Code-switching and Identity on the Blogs:
An Analysis of Taglish in Computer Mediated Communication

by
Frank P. Smedley

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Attestation of Authorship

"I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements."

Signature: …………………………………………..

Date: ……………………………………………

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The study had its genesis (though unknown to me then) in the years I spent in the Philippines in the late seventies and again in the early nineties. This thesis is respectfully dedicated to all the many Filipinos I have known over the years. Mabuhay ang Pilipino!

Abstract

This study analyses the code-switching variety Taglish (Tagalog-English) in personal weblogs written by Filipino bloggers.

The main research questions are set forth in chapter one: why do writers of weblogs code-switch in contexts where there is no specific addressee and hence no turn taking, and why is 'this' particular language chosen at 'this' juncture in the weblog narrative?

Chapter two gives an overview of relevant code-switching theory and research, and focuses especially on the sociolinguistic dimensions. In particular, the markedness model of Myers-Scotton is reviewed with respect to the notion of code-switching itself as an unmarked choice. This sets the stage for introducing Taglish as a normal and unmarked phenomenon for many Filipinos.

Chapter three presents the socio-political and linguistic background in the Philippines. This give a backdrop for a focus on the evolution and status of Taglish.

The problems associated with the presentation of self in Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) are examined in Chapter four and then the unique characteristics of weblogs are explored with respect to their purpose and genre.

Chapter five looks at the design and methodology employed and emphasises the qualitative nature of the research and the sampling method as purposive. The main corpus of 25 extracts were analysed using frameworks which bring important perspectives to bear on the use of code-switching in the construction and negotiation of identity. These frameworks are: the referee design dimension of Bell's audience design model with its emphasis on initiative style shifts to project different identities; discursive psychology which highlights the use of language to position self and others; and narrative psychology with its stress on people's use of narrative to seek coherence of self and life-experience. These frameworks are combined with Bakhtinian notions of polyphony, dialogism and heteroglossia.

Chapter six gives the detailed results of the analysis of seven weblogs which typify the findings of the corpus. Code-switching on these weblogs highlights the creative end of

language use. However, it is a creativity tempered by the realities of Bakhtinian heteroglossia. The heteroglossic nature of the code-switching, in seemingly monological texts, is implicated in how the bloggers negotiate and construct social identities by positioning themselves and others in the ongoing narrative flow. In that the code-switching is extremely plentiful in this non-oral environment, it poses a serious challenge to the attempts by some conversational analysts (e.g., Li, 2005) to claim that code-switching can only really be explicated in terms of the systematics of an interaction taking place. The research seeks to stay within the spirit of CA by suggesting that even in a seemingly monologic form, interaction may be reconceived as heteroglossia covertly present in all language and overtly manifest in switching. Thus switching is not merely a product of how speakers attend to the orderly production of conversation, but also a product of how they attend to the inherent heteroglossic nature of language and exploit their linguistic repertoire maximally to make their communication as effective as possible, and to construct and negotiate multiple identities.

Abbreviations used in the Thesis

CA   Conversation Analysis

CL   Congruent Lexicalization

CMC   Computer Mediated Communication

CP   Projection of the Complementizer

CS   Code-switching

EL   Embedded Language

EMP   Emphatic particle expressing confirmation:

nga (truly; really; indeed; certainly, so; therefore;) and also a request particle meaning 'please'.

naman (also, too, really, instead, on the other hand) and also expressing the feeling involved in the expression.

LK   Grammatical Linker (ligature) These are usually *ng* and *na*

ML   Matrix Language

MLF   Matrix Language Framework

OFW   Overseas Filipino Worker

PL   Pluraliser. This is usually *mga*

Q   Question particle *ba*

RS   Reported speech – *daw* or *raw* mark that the statement is being attributed to another person.

SIL   Summer Institute of Linguistics

SURP   Surprise particle *pala*

Usually emphasizing the fact or the feeling involved in the expression–

Chapter 1   *Introduction*

The technological advances of the 20th century have afforded an increased opportunity to access insights into the everyday lives of ordinary people. From the advent of the microphone and recording equipment through to the current craze of reality television and the internet, the private lives of people become public and researchable. Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) was one of a number of publications that heralded a turn in research from concerns with the special to the mundane. Internet technologies, and especially weblogs, are a key means of accessing the mundane and researching the ordinary lives of people who choose to narrate their lives in story form at the interface between the private and the public. A weblog is an online journal posted on a website and regularly updated. Many have the feel of a personal diary even though the content is available publicly. This study is about Filipinos who write these weblogs and when doing so switch languages. It celebrates multilingualism as a common feature of the lives of millions and examines how and why these Filipino story tellers exploit their linguistic repertoires.

1.1 Purpose and fundamental research questions

The notion that multilingual people may well switch languages as they seek a sense of coherent identity through narratives presented to a both known and unknown audience, using a simultaneously (and contradictorily) private yet extremely public genre, seems especially useful in granting a deeper understanding of code-switching. The main concern of most research into code-switching has been with informal conversational contexts. A great deal of such research has also focused on related languages; Spanish and English have been particular favourites. This thesis attempts to break new ground in code-switching research through the analysis of switching between two completely unrelated languages in a context that is not conversational. It does so by addressing two related research questions. Firstly, why do writers of weblogs code-switch in contexts where there is no specific addressee and hence no turn taking? Secondly, and implicated within this main research question, has been the more complex question: why is 'this' particular language chosen at 'this' juncture in the weblog narrative? These questions are addressed by using a range of analytical methods, particularly those from narrative psychology and discursive psychology, combined with the referee design dimension in Bell's audience design model (1984, 1999).

The first research question means that this study must seriously question the adequacy of conversation analytical (CA) techniques to fully explain why people code-switch. However, by invoking Bakhtinian notions of dialogism it remains within the essential spirit of conversational analysis in its rejection of any simplistic application of macro sociolinguistic variables (e.g., ethnicity, age) to adequately explain why people code-switch.

Gumperz defined conversational code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (1982, p. 59). This definition has helped set the agenda for code-switching research until now, with the overwhelming majority of research focusing on oral switching. It can well be termed the default case for code-switching investigations. One example of this default case is from Myers-Scotton (2004) where she refers to code-switching solely in terms of "bilingual speech" (p. 106). Many researchers similarly seem to assume that code-switching is to be equated with oral switching and appeal to Gumperz's definition above (e.g., Li, 2005; Auer, 2001; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Gardner-Chloros, Charles, & Cheshire, 2000; Cromdal & Aronsson, 2000; Goutsos, 2001; Alvarez-Caccamo, 1990; Gross, 2001; Ferguson, 2003; David, 1999; Chan, 2005). The data they use is invariably from conversational contexts and as a consequence, code-switching research has often come within the gravitational pull of conversational analysis. The sequential systematics of conversation have been viewed as a key to the understanding of why people code-switch. Gafaranga and Torras stress the need for a conversation analytical framework to explain code-switching and state, "…it is also necessary to have a theory of social interaction since codeswitching is an interactional phenomenon" (2002, p.10). Li Wei gives examples to suggest that code-switches "are conditioned by the sequential context of the exchange" (2005, p. 386). Li goes on to propose that, "Code-switching does not occur in an interactional vacuum; it occurs in conversational interaction and is structured by an organisation of action that is implemented on a turn-by-turn basis" (2005, p. 387). This present study will show that this type of claim presents a limited perspective on the phenomenon of code-switching and that the reasons people code-switch are far more complex and comprehensive than those usually offered by CA.

CA rightly emphasises that language choice cannot be fully explicated by appeals to macro-linguistic categories – a position that has resonance with constructivist views that

stress the role of language use in the construction of identity. This thesis wishes to stay within this spirit of CA and will endeavour to suggest how the notion of interaction may be extended to seemingly monological texts to explain why bloggers code-switch in a context where there is no face-to-face interaction. To do this I turn to two quotes from Bakhtin when he says,

In secondary speech genres … the speaker (or writer) raises questions, answers them himself, raises objections to his own ideas, responds to his own objections, and so own. But these phenomena are nothing other than a conventional playing out of speech communication and primary genres. (1986, p. 72)

And,

Dialogic relations are thus much broader than dialogic speech in the narrow sense of the word. And dialogic relations are always present, even among profoundly monological speech works. (1986, p. 125)

Thus, in terms of the first research question, "why switch when there is no specific addressee?", I will endeavour to suggest the answer lies in the inherent dialogical and heteroglossic nature of a weblog narrative. With Bakhtin, we will view a weblog in this dialogic context, extending the CA concept of sequential talk to a Bakhtinian notion of an utterance as having an unfinished and open sequentially and as a result "each utterance becomes indefinitely contestable" (Holt, 2003, p. 230), even within a seemingly monologic format, and thus always negotiable.

To answer the second question of "why this language choice at this juncture?", I will recruit the assistance of a number of complementary frameworks, each of which has implications for the negotiation and construction of multiple and contingent identities.

The referee design dimension of Bell's audience design model (1984, 1999) will be enlisted to show how some code-switches coincide with initiative stylistic shifts by bloggers. Bell has noted in later formulations of his model how the initiative dimension of language style finds harmony with Bakhtin's ideas (Bell, 1999). I will demonstrate how some bloggers switch to English to appropriate 'another voice' to perform identity work.

Discursive psychology has links with Bell's audience design model with the key notion that "the constructions of self require a supporting cast" (Gergen, 2001, p. 257). Discursive psychology, among other things, seeks to show how people position

themselves and others in their 'talk' and in doing so negotiate different versions of self (Davis & Harre, 1990). This study will suggest that this discursive construction and negotiation of the self takes place very potently in the weblog narrative.

Narrative psychology has been deemed useful insofar as the majority of weblogs exhibit narrative form. Narrative is seen as a ubiquitous feature of how people make sense of their lives (Sarbin, 1986). Narrative psychology will help to focus on the meaning-making function of code-switching and a key feature of this will be the role code-switching plays as bloggers evaluate characters and events. In concord with Bakhtin this is an acknowledgment that "the expression of an utterance cannot be fully explained or understood if its thematic content is all that is taken into account" (1986, p. 92). In particular, code-switching will be strongly implicated in how people frame either an objective or a more personal stance towards events. This in turn has implications for their construction of identity.

Lastly, the various generic forms of narratives will be investigated to see how code-switching may work within a narrative framework. Eggins and Slade's elaborations of Labov's earlier structure of a narrative will be employed (Eggins & Slade, 1997; Labov, 1972). Such a framework will assist discovering how code-switching relates to the overall generic structure of the narrative.

A particular value of this study is the way in which code-switching makes explicit what Bakhtin advocates is the case in all language use. He says "our repertoire of oral (and written) speech genres is rich … we speak in diverse genres without suspecting they exist" (1986, p. 78). Code-switching on weblogs draws attention to the heteroglossic nature of language use.

1.2 Outline of study

Chapter two begins with an overview of research into code-switching. There is a short focus on linguistic considerations of code-switching as two key frameworks are examined – the Matrix Language Framework of Myers-Scotton (1993b), and the simpler taxonomy of structural types of switching by Muysken (2000). This is followed by a longer overview of key sociolinguistic perspectives which are pertinent to the sociolinguistic orientation of this research. Finally, in the second chapter, style shifting and identity negotiation are examined in relation to code-switching.

Chapter three brings us to the Philippines – the *bayang magiliw* (beloved land) - of these bloggers, and begins with an overview of the socio-political context and leads to an examination of the unique circumstances of the OFW (the Overseas Filipino Worker) diaspora, to which many of these bloggers belong. Then I look at the linguistic context in the Philippines. The history and roles of Tagalog and English in the country are reviewed as these are the two languages that constitute the switching variety Taglish. Finally, the chapter examines the major code-switching variety of these bloggers – Taglish.

Chapter four focuses on Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). It examines the challenges that CMC poses to sociolinguistic analysis. Then the nature of personal weblogs is inspected with particular attention to their generic composition. The chapter emphasises the paucity of research into discursive practices on the internet and that there is little research into code-switching in this context. Finally, at the close of the chapter I overview the contribution that both narrative and discursive psychology can make to the analytical framework employed.

Chapter five looks at the design and methodology used in the study.

In chapter six, I present a description of a typical weblog in the corpus. This is followed by an in-depth investigation of weblogs in the form of an analysis of seven extended extracts which exemplify the findings of the corpus of 25 extracts. Each extract is presented with both a word-for-word translation and a more dynamic free-flowing translation.

With chapter seven I conclude the study and suggest further research possibilities.

Chapter 2   Overview of code-switching research

In this chapter, I survey some of the key issues in code-switching research as they impact this study. I will briefly overview the terminological problems, the relationship between borrowing and code-switching, and the main structural frameworks in code-switching research. The bulk of the chapter will then focus on the sociolinguistic dimensions and in particular the micro-sociolinguistic factors that impinge upon what Myers-Scotton refers to as "Code-switching itself as the unmarked choice" (1993b, p. 114). This refers to situations where code-switching itself is a common and expected form of communication in a bilingual community. It will be seen that in this context, the conversational functions of code-switching are most applicable and the question will be asked: "Can these conversational functions be found in written code-switching?" Next, I look at a possible connection between style shifting (Bell, 1984, 1997, 1999) and code-switching. This examination of style shifting as a possible motivation for code-switching will set the stage for reviewing issues around the relationship between code-switching and the enactment of identity.

Any suggestion that bilingualism, multilingualism and associated code-switching practices are a deviation from 'normal' linguistic practices, flies in the face of the conversational reality of millions across the globe and results, according to Bucholtz, from an "ideology of linguistic isolationism" (2003, p. 405) or according to Alvarez-Caccamo (2002, p. 4) from "dominant monoglot ideologies." Some type of language switching is a common characteristic of the linguistic repertoire of large numbers of the world's population who employ the practice extensively and purposefully (Rampton, 1995). Indeed, there is some suggestion that young people are growing up who could well be learning code-switching as a mother tongue (Crystal, 2001; Bautista, 1991; Gonzalez, 1996a). With some Filipino children being exposed to switching at home, school and in the broadcast media, especially television, such a proposition is not surprising. Gonzalez (1991) calls for research into code-switching in the Philippines with the understanding that it may well be emerging as a standardised variety.

Being a salient linguistic feature, code-switching can offer insight into an assortment of structural, discourse-analytical, conversation-analytical (CA) and sociolinguistic issues including the enactment of multiple identities at cultural and ethnic boundaries. Code-

switching is currently an extremely fertile field for investigation, as evidenced by the copious amount of research in recent years. Most research has been principally in four areas:

1. the sociolinguistic approach encompassing relationships between language and various pragmatic/functional, discursive, contextual, cultural, and social categories (e.g., Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gal, 1997; Gardner-Chloros, 1997; Lo, 1999; Myers-Scotton, 1993b);
2. the more decontextualised conversation analytical approach looking beyond the sentence level at "interactional episodes" (Li, 2002; Auer, 1998 & 2000; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002);
3. the structural/grammatical approach looking at the sentence level or lower level (e.g., Muysken, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2000; Poplack, 1980);
4. and the sometimes related psycholinguistic approach looking at how bilingual speakers process more than one language (e.g., Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000; Grosjean, 2001; Herdina & Jessner, 2002).

While there is a desire to discover universal properties of code-switching, it is in reality a far from homogeneous phenomenon, and the actual practices involved can vary greatly depending on the particular languages involved and the socio-linguistic context (Gardner-Chloros, 1997, p. 361).

2.1 Terminology

A clear definition of what constitutes code-switching remains elusive among researchers (Gafaranga & Torras, 2002, p. 2; Bautista, 1991). The plethora of terminology[1] surrounding the issue of languages in contact reflects differing agendas in language research including formalist/structuralist versus functionalist/pragmatic/sociolinguistic orientations. These in turn reflect deeper-level epistemological stances. Some researchers feel that the indistinctness and at times ambiguity of terminology are problematic even to the extent that the analysis of data and interpretation of results can be seriously affected (Clyne, 1987; Bautista, 1991). Each term seems to carry its own ideological baggage (Bucholtz, 2003) and I am aware

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[1] e.g. code-switching, code-shifting, code-mixing, borrowing, transfer, insertion, transcordic markers, language alternation, bilingual speech, fused lects, juxtaposed multiple-language production, medium switching.

that my choice of 'code-switching' is not exempt. At times I will just use 'switching' in acknowledgement that the switching variety may be viewed as "one code in its own right" (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998, p. 76).

The difference between code-mixing and code-switching is uncertain in the literature. Mesthrie appears to identify code-switching with marked forms of switching and code-mixing with what Myers-Scotton calls code-switching as the unmarked variety (see section 2.3.3). This is somehow based on the assumption that code-switching is clean, involving switching between clauses; whereas code-mixing is "ragged", involving code changes within the clause (Mesthrie, 2001, p. 443). The argument is arbitrary at best and seems to lead to the position of needing to posit yet some other term to cover instances where code-mixing and code-switching are occurring at the same time (as in Taglish; see Thompson, (2003). Code-mixing and code-switching, thus defined, appear to correspond respectively to Muysken's terms of 'insertion' versus 'alternation' (2000), which are more useful terms for this research (see sections 2.2.3 & 3.4.3). Overall, code-switching tends to be used as a kind of "superordinate term" (McLellan, 2005, p. 6), covering a full range of instances of switching as well as being the term for the whole field of research. Code-mixing is usually reserved for the insertion of a lexical item or longer fragment from the embedded language into a clause or sentence which controls the grammatical structure of the clause - the matrix language, (see section 2.2.2 for more clarification of the terms embedded and matrix language). In this thesis, I shall refer to intrasentential switching instead of code-mixing, and intersentential switching instead of alternation, insofar as in Taglish, code-switching subsumes both intrasentential and intersentential switching.

2.1.1 *Borrowing*

The term 'borrowing' covers a large range of possibilities, from established loanwords to nonce borrowings which are seen more as one-off occurrences (Winford, 2003), and it is used in a great number of ways by code-switching researchers (Winford, 2003). Some researchers exclude 'nonce' borrowings from code-switching analysis, even though they are not established loans. Myers-Scotton criticizes Poplack in this regard (1993b, p.129). Others have discarded the notion of having a clear demarcation between borrowing and code-switching, particularly in structural analysis (Gardner-Chloros & Edwards, 2004). Thus, the issue of whether a code-switched item is an established borrowing remains a controversial one in both structural and sociolinguistic code-

switching analysis (Callahan, 2002; Myers-Scotton, 1993b; Torres, 2002). Myers-Scotton suggests that lexical items that eventually become borrowings actually penetrated the recipient language as a code-switch at some stage in the past (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). However, common sense suggests this could not have been the situation in the very earliest cases. Not only does it require a very primitive notion of what code-switching is, it is also anachronistic. Spanish borrowings entered into the local Philippine languages shortly after the arrival of the Spanish through lexical need and a profoundly institutional restructuring of Philippine social life (Arcilla, n.d.). Yet, as far as I am aware, Tagalog and Spanish never became a code-switched variety, though a creole called Chavacano did develop which is still spoken today in certain areas (see section 3.3). The advent of a code-switch variety was partly precluded because the Spanish priests made it their policy to learn the local vernaculars rather than teach the local people Spanish.

The difference between a borrowing and a code-switch is important sociolinguistically, primarily because a code-switch requires a greater level of bilingual competence than the use of a borrowing already entrenched in the language (Torres, 2002). Taxonomies to attempt to differentiate established borrowings from code-switches have been proposed by code-switching researchers and they are summarised here:

1. Core and Cultural borrowing are distinguished by Myers-Scotton (1993b). The former are items which do not fill any lexical need. They can be discourse markers and other items for which local equivalents are available. Cultural borrowings, on the other hand, tend to be more established. They are lexical items for objects, concepts, and events for which there seem to be no adequate counterparts in the recipient language. Torres suggests that core borrowings occur with less frequency than cultural ones and reports that the borrowing[2] of discourse markers (as core lexical items) is quite widespread in language contact situations (Torres, 2002, p. 66). In terms of the Matrix Language Framework (section 2.2.2), Torres argues that discourse markers should be viewed as content morphemes, and as such are more susceptible to 'borrowing' than system morphemes (determiners, possessives, inflectional morphemes). In Taglish, some discourse markers are freely interchanged (Smedley, 2004).

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[2] In her article, Torres is inclined to use "borrowing" in a non-technical or at least carefree sense at times.

2. A second way of distinguishing established borrowings from code-switching is the intuitively reasonable frequency count (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). It is reasonable to expect that an established borrowing will tend to occur far more often in a corpus than a code-switched item. For example, the word *feel* appears to have become an established borrowing in Tagalog. It occurs 18 times in my corpus as a lone insertional item.

3. Phonological and morphosyntactic integration are also offered as criteria. Established borrowings should feature a greater degree of both. Androutsopoulos (2001) found established English borrowings were widespread in German youth media and showed morphological integration. However, in terms of insertion as a code-switching phenomenon, Muysken makes an important assertion: "My claim will be that the phenomena of borrowing, nonce borrowing and constituent insertion all fall within the same general class and are subject to the same conditions" (2000, p. 60). This certainly highlights that the difference between insertion and borrowing is not always crystal clear in terms of structural appearance. As we shall see in Taglish (Section 3.3.1), formal rules for morphological integrations of nonce borrowings are available and the research of Smedley (2004) into morphological integrations certainly shows these rules are consistently followed by those who write in weblogs. Thompson studiously avoids the term 'borrowing' in his structural analysis of Taglish, preferring the term 'insertion' (2003).

4. Community acceptability is also another feature (Torres, 2002). In this respect established borrowings could be expected to occur in written materials and dictionaries.

5. Historically, a borrowing is seen to be a form transferred from another language which now "comfortably" inhabits its host language; whereas a code-switch tends to be more spontaneous (Heath, 2001, p. 433).

Overall, however, the boundaries in actual data between borrowings and code-switches are far from distinct particularly in bilingual communities where intrasentential CS is a key feature (Heath, 2001) – the Philippines being an example. Indeed, Heath argues that in post-colonial contexts the difference between borrowing and code-switching becomes unclear in bilingual communities especially as "routines have been developed to borrow verbs as well as nouns, so that lexical stems can be spontaneously borrowed (i.e., inserted seamlessly into a native language frame" (Heath, 2001, p. 439). One

Philippine English/Filipino dictionary actually set forth just such routines and rules for morphological integration of loan items (Manser & Angeles, 1995). I would argue that in situations where code-switching is an established practice (the unmarked choice), recognised established borrowings tend to be difficult to ascertain and all instances of code-switching tend to be loosely or informally referred to as borrowings (see Bautista, 1991).

One suggestion is that borrowing and code-switching should not be viewed as mutually exclusive, but as ends of a continuum (Goutsos, 2001). For Goutsos, borrowing tends to be a community-wide systematic phenomenon which does not require great competence in the second language, whereas code-switching is individual and systematic and usually requires high competence in the second language (Goutsos, 2001). The key point (noted above) is perhaps that in terms of structural analysis, established borrowings, nonce borrowings and constituent insertion "all fall within the same general class and are subject to the same conditions" (Muysken, 2000, p. 60). However, for sociolinguistic analysis, established borrowings and nonce borrowings need to be differentiated. For example, the word *feel* (an established borrowing in Tagalog) would have to be grouped with other Tagalog words for analysis rather than be viewed as a switch to English.

2.2 Linguistic approaches

Labov's statement that the idea of "system" is "central to linguistic theory and practice" (Labov, 1971, p. 447) has been pertinent to the research agenda in code-switching for over thirty years now. Ironically, Labov's comment over thirty years ago on a classic piece of Puerto Rican/ English code-switching was that "bilingual speakers do produce strange mixtures of the two languages" (1971, p. 447) and:

> So far, however, no one has been able to show that such rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints, and we must therefore describe it as the irregular mix of two distinct systems. (1971, p. 457)

Ever since then, the search has been on. I begin by looking at three structural models that have been particularly influential in that search. Firstly, Poplack (1980) emphasised that code-switching was not a haphazard mixture of language systems with her insistence that clear constraints existed on how the languages could function together. Myers-Scotton's development of the matrix language framework (1993a) then

emphasised that one of the languages tended to provide a grammatical framework for the switching. Finally, Muysken (2000) emphasised the particular processes at work when languages are switched.

