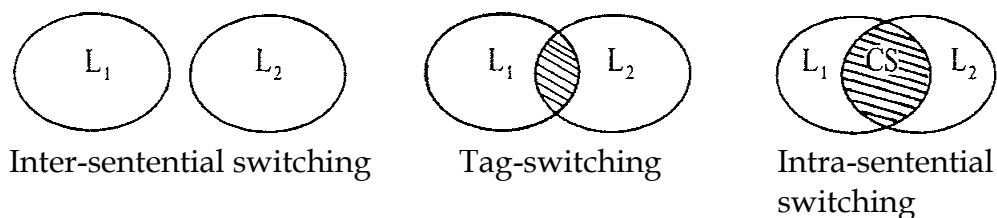


Figure 1. Representation of bilingual code-switching grammars (Taken from Poplack, 1980, p. 615).

Inter-sentential Switching. This occurs when one language has been inserted from another at sentence level (Zirker, 2007). Let us consider the examples below:

- (1) Okay kindly keep your things? *Kunin niyo ang notebook sa akin*
(*You get the notebooks from me*).
- (2) *Tatanungin ko kayo ulit* (I will ask you again). *Is there a big chance that you will get an even number?*

*Taken from Mercado (2010; 30)

As could be seen in (1), the first sentence was completely uttered in English, then switches into Tagalog after it, thereby switching at sentence level. Sample (2) also indicates how the first uttered sentence was spoken in Tagalog and then switches right back to English in the next one.

Tag-Switching. This type of alternation occurs when a tag statement, usually an expression, has been taken from one language and then inserts it into another (Zirker, 2007). Consider the following example below:

- (3) *O* what do we call energy coming from the houselight?
- (4) We see thunder...lightning..sea..*di ba?*

*Taken from Mercado (2010; 30)

In here, (3) shows the insertion of the Filipino expression 'O' often used by Filipinos at the start of the sentence and then speaks the rest using English. In (4), 'di ba', another commonly used Filipino expression to denote clarification or confirmation was inserted at the end of the sentence after positing the sentence in English.

Intra-sentential Switching. It occurs when one language has been inserted, usually more than a single lexical term, into another at word or phrasal-level (Jones, 2004). Below are some examples of the said switch:

- (5) It is not- feeding *pa rin ito* may feeding *dito* (It is still not feeding; here there is feeding here)
- (6) What is the easiest..easiest *ano (what)*, lowest term...that you could (form).

*Taken from Mercado (2010; 29, 31); translations are supplied by the authors

In the samples stated above, (5) shows a sentence first uttered in English and then Tagalog words were inserted right at the middle of the sentence to better clarify what has been iterated to avoid confusion. In (6), English was the main language used with the insertion of the Tagalog word *ano* right in the middle of the clause.

Samples of Lexical Borrowing. The above discussion distinguished the difference between code-switching and lexical borrowing as well as how they could be pointed out. For the purposes of the present study, words considered as 'lexical borrowing' are limited to (1) (technical) terms introduced in English which has no Tagalog/Filipino counterpart; (2) brands/models/products/establishments/products which were named in English; (3) position titles/government agencies; (4) Names of various places introduced or named in English; (5) borrowed words which were already incorporated into the Tagalog/Filipino lexicon; and (6) single lexical items inserted within a sentence which properly observe the grammatical rules of the dominantly language being used.

Perhaps another clear manifestation of the influence of English in both language and culture of the Philippines is that there are many English terms that were already accepted into the Tagalog lexicon and yet many more are still being used that it would be quite tedious to enumerate them all. However, since this is the case, it would take some serious amount of time to put every specific word here. Hence, the words would be categorized into its general terms. Below are the following terms which could be considered as lexical borrowing

among Filipinos (It should be noted that only those terms necessary for the study were integrated here).