2.2.1 *Early models – Poplack's constraints*

There tends to be wide-ranging agreement in code-switching studies that general constraints on code-switching exist between any pair of languages, L1 and L2 (Clyne, 1987, p. 261). The two most famous early constraints were those of Poplack. *The free morpheme constraint* states: "Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that the constituent is not a bound morpheme" (Poplack, 1980, p. 227). This constraint has been found to be violated in many research instances (Boztepe, 2003). Certainly in Taglish it is constantly infringed (see Bautista, 1990). *The equivalence constraint* states: "Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate the syntactic rules of either language" (Poplack, 1980, p. 228). On the whole, this constraint appears to be applicable to Taglish. Poplack has come under considerable criticism for trying to artificially limit code-switching possibilities by imposing constraints that do not appear to hold up in many cases (Gardner-Chloros & Edwards, 2004).

2.2.2 *Matrix Language Framework: Myers-Scotton*

This research will offer no detailed structural analysis. I note also in passing that Gardner-Chloros and Edwards express sincere doubt that purely grammatical approaches will achieve a comprehensive explanation of all the diversity of code-switching phenomena (2004, p. 126). Any structural observations will only be those clear features that appear recurrently in the sociolinguistic analysis. Hence, I summarise here only the key issues of arguably the most influential structural model – the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) model of Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2004) – that may be relevant to this study. Firstly, the MLF model has been subject to many revisions and amendments (for example, Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2002; Myers-Scotton, 2004). A key point to note is that even though the idea of a matrix language is primarily a lexico-grammatical construct, the designation of a matrix language tends to be more practically and socially motivated than linguistically assigned (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, pp. 232-233) and it is often assigned on the basis of sociolinguistic criteria (Callahan, 2001, p. 14). For example, Myers-Scotton suggests that in the African

context, "[i]t is always an indigenous language, not the international language, which is the matrix language" (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 126).

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) affirm that the MLF was based on a model of "Classic CS" where the matrix language frame maintains dominance and forces the embedded language items to comply with the matrix language's structural requirements. With classic CS the speakers are proficient enough in either language to be able to maintain a monolingual conversation in either (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2004). This bears resemblance to what Bautista (2004) calls "proficiency-driven switching" with respect to Taglish (see section 3.4.2).

The basic issues around the MLF model can be summarised with two questions:
1. How is the Matrix Language (ML) identified over against the Embedded Language (EL)? The ML is basically seen as providing the grammatical framework into which the EL is inserted. The ML tends to supply system morphemes; whereas content morphemes tend to come from the EL. System morphemes are typically inflectional morphology, quantifiers and specifiers. Content morphemes are typically verbs, prepositions[3], nouns and descriptive adjectives although it seems conjunctions should be added to this list (Callahan, 2002). Content morphemes should have the feature of being "Thematic Role-Assigner or Thematic Role-Receiver" (Callahan, 2002, p. 6). Thus with morphological integration in Code-switching, the bound inflectional component will be from the ML and the free morpheme will be from the EL. Here is a salient example from Taglish:

1. *nung nag-aaral pa ako sa* college, *mayroon kaming isang* instructor *na*
   when studied still I at college, there was we one instructor that
   back when I was studying in college, we had an instructor who was

2. *talagang* borderline *baliw*. *napaka* eccentric *niya pero*
   really borderline crazy. very eccentric he but
   really borderline crazy, he was extremely eccentric but

3. beloved in a twisted kind of way *ng buong* school.
   beloved in a twisted kind of way by the whole school.

4. **he was a legend even then.**
                                                                    (Blog22)

---

[3] Even though they are closed class items.

In line 2, there is an insertion involving the morphological integration of content morpheme *eccentric* – the ML is Tagalog. *Napaka* is a system morpheme (inflectional morphology) which serves to intensify. In line 1, the content morphemes *college* and *instructor* are supplied from the embedded language (English) to the matrix language (Tagalog). In line three English becomes the matrix language and Tagalog supplies the content morphemes *ng buong* (preposition and adjective).

The ML is secondly seen as the language that controls the word order when there are constituents from the EL (Morpheme Order Principle) . In the case above, Tagalog directs the word order.

2. How much of a stretch of discourse is necessary to posit a ML for that sample? In the example above there is a change of Matrix Language in line 3. The (Projection of the Complementizer) CP seems to be the key unit of analysis to determine the ML (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000, p.2). The CP is practically equivalent to any independent or dependent clause. The CP can contain EL islands. This idea bears similarity to insertional switching being contained within alternation type switching in the Muysken model in the next section.

2.2.3 *Muysken's taxonomy of code-switching*

Taglish has already proven amenable to structural analysis in terms of Muysken's taxonomy (Thompson, 2003; Smedley, 2004). Following Poplack, Myers-Scotton, and other structural analyses of code-switching (Clyne, 1987), Muysken sets forth code-switching as exhibiting rule governed features and not simply something that occurs randomly (Muysken, 2000, p. 2). Overall, Muysken discriminates between code-mixing whereby both lexical items and grammatical features from the two languages concerned appear in the one sentence, and code-switching, whereby languages tend to alternate (clause-wise or sentence-wise in the same piece of discourse). Thus insertion tends to be more associated with code-mixing and alternation with code-switching (2000, p. 1).

As a consequence, Muysken sees three processes at work and the extent to which these processes are differentially at work and in what proportion depends upon the relative typology of the respective languages involved (2000, p. 3).

1. Insertion

This involves the insertion of lexical items or 'entire constituents' from one language into the syntactical structure of the other language; whereby the latter language (in the context of the insertion) constitutes the base or matrix language and the first language is code-mixed into it. Most expected insertions are nouns or noun phrases, or adverbial phrases in some languages. An important point to consider, and one which Muysken acknowledges, is that that the longer the insertion, the more likely that the grammar of the inserted language is activated (2000, p. 9).

2. Alternation

Here there is a change of base or matrix language and of the predominant lexicon (a true code-switch or code alternation if you will). The structure of one language alternates with the structure of the other language across the point of alternation or the switch point. There needs to be structural compatibility or equivalence in languages involved at the switch point (2000, p. 3).

2. Congruent Lexicalisation

This is a slightly elusive term in Muysken's framework. It means that at the point where the two languages converge grammatically, lexis from one language can freely alternate with lexis from the other language. Muysken proposes that for congruent lexicalisation (CL) around the point of a switch, "the two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language" (2000, p. 6). The question is how much structure constitutes a shared structure? My suspicion is that structural items like copulas, conjunctions, prepositions and linkers are particularly amenable to the phenomenon of CL (See section 3.4.3). I also contend that congruent lexicalisation between two very different languages is more likely to occur at points of grammatical coordination and subordination. This is certainly the case in Taglish (see section 3.4.3). Research by Toribio points to congruent lexicalisation as being more common in situations where code-switching is an accepted and valued practice (2004). The following is a clear example of CL in Taglish whereby *na* could be simply replaced by the English *that*.

i don't care if it means ***na*** you'll be a struggling artist or whatnot.

(Blog 9)

Muysken is keen to distinguish between code-mixing and lexical borrowing. Thus, the status of the inserted element is always under the spotlight. However, Muysken sees borrowing and constituent insertion as belonging to the same basic process (2000). As a result, the distinction between borrowing and insertion may be more of an issue sociolinguistically than structurally.

In discussing Muysken's taxonomy, Gardner-Chloros & Edwards note that insertion is more characteristic where there is less proficiency in the inserted language; whereas alternation is more likely with stable bilingualism and proficiency in both languages (2004). However, it seems in Taglish that insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation are pervasive and insertion often occurs within an alternate segment.

2.3   Sociolinguistic approaches

Even though code-switching is part of the normal speech repertoire of bilingual and multilingual speakers throughout the world, it is viewed (by default) as a marked (abnormal) variety by most researchers into code-switching, when in fact it might well be that monolingual speech should be seen as the marked variety (McLellan, 2005). Code-switching could be seen as a form of linguistic capital acquired by members of the bilingual speech community who learn (consciously and unconsciously) its social meaning as they see it modelled in various contexts with "its norms of interpretation for choices of different variants" (Burt, 1992, p. 170). Taglish for example is modelled throughout the mass media, in educational contexts, in religious contexts, in political contexts, and of course in interpersonal contexts (see Bautista, 2004).

For the purposes of this research it is important to establish just what kind of code-switching is likely to take place when it is performed by Filipinos in the weblog context. This will have significant bearing on the approach to analysis. In this section I want to interact with the literature to suggest that the type of switching is best described using Myers-Scotton's terminology as "CS itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS)" (1993b, p. 117). I want to further suggest that this type of switching intersects significantly with what Gumperz refers to as "Conversational Code-switching" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59). Such switching can be analysed both functionally (Gumperz, 1982, p.75) and stylistically (metaphorical switching has a role here). CS itself as the unmarked choice is also used to index multiple identities (Myers-Scotton, 1993b).

2.3.1 *Macro-micro continuum*

It is the contention of this study that both macro- and micro- sociolinguistic factors bear upon the reality of code-switching and that they are not mutually exclusive. In human experience, freedom and necessity (Kierkegaard, 2004) are a constant reality and find synthesis.

2.3.2 *Situational and metaphorical code-switching*

Thirty years have passed since Blom and Gumperz wrote about situational and metaphorical code-switching in Norway (1972). Situational switching with its macro-sociolinguistic orientation bears some similarities to diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) in that the social situation largely determines what the code choice will be (McCormick, 2001). "The notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 126). In addition, Blom and Gumperz state that situational switching "involves clear changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations. We use the term *situational switching* to refer to this kind of language shift" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 126). Metaphorical code-switching, in contrast, means that speakers are not so constrained by situational or social norms. Rather they can redefine a situation as they seek to convey "metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 61) – a point that will be developed further in section 2.3.9 when metaphoric switching will be related to style shifting. Such switching is more related to topic or subject matter, drawing on the associations and social meanings each code invokes rather than the rights and obligations of a particular social situation (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 127). Metaphorical switching also represents a move toward the micro-level approach to language choice where personal agency comes to the fore. This is what Gumperz had in mind by the term 'conversational code-switching' where relationship between language choice and social context is a far more multifaceted one (Gumperz, 1982, p. 61). Conversational code-switching corresponds to the "CS itself as the unmarked choice" in Myers-Scotton's markedness model (1993b, p. 117), outlined below. In both cases there is a high density of switching by fluent bilinguals (McCormick, 2001) and inter- and intra-sentential switching. Because the CS variety itself is often identified by speakers as a favoured means of communicating, it is usually given a 'name' alongside the other monolingual codes. In the case of the Philippines, Taglish stands alongside Tagalog and English.

2.3.3 *Markedness model*

The markedness model of Myers-Scotton (1993b) offers a number of very pertinent points which illuminate the context of this research into Taglish. The points cover both micro and macro factors. They are worth summarising here:

Firstly, Myers-Scotton (1993b) offers a taxonomy of four related types of switching: "(1) CS as a sequence of unmarked choices; (2) CS itself as the unmarked choice; (3) CS as a marked choice; and (4) CS as an exploratory choice" (p. 114). My own research thus far indicates that Taglish is clearly an example of CS itself as the unmarked choice (Smedley, 2002 & 2004). From an overall perspective, 'code-switching as the unmarked choice' occurs when bilingual speakers (or writers in the case of this research) switch codes to maximise the communicative resources of their linguistic repertoire. Thus personal agency is very clearly to the fore rather than any desire to converge to (an unmarked switch) or diverge from (a marked switch) situational or societal norms, or some rights and obligations set. To use the Philippines as an illustration, Bolton states that "the norm among English-knowing bilinguals is widespread code-switching and code-mixing, so that in Manila, for example, the use of 'Taglish' tends to be the unmarked code of choice" (2003, p. 201). Bautista views the use of Taglish in the same way (2004) as does Marasigan (1983, as cited by McLellan, 2005) who argues that Taglish is normal and unmarked for interaction and even suggests that a purely monolingual interaction in either English or Tagalog is more likely the marked choice. From a sociolinguistic perspective then, Myers-Scotton (1993b) suggests that switching as the unmarked choice can:

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

Taglish appears to conform strongly to the above points. In terms of point 4, Taglish exhibits a great deal of both intrasentential switching with morphosyntactic integration as well as intersentential switching with stretches of alternation between Tagalog and

English. The latter fact would indicate that a high level of proficiency in both languages is required. The last point (5) is also very relevant, in that Taglish is modelled extensively in the media – a point I will discuss at greater length in section 3.4.1

Myers-Scotton (1993b) also offers some macro-sociolinguistic conditions conducive to the promotion of CS as the unmarked choice. These include communities where "indigenous lingua francas have currency" (p. 120), and where the former colonial language has become the language of prestige and operates in key domains of business and government. Certainly, this is the case in the Philippines where English has the status of an official language (see section 3.3.2).

Finally, Myers-Scotton proposes that structurally, CS itself as the unmarked choice is typified by intrasentential switching with the matrix language providing the morphosyntactic framework. CS as the unmarked choice may also involve intersentential switching. She also notes that in her African data sets, "[I]t is always an indigenous language, not the international language, which is the matrix language" (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p.126): an observation that also appears to be true in the case of Taglish (Bautista, 2004; Smedley, 2004). An unfortunate aspect of this model is that subsequent interpretations (e.g., Auer, 2001), and formulations by Myers-Scotton herself (2002), seem to overlook the key idea of "CS itself as the unmarked choice," particularly when expounded in the Rational Choice Model. The model appears reduced and dichotomised into simply marked and unmarked choices.

2.3.4 *Rational choice model*

The Rational Choice model has its genealogy in the Markedness Model (MM) of Myers-Scotton, where the idea of intuition is "not very different from the MM's 'markedness evaluator'" (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001, p.11). It also seems linked to the markedness model in order to differentiate between choices as marked or not (Myers-Scotton, 2002). Strangely, the concept of "Code-switching itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS)" Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p.117) is occulted in this Rational Choice version of the markedness model, perhaps in an effort to delineate clear choices related both to Rights and Obligations sets and indexing of a specific identity by a code choice (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 206). Unmarked CS does not permit such specific indexicality (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p.117), though it may be an option in a particular instance.

In their Rational Choice Model, invoking both economic and mechanistic metaphors, Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai provide motivations for code-switching based on an intentional rational assessment of what will maximise benefit or utility for the speaker (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai , 2001). By calling on notions of "intuition that grows out of experience" and "unconscious cognitive calculations" (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001, pp. 8 & 11) to account for split second decisions, the concept of rationality seems rather stretched, to render it simply a choice model. The explanation that speakers choose to code-switch is probably too powerful to be useful in that it can be applied to any human behaviour whatsoever. "He/she did it because he/she chose to" would not be a satisfying answer to any social research question. A rational choice model especially if rational choices can include those choices below conscious level which are simply "cognitively based calculations" (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 208) runs the risk of being devoid of real explanatory power. We are still left with the questions "Why? What is the benefit or utility achieved?" This question is particularly relevant in the case of code-switching itself as the unmarked choice where deterministic situational norms or social categories cannot readily be appealed to.

2.3.5 *Conversational & discourse functions of code-switching*

For most code-switching research, it is assumed that the context of code-switching is speech in conversation (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 2001; Li, 2005, Myers-Scotton, 1993b). Gumperz (1982) set forth a list of the now well known conversational functions of code-switching (pp. 75-81). These include: quotations; addressee specification; interjections; reiteration; message qualification; and objectivization versus personalization. Auer criticises such functions as failing to explicate the deeper conversational meanings of CS that conversational analysis might provide (Auer, 2001). However, with written code-switching, it seems these conversational functions may ironically have fresh applicability (Montes-Alcala, 2005). In a study of Spanish-English CS in personal letters, Montes-Alcala found that a number of Gumperz's conversational functions were evident in the code-switching (2005, p. 104). Ruth Anacta Alido, in a masters thesis, also found some similar functions in CS in personal letters of bilingual Filipinos (1996, as cited by Montes-Alcala, 2005). These and other functions for conversational CS outlined by McCormick (2001) may well be applied to written

switching in weblogs. These functions may be summarised as code-switching: for stylistic effect; to index various identities; to evoke a particular reference group (see also Bell, 1984, 1999); to serve a symbolic function; to indicate neutrality with respect to competing ideas; to offer an aside or parenthetic remark; to foreground material; to add force or authority to a statement; to give semantic contrast by having two focal points of a statement in different codes; to intensify contrast in register; and to create a humorous effect.

2.3.6 *A challenge to conversational analysis*

Conversation analytical (CA) investigations into code-switching lie at the extreme end of a micro-analytical approach. CA views conversation as a sequential, cooperative, interactional achievement (Duranti, 1997; Auer, 1998). Looking at the role of how and where code-switching fits into the overall interaction is seen as more fruitful than focusing solely on narrower syntactical categories (Goutsos, 2001, p.196). In particular, the meaning of switching is to be located in the choice of language at a particular point and the relationship of this choice to previous and subsequent turns.

Many CA studies look at switching where there is a difference in ability between the speakers in the languages involved (e.g., Lo, 1999; Li et al., 2000; Amuda, 1994). Terms like "imbalanced bilingual competence" or "competence related switching" (Auer, 2000: 173, 185) are used. One study looked at a context involving social network analysis in an immigrant community where there were varying dimensions of asymmetry between the speakers in proficiency in the languages (Li et al., 2000, p. 199). Cromdal and Aronsson (2000) researched children's conversational work using Goffman's notion of footing (Goffman, 1981) and found that code-switching may be seen as a "dramaturgic device" deliberately and functionally employed by children as a device to display, embellish, tease or mock and thus invoke other identities.

CA views code-switching as "essentially a conversational activity" (Li, 2005, p. 276) and thus the meaning of code-switching can only be adequately explained in terms of the participants' orientation to conversational structure and achievement of coherence. It tends to reject sociological categories and psychological categories, for example, the Rational Choice model (Li, 2005), being simply imported into analysis. The conversational analyst must show "how such things as identity, attitude, and relationship are presented, understood, accepted or rejected and changed in the process

of interaction" (Li, 2005, p. 382). There is, nevertheless, some criticism of CA for its seeming neglect of context (Billig, 1999; Duranti, 1997). The significance of this present study lies in the actuality that code-switching on weblogs cannot be explicated in terms of conversational activity. This research highlights that switching takes place very freely in the total absence of overt conversational structures and specific addressees. This cannot but pose a serious challenge to the assumptions of a CA approach and highlight the need to take into account other categories besides orientation to conversational activity to make sense of code-switching. One key area is how identities are constructed and negotiated through switching practices.

2.3.7 *Contextualisation cues and textualisation cues*

Even though Gumperz's notion of contextualisation cues was formulated in the context of code-switching as a conversational practice, analyses in this thesis show that contextualisation cues are also particularly relevant to written code-switching.

The term contextualisation cue originates with Gumperz and refers to linguistic and paralinguistic signals made by a speaker to indicate a change in how the context should be interpreted by the other speaker(s) (1982). This is similar to the notion of "footing" in Goffman's participation framework. Goffman refers to code-switching as a means to signal a change of footing (Goffman, 1981, 128). Code-switching can be a contextualisation cue insofar as it can convey tacit socio-cultural knowledge as to how the surface message can be recontextualised for a specific "situated interpretation" (Gumperz, 2001, p. 221). Thus CS can "highlight certain contextual or context-bound presuppositions in the ongoing conversation" (Chan, 2005, p. 3). Even in the simple case of code-switching to quote someone, the switch points to the contextual information that "these are not my words but someone else's."

Chan extends the notion of contextualisation cues with the concept of code-switching as a "textualisation cue" (Chan, 2004). "Code-switching highlights not only contextual assumptions (i.e., contextualisation) but also textual status (i.e., how to interpret these elements in relation to surrounding text – entextualisation)" (Chan, 2004, p. 21). It is an idea that may have useful applicability in the analysis of written switching whereby code-switching as a metadiscourse may highlight aspects of ideational, interpersonal or textual meaning (Chan, 2004, p. 22).

2.3.8 *Written code-switching*

The vast bulk of code-switching research has focused on oral code-switching (Callahan, 2002). The advent of weblogs has opened up the opportunity to research code-switching which has both a written as well as an oral quality. In an analysis of written Spanish/English code-switching in short stories and novels, Callahan (2002) found that the language switching in written texts conformed most readily to the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) that Myers-Scotton had developed with oral interaction (e.g., Myers-Scotton, 1993a). However, ironically, where an author attempted to produce dialogue to resemble oral discourse, it posed more of a challenge to the MLF, even though this model was originally framed on the basis of speech data, not written data. Indeed, the sparse type of Tagalog/English switching by a novelist like Timothy Mo (1995, 1999) tends to be emblematic (with interjections, tags or sentence fillers), functioning as an "ethnic identity marker" (Holmes, 1992, p. 42), and appears very different from that seen on Filipino blog sites or my own research into switching on radio programmes (Smedley, 2002) and experience of Filipinos switching in conversation. So it seems that the conscious effort by some novelists to produce language switching in dialogue may be quite different (and more purely symbolic) than normal communicative switching in conversation or writing. Finally, as previously mentioned, research by Montes-Alcala (2005) and Alido (1996, as cited in Montes-Alcala, 2005) found conversational functions of code-switching being used in personal letters.

2.3.9 *Style switching and metaphorical code-switching*

A number of sociolinguists recognise that style shifting is an issue in all language use (monolingual as well as multilingual) and that code-switching can be seen in the context of style shifting, so that in a similar way that monolingual speakers may shift styles in a conversation, bilinguals switch languages to fully implement the resources of their linguistic repertoire (Bell, 1984, p. 161; 1997, p. 245; Goutsos, 2001, p. 196). This offers the possibility of analysing language switching and identity from the frameworks already employed for style analysis.

Intraspeaker variation in individual style is derived from the variation between the interspeaker variation at the social level and thus style carries the social meaning of the group associated with that style variant (Bell, 1997, p. 246) and style shifts may signify representing one's own identity or "laying claim to other identities" (Bell, 2001, p.

163). We could well extend this notion to suggest that a language shift carries meaning in relationship to 'ethnic identity'. Thus, switching between two languages could signal the respective identities associated with the two languages and also a dual identity associated with the 'choice' to language switch (often a pan-national identity). Code-switching also clearly stands in some relation to dialect 'shifts,' especially as language shifting can be a salient example of appropriating other voices in the Bakhtinian sense (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89). A stylistic study of the exploitation of a repertoire of dialect forms of English to enact variable identities (Coupland, 2001a, pp. 347 & 350), also seems applicable to language switching. Not only may code-switching be seen in some sense as analogous to style switching, but a code-switch may also entail a style switch. To clarify this, we have the following example where the writer is discussing a tax deduction system implemented in Singapore.

_____

1. **singapore has a procedure called** GIRO

2. *na   kung saan bibigyan mo ng*   authorization   *ang bangko mo*
   that wherever   give   you (LK) authorization   the bank   your
   that wherever you give authorization to your bank

3. *na payagan kaltasan ang iyong account ng   pera* every month.
   that allow   deduct   the your account (LK) money every month
   that permits money to be deducted from your account every month

4.   **it's simple, efficient and it works.**
                                                                    (Blog 6)__
_____

The switch to English (line 4) involves a stylistic shift as the writer invokes another voice and appropriates the stereotypical feel of an advertising slogan with the phrase *it's simple, efficient and it works.* The situation evoked is that of an appeal to the consumer to purchase a product. This is an example of a metaphorical shift and has close parallels with Bell's concept of an initiative shift in style-switching (Bell, 1999).

> Language, like all social activity, is at once constrained and creative. Although both dimensions are there in any particular instance of language use or the analysis of language, we are likely to find one predominates over the other in most actual cases, that one piece of language is primarily responsive while the other is primarily initiative. (Bell, 1999, p. 525)

As mentioned previously, situational switching emphasises more of the constrained nature of language use. The social situation to a large extent determines the code.

However, metaphorical switching is creative; the code determines to some extent the situation or infuses one context with the flavour of another context. With a metaphorical code-switch, speakers have more choice being not so constrained by situational norms (important though they be – for it is the normative that establishes whether an instance is responsive or initiative), as they seek to convey "metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 61). Therefore, it clearly also functions as a contextualisation cue.

The above example demonstrates that a shift in style tends to derive its meaning from a referee group associated with the topic or situation (Bell, 2001, p. 146): in this case, advertisers and advertising slogans. Drawing on research into Javanese "speech styles", Irvine draws attention to how people differentiate situations by drawing on the "voices" of others (social groups) associated with the situations (Irvine, 2001, p. 31). The comments above point to the value of investigating written code-switching in terms of the referee design component of the audience design model (Bell, 1997, 1999). We pick this up again in the methodology section.

2.3.10 *Identity work and code-switching*

In terms of identity work and code-switching, a number of studies have found switching to be a significant resource for a speaker who wishes to bring into play other voices, or even portray another aspect of their own personality (Goutsos, 2001, p. 216; Gardner-Chloros et al., 2000, p. 1306). In a study of the use of English in Cypriot-Greek conversations, Goutsos found that Cypriot-Greek speakers switch to English to represent another person, or invoke another aspect of their own persona (Goutsos, 2001, p. 216). Pagliai, in an analysis of code-switching and the construction of an Italian-American identity, sees code-switching into Italian in an advertisement on food as appropriating a more authoritative, truthful voice (1996, p.12). Likewise, switching from Tagalog to English signalled the appropriation of a global authoritative voice to portray the Philippines as modern and progressive (Smedley, 2002). In research on German "Youth-Cultural Media" from a sample of magazine and web texts, Androutsopoulos suggest switches to English may give a proposition more emphasis and more "global validity" in the geographical sense (Androutsopoulos, 2001, p. 4). Code-mixing by Hong Kong stand-up comics is seen as expressing a "westernised identity" and has been referred to as "orientation mixing" (Tsang & Wong, 2004, p. 769). Li notes how novelists reflect the reality of Asian American experience,

appropriating and transforming English through linguistic processes like language switching to construct multi-ethnic identities (Li, D., 2000). The writer, Timothy Mo, explores representations of Filipino identity through both switching and non-standard spellings (1995, 1999). However, there are salutary warnings against limiting analysis of code-switching in terms of a simplistic one-to-one relation with ethnic or social identity (Sebba & Wotton, 1998; Auer, 2005).

This chapter has set forth some of the linguistic and sociolinguistic configurations that necessarily form the backdrop and inform the process of a socially-oriented, discourse analytical approach to code-switching, and it thus suggests the need for a multidimensional approach. The next chapter will enlarge the backdrop further with a consideration of the specific historical, cultural, social and linguistic contexts related to the specific variety of code-switching researched in this study, Taglish.

Chapter 3   *The Philippine context*

I wish to situate the language switching variety Taglish (Tagalog/English) within the broad historical, social and linguistic realities of the multi-ethnic Philippines. Filipinos have often responded to diverse external and internal cultural forces by producing unique cultural fusions, and it may well be that Taglish is an example of this. I begin the chapter by reviewing the broad social context and the recent political environment. In the light of these, the phenomenon of the Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW) will be examined. This Philippine diaspora tend to be significant users of Taglish in Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) and thus weblogs, and some feature as writers of weblogs in the corpus studied in this research. Next, the linguistic situation in the Philippines will come under the spotlight. I will look at Tagalog as the basis of the national language, Filipino. The place of English will be examined as a prelude to discussing the emergence of Taglish. Finally, Taglish itself will be examined in the light of these social, political and linguistic contexts.

3.1   Socio-political context in the Philippines

The geographical realities of the Philippines and its historical profile have set the stage for a country which displays enormous diversity at every possible level. The 7,100 islands situated in the South China Sea have historically posed a serious challenge to whatever centralising forces have been brought to bear. Thus efforts towards cultural, social, political, economic and linguistic unification have constantly been frustrated.

The country was colonised by two western powers – Spain for over 350 years and the U.S. for some 45 years. The main residue of Spanish occupation is the Roman Catholic religious sensibility (indeed the Philippines is perhaps more conservative religiously than modern Spain), in a country where 83% of the population profess to be at least nominally Catholic (Hicks, 2000). The main remnant of American occupation is, no doubt, the pervasive presence of the English language.

The other key external influences are Malay and Chinese. From the earliest times, Chinese traders visited the country and throughout the Spanish and American periods they settled in the islands. Thus, as an example of ethnic fusion, there are three types of mestizo/mestizas (people of mixed parentage): Filipino-Spanish, Filipino-Chinese and

Filipino-American. Internally, the diversity is just as marked with the over 7000 islands being home to many diverse ethnic groups including 32 ethnic minorities (Hicks, 2000) and 171 living languages.

This context of enormous complexity (Smolicz & Nical, 1997) poses a challenge to notions of national unity and collective identity in this current phase of the country's history. That the current context is "highly neo-colonial" (Tupas, 2004, p. 48) is a point conceded even by American historians. Graves, in 1992, referred to "The 93-year story of American colonisation ..." in the Philippines (1992, p. 1). This neo-colonialism involves what San Juan Jr. calls the "domination of U.S. symbolic capital on literary and critical discourse" (2000, p. 233), so that Filipino people collectively have little real say, given the economic and political challenges that confront the country (Tupas, 2004). Accordingly, it is within this highly neo-colonised context, with the attendant ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity and also great disparity between rich and poor, that the quest for Filipino unification and identity is being undertaken.

The quest for identity has meant an ongoing search for stories, symbols, myths and a language which transcend(s) the differences aforementioned. It is hardly surprising in this context that there has been an endo-colonial attempt to loose the national language, Filipino, from its true Tagalog moorings and create a political and social construct (c.f., Ferguson, 2003, p. 45) imbued with transcendent qualities as the language of the people, thus erasing linguistic differences (Weekley, 1999). Some see it as an attempt to create and "essentialise Filipinohood" (Pertierra, 1999) via diminishing differences, historical fraud and linguistic erasure, and they suggest the search has often ignored the radical multi-ethnic nature of Filipino society (Weekley, 1999).

In particular, some non-Tagalogs struggle with the notion of national identity when it has been so forcefully formulated in political, linguistic and cultural configurations that are Tagalog (Weekley, 1999). Centrifugal forces of differing ethnicities, languages, historical experiences as well as geographical dislocation and economic disparity still remain resistant to the centripetal efforts at forging national unity and identity through myth, symbol, stories and national struggle, language standardisation and development of regional infrastructure (see Steinberg, 1994). Thus, there is concern that especially in the current realities of globalisation, the Filipino identity is in a state of crisis (Weekley

1999; San Juan Jr., 2000 & 2003; Bankoff & Weekley 2002). Lacson describes it as "refracted and unfocused" (2004, p. 14).

Nevertheless, at the same time visitors to the Philippine Archipelago are invariably struck by the way the people have absorbed and imbibed a vast array of cultural influences, and transmuted these into their own cultural forms, bringing about unique hybrids (Pertierra, 1999; Smolicz & Nical, 1997). It is within this context of intersecting forces of unification and diversity that Taglish can be seen as occupying a linguistic third space with important implications for both identity and resistance. The Filipino jeepney is a classic symbol of Filipino ingenuity in adapting an alien product (originally American jeeps left after WWII) into something archetypally Filipino and now a ubiquitous, and colourful hybrid form of public transport throughout the islands (Steinberg, 1994). In section 3.4 we will look at how Taglish might be viewed as a linguistic counterpart to the jeepney as it has integrated English to become a hybrid 'language' (Power, 2005).

3.2 Philippine diaspora

We now examine the phenomenon of the Philippine diaspora who frequently use Taglish in weblogs and are thus very much at the centre of this investigation. In particular, identity issues are extremely salient for this group and thus we background their historical existence now.

Like many diasporas, the modern Philippine diaspora is the product of transnational capitalism (Okamura, 1997). As the Philippines has developed and struggled economically, it has, especially during and since the Marcos years, positioned itself as having a real comparative advantage in terms of surplus labour with excellent English skills that it can offer to the global economy. Between 1975 and 1982 the number of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) rose by some 1,900 per cent (Tyner & Kuhlke, 2000). Over 5 million OFWs are benefiting the international labour market (Tyner, 2004). Some put the figure as high as 10 million (San Juan, Jr., 2003), making the Philippines the largest exporter in the world of such contract labour, some seven times greater than the next largest Asian exporter (Tyner, 2004). The money these workers remit back to the Philippines, to support families, equates to some 20% of the economy's export earnings (Tyner, 2004), the third biggest source of foreign exchange after exports of electronic goods and garments (Okamura, 1997). Of special prominence

in the discourse around the OFW is the concept of the *Balikbayan* (a returnee to the Philippines permanently or temporarily). The Balikbayan programme was initiated in 1973 by the Marcos Government (Tyner & Kuhlke, 2000). Balikbayans are accorded special status which confers certain official privileges (Okamura, 1997) as well as an imputed mana by the communities they return to, especially if to the provincial areas (Okamura, 1997). The *Bagong Bayani* (new hero) awards involve a yearly "search for the country's outstanding and exemplary Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) as our modern-day heroes" (Bagong Bayani Foundation, 2005). 2000 was declared the year of the OFW (Tyner, 2004) and word 'hero' is liberally spread around in the discourse. The Philippine government has continued to manage a triumphalistic discourse around this export of human capital (Okamura, 1997) to gain the support of both the masses and the OFW and at the same time gloss over the circumstances of discrimination, deprivation, subservience, exploitation, minimal pay and downright terror in which many of these workers (especially the women) exist in overseas countries (Tyner, 2004; Lindio-McGovern, 2003; San Juan Jr., 2000, 2003; Tupas, 2004; Tyner & Kuhlke, 2000). Some live in the precarious situation of immediate repatriation without warning by the host government (Tyner & Kuhlke, 2000). Indeed San Juan Jr. poignantly points out that every day, on average, 3000 Filipinos leave loved ones to work abroad and 5 coffins bearing the bodies of Overseas Filipino Workers arrive at Manila International Airport (2003, p. 518).

Unlike many diasporic groups who have a sense of collective identity based in "memories and myths" of a homeland, San Juan sees members of the Philippine diaspora as struggling to form such an identification given the history of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the structures of poverty and exploitation that have driven so many to seek work abroad (San Juan Jr., 2000). One survey in the U.S. suggested that they are struggling to define their "cultural identity" (Kang, 1996).

The Philippine diaspora is an imagined community (Okamura, 1997) and its members are often united through their interaction on the World Wide Web. OFWs with their fluent command of English have become significant users of Taglish in weblogs. Much of the research in this thesis will examine this prolific code-switching and how Taglish is used to negotiate complex configurations of identity. The Philippine diaspora then provides fertile territory for examining the workings of Taglish in a time of crisis for many Filipinos who ask the question: "What does it mean to be a Filipino?"

3.3 Linguistic situation in the Philippines

In the context of code-switching studies, Bautista called the Philippines a "veritable natural laboratory " for code-switching studies (Bautista, 1991, p. 28). With in excess of 100 distinct languages (McFarland, 2004) it is easy to see why. In fact, the SIL Ethnologue of 2005 lists 175 languages in the Philippines. Of these 171 are living and 4 extinct (Gordon, 2005). All Philippine languages come from the eastern Austronesian grouping (Crystal, 1987), with the exception of a number Spanish creoles (Frake, 1971) referred to collectively as Chabacano or Chavacano, where Spanish vocabulary has been inserted into a mainly Philippine-type grammatical structure (Agana, 1999). Tagalog, the basis of the national language, Filipino, comes from the Meso-Philippine grouping. Its historical rival, Cebuano, the main regional lingua franca to the south of Luzon and arguably still having the largest number of speakers (as a first language), also comes from this group (McFarland, 2004). The other dominant regional lingua franca is Ilocano (spoken by the late Ferdinand Marcos) in the North. These three main regional languages (Tagalog, Cebuano and Ilocano) have been termed "killer languages" as they play a key role in absorbing other smaller languages to the point of extinction (McFarland, 2004; Thompson, 2003). A 1997 study of high school students in the non-Tagalog areas revealed that these three lingua francas are still held in high regard and a situation has emerged that has been termed triglossic (Smolicz & Nical, 1997) with Filipino, English and the regional language having varying usage in different linguistic domains.

3.3.1 *Tagalog basis of Filipino*

The development and formal adoption of Tagalog-based Filipino to the status of a national language in 1987 will now be briefly traced.

The Commonwealth of the Philippines was established under President Manuel Quezon in 1935 with the promise of independence from the U.S. administration by 1946. When Quezon subsequently travelled through the islands, his constant need for an interpreter struck him forcefully and he wrote:

> I am all right when I go to the Tagalog provinces, because I can speak to the people there in the vernacular, in Tagalog. But if I go to Ilocos Sur, I am already a stranger in my own country, I, the president of the Philippines! (Steinberg, 1994, p. 35)

A newly created National Language Institute was given the task by this new Philippine Commonwealth administration of searching out what language would be best for the role of a new unifying national language (Thompson, 2003). The new Philippine constitution of 1935 stated:

> The national assembly shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing languages. Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages. (Rubrico, 1998, p.3)

In that Tagalog was the language spoken in and around Manila (the Capital and the seat of government) and thus the language of most of the Filipino elite, it came as no surprise that the Institute recommended Tagalog in 1937 and produced a Tagalog-English dictionary very rapidly (Rubrico, 1998). Forty years previously in 1897, prior to the U.S. takeover of the Philippines, the Biak-na-Bato Constitution formulated by Filipino revolutionaries against Spain contained an article that Tagalog would be the official language of the new Philippine Republic under Emilio Aguinaldo.

From 1937 to 1958 the 'national language' had no name until in 1959 the secretary of education gave it the name 'Pilipino' to give it more currency as a national language (Thompson, 2003; Sibayan, 1991). The 1973 constitution declared Pilipino (now renamed "Filipino") an official language, but not yet the national language. In fact Filipino did not become the national language of the Philippines until it was so named in the 1987 constitution. The first monolingual dictionary in Filipino was published in 1989 (Gonzalez, 1991), perhaps symbolising that the national language had come of age.

Parallel to the process of creating a national language was the implementation of the Bilingual Education Programme (BEP) in 1974 with requirements for Tagalog to be the medium of instruction in all subjects except science, mathematics and technology, where English was to be employed. The BEP has however met with heavy resistance (Sibayan, 1991) especially in the Cebuano speaking regions (Gonzalez, 1996b; Smolicz & Nical, 1997; Smolicz et al.; Thompson, 2003). Indeed, a study by Smolicz and Nical (at a similar time to Thompson's survey) of language usage and attitudes of senior high school students indicated that Filipino "is not gaining headway among the Cebuanos" (1997, p. 522). Another study by Smolicz et al., found that Cebuano respondents "thought Filipino unnecessary, since English and their own language appeared adequate

for most of their needs" (2002). Not surprisingly then, it appears that when Cebuanos need to use Filipino, Taglish is becoming the preferred mode for its expression.

Thus, the adoption of Tagalog-based Filipino as a national language was not without controversy. Smolicz and Nical (1997, p. 525) criticise the national language policy as being an endo-colonial enterprise, arguing that the European "myth of a mono-lingual nation-state" is "clearly inappropriate for the Philippines." Others see the whole standardization project to create the notion of Filipino-ness as "Tagalog-centric" (Weekley, 1999, p. 350).

However, for Filipinos who see a national language as essential in the pursuit of national unity and identity, the key need for Filipino is what Sibayan calls intellectualization, whereby Filipino must become equal to the task of instruction at every level of the education with the development of graded materials and textbooks throughout these levels (Sibayan, 1991). Ironically, English is given a key role in this intellectualization as bilingual scholars with excellence in English write scholarly works in Filipino (Sibayan, 1991), and presumably intellectualised Filipino via their translation skills.

The relationship between Filipino and Tagalog remains a vexed and hotly debated one. The 1987 constitution states that "The national language of the Philippines is Filipino. As it evolves, it shall further be developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages" (Art. XIV, Sec.6, 1987 Constitution). It is particularly noticeable that Tagalog receives no mention here or in any sections of article 14 dealing with language. Also the phrase "existing Philippine languages" is vague, given, as we noted earlier, there are well in excess of one hundred of these. It is very clear that the enrichment of Filipino is mainly a lexical and morphosyntactical one. Beyond the word level, it is not a grammatical one, though a minority hold out some hope that the developing Filipino could have its grammatical structures influenced by other Filipino languages (Agana, 1999). In reality, grammatically, Filipino is standardised Tagalog (Crystal, 1999; Perdon, 2002). In addition, it seems that the greatest amount of lexical enrichment comes from English rather than other Philippine languages (Rubrico, 1998). In this regard, *The New Standard English-Filipino Dictionary* sets forth explicit rules in its appendix for the morphological integration of English nouns and verbs into Filipino (Manser & Angeles, 1995 p. 629ff) and as such represent a serendipitous formulation of

Taglish insertion rules. Because of the reliance of Filipino on English nonce borrowings (even in academic settings) and the prevalence of Taglish in both informal and academic settings, some even mistakenly equate Filipino with the code-switching variety, Taglish (Rubrico, 1998, p. 6).

Many thus consider Filipino, for all practical purposes, as synonymous with Tagalog. In producing Tagalog language texts for foreign students, Aspillera, a former director of *Akademya ng Wikang Filipino* (Institute of Filipino Language) treats Tagalog and Filipino as one and the same (1993). Lorenzana does likewise in her phrasebook (1998). Various linguists (e.g., McFarland, 2004; Agana, 1999) seem to equate Tagalog with Filipino as do individuals in the media (e.g., Mangahas, 1998) and Filipino literary theorist, Vincente Rafael (1995 & 2000), is certain that Filipino is very much Tagalog based. The Tagalog scholar, Himmelmann, also sees Filipino as basically Tagalog with an expanded lexis (2004). At a stage when Filipino was referred to as 'Pilipino', Bautista used the term in a study of radio dramas (1979) to avoid the purism associated with the name 'Tagalog', but she is careful to state that in her study "the referent of 'Pilipino' and 'Tagalog' is the same language and therefore if the reader so desires, he can read 'Tagalog' for every occurrence of 'Pilipino'" (p. 13). The upshot of this, for my study, is that Taglish is Filipino-English code-switching – a switching variety involving the national language.

Most interestingly for this study, Sibayan believes Taglish will assist in the development of Filipino (1991). He notes that Taglish is readily accepted across domains and social levels with both its 'market-place' varieties and more learned forms in lecture situations. One might well wonder, then, what the role of the written form increasingly used in weblogs[4] may be in this development.

3.3.2 *The place of English*

Even before the American defeat of the Spanish in Manila Bay (May 1, 1898), the Filipino nationalist and revolutionary, Apolinario Mabini, recognised the growing significance of English as a potential world language and envisioned it as the medium of instruction in Philippine high schools in the new Philippine Republic, free from the

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[4] In this thesis, I will be using the words *weblog* and *blog* interchangeably.

Spanish yoke (Gonzalez, 1996). English was basically unknown in the Philippines at this stage. It was the Americans, with their desire to bring democracy and "civilize and Christianize" the islands, who brought English (Steinberg, 1994, p. 65). With a belief that anticipated elements of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the Americans felt that English was the language most conducive to thought processes that would foster and further democratic principles (Gonzalez, 1996a) in the fledgling U.S. colony. So American historian, Steinberg, was able to conclude that "English became a medium of communication, binding together the disparate linguistic, geographic, and religious constituencies in a way that Spanish never did" (1994, p. 73).

The American English policy was so successful that by 1918, 47% of the literate population claimed the ability to speak English (Bolton & Bautista, 2004) – a feat not achieved by the Spanish in over 300 years (1565 – 1898) . Indeed, contrary to popular belief, Spanish never became the language of the Philippines. After 300 years of occupation, less than 2% of Filipinos spoke Spanish (Gonzalez, 1996a). From the start Catholic missionaries had set about propagating the faith via the indigenous languages particularly Tagalog, the language spoken in and around Manila, the capital. The Spanish "created common religious and ethical precepts, common faith, but not a common language or sense of community" (Steinberg, 1994, p. 80). Nevertheless, it is true that the Spanish language has had an enormous impact on Philippine languages through the vast number of Spanish loan words that have been fully integrated[5] into many of them (Aspillera, 1993).

By 1921, some 2000 American teachers had taught English in the Philippines. In spite of this, 91% of all English teachers were Filipino born (Bolton & Bautista, 2004). Thus most Filipinos learned English from fellow Filipinos and an incipient, distinct Filipino English began its development (Gonzalez, 1996).

In the 1920s, Philippine literature began appearing in English (Thompson, 2003). In the 1930s, 40s and 50s, Filipinos fortunate enough to complete high school invariably wrote in English (Dumdum, Mo, & Mojares, 2004). Simeon Dumdum, a Filipino novelist, notes that English was considered to be the "high language, the language of aspiration and achievement so far as the teachers were concerned" (Dumdum et al., 2004, p. 194).

By 1935, and the beginnings of the first Philippine constitution, the prestige of English was assured. It had become the main language employed in government administration, the media and all other key domains (Sibayan, 1991).

The American colony finally gained complete independence on July 4, 1946 (Hicks, 2000) and in this current post-colonial period (perceived by many Filipinos as also neo-colonial) (Lacson, 2004), English has receded somewhat in some domains where it previously held pride of place – not the least, education, with the introduction of a Bilingual Education Policy in 1974 (Llamzon, 1996). Indeed, it is this very policy, by the then national Education Board, that is seen by some as a catalyst for the encouragement of the code-switching variety, Taglish (Thompson, 2003) – an issue I will return to when I examine the evolution of Taglish in more detail (section 3.4.1). The bilingual policy was revised in 1987 and English was confirmed as the medium for teaching technology, mathematics and science; Tagalog-based Filipino was to be used for all other subjects (Bernardo, 2004). It seems the Bilingual Education Policy (BEP) is struggling, not least because many teachers from the non-Tagalog regions are inadequately prepared to teach in either English or Filipino, both being additional languages. In addition, students and teachers in urban areas tend to resist Filipino, perceiving English as the language of success, prestige and power (Bernardo, 2004). Thus, Taglish is gaining currency in such areas as a means of both mediating Filipino (Rafael, 2000; Thompson, 2003) and yet resisting the hegemony of Filipino.

English still plays a crucial role in the controlling domains in the country, including government administration, legislation and the judicial system, business, the professions, higher education, science and technology, and the mass media, (see Sibayan, 1991; Bernardo, 2004). However, many have been quick to underscore the disadvantages of this role of English for many Filipinos, especially those from the lower socio-economic groupings as the gap between the 'haves' and 'have nots' steadily rises (Tollefson, 1991; Bernardo, 2004; Tupas, 2004; Bolton & Bautista, 2004). Consequently proficiency in English is seen as bound up with how power relations are configured (Tupas, 2003). Tupas also laments the standard analysis that Filipinos "need English for instrumental reasons, while [they] also need Filipino (the national language)

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[5] Spanish and Tagalog are both syllable-timed languages and have a similar distribution of vocoid phonology. Thus a Spanish word like vagabundo (vagabond) becomes bagabundo.

for integrative and symbolic reasons" (2003, p.12) as the basis for the bilingual education programme.

Overall then, it seems English occupies a paradoxical position in the Philippines (Smolicz et al., 2002). It is seen as a language that gives and takes. It provides opportunities for personal and collective economic advancement. However, it is implicated in loss of identity and in power structures which marginalise the poor. One wonders in what ways this ambiguous position of English may be played out as it inhabits the linguistic repertoire of millions in the form of Taglish.

3.3.2.1 Filipino English

In 1969, Llamzon began to enumerate some of the key features of Filipino English he saw as emerging in the Philippines (Llamzon, 1996). It was a radical claim at the time – that such a thing as a standard Asian variety of English was beginning to emerge (Tupas, 2004). Over the years, the debate has continued over the linguistic features of this variety and as to whether a Standard Filipino English might be preferred over a Standard American variety as the type to be taught in the Philippines (Llamzon, 1996). Since Llamzon's initiative there has been arguably more research of a phonological, lexico-grammatical, semantic and idiomatic nature into Philippine English than any other variety in the South East Asian region – research that points to a rule-governed systematic variety (Tupas, 2004). It is also evident that substratal varieties of Philippine English also may exist, influenced in the main by the regional lingua francas (Agana, 1999).

Studies continue into Philippine English, and the Macquarie Asian Corpus, started in 1972, constitutes a key resource for compiling a future dictionary of the variety (Bautista, 1996). An edition of Philippine English for high schools, edited in part by Bautista and published in 2000, included some Filipino English (Tupas, 2004). Clearly, awareness of Philippine English involving extension or adaptations of meaning, shifts in parts of speech, clippings, innovations and so forth (see Bautista, 1996, for examples) will be important in the process of code-switching analysis.

3.3.2.2 English in the media

Of the eight major broadsheets in circulation, all are in English (Dayag, 2004). Any excursions into Tagalog/Filipino are invariably marked by italics or quotation marks

(Thompson, 2003). Only two of the sixteen major tabloids are in English. Twelve are in Tagalog/Filipino or Cebuano (if based in Cebu), and two use a combination of English and Filipino using both Taglish, or a more macro-switching variety involving longer stretches of Filipino discourse and stretches of English.