Technical Terms

- a. Computer and its parts (e.g. hardware, software, hard disk, mouse, keyboard, monitor; laptop, and the like)
- b. Other computer/cellphone/smartphone-related terms (e.g. settings, contacts, phone book, calibrate, picture, camera, and the like)
- c. Mechanical (Machine) parts (e.g. [endless] screw, cylinder, mixer, crusher, pelletizer, [die head] mold, roller, inverter, socket, relay, and the like)
- d. Other electronic gadgets/devices (e.g. cellphone, smartphone, speaker, amplifier, DVD, VCD, disc, charger, remote controller, [plasma] television, and the like)
- e. Colors (e.g. pink, orange, grey, and the like as well as other color combinations like blue-green, yellow-green, dirty white, and the like.)
- f. Materials being used at the factory (e.g. Hamba (soft & hard; light & colored), orange, assorted, cap seal, vacuum, blinds (light & colored), white board, card, beruta, and the like)
- g. Office/Home Supplies and Appliances (e.g. ruler, voucher, (steel) cabinet, air-con, refrigerator, rice cooker, electric fan, printer, envelope, folder, time card, toolbox, flashlight, water dispenser, padlock, and the like)
- h. Medical terms and conditions (e.g. cancer, goiter, arthritis, high/low blood, diabetes, X-Ray, UTI, ER (emergency room), and the like)
- i. Medicines (e.g. Bioflu, Biogesic, Neozep, Alaxan, Paracetamol, and the like)

Names of Establishments/Brands/Models/Products

- a. Soft drinks (e.g. Royal, Sprite, Coke, Mountain Dew, and the like)
- b. Cellphones (e.g. Nokia, Samsung, iPhone, cherry mobile, myPhone, and the like)

- c. Products manufactured by the site observed (e.g. PE (PolyEthylene) & PVC (PolyVinyl Chloride) Pipe, rolls, plastic moulding, and the like)
- d. Vehicles (two/four wheeled) (e.g. Forward, canter, alba, mountain bike, big bike, 'motor' as in motorcycle, taxi, jeep, and the like)
- e. Establishments (e.g. Mall, SM supermarket, Hypermarket, Save more, Pure Gold, Ever Gotesco, The Block, Annex, Jollibee, Kenny Rogers, KFC, McDonalds', Burger King, and the like)

Titles/Positions/Government Agencies and Others Related to it

- a. Titles/Positions (e.g. manager, secretary, operator, boss, sir, and the like.)
- b. Government Agencies and other government-related terms (e.g. Philhealth, SSS (Social Security System), Tax, form, bill, and the like.)

English Words Incorporated into the Tagalog Lexicon . Many English words were already accepted and incorporated into the Filipino/Tagalog lexicon. Some examples of these are (1) Teks-teks (texting);(2) Kompyuter (computer); (3) iskul (school);(4) titser (teacher);(5) eksplanasyon (explanation);(6) Konstitusyon (constitution); and many more.

Single Lexical Items

These are single English words which were mixed into Tagalog sentences but still maintained the morpho-syntactic structures of the said recipient language. This is usually a combination of Tagalog affixes and English words (e.g. nagwiwiggle-wiggle, iapply, nagkadevelopan) and mostly functions as a verb (Tangco & Nolasco, 2002).

Methodology

Data Gathering Techniques

The researcher implemented the guidelines posited by Patton (1990), Hoepfl (1997), Fox (1998), Kawulich (2005) as well as Mack et al. (2005) when using observation as a means of collecting data as

they averred in their papers that using this type of method enables researchers to explore and experience the social world more and see how people react/interact naturally. Two types of observation were used in the present study: (1) *nonparticipant observation*-the researcher mostly relies on eavesdropping to gather empirical data (2) *participant observation*- the researcher helps in the tasks done by the workers, at the same time, befriends and talks with them naturally. Coupled with these particular methods of data collection is what Whitehead (2005) calls as *natural conversational ethnographic interviews*, a type of unstructured interview wherein the researcher converses with other people naturally in informal settings. This combination of multiple methods used in the present study is what Patton (1990) calls as *method triangulation*.

Participants

Twenty eight Filipino factory labor workers (22 male and 6 female), their ages ranging from 21 – 44 years, all of which could be categorized as those belonging to the lower class bracket, were covertly observed; five of which (4 male and 1 female) were informally interviewed after a permission from the owner to conduct the study was given. These workers are currently working in a private manufacturing company selling a variety of plastic products which could be located in a particular urban area in the Philippines. The pilot study took a span of three (3) months dating from November 2011 to January 2012.