In the broadcast media, English is often found juxtaposed with Tagalog as Taglish. Chat shows, sports commentaries, sit-coms, Filipino movies and the like frequently model Taglish (Thompson, 2003). English movies are also very popular and notably are never available with Filipino subtitles (Agana, 1999). In a study of television commercials, Thompson (2003) uncovered clear distinctions between the values, aspirations, lifestyles and socio-economic realities indexed by Tagalog commercials and those indexed by English commercials. English was associated with products related to upward social mobility and the good life; Tagalog was used to advertise essentials like food products and pharmaceuticals.

3.4 Taglish

For the purposes of this research Taglish, unlike 'Singlish' (Singaporean English), is not a form of Philippine English. It is a code-switching variety involving Tagalog and English (Bautista, 2004; Thompson, 2003). In this sense it is more like Spanglish (Spanish-English) code-switching found in Puerto Rican communities (e.g., Labov, 1971; Rodriguez, 2004), though the conditions for its emergence have been quite different.

The prevalence and growing impact of Taglish in Philippine urban life throughout most social levels means we have already met it in other contexts, particularly in regard to its use by the Philippine diaspora (section 3.2), its relation to the national language (section 3.3.1), its relationship to English as an official language (section 3.3.2) and its ubiquitous presence in the media (section 3.3.2.2). A 1998 SWS (Social Weather Stations) Philippine wide survey of 1,200 adults[6] discovered that "some combination of Tagalog and English" was the second most popular choice (after Tagalog) for the language to be used in writing textbooks and as a teaching medium. This was all the more surprising insofar as the question prompting the response was open-ended with no list to choose from (Mangahas, 1999). That is to say, a "combination of Tagalog and

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[6] It was a representative random sample.

English was volunteered by the respondents themselves" with no prompting (Mangahas, 1999). In Mindanao, the southern-most island, it was the first choice. This result emphasises the status and popularity of Taglish throughout the islands.

3.4.1 *The origins of Taglish*

Taglish in its earlier incipient form was called 'halo-halo', a Tagalog term which means 'mix-mix'. This was the case in an early study of Taglish in the newspapers in 1967 (Thompson, 2003). It appears to have mainly involved nonce borrowings from English to Tagalog. Bautista, in a survey of studies into Tagalog/English switching, laments the fact that two early studies (1970 and 1972) involved corpuses in which the switching was mainly the borrowing of English words (Bautista, 1991). The first was a corpus from a newspaper, *Taliba;* the second, a corpus of 50 hours of transcribed recording from a radio news programme. The preponderance of borrowings is not surprising as we shall see.

The early seventies was the era of the 'Bagong Lipunan' or 'New Society' of Ferdinand Marcos. The 1973 Constitution gave new impetus to the national language, Pilipino (now being termed 'Filipino'). With this came the bilingual education policy of 1974 whereby English – in higher education – was to be displaced (in theory) by Tagalog as the medium of instruction in most subjects. English retained its position in mathematics, science and technology. Code-switching was seen by many as a practical response to the challenges of classroom teaching and interaction raised by the constraints of the bilingual policy (Gonzalez, 1996b). It is also very possible that the attempts by Tagalog purists to coin pure Tagalog neologisms around this time, to befit the language for its new role in education and as the basis of Filipino (Rubrico, 1998), were rejected by many educated Filipinos. They saw these Tagalog expressions as being cumbersome and preferred to employ an English borrowing instead (Thompson, 2003). During this period too, the beginnings of Taglish were starting to be modelled on some popular TV programmes. In the 1960s "people in front of the camera spoke either straight Tagalog or straight English" (Vanzi, 2004). Vanzi actually speculates that a TV host, Ariel Ureta, was among the pioneers who "introduced Taglish on local television" in 1972. Taglish also began to make its appearance in some of the more gossipy tabloids. In fact, their circulation went up when they accepted Taglish on their pages (Thompson, 2003). These three factors then, of a bilingual education policy, the rejection of Tagalog purism through the use English borrowings, and the early modelling in the media,

especially television (Thompson, 2003), probably played a key role in the development of what was called 'mix-mix' through to the full blown Taglish emerging by the late 1970s.

Another strand in the development of Taglish was political. The first half of the 1980's saw the Marcos regime splutter to a halt with the bloodless 'People Power Revolution' of 1986. This was a water-shed time for Taglish. Instead of remaining a curiosity frowned on by many, Taglish acquired linguistic and symbolic capital to enable commentators and others to criticise, mock and parody the final Marcos years (Rafael, 1995) and to subvert the social and linguistic hierarchies related to the respective roles of English and Filipino (Rafael, 2000).

Overall, in the battle between English and Filipino/Tagalog for linguistic supremacy, the role of Taglish is seen as a pragmatic compromise solution for many Filipinos, particularly as Taglish in the media helps to mediate Tagalog (Rafael, 1995) as the national lingua franca in the Philippines in spite of its detractors referring to it as some mongrel form or "gobbledygook" (Carillo, 2003).

3.4.2 *Taglish and Engalog*

Two types of code-switching involving Tagalog and English have been identified which Bautista terms "proficiency-driven code-switching and "deficiency-driven code-switching" (2004, p. 227). Proficiency-driven switching is the more common Taglish used by speakers with high levels of competence in both Tagalog and English. Deficiency-driven switching occurs where the speaker/writer lacks full competence in Tagalog. This variety has been called engalog or 'koño' and tends to involve insertions of Tagalog into English as the base language. Speakers of Koño tend to be a small group of elite English speakers who use Tagalog insertions as a way of indexing their Filipino-ness. In his research, Thompson (2003) refers to an informal style of English in the Philippines which is basically English in grammar with Tagalog tags, rejoinders and adverbial clitics being inserted. Thompson fails to recognise this type of code-switching (Koño) as distinctly different from Taglish. A key feature of koño is the combination of the English verb *make* with the Tagalog root verb. Thus for instance:

You make *hintay* here while I make *sundo* my *kaibigan*.

You   wait   here while I fetch my friend.

Another feature is the insertion of Tagalog adverbial clitics:

I'm so hot *na*; make   *paypay* me *naman*.
I'm so hot now; please fan   me.

A final feature is the use of *so* with the root form of the Tagalog adjective:

Mommy, I don't want. It's so *hirap eh.*
Mommy, I don't want. It's so difficult.

He's so *galing*.
He's so clever.

(above examples from Bautista, 2004 & "koño English…," n.d.)

3.4.3 *Linguistic approaches*

Research into Tagalog-English code-switching has involved both linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. One of the most significant and comprehensive early structural studies was that of Bautista (1980) in which an in-depth analysis of the structure of switching was undertaken. It sought, among other things, to develop a typology of the code-switches; examine code-switching patterns and constraints in terms of phrase structure rules; and identify structures in both languages which either "facilitate or inhibit code-switching" (p.1). These early structural analyses developed formulae for inter-clause and intra-clause switching (Bautista, 1991) and showed that code-switching was possible at points of language convergence and (in anticipation of Myers-Scotton) that identification of a base language was key to making sense of the switching (Bautista, 2004). Frequency counts of words and phrases were also done and most of this earliest data revealed a lot of borrowing. A number of things were revealed in these early studies (see Bautista, 1991):

1. Most insertion at the word and phrase level was from English nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs into Tagalog structures; whereas Tagalog adverbial particle clitics were often inserted as lone items into stretches of English.

2. Certain function words show convergence in the two languages, anticipating Thompson's work (2003) applying Muysken's notion of congruent lexicalisation (see section 2.2.3). These include linkers and conjunctions.

3. Where structural similarities exist at clause level, switching is often between stretches of the two languages.

4. Apart from recourse to lexis, insertions of English lexical items into Tagalog require only activating the phrase structure rules of Tagalog. However, with switches at phrase and clause level, both linguistic systems need to be activated.

Bautista herself (1980, 1991) investigated the applicability of Poplack's free morpheme constraint and equivalence constraint (Poplack, 1980). The free morpheme constraint was constantly violated. This was also a finding of Smedley (2002). The equivalence constraint generally held, with only minor adjustments, due to the idiosyncrasies of Tagalog grammar.

Thompson (2003) investigated Taglish using Muysken's (2000) model of intra-sentential code-mixing. The three components of insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization provided a workable framework to interpret much of the data. In particular, Thompson examined switching in a basketball commentary and found "alternations predominant and [were] at clause level. Insertions, except for English nouns and complex nominals being inserted into Tagalog, tend to be rejoinders, tags, and conjunctions" (2003, p. 152). In terms of congruent lexicalisation, Thompson (2003) found that *but* and *pero* were freely swapped, as was the focus/case marker *sa* for a variety of English prepositions.

The results of my own analysis of Taglish on weblogs sites are summarised here (Smedley, 2004). I used the Muysken framework of insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation. (E = English and T = Tagalog):

1. A great deal of alternation took place at clause level between E and T

2. Insertion of elements from E would often take place within the alternate clause with base language T. Evident, but not so common, were insertions from T when the base language was E. These latter insertions were often congruent lexicalisations.

3. Insertions of E into T were far more likely. Insertions were usually nouns or noun phrases. Noun phrase insertions never included determiners. Verbs were also commonly inserted.

4. Adverbials of time in E were very common insertions into T as were conjunctions, rejoinders and numbers.

5. When it came to morphological integration, items in E were most commonly inserted into actor focus T verbs. However, contrary to Bautista (1991), I found plenty of non-actor-focus T verbs which made excellent hosts for E items – both nouns and verbs.

6. There was far less insertion of T into E. However, tags and rejoinders were common candidates as were adverbial clitics, co-ordinating conjunctions and focus/case markers.

7. Some clear examples of congruent lexicalisation were also evident, among them: [*and = at⁷*], [*but = pero*], [*is/are etc = ay*], [*because = kasi*], and [locative/directional prepositions = *sa*].

3.4.4 *The structure of Tagalog*

Tagalog is a morphologically complex language involving prefixes, infixes and suffixes and root morpheme reduplication (Rubino, 2002). The key feature of Tagalog, as with most Philippine languages, is its focus system which approximates to the concept of voice in English (Foley, 1998). The key idea of focus is that the "semantic relationship between the topic (*ang* phrase or topic pronoun) is specified by the morphology of the verb" (Rubino, 2002). Thus every sentence has a focus (basically its theme) specified by the morphosyntax of the verb. This focus basically determines, and is determined by, what is being thematised in the discourse flow. As a consequence, what might equate to the passive forms in English are the more expected forms in Tagalog (Thompson, 2003). Knowledge of focus is important when analysing the discursive manoeuvres in Taglish, insofar as Tagalog is usually the base or matrix language.

The following are some examples of English words integrated into Tagalog verbs. Most morphologically integrated insertions to create verbs involve the actor focus (marked by nag/mag):

*nagdi*divorce*, nag*request *nag*elect*, nag*blow **nag*starting *mag*issue*, magla*live

or the object focus (marked by i/in): *i*share*, *i*revive,*, *i*request, *ini*hold, *pin*oint, *pina*prepare

(Smedley, 2004)

3.4.5 *Sociolinguistic approaches*

3.4.5.1 Macro-issues

Language switching is such a non-exceptional experience for Filipinos, that the country has been described as a "veritable natural laboratory" for code-switching studies (Bautista, 1991, p. 28). Code-switching is accepted in all domains and by all social levels (Sibayan, 1991, p. 79; Tupas, 1999, p. 1) and in a landmark early study, Bautista was able to state "Tagalog-English code-switching has become a way of life for many Filipinos…" (1980, p. 1). As the lingua franca of the mass media (radio and television – not so much newspapers), Tagalog manages in fact to have a translocal reach throughout the Philippines. It does so, however, only and always in conjunction with English. Thus, Taglish may well play a key role in mediating Tagalog throughout the Philippines (Rafael, 1995). Taglish is modelled a great deal in the media (Thompson, 2003, p. 128), so we might expect that there could be some standardisation of Taglish taking place.

Taglish can be seen as a form of resistance from the macro-sociolinguistic perspective. One view even suggests that language switching by the Filipinos can be seen as a kind of deliberate symbolic/linguistic violence – a resistance against the cultural/political norms attendant with any one language (Tupas, 1999; Bautista, 2004). Much has been written of the critical role of Taglish in the socio-political field (Tupas, 1999; Rafael, 1995; Nubla, 2004). The role is not surprising, again given the conditions of its emergence. In particular, Taglish is seen as occupying a third space (Nubla, 2004), the linguistic counterpart of the mestiza/mestizo (see section 3.1) mix of Filipino and Spanish, Chinese or American. As such it functions to subvert the linguistic hierarchy (Rafael, 1995). From this linguistic third space, it provides a site of resistance against hegemonic linguistic and socio-cultural forces associated with colonialism, neo-colonialism and global capitalism (Tupas, 1999). Taglish is also seen as having an

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[7] The Tagalog coordinating conjunction is *at* /a:t/, not to be confused with the English Preposition.

analogue in the figure of the "bakla" (Nubla, 2004: Rafael, 1995). 'Bakla' is roughly the Tagalog equivalent for 'homosexual' and more particularly, the feminine acting homosexual – somewhat the counterpart of the Samoan Fafafine. Just as the mestiza/o and the bakla challenge the hegemony of ethnic and gender binaries, Taglish is also seen as occupying a neither/nor space which disturbs the hegemonic binary of English/Tagalog (Rafael, 1995).

3.4.5.2 Micro-issues

As we have already proposed, Taglish appears to conform well with what Myers-Scotton terms "code-switching itself as the unmarked choice," or "unmarked code-switching" for short (1993b, p. 119ff; Smedley, 2002). Bautista refers to this as "symmetrical code-switching" (1991, p. 29). Here speakers tend to be bilingual peers, proficient in both languages "who wish to symbolise the dual memberships that such CS calls up" (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 119). Taglish occurs very commonly on personal blog sites. Such switching in the absence of any specific interlocutor supports the notion that Taglish is itself the unmarked choice.

Early ideas that Taglish code-switching was a manifestation of interference were soon abandoned as researchers enumerated reasons for switching, for example, accuracy, humorous effect, atmosphere, solidarity or distancing, snob appeal, secrecy, brevity, lack of indigenous lexis, emphasis and clarity (Bautista, 1991 & 2004).

In a study of code-switching in a Filipino film, *What's wrong with dreaming Filipinos,* Palmer found expressions in intra-sentential switching coming from the semantic domains of "imperialism, formal education and consumerism" (Palmer, 2000).

Smedley (2002) looked at Taglish use among the Filipino diaspora in radio programmes in Aotearoa – New Zealand. Among some features of the switching, he found that metaphorical switching (Gumperz, 1982) was a feature whereby a presenter switched languages in a similar way as a speaker might switch styles (see Bell, 1997) to link the content with a different set of social meanings or affective associations. Switches to Tagalog also coincided with stylistic variation and appeared to evoke deep emotional connections to the homeland[8] for the Filipino diaspora in the audience.

In a political monologue, much of the ideational meaning was carried in English, whereas the Tagalog carried the more phatic or interpersonal meanings. As we have seen, Sibayan suggests that politics is one of the domains where English is still very significant for Filipinos (1991). On another occasion, identity issues were very much to the fore as a female speaker switched frequently between Tagalog and English making a 'style choice' in terms of "strategic persona management" (Coupland 2001a, p. 348) to deploy a personal identity as a member of the New Zealand Filipino community. She deployed both the individual languages (Tagalog and English), and the overall code-switching variety (Taglish) to present herself as both Kiwi yet member of the Filipino diaspora.

When two presenters were discussing products made in the Philippines, the code-switching appeared to be a salient example of a conscious appropriation of other voices into the discourse. One speaker's portrayal of the Philippines as modern and progressive involved employment of English as more the international code to achieve the task. The expressions 'export quality' and 'proudly made' were appropriated from the economic discourse of global market. The code-switching helped to index the Philippines as a player in this market.

Code-switching as an efficient communicative resource was to the fore when Taglish in computer mediated communication (e-mails) was investigated by Bautista using Gumperz's functions of code-switching as a framework. In particular, she discovered that CS was employed to maximise communicative efficiency (1999, 2004).

Chanco, Francisco & Talamisan studied the code-switching of hosts on some television shows in Manila. Of particular interest in this research was the finding that "on the psycholinguistic level, most of the television hosts code-switched to Filipino when they felt compelled to express strong emotions" (1999, p. 34). A corollary to this is that English could well be the preferred language of distance and objectivity.

The comparative use of Tagalog, English and Taglish in a number of business interview settings on television programmes was analysed by Thompson (2003). English appeared to index the journey to success. However, Thompson proposes that Taglish in television movies and sitcoms may be perceived as social resistance against

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[8] Indeed, the national anthem – Pambansang Awit – is replete with references to the physical land.

an English that "raised unrealistic expectations and failed to deliver on its promises for most people" (p. 211).

3.4.6 *Taglish - a language in its own right?*

Gardner-Chloros and Edwards have noted that code-switching varieties can show language-like features. Varieties exhibit grammatical regularities, fall within the orbit of accepted language universals of structure and function, and often have specific designations (e.g., Taglish). Furthermore, speakers of the variety can often make rapid judgements as to whether a sample is acceptable or not (Gardner-Chloros & Edwards, 2004). Alvarez-Caccamo views "unmarked code-switching"[9] as being a linguistic "code" in its own right (1998, pp. 29 & 35). The "'unmarked choice' carries in itself the potential to be treated as the output of an internally coherent system" (1998, p. 35). Likewise, Meeuwis & Blommaert see some types of "code-switched speech ... as a language in its own right" (1998, p. 80). Indeed, at a subjective level, bilinguals who are fluent in both languages often report they are not always aware of which language is being used at any given moment (Amuda, 1994).

In 1980, Bautista anticipated the above when she foresaw a future stage when "Tagalog-English mixing will eventually have to be analysed within just one linguistic system" (1980, p. 241) because of continued contact between Tagalog and English. Both Gonzalez (1991) and Bautista (1980 & 1991) raise the question as to whether children are learning Taglish as a first language and thus whether Taglish is becoming a creolised variety.

Sibayan notes that linguists informally refer to Taglish as a language or hybrid language (1991) and hence the following quote is particularly illuminating:

> Thus, it is as another kind of language, Taglish, that Tagalog comes across as a lingua franca, providing the conditions thereby for the emergence of a mass audience in the contemporary Philippines. (Rafael, 1995. p. 109)

Three key things emerge from this quote. Firstly, Filipino is implicitly seen to be the same as Tagalog. Secondly, the writer (a literary scholar, not a trained linguist) calls Taglish a language without any attempt to justify such a statement. Lastly, Taglish is

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[9] In terms of the early Myers-Scotton model (1983, 1993b) code-switching which appears normal and expected is "un-marked." The "un-marked use of code-switching is found in communities and groups that tend to stress a multi-cultural identity" (Pagliai, 1996, p 3).

not merely some strange, inferior code-switching phenomenon. It is rather the very means by which the national language, Tagalog (or Filipino) is mediated to a mass Philippine audience. Perhaps the current use of informal written Taglish on weblogs may well play a part in its further evolution into a standard language variety in its own right.

To summarise, Taglish appears to have emerged strongly in a time of neo-colonial relations with the United States and thus English, and the endo-colonial standardisation enterprise of the Philippine government and hence Tagalog/Filipino. The emergence of Taglish has its context in the broader realities of cultural absorption and integration that have occurred in the islands. It can be seen as resisting the centrifugal thrust of social, cultural and linguistic diversity and the centripetal forces of political, cultural, and linguistic hegemony.

Chapter 4   Computer mediated communication

I now turn to the final component in the backdrop that sets the stage for a sociolinguistic- ally-oriented, discourse-analytical approach to code-switching. The Taglish code-switching analysed here takes place on weblogs and is thus part of what is known as Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). In this chapter, I give a quick overview of the challenges presented by this medium and attend to the importance of CMC for the Filipino diaspora. Then I focus in particular on the CMC phenomena known as weblogs, or blogs for short, and discuss their purpose, genre and audience. I briefly review the paucity of research into code-switching in this medium. Finally, because many of the weblogs display in the form of a narrative, I give a short overview of Narrative Psychology and suggest that both Narrative and Discursive Psychology could help to provide frameworks for making sense of written code-switching practices in weblogs.

4.1   Challenge of Computer Mediated Communication

In so far as virtual communities are "collectivities" which have nothing to do with physical proximity, a key question in CMC is how the usual social categories of class, race, gender, sexuality, identity and so forth are inscribed in virtual spaces (Wilbur, 2000, p. 45 & 55). This "dislocation of time and space" may assist users to see their identities from different perspectives (Wilbur, 2000, p. 48) and offer new ways and opportunities for identities to be negotiated and constructed (Robins, 2000, p. 79). This presents challenges to existing sociolinguistic theory and method in terms of identity and the presentation of self.

4.1.1 *Identity in CMC*
The first challenge to identity work in CMC is the nature of the communication compared to face to face (FTF) oral interaction. CMC cuts across any simplistic dichotomising between oral and literal culture (Fernback, 2003) embracing features of both conversation and text (Bregman & Haythornthwaithe, 2003; Lewin & Donner, 2002) and thus creating a hybrid blurring of immediate and mediated communication (Wood & Smith, 2001), with participants typically experiencing CMC as distinct from either writing or speaking (Herring, 2001).

Even though the text-only nature of CMC has been described as a "lean" medium compared to FTF interaction (Herring, 1999) in that fewer communicative channels are involved, the notion of a "repertoire of visibility" (the range of means, methods and choices available by which a person presents themselves online) has been coined. This concept acknowledges the "speaker's concerns with the presentation of self" (Bregman and Haythornthwaithe, 2003, pp. 118, 126) and the potential for self presentation through the use of stylistic and expressive resources (Miller, 1995), and textual practices often involving non-standard orthography in CMC.

Novel orthographical practices, well attested in email and interactive websites (Climent, More, Oliver, Salvatierra, Sanchez, Taule, et al., 2003; Crystal, 2001; Ronkin & Karn, 1999) present a second related challenge. Such practices seek to imitate conversational realities (Lewin & Donner, 2002) and constitute a powerful expressive resource (Jaffe, 2000; Climent et al., 2003). Participants "compensate textually for missing auditory and gestural cues" (Herring, 2001, p. 614). For example, Jaffe views "non-standard spellings ... as indices of casual speech" (Jaffe, 2000, p. 498) where the indexical quality derives from spellings that "look like the way people sound" (2000, p. 509). Physical actions may be indicated by conventions such as <smiles> and *yawn* and these "may serve as contextualisation cues" (Herring, 2001, p. 623). Contextualisation cues serve "to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation and thereby affects how constituent messages are understood" (Gumperz, 2001, p. 221) or inferenced. Such orthographical practices seem to vary according to the topic and type of task being carried out (Lewin & Donner, 2002). This lack of conformity to the normal expectations of linguistic usage – "de-routinisation" - presents challenges for both interpretation and analysis (Rampton, 1999: 424).

4.1.2 *Philippine diaspora in CMC*

Of particular interest to this study, Tyner and Kuhlke (2000) have researched the way the Philippine diaspora organisations used descriptions of themselves in English or Filipino on a range of web sites. They found that rather than simply presenting a "dualist hybrid identity," a broader global "pan-national Philippine identity" was evidenced (2000, p. 232). By pan-national they mean the Philippine diaspora employing the World Wide Web to construct identities that span the many disparate Filipino communities world wide and "assert their 'Philippine-ness' in ways that they would not if they were still resident in the Philippines" (Tyner & Kuhlke, 2000, p. 248). They

view themselves as sharing a *Tahanang Pilipino* (Filipino Home) with other diaspora Filipinos in other nations (p. 249). Sy also sees a very significant emerging cyber-community of Filipinos that "transcends regional boundaries and ethno-linguistic loyalties, and is thus trans-cultural" (2001, p. 300). Sy also advocates in this context the need for empirical study of the social practices of such Filipino cyber-communities in IT. It is hoped that this study which includes Taglish use by members of the Philippine diaspora on weblogs will contribute to such study.