Most of the participants of the present study were born and raised in different rural areas around the country from as near as Calumpit, Bulacan, which could be found in Northern Luzon, and from as far as Bukidnon, which could be found in Mindanao. They decided to take the risk of coming to the different parts of Manila or Metro Manila, leaving their respective families in the process, in hopes of attaining a better life by finding work as applying for decent jobs are very hard in the province, according to them. Only some of them were born and raised in urban areas, more specifically in Caloocan and Valenzuela City. However, many of those who grew up in their respective provinces have been in the different urban areas in Manila for more than twenty (20) years now. Moreover, most of them, if not all, could speak and understand basic English

language, although they admit that their knowledge of English is somewhat more limited when compared to others. Finally, many of them have failed to reach secondary education, while some of them have finished the said level of education, making it the highest degree they had earned. It could be iterated, then, that these have qualified them as non-fluent bilinguals as well as basilectal speakers of Philippine English.

Cultural Context to Consider

An informal interview was made among a different set of workers which asked them what they would feel about being observed or studied by another person. Their responses indicated that they do not like being studied as they view it as an insult to their social status in life. This result along with the knowledge of their cultural background were the major considerations why covert observations as well as natural conversational ethnographic interviews instead of structured interviews were used as a means of gathering data.

Also, the goal of the present study is to carefully observe how these people converse/interact naturally, the use of recorders (video and audio) was not resorted to since the recorders would essentially fail to capture actual conversations due to the noises the machines make which permeate in both factories during working hours. However, to make sure that this is really the case, an attempt to audio-record the conversations between the owner and the workers as well as the researcher's own dialogues with the workers using a cellphone as an instrument was made; but after the interactions had been said and the audio recordings had been done, the noises coming from the machines made it quite difficult to efficiently transcribe the dialogues that transpired. Therefore, the use of field notes from the researcher's memory as primary source of gathering data was utilized so that conversations could be as natural as possible during the data gathering period. No identities of the respondents were divulged throughout the course of this research report.

Procedure

The first part of the data gathering consisted of non-participant observation wherein the researcher, relying on eavesdropping while accompanying the owners, would take note of the conversations between the workers and their employers and conversations among the workers. After the familiarity of the researcher's presence in the manufacturing sites were established, participant observation was used, enabling the researcher to gather more significant data. This time, the researcher started helping the workers in doing their tasks. At first, the workers were uncomfortable speaking with the researcher, and they usually answered in one or two sentences only; but as time went by, the researcher was finally able to converse with them more. Many of the short conversations had turned into long dialogues on different topics (See Appendix A). Then the researcher made interviews via informal conversations to get more information out of them (See Appendix B for the interview guide).

The researcher would intermittently go back to the office every fifteen minutes to an hour to record what he had heard and go back inside the workplace to continue helping and conversing with the workers. But there were also many instances wherein he was able to instantly write down verbal exchanges right after they had occurred. To further ensure that he would never fail to miss anything, he wrote down all English words/phrases/sentences that they have uttered in paper cubes and later analyzed them. It should be noted that the researcher had put ellipses in some lengthy dialogues; the important data were, nonetheless, recorded.

Method of Analysis

In order to answer research question 1, "*What is the preferred mode of communication of Filipino factory labor workers living in an urban area, Taglish or Pure Tagalog,*" the most frequently used language was determined in the data taken from field notes. Next, in order to answer research question two, "*What are their reasons for opting to use that particular mode of discourse?*", the data gathered through ethnographic interview were analyzed by categorizing responses into themes. Then frequencies of the categories were counted. Lastly, the data gathered from field notes which comprised the corpus of the

study were analyzed in terms of the location of code alternation insertions (word, phrase, clause and sentence-level) to answer research question three. The results were later categorized into the three types of code-switching as discussed by Poplack (1980) in her study in order to determine whether their responses belong to *inter-sentential*, *tag-switching*, or *intra-sentential switching*. It should be noted that the overall data gathered during the present study were analyzed per utterance.