4.2 Personal weblog

Because this research will examine language switching in personal blog sites, it will be important to examine some basic issues around the phenomenon of weblogs. Blogs or weblogs have been around for over ten years although they were first named "weblog" at the end of 1997 (Blood, 2000). From the 23 or so known to be in existence at the beginning of 1999, they have grown exponentially, especially with the launch of the first build your own web-log tool the same year (Blood, 2000). By October 2003, over 4.1 million blogs had been created with 1.4 million remaining active. The easy-to-use features of the blog-tools available (the user does not need HTML or other programming languages) make blogging very attractive (Huffaker & Clavert, 2005), cheap and easy to set up with no formal registration or centralised control (Shirky, 2003b). Ten million blogs were projected by the end of 2004 (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). Weblogs are a frequently modified website where online journals are posted and regularly updated, with the latest entry posted at the top of the page – this being in the reverse order to a handwritten journal. The content is usually available publicly, but some occasionally have restricted access. Entries can run the full gamut of topics, from describing the trivia of daily life, to film reviews or political commentary (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003). Keepers of blogs are called 'bloggers'. Lists of bloggers are termed 'blogrolls', and the world of bloggers is a 'blogosphere'. Weblogs have been described as "the freest media the world has ever known" (Shirky, 2003b). Herring, Scheidt, Bonus and Wright (2004) see weblogs as occupying a central position on a spectrum between standard web pages that are infrequently updated and offer very little interaction, and sites which are constantly updated offering symmetrical communicative exchanges (2004).

Herring et al. discovered that over 90% of bloggers provided a name. This could be a full name (31%), a first name (36%), or a pseudonym (30%). Bloggers were of all ages

and both genders, however they were more likely to be female and teen than male and adult (2004, p. 6). More than half are willing to share other demographic information such as gender, age, occupation, marital status and even sexual identity. Indeed research suggests that unlike many other contexts (for example chat rooms), bloggers tend to engage in far more honest self disclosure (Huffaker & Clavert, 2004), one reason being that the very nature of the personal weblog would make it difficult to sustain duplicity for very long (Rak, 2005). Constant lying would defeat a fundamental purpose of the blog. In fact weblog software includes a biography section, often on the side of the site, where bloggers can give a personal profile and list their e-mail addresses, as well as post pictures of themselves.

4.2.1 *Purpose and genre*

Blogs offer an "unprecedented opportunity for self expression" (Blood, 2000). In a random sample of blogs, Herring et al. discovered that around 70% were of the personal journal type (2004, p. 6). And so very private confessions are just a few movements and clicks of a mouse away from any inquirer's gaze. The personal weblog offers the contradiction of being both intensely private and very public at the same time (Miller & Shepherd, 2004).

At the most basic level, the blogger seeks to communicate her/his version of the world with a mostly unknown audience, which she/he hopes will increase. She/he may reflect on a book, a movie, an incident on a bus, or share sometimes intimate relationship problems. Reading a personal blog regularly (and thus being a member of the fandom) can provide the reader with a sense of connection with a particular person in the unique situation and configurations of their life. Indeed, through this research, I have become quite attached to certain bloggers and feel personally enriched and encouraged by their honesty, humour and disclosure of their own human struggles.

Many blogs provide links so that comments can be made on an adjacent web site. Thus the blogger is confronted not only by their own disclosures, but by (hopefully) a growing number of responses, often friendly voices. Many bloggers employ blogging to cultivate relationships and affirmation through linking forward and backward from their blog to other blogs (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). With the awareness of a growing audience and maybe even a sense of community emerging around the blog with other

like-minded bloggers, the blogger may become more confident in terms of self expression and experimentation (Blood, 2000). Eventually, linking enables the successful blogger to find a niche within the blogging world and "indicate what tribe they belong to" (Miller & Shepherd, 2004).

Weblogs are also viewed as a space where people can explore their identity (Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). This possibility is viewed from essentialist and more constructivist perspectives (Kraus, 2000). Rak offers some points as to how the blog as a genre relates to identity issues (2005). One point relevant to this research is how bloggers narrate off-line private experiences to help authenticate identity and construct subjectivity in a public space. The contradiction between the private and public is hence the space where identity is negotiated and constructed.

For bloggers, role playing of the sorts found on interactive sites is not a significant purpose for blogging. Rather, blogging, often via narrative, is a means of negotiating and constructing identities at the interface between the private and public spheres. This is a place, Miller and Shepherd suggest, where issues surrounding identity are most troubled and fragile (2004).

Weblogs are also being increasingly employed in education contexts and some see weblogs as supporting more democratic forms of communication. Indeed one researcher was bold enough to claim weblogs could provide an ideal speech situation (see Wijina, 2003) according to Habermasian criteria.

One could well argue that blogs are as inevitable in the internet world as diaries were in the world of books. Though weblogs clearly have precursors, they are unique in that they are dependent on computer technology (Mortensen, 2004). The blog as a macro-genre offers the opportunity for the disclosure of self, using narrative in a digitally interconnected world (Mortensen, 2004). The purpose of this section is to give shape to a description of the blog genre within the context of antecedent genres, whilst bearing in mind the uniqueness and creative variety of what has evolved and the new rhetorical opportunities they open up (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). Weblogs seem to have arisen in the era of the reality TV show, which began with MTV's first season of *The Real World* (1992), involving 7 real people living together in an artificial situation under the constant gaze of the camera. This type of programme has seen the boundary between

public and private seriously challenged and has influenced the way bloggers are willing to share publicly the most intimate details of their lives (Miller & Shepherd, 2004).

The personal weblog is then implicated in what Clay Calvert calls "mediated voyeurism." He offers the following definition:

> [t]he consumption of revealing images of and information about others' apparently real and unguarded lives, often yet not always for purposes of entertainment but frequently at the expense of privacy and discourse, through means of the mass media and Internet. (Calvert, 2000: 2)

Calvert asks the question as to why so many people are "so willing to overshare, as it were, so much about their lives with so many people" (Calvert, 2000, p. 83). He offers four key motivations gleaned from research and social psychology which seem to be relevant in the context of weblogs: (1) self clarification; (2) social validation and self validation; (3) relationship development; and (4) social control (Calvert, 2000, p. 84). In the last of these, the emphasis is put on impression management and the ability of the discloser to selectively reveal things about themselves, to influence others' impression of them.

In their discussion of the weblog genre, Miller and Shepherd see it as an innovation with links to ancestral genres. They see the blog as a "rhetorical hybrid" having connections with the idea of the log of a voyage, traditional diaries and confessional type journals of spiritual-emotional journeys (2004). It is also hybrid in that it is clearly informed by other internet genres and the genre is "rendered unique by the particular features of the source genres they adapt, and by their particular technological affordances" (Herring et al., 2004, p 10).

One such affordance is the ability to archive previous blog entries. Some bloggers have easily accessible archives going back years. Another affordance is the links within texts to elsewhere in cyberspace, revealing key relationship and affiliations. Both contribute to the ongoing construction of identity (Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). The links made between blogs make possible the development of weblog stories or conversation that can be distributed in a complex fashion within a grouping of weblogs (de Moor & Efimova, 2004).

So far the literature reviewed suggests that little detailed analysis has been done of the narrative forms that many bloggers use. I will be using narrative psychology as a key analytical tool in this research. The subject of the narrative shape of blogs will be raised again when I examine the analytical framework for this study (see sections 4.3 & 5.1).

4.2.2 *Audience*

Many bloggers seek to attract a large, loyal audience called a "fandom". The size of the fandom tends to be measured in terms of inbound links to the blog and comments posted by readers (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003; Shirky, 2003a). Consequently, blogs are seen to be "operating in market conditions" (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003, p. 8) to attract a sizeable fandom. Many bloggers seek to represent a particular identity group (a kind of blogging niche market) to attract more 'hits' and links (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003, p. 10). To some extent, the audience numbers for blogs conforms to an exponential curve whereby a very few popular blogs attract a large audience and the vast majority have much smaller audiences (Shirky, 2003a, 2003b). Thus a plot of distribution versus audience size would reveal a very long tail of blog sites with few audience numbers. Celebrity bloggers, who have over ten thousand visitors each day, are very likely to update their blog at least once a day (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). The ultimate affirmation of a blogger is to be 'blogged' by a celebrity blogger or, even better still, have a permanent link from a celebrity blogger (Miller & Shepherd, 2004).

The weblog provides another contradiction in that it appears to be addressed to everyone and no one at the same time (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). Thus a significant challenge is how to understand the weblog audience. The writer of personal weblogs (blogger) in CMC designs the weblog for a segment in a mass audience (Barrett, 1999) who will become fans of the weblog (fandom). Rak quotes one blogger who confessed "he became hooked on blogging because blogging showed him he had an audience" (Rak, 2005, p. 175). Mass communication is usually seen as different from face to face (FTF) interaction with a space/time disjuncture between communicator and audience, and with communicators having limited access to the responses of audience members (Bell, 1991a). However, in CMC, blog readers are able to post responses to the personal blog, usually at a linked site. Therefore, in highlighting the challenges of new media and internet to audience reception research, Livingstone notes the re-emergence of "active audience" theories as a result of the interactivity afforded in the CMC

environment and suggests "Audiences and users of media are increasingly active, selective, self directed producers as well as receivers of texts" (Livingstone, 2004, p. 79). In that the blogger's self-disclosure involves self-clarification and self-validation (Calvert, 2000), then the blogger is also her or his own audience. "Thus at any given time a blogger is involved in two types of conversations: (1) conversations with self and (2) conversations with others (de Moor & Efimova, 2004, p. 9).

Finally, Scheidt, in a study into adolescent weblogs, proposes that the discursive manoeuvres of the blogger themselves can give clues as to the way that an implied audience may be involved in the text (Scheidt, 2005).

4.2.3 *Language switching in CMC*

Only a few studies appear to have looked at switching in the media (Androutsopoulos, 2001). Within CMC there have been relatively few analyses thus far of online text (Livingstone, 2004, p. 83), and very few studies into language switching (e.g., Durham, 2003). One recent study addressed language switching in terms of the *problem* of "the interference between two languages in the messages of bilinguals" (Climent et al., 2003). Another study into the competition of English with other languages online revealed that participants who engaged in Egyptian Arabic/English said they used Arabic to express personal content that they found difficult to express in English. Analysis showed that Egyptian Arabic was salient for greetings, humour, religious expression and issues related to food and holidays (Warschauer et al., 2002). In a recent call for papers for a special issue of the *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication* on the theme "The multilingual Internet", there were no submissions that focused on code-switching or code-mixing (Danet & Herring, 2003). However, Androutsopoulos sees the internet as "an important site for the diversification of media discourse" whereby "Web communities ... create new literacy spaces that allow for more instances of code-switching and language mixing than is the case in traditional media" (2001, p. 10). Research by His-Yao (2005), which included the examination of code-switching, attempts to demonstrate how "Taiwanese college students make use of the linguistic resources at their disposal to create language style in response to change in mode of communication." It also attempts to make sense of the role code-switching plays in identity formations. The results are somewhat confused and inconclusive.

Taglish occurs on both personal and interactive blogs. To the best of my knowledge, the phenomenon remains unresearched to this present time. However, Bautista (2004) has researched switching in e-mails (see section 3.4.5.2). The key challenge with personal weblog sites is how to theorise this switching in the absence of a specific addressee.

4.3 Narrative analysis

Insofar as a significant number of the weblogs exhibiting code-switching are written in narrative forms, it has become apparent after some preliminary analysis that both discursive and narrative psychology offer very useful analytical perspectives. Narrative psychology suggests that story-telling is an almost ubiquitous part of people's lives (Crossley, 2000). Sarbin (1986), in a work foundational to narrative psychology, proposes what he calls "the narratory principle: that human beings think, perceive, imagine, and make moral choices according to narrative structures" (p. 8). Since then, a growing body of scholarship has been contributing to an understanding of the role of narrative in the construction of identity and its role in contributing to an integrated and coherent sense of self (Schiffrin, 1996). According to narrative psychology, the telling of stories appears to achieve a number of ends. Firstly, narrative has a meaning-making function. Through narrative, varied levels of experience are brought to conscious awareness, links are formed (including temporal links) and the narrative becomes a mediated means of making sense and meaning (Martinez-Roldan, 2003), rather than simply offering a chronology (Dyer & Keller-Cohen, 2000). Discourse analyst Gee agrees, noting that narrative also has a problem solving function and people "encode into narratives the problems that concern them and their attempts to make sense or resolve these problems" (1999, p. 134).

A second related function of narrative is its role in helping to build a sense of coherence and sense of self. It has a role not only in sense-making and problem-solving, but also of redefining and recreating the individual self (Martinez-Roldan, 2003). Kraus (2000) suggests that in late modernity, the reality of constructing coherence in one's life and creating a sense of identity is no longer guaranteed through belonging to larger social groups. Social institutions no longer offer the sense of belonging and the means of giving a sense of coherence to the fragmented nature of human experience. The individual has to shoulder this responsibility. Self-narrative has now become the means by which coherence of life is created and identity constructed (Kraus, 2000).

Discursive Psychology picks up the theme of identity construction and negotiation with the suggestion that people use stories or narratives to position themselves and others to construct a sense of self in term of categories and storylines, cultural stereotypes, images and metaphors (Davis & Harre, 1990). Gergen puts it most succinctly, "The constructions of self require a supporting cast" (2001, p. 257). Discursive Psychology is keen to underscore that this is a move away from an essentialist model of self to a discursive model (Potter & Wetherall, 1987). In fact, each possible self can be contradictory with other versions of self in other story lines (Davis & Harre, 1990). Hence, Potter and Wetherall insist that the "researcher should focus on the multiplicity of self-constructions and their social and interpersonal functions" (Potter & Wetherall, 1987, p. 103). Shotter likewise, in pointing out that "being someone is a rhetorical achievement" (1993, p. 193), picks up a Bakhtinian perspective in pointing out the dialogic nature of narrative resources people can employ in the authorship of self. He says, "that authorship involves an inner dialogue in which one must use words responsively, and that the words one uses are always also another's words; we both shape and are shaped by them" (1993, p. 189).

Another key perspective on story telling comes from Narrative Psychology that valuation is seen to be "a basic building block of the self narrative" (Botella, n.d.). Some kind of moral framework is needed for identity construction in that identity is defined in terms of the way things have significance for the self (Crossley, 2003). Crossley notes that a "developed narrative thus contains both an 'epistemic stance' ('what' occurs) and a 'deontic stance' (what *should* occur, or what is valued)" (2003, p. 297). Likewise, Schiffrin's research points to the evaluative aspect of narrative and suggests how the analysis of language used in narrative reveals aspects of both the agentive self (reporting actions) and the epistemic self (reporting beliefs, feeling and desires) and situates a "social identity" as these aspects of self interact (1996, p. 198).

Perhaps one of the shortcomings of Narrative Psychology compared with Discursive Psychology is its reluctance to engage in linguistic analysis. Botella eschews any such performance of "stylistic, grammatical or any linguistic analysis" (Botella, 1997). So Schiffrin (1996) makes the point that in spite of the growing body of scholarship around narrative, there are ironically few detailed analyses of how narratives work

linguistically to construct the sense of self and experience[10] (1996). She suggests that study of the linguistic characteristics of narrative can show how language facilitates building temporal continuity, presenting the self in a moral framework, and positioning of the self with respect to other characters, enabling self reflexivity (1996, p. 169). Certainly, code-switching practices could serve to highlight how language functions in the construction of identity. In terms of the metafunctions of functional linguistics, code-switching often seems to have a role at the interpersonal and textual level (Abdi, 2002). At the interpersonal level, switching serves metadiscursively as a contextualization cue to highlight the speaker's stance to what is being written in terms of association or dissociation, attitude, evaluation and so forth. These in turn have implications for ongoing identity work. Here the actual language used is the salient factor. At the textual level, the switch can be a textualisation cue (Chan, 2004), whereby the writer switches to interact with textual content through contrast, clarification, elaboration and so forth. Here the analytical focus is not so much on which language is being employed, but on the act of switching to highlight.

Aligned with the above, a useful insight for this research is Allen's take on notions of 'genotext' and 'phenotext' (see Allen, 2000 and Kristeva, 1980 & 1986). Allen suggests that Kristeva introduced the terms to distinguish how the human subject is divided between the rational and irrational. The 'phenotext' corresponds to a level of text associated with a symbolic realm connected to the socially ordered, rational/logical, and objective level of existence. The genotext relates to a level of text associated with the semiotic realm linked to unconscious/irrational and subjective level of existence which includes bodily drives and erotic impulses. As with the above, it seems that the language used in code-switching may serve to highlight these different levels of text.

Eggins and Slade, following the earlier work of Labov (1972), list a number of narrative genres and their generic structures. Particularly pertinent to the weblogs I have analysed are narrative, anecdote, exemplum and recount. I summarise their generic structures here. The moves in brackets are optional.

> **Narrative**: This follows Labov's original formulation (1972, p. 363). Here the focus is on some type of complication and its resolution. The generic structure is:

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[10] A situation that has improved since 1996, with an emphasis on the discursive construction of social

(Abstract)^(Orientation)^Complication^Evaluation^Resolution^(Coda)

Anecdote: The key focus here is on some remarkable event and the author's reaction to that event. The structure is:

(Abstract)^(Orientation)^Remarkable Event ^Reaction ^(Coda)

Exemplum: The emphasis falls here on some kind of moral interpretation that the exemplum is employed to illustrate. The structure is:

(Abstract)^(Orientation)^Incident^Interpretation^(Coda)

Recount: The focus here is simply on how events relate to each other with an ongoing evaluative stance rather than some discrete evaluative unit. The structure is:

(Abstract)^(Orientation)^Record of Events ^(Coda)

(Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 268)

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identities (Auer, 2004).

Chapter 5   *Design and methodology*

This chapter examines the research design and method employed in this thesis. It needs to be clearly stated at the outset that the approach has been fundamentally qualitative with a focus on discourse analytical concerns around code-switching. The rationale for collecting the sample was in no sense an attempt to obtain a probabilistic sample from which to make inferences and generalisations. Rather, the rationale has been to search out and examine interesting texts which illuminate code-switching in non-conversational contexts. The data selected was written code-switching as presented in personal weblogs. One consequence of this has been the opportunity to analyse texts free from the burdens and risks associated with transcription procedures whereby the transcriber's theoretic and ideological biases may influence the form the transcription may take (Jaffe, 2000).

5.1   Data collection and coding

Entries on a variety of personal blog sites constructed by Filipinos have comprised the data assembled and researched in this paper. The present study is based on a corpus consisting of about 25 texts gathered by entering short Taglish phrases (often taken from blog samples already obtained) into search engines like *Google* and metasearch engines like *ixquick metasearch.* Some blogs exhibited 'Blogrolls' which are a list of other weblog sites recommended by the blogger. These hypertext links often provided further (relevant) weblogs. The data was collected over a period of several months and initial data analysis was used to help inform continuing data collection. This process was consistent with the analytical framework below and the need to maintain a grounded approach and let data gathering and analysis be "consciously combined" (Davidson, 2002).

The sampling method was purposive, seeking out weblog entries which conform to the basic genre of a personal weblog (see section 4.2.2). Each weblog self-identified as a weblog site either in the title, or the URL, or both. After downloading an entry (usually cut and paste into an MS-Word document), I read it a number of times to assess whether it potentially contained features that could illuminate code-switching practices. For all the extracts chosen, I did the initial translation myself and referred any difficult

expressions (especially idiomatic language) to a Filipino friend. The translations presented in the results section were checked by my Filipino friend and then subsequently checked by a further two Tagalog speakers. A few errors were noted in my translation; however, the Tagalog speakers basically verified the translation rendered by my friend.

A major requirement was that texts display a reasonable percentage of one language with respect to the other with a 20:80 ratio either way (Tagalog/English or English/Tagalog) being the lower limit. To determine this ratio, I simply counted the number of Tagalog words and the number of English words in the entry under consideration. Table 1 below gives the basic statistics of the weblogs analysed.

Table 1: *Weblog statistics*

Weblog	Number of words	% Tagalog	% English
1	104	54	46
2	370	51	49
3	192	54	46
4	170	24	76
5	543	34	66
6	228	65	35
7	203	55	45
8	268	45.5	54.5
9	520	46	54
10	580	30	70
11	224	45	55
12	100	50	50
13	172	71	29
14	165	47	53
15	180	65	35
16	154	45	55
17	460	40	60
18	254	56	44
19	303	42.5	57.5
20	188	32	68
21	222	32	68
22	161	63	37
23	170	42	58
24	98	48	52
25	351	61	39
	6380	Mean 48%	Mean 52%

The standard deviation is 12 (in both cases of course). The median ratio is 47:53. The skewness of the distribution is -0.05 which means it is very much symmetrical about the mean.

Texts also had to display a basic narrative form and/or display explicit or implicit concerns with identity issues – in the case of the latter, salient texts would exhibit concerns with home-coming visits, relationships with family and friends, and other topics where identity is likely to be a key underlying issue (e.g. gender, sexuality, struggles and so forth). Table 2 below indicates the themes and concerns of the various blogs. It will be noted that all the topics involve personal concerns and conform with the expected content of a personal journal. In particular, personal relationships are a salient theme in many of the weblogs.

Table 2: *Themes and topics in the selection of weblogs.*

Weblog	Theme - concern
1	Relationships – boyfriend problems
2	Relationships – friend might be gay
3	Visit home to the Philippines
4	Crisis – struggles at work
5	Relationships – problems with friends
6	Blogging – reflecting on why the blogger started blogging
7	Relationships – marriage and not taking partner for granted
8	Relationships – sexuality – problems with new gay boyfriend
9	Self-fulfilment – choosing a fulfilling career
10	Fulfilment – wanting to return to Hong Kong
11	Crisis – giving up smoking
12	Relationships – family life and friends
13	Humorous incident – 'crazy man'
14	Blogging – a somewhat addictive pastime
15	Identity issues – diaspora and OFW issues
16	Humorous incident – plane might crash
17	Identity issues – sexuality – coming out to friends
18	Relationships – friends and family
19	Relationships – friendship issues
20	Relationships – a special friendship
21	Identity – diaspora issues
22	Humorous incident – remembering a professor
23	Crisis – want to be back in Philippines
24	Crisis – struggles at school
25	Identity issues – comparing self with others

An attempt was made to include some A-list blogs in the corpus. These are very popular 'celebrity' blogs which have very many external links and receive many hits (see Trammell & Keshelashvili, 2005). One blogger featured in the analysis was awarded the honour of Filipino blogger of the year.

The data in each weblog was coded and analysed in terms of what narrative genre it is, and how code-switching relates to the moves within that genre. They include narrative, anecdote, exemplum, and recount. For a list of these narrative genres and their associated generic structures, see section 4.3 and Eggins and Slade (1997, p. 268). Coding also took into account some of the key functions of code-switching (see section 2.3.5). In addition, cases of code-switches which involve style switches were coded. These three analytical schemes (narrative, functional, and style switching analyses), have been combined in an attempt to make sense of identity construction and negotiation on the blog sites.

This study is not a structural study of switching. However, from time to time, the 'type' of code-switching was noted using Muysken's three-way taxonomy of insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation (Muysken, 2000, p. 230). This model has already been fruitfully applied to Taglish (Thompson, 2003) and facilitates some comparison with Thompson's data. In particular, congruent lexicalisation (in Taglish) seems often associated with stylistic choices (Thompson, 2003).

There was no overt attempt to apportion the weblogs accepted on the basis of any major sociological variables (gender, age, etc.). The major consideration was useful content. However, research suggests females are more likely to maintain personal weblogs (Trammell & Keshelashvili, 2005), and this fact is reflected in the ratio of female to male writers in the corpus which is 15:10. Two of the males present themselves as gay, reflecting the reality that gay males are more likely to blog than straight males. Huffaker and Clavert found that almost 30% of the male bloggers in their sample indicated a homosexual orientation (2005). One straight male blogger features some four times in the corpus; whereas there is only one entry for each of the other bloggers. Because he was an A-list blogger, his entries were deemed particularly salient. Although many of the bloggers do not reveal their age, I would still estimate a range from the early twenties to the early forties. This judgment is based on other factors like

photographs on the site, family and friendship concerns, and references to career and education.

5.2 Description of blog entry

Figures 1 and 2 below show a typical blog entry. The main heading at the top is the name of the blog, *Kwentong Tambay* (figure 1). *Kwento* is Tagalog for story and *tambay* came into Tagalog from the English 'standby' and means 'hanging out' or 'being idle.' Below the main heading is a subheading clarifying the purpose of the blog:

mga kwento ng siraulong tambay   na   endyinir sa timog Kalipornya.
(PL) story   of crazy   hanging out (LK) engineer in south California

Which, roughly translated, means "Stories of a crazy idle engineer in Southern California." Thus the function of this blog, like many, is to tell narratives. Under this heading are dates which provide links to blog entries for previous and future months. Figures 1 and 2 each contain the beginning of a blog entry. The date of the entry is the lead, followed by a short statement which gives the theme of the blog entry. For this blogger, the statement is always in English and is usually an intertextual reference to a line from a song or it may be in the form of a wise saying. In both entries visual support is given with a photo. This visual support can also be a cartoon. The main blog entry contains the narrative with the code-switching between Tagalog and English. Within the entry there are often words in blue which provide hyperlinks to further information on the subjects indicated by those words. Figure 2 shows the very end of one blog entry and the beginning of another signalled by the date. The end of the entry is accompanied by a link to 'comments' which the reader can follow to interact asynchronously with the blogger by leaving a comment which the blogger may also respond to. The left hand side gives links to other sites on this blog (figure 1) and many other blogs (figure 2). It also provides a means of searching through the whole blog site and provides an archive with dates and links to the many entries this blogger has written almost daily since 2001 – something of the order of 1500 entries.
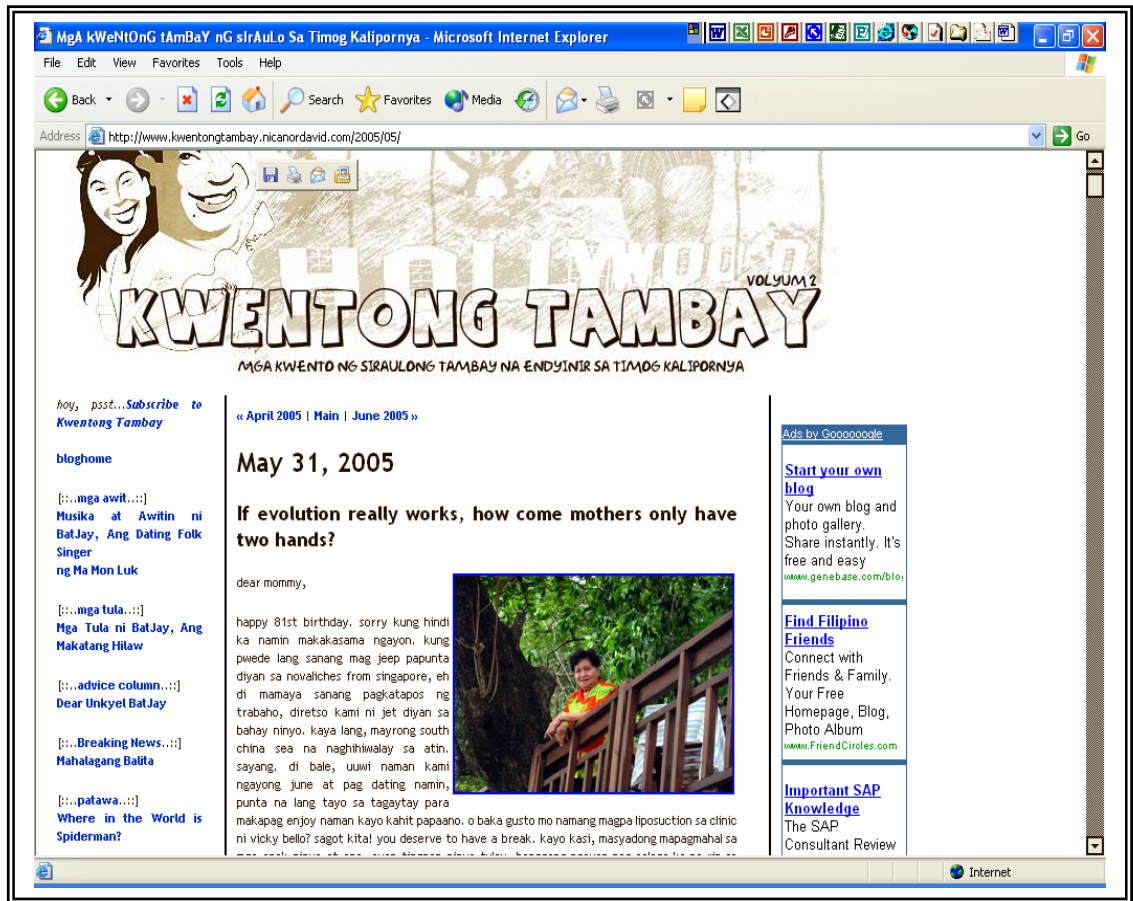
Figure 1: *Blog heading*
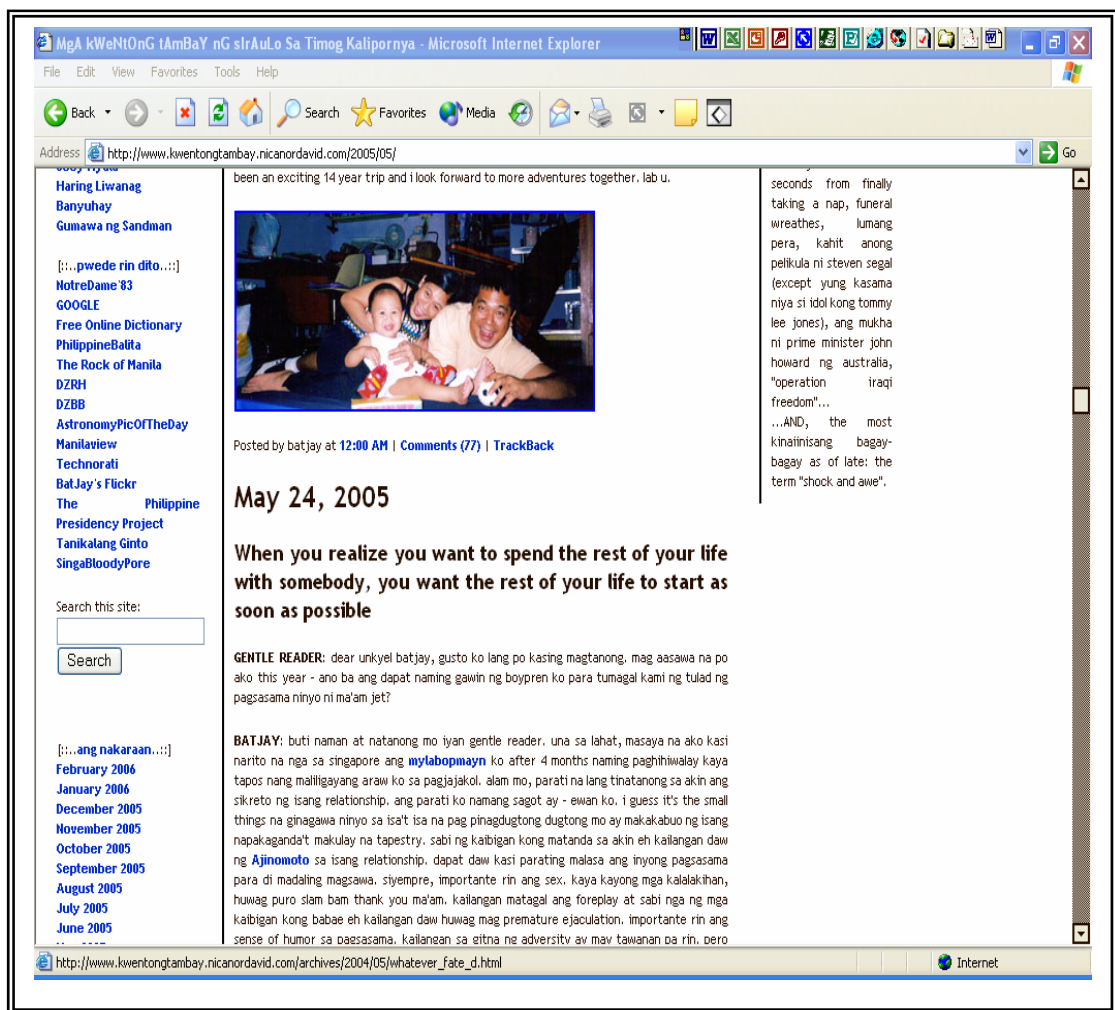
Figure 2: *Blog entry*

5.3 Analysing narratives

Much has already been said in the introduction about the analytical approach to this study. The varied nature and diversity of interactions and discourse in CMC mean that a variety of approaches became necessary in the course of ongoing analysis (Herring, 2001). In addition to noting the narrative genre of each weblog extract, the overall analytical approach used to examine the construction and negotiation of identity through code-switching on weblogs incorporated the frameworks of discursive and narrative psychology, combined with the referee component of Bell's audience design model. These in turn have been related to the overarching conceptualisations of Bakhtin whereby language use is seen as dialogic and heteroglossic.

The basic premise of narrative psychology is that people make sense and bring coherence to their lives and their sense of self through narrative (Crossley, 2000). I have examined the role code-switching plays in this process. The notion that story telling is an almost ubiquitous part of people's lives and that they tell stories to form links between varied levels of experience of self, bringing coherence to their lives and constructing identities, is particularly pertinent to the weblog genre and possible motivations for switching languages. The contribution of an analytical perspective from discursive psychology has been employed mainly to focus on how webloggers position and construct versions of self and other through code-switching.

In addition, the perspective of the audience design model has proved useful, especially the notion of referee design and initiative style shifts (Bell, 1984; 1999) insofar as code-switches can incorporate style shifts. Consequently, the analysis has employed and adapted the audience design framework of Bell (1984, 1991b, 1997, 1999, & 2001), with particular reference to referee design. With a largely unknown audience, it would appear that the switching employed on personal blogs would more likely conform to the "initiative use of style by individual speakers to express aspects of their identity" (Bell, 2001, p.163). In this respect, Bell refers to referee design whereby "referees are third persons who are not physically present, but are so salient for the speaker that they influence style even in their absence" (Bell, 1997). Like the broadcast media and advertising in particular (Bell, 1991b, p. 135), personal weblogs provide another space for investigation whereby the blogger, in search of a 'fandom,' often employs a highly creative use of language.

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, the personal blog does not usually display the interactive turn-taking properties of interactive blogs and thus is not amenable to the usual techniques of conversational analysis (CA). However, CA has not been deemed as irrelevant. Bakhtin has propounded that even the most seemingly monological of works are dialogic (Bakhtin, 1986 & 1981). Coupland, in his analysis of monologic radio transcripts, identifies how an announcer's style choices show how he enters into relations with preceding "utterances" (2001b. 209). Thus in analysing personal blogs, I have taken the Bakhtinian view that the whole (blog) is constructed out of "heteroglot, multi-voiced[11], multi-styled and often multi-languaged elements..." (Bakhtin, 1981, p.

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[11] Indeed some bloggers make this explicit by presenting a dialog with a character they create.

265), and that the boundaries between these elements "can change, and a tense dialogic struggle takes place at the boundaries" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 143).

5.4 Presentation of the data

A three stage glossing system is employed for presenting material when a line is wholly or partly in Tagalog. This is in conformity with the usual presentation of bilingual texts. The first stage (the top line) is the actual text as posted in the weblog. The Tagalog content is given in italics. The next stage provides a rough word-for-word translation. As the focus of this study is not a grammatical one, I have avoided burdening the reader with an excessive amount of grammatical notation. The notation is limited to signalling the work of particles or linkers, whose meanings are given in the abbreviation section at the beginning of this thesis (p. ix). The word for word translation shows the English word directly below the Tagalog word. However, in some cases no word for word translation is possible (e.g., idioms) and in such cases I do not place words in exact one to one correspondence. The flow of each text can be traced through the content presented in bold. This is usually the third stage of each translation which is more 'free flowing'. The first stage then is what appears in the blog. The second stage is a rough word-for- word translation. If there is only one line in bold, then the blogger used only English at that stage and hence there is no translation. An example is given below:

---

10.   *gusto ko lang naman ngayon, kahit na*   feel *ko* i'm way past the phase
      want I   just   really   now,   even though   feel I   i'm way past the phase
      I really just want something now, even though I feel i'm way past the phase

11.   **where i'm supposed to have established whatever talent i do have,**

12.   *magawa   ko paring*   something significantly related *dun*
      able to achieve I   still also(LK)   something significantly related to it
      I am able to still also do something significantly related to it.

Note that for line 11, there is no translation. This is because the original in the blog was already English.

Chapter 6   Results

6.1 Analysis of key weblogs

We now progress to the main part of this research and investigate how bloggers construct and negotiate their identity discursively and pursue a sense of coherence out of the diversity of their life experiences. What follows are extensive analyses of seven extracts from weblogs chosen from the corpus. The headings in each case are the ones selected by the bloggers themselves. The extracts have been selected from the corpus because they best illustrate the major findings in this thesis as to why some bloggers code-switch on weblogs. These findings are as follows. Bloggers code-switch:

1. to take a more objective stance (usually a switch to English);
2. to take a more personal, emotionally involved stance (usually a switch to Tagalog);
3. to contribute to a sense of narrative and thus personal coherence;
4. to construct and position versions of self and other;
5. and to style shift.

The first of these weblogs is particularly salient as it incorporates and exemplifies all of the above in an overtly dialogical way.

6.1.1 *Extract one : Pacifying those never-ending hang-ups*

The first extract is the longest. The blogger is a young Filipina resident and doctor in the United States who is struggling with a sense of unfulfillment. The extract is presented by the writer in the form of a recollected exchange with her mother. The opening statement and the written 'conversation' demonstrate the writer's facility in written English. At the end of the 'conversation' the blogger writes a lengthy written reflection in English (that I do not include) which contains no code-switching. As with most of the weblogs in this corpus, the writer displays a high degree of fluency in written English. The switching here is fairly symmetrical with 46% Tagalog tokens and 54% English tokens. This contrasts with the usually low proportion of one language evidenced in most Code-switching research. The register is formal yet relaxed. The blog begins with a preamble in English given in bold.

i just came home from another meeting with my grandmother's doctor. last night, after having a month-long overdue movie date with ba-be and her sister eng, i watched the frilly crucifixions performed by this fil-am theater company. pia called right before i arrived home. before i went to sleep, i had this conversation with my mother:

1. me: *eh ayoko   lang naman kasi   yung...yung lalaki   ako*
    me: eh I don't like just   really   because   when ..when growing up I
    me: eh I don't really like it that I would be growing up

2. *ng   wala akong masabing   achievements *ko*.*
    (LK) none I (LK) able to talk about achievements my
    with no achievements that I can talk about

3. *pano naman kasi*,   feel *ko* for the past 18 or so years of my life,
    how   really   because feel I   for the past 18 or so years of my life,
    it is sort of because, I feel for the past 18 or so years of my life

4. *pinatikim   ako ng   katiting ng lahat*:   gymnastics, piano, theater..
    tasted   I   (LK) small bit of everything: gymnastics, piano, theatre..
    I have tasted a tiny bit of everything: gymnastics, piano, theatre..

5. *pero ni isa, hindi ako nakapag*-'specialize'   *dun*.
    but   not one, not   I   opportunity 'specialize there
    But not one, was I able to specialize in.

6. ma: eh *ano   naman gusto mong   mangyari?*
    ma: eh what really   want you (LK) to happen?
    ma: eh what do you really want to happen?

7. me: *wala. gusto kong   bumawi   ngayon.*
    me: nothing want   I (LK)   take back   now
    me: nothing. I want to make up for it now

8. *pero kahit kelan naman hindi ako nagkaroon ng* full support
    but   any time   really   not I   had   (LK) full support
    but I never really had full support

9. *galing sa   inyo. parang binibitin ako lagi*.
    coming from you. Like   hanging I   always
    coming from you. It's like I am always left hanging.

10. *gusto ko lang naman ngayon, kahit na   feel *ko* i'm way past the phase*
    want I   just   really   now,   even though   feel I   i'm way past the phase
    I really just want that now, even though I feel i'm way past the phase

11. **where i'm supposed to have established whatever talent i do have,**

12. *magawa   ko paring[12]*   something significantly related *dun*
    able to achieve I   still also(LK) something significantly related to it
    I am able to still also do something significantly related to it.

13. *sa kung ano ang nagpapasaya   sakin ang buhay ko.*
    to whatever the thing satisfy   to me the life   my
    to whatever thing that will satisfy me in my life

14 **<u>ma</u>: what you're looking for is a hobby. not a career.**

15. me: [to myself: *e pano kung career   nga   ang gusto ko dun?]*
    me: [to myself; e what if   career   really the   want my there?]
    <u>me</u>: [to myself: what if a career is the thing I want?

16. *yun ang diperensiya ninyo sakin.*
    that the difference   you   to me
    that is the difference between you and me.

17. **i have faith in the idea *na* (that) if you're doing what you love, everything
    will fit in and you'll ultimately be complete. i don't care if it means *na* (that)
    you'll be a struggling artist or whatnot.**

18. **<u>ma</u>: yeah, you'll be starving but hey you're happy, right?**

19. *hindi ganun   ang takbo   ng   mundo.*
    not   like that the running of the world
    the world does not work like that

20. **you've got to learn to earn some money to feed yourself and your family.**

21. *me: isn't that tragic? na   napaka-worldly natin mag-isip?*
    me: isn't that tragic? (LK) very worldy   we   think?
    <u>me</u>: isn't that tragic that we think in such a very worldly way?

22. *nung pagdating ko dito, ang natutunan   ko*
    when arrive   I   here, the thing learned I
    when I arrived here (U.S.), the thing I learned

23. **is nobody's supposed to compromise their own personal happiness.**

24. *ma: eh hindi ba ganun   ang mga pilipino?*
    ma: eh not   (Q) like that the (PL) Filipino
    **<u>ma</u>: eh aren't the Filipinos like that? (willing to compromise their
    happiness)**

25. me: *yun nga,*   and i find that to be a very sad thing
    me: that really, and i find that to be a very sad thing
    <u>me</u>: that's it, and I find that to be a very sad thing.

---

[12] 'parin' is in fact two words in Tagalog (pa rin), however the bloggers sometimes run the words
together.

26.   **[to myself: could i be taking advantage of the liberating feeling america**
       gives me?]. i don't want to grow up just as a career woman or just a doctor.

27.   *ayokong kunin lang ang* path *na*   strictly career-wise.
       don't like take   just   the path (LK) strictly career-wise
       I don't like to take a path that is just strictly career-wise

28.   ma: *bakit, hindi ba ganun   kami ni papa?*
       ma: why, not (Q) like that we (LK) papa
       ma: why weren't your father and I like that?

29.   but we're ok with that. *napalaki namin kayong   tatlo.*
       but we're ok with that. raised   we   you (LK) three
       but we're okay with that. we raised you three up.

30.   **and we're both proud of us all. we're not starving, are we?**

31.   me: oh..eh..[shame on me?] well *iba   nga   kasi   kayo.*
       me: oh..eh..[shame on me?] well different really because you
       me: oh.. eh..[shame on me?] well because you (two) are really different

32.   you're too practical. *topak ako mag isip*, ma. overthinker.
       you're too pratical. crazy I   think,   ma. overthinker
       you're too practical. I think in a crazy, irrational way, ma. overthinker

33.   **i evaluate and re-evaluate my life way too much.**

34.   and feel *ko parang nalilimit   lang ako.*
       and feel I   like   restricted just   I
       and I feel it's like I am just restricted

35.   *ang* personality *ko kasi   ay yung tipong naghahanap ng*
       the personality my because is that type   look for   (LK)
       because my personality is that type that looks for

36.   **something that would give me that sense of achievement.**

37.   ma: isn't being a doctor achievement enough? *magaling ka na   eh.*
       ma: isn't being a doctor achievement enough? Very good you now eh
       ma: isn't being a doctor achievement enough? you're very good now eh.

38.   me: academic-wise *lang yun*. i still have this notion *na   chamba lang*
       me: academic-wise just that. i still have this notion (LK) fluke   just
       me: that's just academic-wise. I still have this notion that it was just a fluke

39.   *na   napunta ako sa* honors class. and *hindi ko parin   alam*
       (LK) got to   I   the honors class. and not   I   still also know
       that I got to the honors class. and I still also don't know

40.   *kung pano ako nakapasa sa UP. ang* dilemma *ko ngayon* is

how   I   able to pass at UP. the   dilemma my now   is
how I was able to pass at UP[13]. my dilemma now is

41.   *kung ano nga   ba ang gusto ko sa buhay?*
      what   really (Q) the want my in life?
      what do I really want in life?

42.   *maging* doctor o *maging* theater person?
      become doctor or become theater person?
      become a doctor or become a theater person?

43.   and *ang kinaiinisan   ko* is *nung bata pa ako*,
      and the thing that annoys   me is when child still I
      and the thing that annoys me is when I was still young

44.   *nag*-branch out *yung* path that i was taking. *kaso nga   lang*,
      branch out   that   path that i was taking. case really just
      the path that I was taking branched out. But the case is.

45.   eventually *namatay lang yung mga* little branches   *na   yun*.
      eventually died   just   those (PL) little branches (LK) that/those
      those little branches eventually just died

46.   **i don't want to be a stump when i grow up, you know.**

                                                                    (Blog 9)

This is the only weblog on which I will make some structural comments about the types of switching involved. Thompson (2003) analysed Taglish according to Muysken's framework (2000), of insertion, alternation and lexical congruence, and was able to show all three occurred in his corpus. Likewise, we find very clear examples of all three in this excerpt which exhibits structures of switching representative of most of the blogs I have analysed. Table 3 below lists the type of switch and the turns in which they are found. After that, I will give some instances from the extract to illustrate these three categories of switch.

Table 3: *Type of switching in the extract*

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[13] UP is University of the Philippines.

According to the Muysken framework

Type of switch	Lines in which they are found.
Insertion	2, 5, 8, 10, 17, 21, 27, 34, 35**,** 40, 42, 44, 45
Alternation	3, 4, 10, 17, 18,19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46
Congruent Lexicalisation	17, 27, 39, 40, 42, 43

Insertion:

In the following example, a free morpheme 'specialize' from English is morphologically integrated with 'nakapag-', a Tagalog prefix made up of bound morphemes. Such morphological integration is extremely common phenomenon in Taglish and demonstrates that the Free Morpheme Constraint does not pertain to Tagalog-English code-switching (see also section 2.2.1 & Bautista, 1990).

----
5.   *pero ni   isa, hindi ako nakapag-*'specialize'   *dun*.
        but   not one, not   I   opportunity "specialize there
        But not one, I did not have the opportunity to specialize in one of them
----

'little branches' is inserted without any morphological adaption.

----
45.   eventually *namatay lang yung mga* little branches *na   yun*.
        eventually namatay just   those (PL) little branches (LK) that/those
        eventually those little branches just died

Alternation:

In the following example, there is a clear change of the grammatical structure at clause level. This section of the blog prior to translation is: *nung pagdating ko dito, ang natutunan ko is nobody's supposed to compromise their own personal happiness*. With the copula 'is' the structure changes from Tagalog to English.

----
22.   *nung   pagdating ko dito, ang natutunan   ko*
        when   arrive   I   here, the thing learned I
        when I arrived here (U.S.), the thing I learned

23.   **is nobody's supposed to compromise their own personal happiness.**

Likewise in the next example, there is a change of structure between sentences.

----

29.   but we're ok with that. *Napalaki   namin kayong   tatlo*.
        but we're ok with that. raised   we   you (LK) three
        but we're okay with that. we raised you three up.

Congruent Lexicalisation:
Here in a classic example, the linker 'na' is lexically congruent with the English

'that'. If the reader substitutes 'that' for 'na', no further translation is necessary.

----

17.   **i have faith in the idea <u>*na*</u> if you're doing what you love, everything will fit in and you'll ultimately be complete. i don't care if it means <u>*na*</u> you'll be a struggling artist or whatnot.**

In the second example the coordinating conjunction *and* and the Tagalog equivalent *at*

can be freely exchanged.

----

39.   *na   napunta ako sa* honors class. <u>and</u> *hindi ko parin   alam*
        (LK) got to   I   the honors class. and not   I   still also know
        that I got to the honors class. and I still also don't know

----

In terms of Myers-Scotton's model of matrix versus embedded languages (1993a), the matrix language throughout most of this text is Tagalog. This is partly borne out by the fact that in switches which involve an alternation to English, there are no Tagalog insertions. Such insertions tend to take place when the switching variety is Engalog (see section 3.4.2) rather than Taglish. However, with some instances of congruent lexicalisation, one might argue that the matrix language is English (17).