Results and Discussion

Tagalog or Taglish?

The results show that, surprisingly, all of the Filipino factory labor workers who were observed inside the manufacturing companies preferred to use Tagalog over Taglish as their medium when communicating their ideas, thoughts, and feelings with others. Below are some excerpts of dialogues exchanged between the owner and her workers, the researcher and the workers as well as conversations between and among them which were gathered and later analyzed. It should be noted that the names of these workers were intentionally omitted and were replaced by a blank or “___” when their respective names were mentioned during the said verbal exchanges so as to protect their identities.

The data show that these factory labor workers opted to use Tagalog words even when prompted to answer in English as could be seen in (1 - 3). In the transcripts, code O refers to the owner; R, to the researcher; and W to the workers. English translation follows each excerpt (in smaller fonts).

(1) O: ___, sabi sa akin ni ___ na sinabi mo daw sa kaniya na mauubusan na tayo ng colorant.

W: Opo, ate. Hanggang bukas na lang ang itatagal nung nandiyan.

O’ Ganon ba. O sige, oorder na lang ako mamaya. Anong kulay ba yung wala na tayo? Yung blue o yung light?

W: Yung asul po yung wala tayo, te’.

O: ___ told me you mentioned to him that we run out of colorant.

W: Yes. The supply we have will last only until tomorrow.

O: Oh, really? Okay. I will order for more later. What color do we need? Blue or the light one?

W: We do not have the blue one.

2. R: Paano ka po ba pumupunta dito sa pabrika? Commute o bike?

W1: Namamasahe lang ako hanggang sa labas, tapos nilalakad ko na lang papasok.

W2: Nagbibisikleta lang ako. Kasi medyo malapit lang naman galing sa amin papunta dito at para makatipid na rin.

(R: How do you come here in the the factory? Commute or by bicycle?

W1: I just commute until a certain point, then I walk to get here inside.

W2: I use my bike. Because our place is just near here and I want to economize.)

3. R: Kuya, ano bang kulay ang gusto mo para sa nokia cellphone mo? Black, white, grey, o red?

W1: Yung itim na lang siguro.

W2: Sige, yung puti yung gusto ko.

*In (2-3), W1 & W2 were answers given by two different workers on two separate occasions.

R: What color do you want for your nokia cellphone? Black, white, grey, or red?

W1: Just the black one.

W2: Okay, I like the white color.

*In (2-3), W1 & W2 were answers given by two different workers on two separate occasions.

In (1), when promptly asked by the owner as to which color of colorant they need to buy, the worker replied using the Tagalog counterpart of the color *blue*, which is *asul*, even when he was prompted to answer in English. In (2), when asked about their preferred mode of transportation using English words *commute* or *bike* to prompt them to use Taglish, both workers, who answered differently, still replied using the Tagalog counterparts of the aforementioned words, which were *namamasahe* and *nagbibisikleta*, respectively. As for (3), both workers had answered the color they want for their cellphones in Tagalog which were *puti* and *itim* even when the choices given were in English.

It is also worth mentioning that these people could utter multiple sentences and even paragraphs in a particular episode of discourse without uttering a single code-switched word. There were even days wherein the researcher was unable to gather a single significant data as these workers really seldom switch between languages; if they did switch, perhaps, it is either the researcher was unable to hear it or he was nowhere near to those who uttered it. Let us consider the following excerpts of dialogues exchanged between the researcher and the labor workers as shown in (4-5) which could be found below:

4. R: Kuya, mga ano na po ba ang age ninyo?
 W: Magbebente-nuebe (29) na ako sa katapusan, Lan.
 R: Ang lapit na pala ah. Advanced happy birthday pala sayo kung ganon.
 W: (smiles) Salamat.
 R: Edi may girlfriend na po siguro kayo noh.
 W: Asawa na nga eh. May anak na rin kami, kaso nasa nanay ko dun sa amin sa Leyte.
 R: Ang layo ah...
 (R: Brother, what is your age?
 W: I will turn 29 at the end of the month, Lan.
 R: That is fast approaching. Advanced happy birthday to you.
 W: (Smiles) Thank you.
 R: So do you have already a girlfriend?
 W: I already have a wife, and we already have children who are now with my Mother in Leyte.
 R: That is far.)
5. W1: ___, tawagin mo nga si ___ para siya muna magbantay dito [sa makina ko] kasi kailangan ko pa maghalo ng materyales para dito kasi malapit na maubos yung nasa imbudo nito.
 W2: Sige kahit ako na lang muna magbantay niyan para magawa mo na yung gagawin mo.
 W1: Paano yung sayo?
 W2: Sus, kaya ko naman bantayan tong dalawa nang magisa eh at saka mabagal din naman yung andar ng akin kaya kaya ko naman bantayan pati yung sayo.
 W1: O sige. Bantayan mo na ah, kukuha lang ako ng mga panghalo.
 W2: Sige.

(W1: Can you call ____ so that he could watch closely my machine because I need to mix the materials needed here because the ones in the funnel are almost consumed.

W2: Okay. I'll do it so that you can do what you need to do.

W1: How about yours?

W2: I can watch closely the two machines alone because mine is going slower so I can watch closely yours.

W1: Okay. I'll just get some materials for mixing.

W2: Okay.)

As shown in (4), the researcher intentionally used Taglish in this particular conversation to see whether the worker would feel that he somehow has to answer using Taglish in response. But the result has clearly shown he still answered everything in Tagalog. In (5), the researcher had listened to the conversation of two workers to know if they would somehow insert some Taglish words during their discourse, but their little discussion has ended without them uttering a single English word.

However, it should be pointed out that they also use Taglish in their daily conversations, especially when there is no other alternative or Tagalog translation for such words such as name of parts of a machine and various products such as electronic gadgets, energy drinks, soft drinks, and the like. Following the analytical framework adopted for the study, they are referred to in this study as borrowing. They also occasionally make use of code switching (to be discussed in the next section). Aside from this, they mostly maintain and utilize the use of Tagalog when communicating with another person. The excerpts below show their instances of borrowing:

6. R: Kuya, anong tawag dito sa [parte ng] makinang 'to?

W: Ayan yung tinatawag na Cylinder

R: Ah, ganon po ba. Eh alam niyo po ba ang tawag dito sa Tagalog?

W: Hindi eh, basta Cylinder lang ang pagkaalam ko kahit noon pa.

R: Ah, ganon ba...

(R: Brother, what do you call this [part of the] machine?)

W: That is what we call as Cylinder.

R: Hm, I see. Do you know what it's called in Tagalog?

W: No, All I know is that it's called as Cylinder ever since.

R: I see...)

7. W: ...siya nga pala, balita ko nagpapahulugan ka daw ah.
 R: Opo. May ipapabili din po ba kayo?
 W: Papabili sana ako sayo ng ampli sayo kasi pangit yung nabili ko dati eh.
 R: Sige po.
 W: Mga magkano kaya ang ampli ngayon?
 R: Hindi ko alam eh. Magtatanong na lang ako sa Raon kung magkano para makamura tayo.
 W: Sige, gusto ko yung Konzert ah. Yon kasi ang pinakamaganda sa lahat. Pakitanong mo na rin doon kung magkano ang ispiker nila...

(W:...by the way, I heard that you are doing installments.

R: Yes. Do you have something you want to buy?

W: I would like to buy an ampli from you if possible because the one I bought earlier was not good.

R: Okay.

W: How much do you think an ampli costs today?

R: I don't know. I'll just ask around in Raon for the amount so that it would be cheaper for the both of us

W: Okay, I want Konzert [as the brand]. It's because that's the best quality. Please also ask there how much their speaker costs...)

8. R: O, bakit tinigil ninyo yung Pelletizer natin?

W: Eh kasi nagwiwiggle-wiggle na yung bakal sa tabi eh. Baka mamaya masira pa ng tuluyan kya tinigil ko na muna.

R: Ah, palagay ko tawagin kya natin si kuya ___ para ipacheck natin sa kaniya kung ano ang sira niyan.

W: Mabuti pa nga para maayos agad kasi kailangan natin ito eh...

(R: Oh, why did you stop [operating] our Pelletizer?

down W: It's because the metal at the side is wiggling. It could completely break later, so I stopped it for now.

R: I think we should go call brother ___ to let him check the cause of its malfunction.

W: It's better that we do because we really need it...)

In (6), the technical term, *Cylinder*, was used by the worker to call a particular part of a machine when asked by the researcher since he has no idea what is its Tagalog counterpart and has only it by that name for many years now. Excerpt (7) shows how the worker made use of English words like *ampli*, or *amplifier*, *speaker* or *ispiker*, and

Konzert. However, these words are considered as technical terms since there is no Tagalog counterpart for amplifier and speaker, and *Konzert* is a brand. Excerpt (8) shows an English word *wiggle* (*which was repeated*) along with the Tagalog prefix *nag-* which was used in the sentence by the worker when asked as to the reason why the Pelletizer has been stopped.

It is clearly evident that they feel more comfortable when using Tagalog as the medium of their daily conversations as they are more relaxed when they speak in this way rather than using Taglish and/or English. However, it should be emphasized that most of the workers could understand English words, phrases, sentences, and even paragraphs, although there are also some whose understanding is somewhat more limited than others. Moreover, they occasionally made use of English words as a form of sarcasm to either make fun or somewhat annoy their peers as shown in (9) below. In this example, the first worker asked the second worker if it was raining outside in Filipino, which is *umuulan*; the other replied in a sarcastic manner, switching the said Tagalog word into its English counterpart, *rain*, coupled with the Tagalog prefix *nag-*.

9. W1: Pre, umuulan ba sa labas ngayon?

W2: Hindi pre, nag-rain.

W1: Niye, hindi nga.

W2: Oo pre, umuulan. Kanina pa naman umuulan di pa humuhupa.

W1: Malas naman. Wala pa naman akong payong. Pahiramín mo na ako.

W2: Sus, takbuhin mo na lang. Malapit ka lang naman dito eh...

(W1 : Bro, is it raining outside right now?)

W2 : No bro, it's raining.

W1 : No, really.

W2 : Yes bro, it's raining. It has been constantly raining it has not stopped yet.

W1 : Bad luck. I do not even have an umbrella with me. Let me borrow yours.

W2 : Just run. You're just near here anyways...

How they codeswitch

As we have already pointed out, instances of code switching in the discourse of Filipino Factory workers under study are rare. The

results have indicated that out of the three types of code-switching proposed by Poplack (1980), they only made use of intra-sentential switching when they insert English words into Tagalog sentences as could be seen in (10-11). There were no instances of inter-sentential and tag switching in the corpus.

10. R: O, kala ko hindi na bibiyahe yung truck natin?

W: Eh pinabiyaha na ni taba eh.

R: Pero napuno ba yung laman noon? Kasi wala na tayong stock nung huling nakita ko kanina.

W: Kulang-kulang nga yung laman noon, pero at least nakapagbiyahe sila ng maaga-aga para hindi na sila gabihin ng uwi...

(R: O, I thought our truck won't be going on a trip anymore?)

W: Eh 'the fat guy' made them go [on another trip].

R: But has its cargo been filled up? Because we do not have enough stock to fill it the last time I checked.

W: It was not filled up, but at least they were able to go early so that they would be able to make it back before the night comes.)

11. W: ...humihiram nga ng pera si ___ kay haba kanina kasi kailangan daw niya ng pera para mailabas na nila yung tatay niya sa ospital.

R: Ay, ganoon. Eh kumusta na daw pala tatay niya?

W: Ayon, kalahati daw ng katawan niya paralisado na.

R: Kawawa naman pala tatay niya noh.

W: Oo nga, kaso wala na tayong magagawa diyan. Kaya nga humihiram siya ng pera kasi yung suswelduhin niya nitong linggo yung pambibili daw niya ng gamot ng tatay niya. Magtatago lang daw siya nang kaunti para in case kailangan ulit isugod sa ospital yung tatay niya, may pera sila panggastos sa mga bayarin.