Before turning to the analysis, one further important point should be made. In this blog, there is not a single example of the Tagalog honorific *po* which is ubiquitous in Tagalog conversation. Indeed, I did not discover a single example in the entire blog corpus. The honorific is a respect particle and is usually used when speaking to people somewhat older than oneself or those of higher rank. It could be that the lack of *po* indicates the blogger views her intended audience as peers. Also, its use might introduce a note of formality not conducive to the register of a personal weblog.

Analysis

We turn now to the main purpose of this thesis: the sociolinguistic analysis and description of code-switching on a blog with respect to the negotiation and production of identity.

When dealing with issues of identity in a poststructural context, Shotter endorses an anti-essentialist stance as he suggests succinctly: "Being someone is a rhetorical achievement" (Shotter, 1993, p. 19). The language switching in this weblog serves to highlight this possibility.

The extract can be viewed as an attempt at problem solving and making sense via a conversational narrative, and in doing so, negotiating and constructing social and personal identities (Ochs, 1997, p. 201). It illustrates a key tenet of discursive psychology – the self is constructed relationally (Dyer & Keller-Cohen, 2000). Overall, the blogger has probably shaped this dialogue to gain some objective stance in her struggle with diverse experiences of self (see Davis & Harre, 1990), and tries to bring some sense of coherence to these experiences by giving a role to another person (her mother) in a scripted conversation. It is probably a construal, rather than an accurate depiction of facts. And like many personal narratives, it involves "selections rather than reflections of reality" (Ochs, 1997, p. 192).

In that another is allocated an actual scripted part, we observe overtly in this weblog what is usually more covert in many weblogs; in the narration of a story, the narrator positions others relationally with respect to him/herself (Davis & Harre, 1990). There could be a negotiation among at least four constellations of identity: Filipino; American/western; responsible career women (doctor); and a 'free soul' in pursuit of self actualisation. The blogger appears to employ this dialogue format to try and make sense of these possible identities (and no doubt more).

We will now proceed with a sequential analysis of this blog as an exemplar. However, with subsequent blogs I will simply pick out the salient points which illustrate the ongoing construction of identity. Much more could be stated from a discourse analytical point of view. However, I have attempted to restrict myself to what role code-switching plays and what CS might reveal about the linguistic and especially the narrative production of experience and identity. Any quotation from the script above will be in italics; whereas in the actual script itself, italics are reserved for Tagalog.

Firstly, identity negotiation is not always implicated in the switching. In particular, there are examples here which are plainly expedient switching where lexical need is an obvious motivation. Words like *gymnastics*, *piano*, *theater*, *theater person* and so forth do not have easily accessible equivalents in Tagalog. These one-off borrowings (nonce borrowings) typified in this extract occur throughout this blog corpus.

Secondly, time (typified here in 3 and much more present in other blogs) is marked with a switch to English. I believe there is a reason for this in terms of how narrative works. Temporal marking carries the more objective content of the narrative, and findings on objectivity coinciding with switches to English may account for the temporal often being given in English. We shall return to this in subsequent blogs.

Emotions tend to be expressed in the 1st language – Tagalog (1). That is the case here. Similarly, talk of bodily functions and metaphors associated with bodily functions tend to be in Tagalog (4) with the switch to *pinatikim ako ng katiting   ng lahat (I have tasted a tiny bit of everything)*. This probably related to the personalisation function of switching mentioned in section 2.3.5.

➢ Line 6

The blogger positions her mother as asking a fairly formulaic Tagalog question. It seems the blogger is setting up her mother as a foil for the struggle that will develop.

➢ Lines 7 – 13

The blogger uses Tagalog to talk about her feelings and her issues with her family. Throughout the 'conversation,' Tagalog tends to be the language connected with values of group belonging; whereas English tends to be the language of individual purpose and intention. Thus, she switches to English to more objectively evaluate her life. Success and achievement tend to be expressed in English. Back in 2 there is the lone insertion *achievement* and in 12, there is the insertion of the phrase *something significantly related* in the middle of a sentence where she finishes on an emotional tone in Tagalog. Individualistic concerns with self-fulfilment are thus expressed in English and will continue to be so throughout the extract. Emotional evaluations come in Tagalog. Though the English *feel* (10) is used to express emotion, it appears to be an established borrowing in Tagalog and occurs as such in 18 other blogs in the corpus.

➢ Line 14

This is the mother's second turn and in contrast with her first turn (6), it is in English.

➢ Lines 15-17

This turn is mostly in English. With expressions like *doing what you love,* the blogger is definitely espousing individualistic western values. However, note the congruent lexicalisation with the use of *na,* a linker, doing the work of the English *that* which introduces the complement. *Na* may be a contextualisation cue. The English indexes an identity (as we shall see shortly) associated with individual fulfilment. But it is very likely the *na* functions to hint that in the midst of the identity struggle she still wants to signal her Filipina-ness. Thus it can be seen in terms of a style shift. Thompson noted a similar phenomenon in his study of Taglish and congruent lexicalisation: "What governs the choice of one word over the other is simply a matter of style" (2003, p. 146).

The pronoun change to the general or generic 'you' is particularly salient in this extended switch to English as it signals dissociation from high emotional involvement to a more objective stance. It is thus not surprising that the blogger switches to English. Of particular importance, the co-occurrence of the general/indefinite use of *you* and the switch to English for objectivity features a number of times in the corpus. Of the 25 weblog extracts, 12 exhibit the clear generic 'you' co-occuring with switches to English.

Line 15 is also the first time the blogger addresses an aside to herself. This happens again in 26 and 31, both signalled by the use of square brackets. These are explicit examples of what some researchers see as a main purpose of the personal weblog – self clarification (Miller & Shepherd, 2004).

➢ Lines 18-20

The mother is positioned as the problematizer who emphasises the "negative ramifications or implications of an event" (see Duranti, 1997, p. 311) and is also positioned by the use of English to espouse more pragmatic values. The shift to English (*yeah, you'll be starving but hey you're happy, right?*) here is also very probably an initiative style shift (Bell, 1999). The referee group could well be those in a similar age group to the daughter. The mother appropriates another code and by doing so, she is "styling the other to define the self". The words *yeah, you'll be starving but hey you're*

happy right? have "a distinguishable and stable core of linguistic features that can be modelled" (Bell, 1999, p. 525). In Bakhtinian terms, this is an utterance which carries the traces of many previous utterances (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 91). Here we have not only a language switch but also a style shift wrapped in one. The shift serves to challenge the daughter in the daughter's own 'style' and thus to articulate meaning through another voice. As she does this, she redefines (if only momentarily) her social relationship with her daughter. The code-switch/style-shift positions her as making an appeal as a peer. It is a metaphorical switch in which irony and sarcasm are being employed. The switch is the mother's big gambit, perhaps knowing that saying it in Tagalog may not carry such impact. She switches to a style of colloquial English associated with younger western people to, in fact, reinforce Filipino values by using a referee group that her daughter may see as carrying some 'authority'. In doing so, the mother re-defines herself briefly as a pragmatic westerner. However, the next switch (19), in the middle of her turn, is to some formulaic Tagalog *hindi ganun ang takbo ng mundo (the world does run like that)*. She thus reinforces the earlier style shift by now invoking the weight of Filipino values – values that will be taken up very saliently in future switches (24 & 28). Finally, she switches to a more formal English and its associations with authority (20).

- ➢ Lines 21-23

The blogger evaluates her mother's turn with a rhetorical question in English which is clearly heteroglossic *isn't that tragic?* and then switches to Tagalog to mockingly criticise self and address her audience. This particular turn is very instructive. The language switches (22 & 23) actually parallel her transition to the United States and her negotiation of a new identity. In terms of Filipino values, she is *very worldly* and she evaluates this in Tagalog (21). In terms of the American dream, she is not about to compromise her own personal happiness and she evaluates this in English (23). With the switch to English there is a pronoun shift from *natin* (*we*) to the more objective third person (*nobody* and *their*), again highlighting objectivity in a language switch to English. The language switch here parallels an identity switch. The blogger uses English, here and elsewhere, to position herself relationally (Dyer & Keller-Cohen, 285) and linguistically as a 'progressive' identity over against her mother's more 'traditional' identity as set forth as we shall see below in a threefold Tagalog refrain (19, 24 & 28).

- ➢ Line 24

The mother turns a previous utterance in Tagalog into a standard refrain (compare lines 19, 24, 28) and hence clearly uses Tagalog to espouse basic Filipino values. Three times she uses the phrase *Hindi (ba) ganun ...* Indeed if we follow the mother's turns 19 > 24 > 28, she uses Tagalog to increasingly appeal to underlying values and moral principles based on a collective identity. With *eh hindi ba ganun ang mga Pilipino (aren't Filipinos like that?),* she calls on cultural stereotypes using Tagalog as a resource. These stereotypes are connected with traditional codes which are givens rather than being subject to rational argument and debate (see Eder, Giesen, Schmidtke, & Tambini, 2002). Rituals underlying these codes are very important in Filipino society, especially at baptisms and weddings.

  ➢ Lines 25-27
Again the blogger espouses American/western values and clearly does so in English, except for an emotional expression of dislike at the end (27). She endeavours to negotiate an identity in terms of a larger cultural story – 'The American Dream'. Having acknowledged her mother's account of Filipino values (25), she switches to English both to disagree with those values and to reveal what she was thinking at the time. She appropriates English and Taglish not in terms of acquiescing to a former colonial power (the U.S.), but to employ her linguistic repertoire to express a new social identity – one of a Filipina seeking to find her place in the U.S. and reconstruct an identity in a new social reality. "To live in a narrative order not one's own is to live in a world not one's own" (Shotter, 1993, p. 195). To this end, the blogger tends to see Tagalog (in certain circumscribed contexts) as connected to a narrative order she struggles with, and resists, by switching to English (for those contexts). This is not to be interpreted as a rejection of Filipino values but a renegotiation of them via Taglish. Hence, in certain contexts, English and Taglish become the means of resistance to what she perceives as constricting values.

  ➢ Lines 28-30
We have the third of a series *hindi (ba) ganun ...* The mother has moved from the outer circle of the world (19) via the Filipino world (24), to the inner circle of the family: *kami ni papa (your father and I)* (28) in constructing a basic worldview in Tagalog. The mother has only two turns where she utters more than one sentence (18-20 and 28-30). In both of these she is constructed as switching very confidently between English and Tagalog. In both cases she appropriates English to reinforce Filipino values she has established in Tagalog. The switches to English in 28-30 exploit a constant repetition of

we're… as she uses English to espouse group values over against individualistic concerns.

➢ Lines 31-36

A statement in brackets, *["shame on me?"],* is one of a number of contextualisation cues (15 & 26) which signal the context of personal inner turmoil. The blogger's very negative evaluation of self and struggle tend to be in Tagalog (32, 34). See also 2, 5, 8, 27, 32, 34, 38, 39, and 40. Botella (n.d.) points out that valuation plays a vital role in a self narrative. The switch to English (33) is probably to elaborate line 32.

➢ Line 36

Once more, English is the language of achievement.

➢ Lines 38-46

Again in terms of valuation, Tagalog appears to carry her sense of negativity and doubt over real achievement (38, 39, 40 and 45) in the Philippine context. There is a good deal of switching here which perhaps betrays her struggle over contradictory identities.

Concluding remarks

In terms of discursive psychology, Davis and Harre (1990) suggest that people use stories or narratives to do identity work. A person will allocate people explicit or implicit roles or subject positions in a narrative which enables the story teller to identify him or herself over against others. Gergen reminds us: "The constructions of self require a supporting cast" (Gergen, 2001, p. 257). Narrative psychology proposes that self-narratives typically require that significant others play a supporting role (Botella, n.d.). This blog seems to exemplify this in an explicit way. The supporting role is explicitly the blogger's mother. The blogger uses a conversational style to bring experiences and struggles over identity into conscious awareness. Bakhtin proposes that "[any concrete discourse (utterance) … is entangled, shot through with shared thoughts, points of view, alien values, judgments and accents" (1981, p. 276). Thus in Bakhtinian terms, the "unique internal dramatism" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 96) that can inhabit what appears to be a monologic utterance/discourse is made explicit in this extract and the code-switches play an integral role in this. They work in symphony with the positioning of the self and the mother to achieve evaluations and negotiations of the blogger's identity. Clear intersentential switches between Tagalog and English are used by the mother to indicate a positive evaluation of Filipino values while similar switches (less explicitly intersentential) set forth a struggle (rather than rejection) over Filipino values

for the daughter. Intersentential switches to English are also used by the mother to indicate a rejection of Western individualism. However, they are used by the daughter to indicate a positive evaluation of western values. Yet the blogger also engages in a number of intrasentential switches in the presentation of her 'turns'. These often coincide with a struggle over a desire to present self in western terms and a desire to indicate her underlying Filipina-ness. The *na* switches involving congruent lexicalisation (17) seem especially pertinent in this regard. It might well be argued that the intrasentential dual code in this case projects a conflicted dual identity (Tsang & Wong, 2004, p. 780). Tsang and Wong studied a Hong Kong comedian's discourse which included some small level of intrasentential switching. They propose that such switching can be employed strategically to avoid presenting oneself with an identity that is entirely local or entirely western. The mother's intersentential switching comes across far more clear and confident – and projects a Filipina who is not struggling with her identity as she appropriates English confidently, and indeed the blogger positions her mother with *you're too practical* (32).

Allied with the above, the blogger mostly positions herself in Tagalog when her struggles are in view: frustrated self (1, 4, 5, 41, 43, 45), the blamer of parents (8), her suspect past successes (38, 40), and thus the past in Tagalog. However, the fulfilled self she yearns to be is in English (17, 23, 26, 36). However, in saying this, I do not suggest some essentialist discovery of an authentic identity (see Potter & Wetherell, 1997: chapter 5). Rather we need to examine how the 'ideal' is built linguistically.

It is probably fair to say that the blogger appropriates English not in terms of assimilation to a 'former colonial power,' but (appropriates English as Taglish) to negotiate a new hybrid identity, perhaps what Tyner and Kuhlke (2000) have referred to as a pan-national Philippine identity as they have researched representations of the Philippine diaspora on the world wide web. English seems to be neutral in terms of ethnic belonging; whereas Tagalog is invested with a symbolic meaning of ethnic self identification which is resisted by this blogger. Thus the focus here is not so much on recovery of some not yet fulfilled essential self, but rather on the way language works to achieve certain effects of 'truth' (Foucault, 1984, p. 199) and in this case how code-switching works in terms of constructing identity located in a third neither/nor space (Rafael, 1995, 2000).

Overall it might be said that the blogger is using, in Bakhtin's terms, two categories of discourse: the authoritative word (the mother – ma) and the internally persuasive discourse (the daughter – me) . And Bakhtin says, most appropriately for this extract, that "the struggle and dialogical relationship between these categories of ideological discourse are what usually determine the history of individual consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 342). For Bakhtin, the authoritative word, among other things: permits no play with its borders; appeals to prior discourse; makes demands and seeks allegiance; and can only be affirmed or rejected. The internally persuasive word on the other hand: interweaves with one's own word; is half ours and half someone else's; enters into a struggle with other internally persuasive discourses. The authoritative word has its roots in the "world of tradition" (Tsitsipis, 2004, p. 578). In this weblog such a word is characterised by deliberate intersentential switches. The internally persuasive word tends to be associated with intrasentential switching.

This then is an identity narrative. The blogger is a member of the Philippine diaspora and subject to an exacerbated sense of "dispersal and fragmentation, which is the history of all diasporas" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003, p. 18). The function of the narrative is to bring a sense of coherence via the negotiation of identity. According to Kraus (2000), in the modern world, the individual self is left with the mission of bringing a sense of coherence to life, that belonging to larger social groups can no longer provide. Kraus suggests that in earlier times social institutions provided people with the means of bringing coherence to fragmented self experience. With the diminishing of so many social institutions in late modernity, the task of bringing coherence to one's life is very much now left to the individual and narrative has become a key way of doing this (2000).

This extract makes explicit an inner dialogue with self. Shotter (1993) suggests "authorship of self involves an inner dialogue in which one must use words responsively and that the words one uses are also another's words" (p. 189). The blogger struggles in the sense that Kenneth Gergen (2000) p. 80) talks about when he says a person hears "the burden of an increasing array of oughts, of self doubts and irrationalities" (p. 80) and thus as a result "increasingly we emerge as possessors of many voices. Each self contains a multiplicity of others" (2000, p. 83).

Perhaps, more than anything, the code-switching in this weblog (and others to come) serves to highlight that persons with more than one 'language' in their linguistic repertoire can employ these differentially to construct, explore and negotiate their multiple identities even in the absence of a direct addressee.

6.1.2 *Extract two: Sunrise doesn't last all morning.*

Among code-switching researchers there often persists the assumption that code-switching is basically a conversational phenomenon (e.g., Li, 2005), and that in the absence of a conversational context one would be unlikely to find switching, especially consistent code-switching of an intrasentential as well as intersentential nature. With the previous blog, one might rationalise the presence of switching because the writer was recalling a conversation. However, in this next weblog, there is no explicit conversation in mind. It is a monologue. However, with Bakhtin, even a monologue is heteroglossic through and through (1986). The blogger narrates how, on a trip home to the Philippines for his mother's 80th birthday, he became sick with what turned out to be appendicitis. While he was in hospital he decided to give up smoking. He narrates why he used to smoke and why he gave up. This blog emphasises four of the key findings. It demonstrates how the blogger switches languages to take a more objective stance; to take a more personal emotionally involved stance; to contribute to a sense of narrative and thus personal coherence; and to style shift.

---

1. around this time last year, *umuwi   kami sa pilipinas   ni   jet*
    around this time last year, went home we   to Philippines (LK) jet
    around this time last year jet and I went home to the Philippines

2. *kasi*   80th birthday party ng *mommy ko*.
    because 80th birthday party of mommy my
    because it was the 80th birthday party of my mum.

3. *medyo   masama ang pakiramdam ko nung* time *na   yon*
    somewhat bad   the   feeling   my that   time (LK) then
    I felt somewhat ill at that time.

4. *dahil*   2 days *nang   sumasakit   ang aking tiyan*.
    because 2 days then   being painful the my   stomach
    because my stomach had been painful for two days then

5. *akala   ko eh bulate lang o kaya   impatso*.
    thought I   eh worms just or even/maybe indigestion
    I thought it was just worms or maybe indigestion

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6.   *i will find out later   na   hindi   pala*
        i will find out later   that not   (SURP).
        I would find out later that it wasn't (worms or indigestion)!

7.   *at   kahit anong dami ng   inumin kong   combantrin*
        And although   lots (LK) drink   I (LK)   combantrin (worm medicine)
        And although I drank lots of worm medicine

8.   *eh hindi ako gagaling.*
        eh not   I   get better
        i did not get better

9.   **my dear brother en sister, exactly one year ago today,**

10.   *pumasok ako sa* hospital   ~~*para   magpatuli*~~
       entered   I   to hospital ~~in order to get circumcised~~
       I entered hospital ~~in order to get circumcised~~

11.   *dahil   sumabog ang* appendix *ko.*
       because exploded   the appendix my
       because my appendix blew up

12.   *at kasabay   nito ang paghinto ko sa paninigarillo.*
       and accompanying   this the stopping   my   smoking
       and at the same time I gave up smoking

13.   *en   teyk nowt, huminto ako ng*   cold turkey baby, cold turkey.
       and take note stopped   I   (LK)   cold turkey baby, cold turkey.
       and take note, I quit cold turkey baby, cold turkey

14.   major milestone *sa buhay ko talaga yan*
       major milestone in life   my really that
       that was really a major milestone in my life

15.   *kasi*   i've been a smoker for over 20 years
       because i've been a smoker for over 20 years

16.   **and have been trying to quit for the longest time**

17.   *at hindi ko magawa.   parati na   lang akong may* excuse –
       and not   I   able to do   always now just   I (LK) there is excuse –
       and I was not able to do it. I just always had some excuse

18.   *kesyo   maraming* pressure *sa trabaho,*
       because lots of   pressure at work
       because there was lots of pressure at work

19.   *kailangan ko sa pag* entertain *ng mga* customers,
       need   I to   entertain   (PL) customers
       I needed to entertain lots of customers

20.   *kesyo   masarap   tumae   pag   naninigarillo*, etc. etc.
        because delicious   defecate   when smoking,   etc, etc.
        because it is very pleasant to smoke while visiting the toilet

21.   **my dad and my brother died of smoking related illnesses**

22.   **and i knew that if i didn't stop, i'd probably die from it as well someday.**

23..   **there's nothing like being hospitalized to make you start thinking**

24.   **about your mortality. perhaps, that was the reason why i was able to stop**

25.   **- i didn't want to die just yet. happy anniversary to myself.**

26.   *bilang   regalo sa sarili   ko,   bibili ako*
        as   gift   to self   my   buy I
        as a gift to myself I will buy

27.   ng   isang kahang   marlboro   reds. BWAHAHAHAHAHAHA.
        (LK)   a   packet of marlboro   reds. BWAHAHAHAHAHAHA
        a packet of Marlboro reds BWAHAHAHAHAHAHA

                                                        (Blog 11)

The above weblog extract is heteroglossic if only for the simple reason of the significant amount of switching between languages that occurs. In terms of Myers-Scotton's markedness model, this is "code-switching itself as the unmarked choice" (1993b, p. 114). There is no interlocutor/addressee and thus no rights and obligations set is in place – a reality for the rest of the weblogs I analyse. The blogger simply seems to exploit his linguistic repertoire and switches languages as it suits him to achieve maximal communicative effect.

Analysis.

   ➢ Lines 1-8

The blogger sets the scene. The time is given in English, even to the extent that *time* is an insertion in line 3. Throughout the extract, the temporal is clearly presented in English (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 15, 16, 22 and 25). Indeed, in a significant majority of the weblogs analysed, temporal elements and phrases involve switches to English. This may not be unexpected insofar as the temporal elements in a narrative provide the more objective ordering of the narrative. In contrast, the symptoms and diagnosis of the appendicitis are conveyed in Tagalog (3, 4, 5, 7 and 8). Allen, in discussing the semiotic system proposed by Julia Kristeva (1980 & 2002), discusses how the subject is split between an objective *symbolic order* (phenotext) corresponding to the rational and

socially ordered, and a more subjective *semiotic order* (genotext) corresponding to instinctual drives, erotic impulses, bodily rhythms of a realm more anti-rational (Allen, 2000, p.14). In this weblog extract, the phenotext is more likely to occur in English and the genotext in Tagalog.

> ➢ Lines 9-12

The blogger moves to the main part of the story. *Hospital* is purely a lone code-switched item preferred over the usual Tagalog loan, *ospital*. However, *appendix* is an expedient switch or nonce borrowing as the Tagalog equivalent is not so quickly or easily accessible for the writer. Here we see a key tenet of narrative psychology played out in the code-switches; there is a inextricable link between one's sense of self and identity, and some kind of moral framework which give things significance for the self (Crossley, 2003). So it is that line 9, *my dear brother en sister, exactly one year ago today,* introduces a very important code-switch which is also a stylistic shift. The blogger appears to invoke the voice of a stereotypical evangelical preacher and thus an authoritative other, and by doing so sets the implicit moral context for his giving up smoking – albeit utilizing parody. It is a "knowing and self-aware performance of a style drawn from a pre-established repertoire" (Coupland, 2001c, p. 422). However, it is only an "evocation" of a referee group associated with the evangelical preacher rather than a "whole hearted identification" (see Bell, 1999, p. 525). Or with Bakhtin's notion of ventriloquation (1981), the blogger is articulating meaning (in this case the meaning is not in the words but the style) through other's voices. It is thus clearly a metaphorical code-switch (see Blom & Gumperz, 1972 & Gumperz, 1982) whereby another context is evoked and, as a parody, serves as a contextualisation cue for the moral tone of what follows. The very stereotypical *my dear brother en sister* is somewhat of a parody of the preacher's voice or in appropriating Bakhtin's words: "It is redolent in contexts; it involves two voices, two subjects (the person who would speak seriously in this way, and the person who parodies him)" (1986, p. 108).

The deliberate and humorous erasure in line 10 also serves to set the tone for what follows. By leaving on hand what is not finally written, the words inhabit an in-between space of being neither entirely present nor entirely absent. It subverts a fundamental either/or binary not unlike Taglish subverts the hierarchy of entirely English or entirely Tagalog.