R: Ah, ganoon ba. Eh di ba malaking mahalaga ang kailangan ibayad sa mga ospital para mailabas na niya yung tatay niya?

W: Eh nagtutulungan naman daw sila ng kapatid niya eh...

(W: ... ___ is borrowing money from 'the long guy' earlier since she really needs the money so that they would be to discharge their father from the hospital.

R: Is that so. How is her father faring then?

W: There, half of his body is now paralyzed.

R: It's a pity that her father [came to be that way].

W: Yes, but we we can't do anything about it. That's why she's borrowing money because her salary for this week would be used to buy medicine for her father. She would save some money so just in case her father needs to be rushed to the hospital again, they would have some money to spend for the expenses.

R: Is that so. But a big sum of money would be needed to pay the hospital before they could discharge her father, isn't it?

W: Well she said she and her other sibling would help each other...)

As could be seen in (10), the worker made use of the English phrase *at least* to say that there was also a good side in letting the truck leave early even though it only contained partial of what was ordered by the customer. And in (11), the worker used the English phrase *in case* to answer the reason why the worker being talked about would like to borrow money from her fellow worker

Why Tagalog ?

Results from the ethnographic interview revealed that all the respondents prefer to use Tagalog over Taglish as their primary mode of discourse.

The reasons as to why they opted to use a monolingual approach when conveying what they wanted to say to other people is that they (1) are able to "express themselves" much better; (2) they would be understood by their peers more as the intended message which they would like to send would be "much clearer" to them; (3) Tagalog is the language of their family, friends, and neighbors; and (4) they are uncomfortable in frequently using both English and Taglish when communicating with others.

Based on these reasons, it is clear that these factory labor workers have been raised and exposed in an environment wherein the preferred way of communication between and among people is Tagalog. It can be concluded that one major cause as to why they opted to use the said language is that they have been surrounded by users of the Philippine national language ever since they were little; hence they, too, have adopted the linguistic culture.

However, it could also be posited that their frequent use of the Tagalog language is the result of their lack of mastery in the English language and, due to this, they find it quite hard to express themselves in it. The respondents under study lack formal education,

which is usually found inside the classroom as many of these people were forced to leave school due to insufficient funds to even support their daily needs; hence it could be said that they were deprived of the opportunity to master the English language but were able to develop their communicative competence in Tagalog.

Another possible reason for this could be what Heredia and Altarriba (2001) calls as language accessibility wherein one usually switches languages when words could be better accessed using another language to be able to fully express one's self to others. The workers in the present study used Tagalog because it is the language that is more accessible to them—the language in which they have acquired communicative competence. They only switches in English when they cannot access words with which to express themselves in Tagalog. While some of them are unfamiliar with the general term 'Taglish', they are aware that many people nowadays "mix Tagalog and English" in their daily conversations and have admitted in using it sometimes, especially when they converse with foreigners and other people living in the Philippines who could not understand Tagalog.

Conclusion

The findings of the present study reveal that Filipino factory labor workers prefer to make use of Tagalog over Taglish as their primary medium of communication. The primary reason for this is that they use it in order to be socially accepted within their group since they were born and raised in this kind of culture as well as to firmly establish their own social identity. From their perspective, the frequent use of Taglish widens the distance between them and their peers. Occasionally though, they made use of intra-sentential switching whenever they use Taglish in their spoken discourse in order to express their ideas that are difficult to express in Tagalog. They do, however, frequently make use of lexical borrowings.

It could be concluded, then, that the present pilot study has yielded unexpected results. While the frequent use of Taglish is now rampant among educated people, most especially those who could be categorized in the upper and middle class bracket, the notion posited by some linguists as well as writers and bloggers that Taglish should or is now being considered as the lingua franca in Philippine cities

may not be applied to non-fluent Filipino bilinguals. It could be asserted that the present study has added a significant contribution in discourse analysis and in Philippine Linguistics, in general, as it provided findings to fill the aforementioned gap in literature. Furthermore, it points out a research direction—to replicate the present study focusing on how Filipinos belonging to the lower class bracket communicate with one another, particularly those close to them (e.g. guards, maids).

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