The decision to stop smoking is given in Tagalog (12 & 13). In line with the comments above about genotext and phenotext, Tagalog carries the deeper meanings associated with instinctual drives (genotext) and suggests this decision was probably heartfelt rather than just an intellectual one. Such a code-switch has a strong interpersonal function adding an emotional flavour showing the blogger's commitment to what will be said (Abdi, 2002). It also helps to involve the audience in the ameliorated moral tone of the recount (see Kaplan & Grabe (2002) for discoursal mechanisms for involving reader/listeners in texts).

> ➢ Lines 13 -16

The act of giving up smoking (14) is cited as a major milestone and is given in Tagalog with the English nonce borrowing *major milestone*. *Buhay* is a very significant Tagalog equivalent for the English 'life' and clearly with the expression *major milestone sa buhay ko talaga yan (really a major milestone in my life)*, the blogger's Filipino identity is to the fore. Yet the valuation of his smoking and reasons for giving up will be given in English (15, 16 and 21-25). However, the reasons for previously not quitting and his struggle with smoking are given in Tagalog (17-20). In line 13 we see two stylistic switches. The first is occasioned by the orthography *en teyk nowt* which signals his parodying of a Filipino English style. This switch again has a strong interpersonal evaluative function of involving the audience in the clear moral tone of the story. The second uses the colloquial slang associated with giving up so-called hard drugs. *Cold Turkey baby, cold turkey* is undoubtedly heteroglossic and enables the blogger an evaluative view point on what he has achieved by softening what might appear as arrogant by this humorous stylistic switch. Indeed, as Maybin expresses it, "invoking a voice always also involves invoking an evaluative viewpoint which can be used by the speaker as a rhetorical resource" (2001, p. 68). These three stylistic switches (*my dear brother en sister....,en teyk nowt, cold turkey baby, cold turkey)* serve the function of making the blogger not appear too moralistic and alienate his audience. He thus maintains solidarity with his readers and yet also, as a diaspora person with Balikbayan status (see section 3.2), exerts some moral influence over his fellow Filipinos.

> ➢ Lines 17-20

The blogger now gives his struggles and excuses for smoking in Tagalog with a few English insertions: *entertain* and *customers*. These are not surprising given the role of English in the domain of business in the Philippines (Sibayan, 1991). The phrase *kesyo*

masarap tumae pag naninigarillo (20) is particularly earthy, and signals in Kristeva's terms an underlying genotext (see Allen, 2000).

➢ Lines 21-25

This rather extended switch to English is unusual for this blogger and affords a radical objective stance over why he stopped smoking by probing the past loss of his loved ones and his own impending future. Note also the pronoun change to the indefinite generic 'you' in this section – a feature we saw in the previous blog. He conceivably also talks about the past in this way to reinvigorate his ongoing commitment. His motivation is very much connected with his mortality. The switch to English may also afford the blogger some emotional distance from the deaths of his loved ones, so that he can interpret their deaths as a motivating factor. The switch enables him to negotiate an identity as a non-smoker over against his father and brother. We see, once again, that "one's self narratives typically require that significant others play a supporting role" (Botella, n.d.). In this section he has exploited an extended switch to English to explain self to self, and then he finally even welcomes this new re-created self in an objective fashion in English (25). In terms of narrative psychology, the 'I' (self-as-knower/author) greets the 'me' (self-as-known/actor) whereby 'me' is a character to be positioned in one's narrative (see Botella, 1997).

➢ Lines 26-27

The blogger has positioned himself as a non-smoker in English. Thus it is not surprising that this joke about celebrating a smoke free year by treating himself to a packet of cigarettes is given in Tagalog. By means of a clear switch to Tagalog and Filipino humour, the blogger reminds his audience of his Filipino identity and also endears himself to the probably numerous Filipino smokers in his readership. With the *BWAHAHAHAHAHAHA*, the writer invites his readers to laugh long and hard with him. Thus he constructs himself as non-moralistic.

Concluding remarks

It terms of narrative form, this probably works as an anecdote (Eggins & Slade, 1997, pp. 227), though modified somewhat. Though it lacks a clear abstract, it has an orientation (1-8), a record of the remarkable event in English and Tagalog (9-20), a reaction in English (21-25) and coda lines (26-27). It is an anecdote with a strong evaluative content – not surprisingly given the topic. Labov points out that it is

precisely the evaluative content that gives significance to the narrative (1972, p. 363). In terms of narrative psychology, Botella echoes this in proposing that valuation is the "basic building block of the self narrative" (n.d.). There are embedded evaluations carried by switches to English of a stylistic nature, as we have seen (9 and 13), and an extended evaluation/reaction (lines 21-25) again conveyed in English.

Lexically, English carries the desire and rationale for quitting; Tagalog carries the desire for cigarettes. English is the authoritative discourse for this blogger. It is as though he connects his Filipino self with the smoker and his diaspora self with the non-smoker.

In terms of narrative psychology, Crossley (2003) refers to the "breach of trauma" or the disruption of a shock event whereby assumptions over a safe future are severely challenged. In such narratives, the temporal elements are important as they hold together diverse elements, preserve coherence and sustain identity negotiation (Crossley, 2003, pp. 291). Thus it may be that the code-switched temporal elements are not simply to be analysed in terms of discourse markers, but may sustain deeper implications in terms of the relationship between narrative coherence and identity construction and negotiation. Temporal marking obviously carries less emotional content. So it may not be surprising that the temporal elements are in English – the language which seems to afford more objectivity.

Crossley (2003, p. 298) in speaking about the use of narrative to make sense of one's life, is particularly applicable to this narrative:

> "One of the central premises of a narrative psychological approach then, is of the essential and fundamental link between experiences of self, temporality, relationship with others and morality."

6.1.3 *Extract three: The weekend boyfriend*
(Friday night nagka-boyfriend ako. Sunday night break na kami)
(Friday night I acquired a boyfriend. Sunday night we broke up)

We have looked at the code-switching on weblogs by two diaspora Filipinos. Now we look at another distinct Filipino marginalized identity - a gay man. Here we see in terms

of narrative psychology, a narrative in which the blogger constructs himself relationally, contrasting his behaviour and actions with a key other in the narrative (Dyer & Keller-Cohen, 2000). Two events have been selected from an extended blog entry. The narrative of these events function as units of meaning (see Botella, 1997) as the blogger tries to make sense of a break down in a very recently initiated relationship. There is a considerable amount of intrasentential switching within the intersentential switching. Overall for this entry the ratio of Tagalog to English is about 45:55. A younger gay blogger has met a friend at a gay bar on a Friday night. The two events are given in two sections and give some incidents during the following week that lead to their break up on the subsequent Sunday. In section one, the blogger and his new friend spend the week texting one another flirtatiously. However, another man (mystery texter) appears to start texting the blogger. Eventually, the new friend owns up to being the mystery texter. In section two, the boyfriend insults the blogger and gets a very strong reaction. The main reason for selecting this blog was its illustration of code-switching to construct and position versions of self and other.

Section one:

1.   What   followed was a weeklong *landian*   sa text.
     What followed was a weeklong flirtation by text.

2.   *at   ang* numerous *palitan   ng* Mwah's and Baby's
     and the numerous exchanges of "Mwah's[14] and 'Baby's"

3.   **were interrupted by a mystery texter**.

4.   Justin *daw* name *niya   at*
     Justin (RS) name of him   and
     he said that his name was Justin

5.   *may* nag-business card   *lang daw   ng*   number *ko*.
     there someone send business card   just   (RS)   with number my
     someone just sent a business card with my number.

6.   **Immediately, I was suspicious and I immediately asked my boylet**

7.   **if he knew this Justin guy. He denied.**

8.   So *naki*-ride   on *na   rin ako sa kalandian ng   Justin na'to*
     so (social prefix) ride on now also I   the flirtation   with Justin (LK) this

---

[14] Long distance kisses.

so I also continued the flirtation with this Justin person

9.   **whom I felt was either my boylet pretending to be somebody else, or my boylet's friend.**

10.   *Parang* test *kumbaga.*
      seems   test   like/as
      some kind of test, in a manner of speaking

11.   Thursday night *sinabi nga   niyang   siya nga   si Justin.*
      Thursday night said   really/indeed he (LK)   he   really Justin
      On Thursday night he admitted that he really was Justin

12.   *Medyo   nairita ako kasi   sabi ko* he didn't have to do that
      somewhat irritated I   because said I   he didn't have to do that
      I was somewhat irritated because I had said he didn't have to do that

13.   *kasi   hindi naman ako nagsisinungaling*
      because not   indeed   I   lie
      because I really was not lying

14.   **and if there are things that he wanted to know all he had to do was ask.**

15.   (Note *na ang haba   ng* sentence *na'yon.*   Read it without
      (note (LK) how long (LK) sentence (LK) that. Read it without
      Note how long that sentence was. Read it without

16.   pausing to breathe and you'd know *kung paano ko 'to   dineliver*).
      pausing to breathe and you'd know how   I   this deliver).
      pausing to breathe. and you'd know how I delivered it.

17.   *Pero umiral ang damdaming nakyutan ako sa kanya.*
      but   prevail the feeling   find cute I   to him
      But what prevailed was the feeling I found him cute

Section two:

18.   And then *ayan na!   Kapag nag*te-text *ako ng*   sweet
      And then there now!   When texting   I   (LK) something sweet
      And then there it was! When I was texting something sweet

19.   *sasabihin niyang "parang* template" *lang ang mga* messages *ko.*
      said   he (LK) like   template just   the (PL) message my
      he said that my messages seemed just like some template

20.   While we were in bed (*'yung'* di   capital letter B),
                            (*'that'*   not capital letter B[15])
      While we were in bed (the real bed not the restaurant called "Bed")

21   *sabi niya "parang plastik   pagtawag mo sa'kin ng   'baby'*

---
[15] Bed is apparently the name of a gay bar.

said he   "it seems artificial/fake   when call you me   (LK) 'baby'
he said "it seems artificial/fake when you call me "baby"

22.   *kasi   lahat na   lang yata   ng   dinadala mo rito 'yan ang tawag   mo."*
because all   now just maybe (LK) bring   you here that the thing call you
Because perhaps you say that to all those you bring here.

23.   *Pagkatapos naman,   "wala akong naramdamang*   love from you.
After that   indeed (he said) "none I   emotional feeling love from you
After that (he said) "I don't feel love from you

24.   *puro libog lang."*
totally lust just
just lust."

25.   **At the point. Everything was a blur. I remember calmly raising my voice
and calmly throwing some stuff to the wall, calmly getting out of bed, and
calmly punching the wall.**

26.   *Tumahimik   siya.* And then *natakot daw siya*.
Became very quiet he.   And then afraid (RS) he
he became very quiet. And then he said he got scared.

27.   Hindi ko naman alam kung bakit? Eh, I was calm the whole time!!!
Not   I   really know why?   Eh, I was calm the whole time!!!
I do not really know why. Eh, I was calm the whole time!!!

<div align="right">(Blog 8)</div>

Analysis
> ➤ Lines 1-3 orientation

As in the previous extract, time for the most part is signalled in English (lines 1, 11, 18, 20, 24, 26, and 27). The section is unusual grammatically in that the matrix language in line 1 is English with the Tagalog borrowing *landian*. In line 2, the writer has chosen, in terms of grammar, function words *at, ang* and *ng* which in this situation are lexically congruent with the English*, and, the* and *of.* As a consequence, I have been able to render a one to one translation and conformity to English grammatical structure. However, to specify the matrix language in line 2 is difficult. It is probably Tagalog. With *Mwah's and Baby's* (the apostrophes are the writer's), the writer invokes a gay style.

> ➤ Lines 4-5

This turn is pure English and perhaps serves to emphasise the complication in the narrative.*Business card* is one of a number of expedient switches to English in the extract. Others include: *number, test, text,* and *template.*

> ➤ Lines 6-7

<div align="right">94</div>

The blogger's initial reaction to the mystery texter is conveyed in English, as is most of his rationalising over what may be happening (see 9). The boyfriend's failure to tell the truth is given abruptly in English - *he denied*. He positions the boyfriend's duplicity in English over against his own honesty (see 13) in Tagalog.

.

➢ Lines 8-10

The reflection on what may be occurring is given in English as the blogger positions himself as reasonable and not gullible or stupid. He uses the status of English to do precisely this. English plays a key role here in building coherence and a sense of meaning as it carries most of the commentary on the events. The term *boylet* is perhaps a term from swardspeak or the language used by many gays in the Philippines. His analysis then of the situation is mostly in English except for *parang test kumbaga* (9).

➢ Lines 11-13

The boyfriend's final admission of the truth is reported in Tagalog (11) which compares with the earlier denial (7) in English. The blogger's emotional response is given in Tagalog (12). He shows himself as reasonable in his negative emotion by modalising in Tagalog *medyo nairita ako – "I was somewhat irritated",* but then gives his objective evaluation of the boyfriend's lying in English *he didn't have to do that* (12). The blogger then switches again to Tagalog and uses *nagsisinungaling* rather than *lie* probably to convey his own faithfulness to basic Filipino values (13).

➢ Line 14

This line in English picks up (12) *he didn't have to do that* and continues his evaluation of the boyfriend's behaviour. Clearly then, the two languages are serving different purposes. The blogger has positioned his own emotional states and honesty in Tagalog. He reports the boyfriend's honest confession in Tagalog but evaluates the boyfriend's duplicitous behaviour in English. The blogger is giving the boyfriend a part in the story which will enable the blogger to clearly emerge as the offended party. In constructing one's identity, others are given key roles to play to support such a construction (Gergen, 2001).

➢ Lines 15-16

The blogger overtly addresses his audience with an English imperative which entails an alternation from English to Tagalog and back to English and then Tagalog. Within these intersentential alternation switches there are clear intrasentential switches with *sentence*

and *deliver*. The switch to English in line 15 to address the audience involves an objective stance to give a metadiscursive comment on the progression of his text (another key feature of a number of weblogs surveyed).

➢ Line 17

This final line is pure Tagalog and the established borrowing *kyut* (cute) thoroughly morphologically and phonologically integrated. He overtly expresses his emotional/sexual orientation towards another man in Tagalog.

Part two:

This next section occurs a paragraph later in the weblog entry. The blogger deals with three criticisms by his new boyfriend (lines 19, 21 and 22-24) and gives his reaction in English (line 25). It basically conforms to a narrative genre and is probably a narrative told by the blogger to justify his actions. Schiffrin makes the point that "stories are often told to justify one's own actions, not only during overt conflict, but also subtle disputes over rights and obligations ..." (1996, p. 171). The code-switching highlights how this is achieved.

➢ Line 18

Time once again is presented in English. The switch *Ayan na!* (which is difficult to translate) is a textualisation cue (see Chan, 2004) and signals the angry emotional tone of what is to come and also functions as the abstract. The blogger continues the orientation to the incident in Tagalog with some borrowings from English (*text*, *template* and *messages*) associated with texting.

➢ Lines 19-24

In terms of a narrative, this section, given in Tagalog, is the complication. The boyfriend is reported as seriously challenging the blogger's integrity. As seen in previous extracts, the temporal is again signalled in English, but the challenge from the blogger's boyfriend is given in Tagalog as are issues around sexuality and attraction. The actual challenge is quoted material and the blogger supplies quotation marks. The boyfriend switches briefly to English (23) with *love from you* and then switches back to Tagalog for *puro libog lang (just lust)*. This perhaps works as a textualisation cue (see Chan, 2004) and serves to highlight the contrast between 'love' and 'lust'

➢ Line 25

The evaluation and resolution are here combined. We have a key switch to English whereby the blogger both distances himself from what must have been a significant

outburst and presents it as a reasonable and rational response. He repeats *calm* five times. The code-switch here to English functions to give clear contrast, both representing the attempted resolution of the problem by the blogger and at the same time evaluating this resolution. He presents himself once again as honest, over against the boyfriend's duplicity in the previous section and the false suspicions and accusations of the boyfriend in this section (21-24). It is not unlikely that for the writer, English here is chosen to reinforce this contrast of honesty over duplicity, because Tagalog had previously been used (19, 21, 22 & 24) to convey the boyfriend's 'false challenge.' Dyer and Keller-Cohen propose that a key function of narrative is to "edit, correct and interpret past actions" (2000, p. 285). It may well be that English functions as the language to do this. The language is stylised in that the English is carefully designed to present self as reacting in a justifiable way. He could also be using English to dissociate himself from the bakla stereotype of the 'screaming queen' within Filipino gay culture. The audience is left to the inferential work of asking "What kind of gay man is this?" Thus, in this extended response, the English probably functions as a textualisation cue (Chan 2004) asking the reader to interpret line 25 as a more rational response than it otherwise would be. Thus code-switching can function metadiscursively and metaphorically at the interpersonal level (Abdi, 2002, p. 143) to elicit sympathy for a reasonable outburst. Coupland (2001b, p. 201) proposes that "a dialect style should be treated, analytically, as a repository of cultural indices." Here code-switching functions in a similar way. The switch to English indexes rationality and objectivity and is all the more significant because it contrasts with the boyfriend's false accusation given quotatively in Tagalog (lines 19-24).

➢ Lines 26-27

The blogger's description of his boyfriend's reaction to the outburst, in terms of his emotional states, involves a switch to Tagalog. Then his final comment about his own behaviour involves another switch back to English.

Concluding remarks

Overall, most of the emotional states are conveyed in Tagalog, as are expressions to do with their flirtation. Tagalog is associated with the romantic and with sexual orientation. However, most of the reasoning, making sense and explanation of events is carried via

English (lines 6, 7, and 25). The blogger may be using the languages differentially to deal with contradictory identities – the calm, reasonable person (English) and the deeply offended person (Tagalog). However, in terms of evaluation, the code-switching in the two sections is different. In section one, English was the language used to analyse and evaluate the boyfriend's negative behaviour; Tagalog presented the boyfriend's and the blogger's honesty. In section two, English affords the blogger a stance of objectivity to evaluate his own behaviour in a positive light. Tagalog presents the boyfriend's negative challenge.

6.1.4 *Extract four: Runnin' with the devil*

A female OFW is struggling with her work situation. She begins heteroglossically with a segment of lyric from a Val Halen song. This excerpt had the largest percentage of English I came across with around 77 % English tokens compared to 23% Tagalog tokens. The switching is intersentential (alternation) with no instances of intrasentential switch (insertion). The blogger is finding work particularly stressful because she does not know what is expected of her. The tense in English is the present and the switching seems very deliberate as the blogger code-switches to move between objective (dissociative) and subjective (associative) stances to position version of self and seek personal coherence.

---

1.   **I found the simple life ain't so simple**
                     When I jumped out, on that road

                         - Van Halen

2.   **Do you ever get that kind of dream where you're running but no matter how fast you push you just can't run fast enough? That's where I am now. I'm like a bug under a microscope, every single move watched. I'm like a wolf running with the pack, but getting left behind. If I'm wearing headphones, they expect me to be walking around. Once I'm walking around, they expect me to sit down and finish the work.**

3.   *Saan ako lulugar?   Ano ang gagawin   ko? Hindi ko talaga   alam*
       Where I   take my place. What the thing will do I   Not I   really   know
       Where do I place myself? What am I supposed to do? I really don't know.

4.   *Hindi naman   lahat tinuro sa amin*
       not   indeed   all   taught to us
       Not everything has been taught to us

5. **I only have myself to compare with since all of us are seated far away from each other**.

6. *Tapos malaman-laman ko   hindi pala   ganun   ang ginagawa.*
later   discover/find   I   not (SURP) like that the thing done.
Then later I would find out that that wasn't the way to do it.

7. **Blind. I hate this feeling.. of not knowing what to do. Of being the new one. Of being the one with more responsibilities. I feel… uncapable.. I'm afraid to make a mistake..**

8. *kahit isa lang* *sigh*
even one just
even once only *sigh*

9. *Masarap   ang buhay dito.   Pero pagod lagi*
comfortable the life   here. But tired   always
Life is comfortable here. But always tiring.

(Blog 4)

Analysis
- ➢ Line 1

The Van Halen quote works as an heteroglossic abstract.

- ➢ Line 2

This stage is noticeably entirely in English. The writer makes a very clear attempt to position the reader as one who will respond empathetically. The first sentence is a rhetorical question which immediately involves the audience and forms a kind of orientation. The blogger directly addresses the audience, *Do you ever …* Then, as seen in previous blogs, there is the general indefinite *you*. The addressive *you* moves into a generic *you* which becomes "a 'you' with which the reader in the role of '(any)one' can identify" (see, Fludernik, 1996, p. 5). Then she uses a couple of similes. Here the tone is clearly more objective than what will follow as the blogger carefully chooses two images and in using them she objectively positions herself as the observer of the drama she is involved in. The "supporting cast" (Gergen, 2001, p.257) are constructed in English as an invisible, anonymous and profoundly oppressive force, yet rational all the same. Little is said about the other … The oppressors are either *they* or made invisible by the passive *every single move watched; getting left behind.* By doing so she constructs herself in English as a victim over against such oppressive forces. By positioning others in a narrative, people position themselves rhetorically over against those others (Dyer & Keller-Cohen, 2000, Shotter, 1993). She positions herself as facing conflicting demands: *if I am … they expect; once I am … they expect.* Ochs

makes a comment about another narrative which is also appropriate here: "In stacking problem upon problem, the narrator constructs a world in which she is helpless and driven by panic" (1997, p. 198).

> ➢ Line 3-4

With the switch to Tagalog, the tone becomes more subjective. The blogger's emotional yet challenging response to this stressful situation is given as two short Tagalog questions and two short negative responses to those questions. The questions and answers serve to heighten the interpersonal purpose of involving the audience and eliciting sympathy and solidarity. As we have seen in other blogs, emotional expressions often involve a switch to Tagalog. Thus English was used to describe the situation and Tagalog to communicate a reaction to the circumstances. This construction of the helpless yet questioning and challenging self in Tagalog will have clear resonance with many Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) who read the blog. The switch to Tagalog helps to position the blogger as the victim of an alien oppressive force, who finds it unacceptable. The switches here are responsive to the English section and the switch to Tagalog functions as a contextualisation cue that the one victimised by anonymous forces is a Filipino. The phrases S*aan ako lulugar? Ano ang gagawin ko? Hindi ko talaga alam,* seem to have a stylised feel to them. Line 4 continues in Tagalog with another negative statement and places the writer within a group context. The experience of uncertainty is a shared one.

> ➢ Line 5

Her intensely individualistic experiences at work are expressed here again in English. She continues to build her identity as one isolated.

> ➢ Line 6

A third negative statement given in Tagalog to join those of lines 3 and 4.

> ➢ Line 7

The blogger positions herself now in English and summarises her condition as a powerless victim. The focus is very much on the sense of 'I' or identity as a powerless victim.

> ➢ Line 8

The contextualisation cue *sigh* is given in English. Throughout the weblogs in the corpus such indices of physical action are invariably given in English, even in the midst of long stretches of Tagalog.

Here the discourse is somewhat paradoxical. *Masarap ang buhay dito. Pero pagod lagi (Life is comfortable but always tiring).* However, it continues the theme of conflict that has been present in the blog.

Concluding remarks

The switching is very deliberate and stylistic. The majority of the text is English and Tagalog is employed for very specific purposes. As with the mother (ma) in the first extract (6.1.1), the switches are intersentential. Tagalog switches are mostly either rhetorical questions or contain negatives and as such, challenge the sense of panic conveyed in English. Clearly, whereas English using images presents a more objective view of the situation, Tagalog is used both to convey a sense of panic yet challenge the situation. There are no clear questions or negatives present in English, but rather indicatives. Tagalog brings the challenge with interrogatives and negative polarity. There is thus a sense of conflict where two identities are being negotiated: the victim and the self who questions and challenges the victimisation.

6.1.5 *Extract five: Feeling toxic*

This is an extract from a larger entry which featured about 39% English to 61% Tagalog. Lines 8 – 19 constitute two stories which can be analysed as anecdotes which the blogger uses to negotiate his identity at a time when he is feeling 'toxic.' For Eggins and Slade the anecdote has the following generic structure: "(Abstract)^(Orientation)^(Remarkable Event)^(Reaction)^(Coda)" (1997, p. 268). The extract is a very clear example of a blogger switching languages to construct and position versions of self and other.

---

1.   *kaya talagang   minsan,*
   so   really (LK) once in a while
   so really once in a while

2.   *minamahal ko nang lubusan   ang pagyoyosi para   ma-*relax.
   love   I (LK) absolutely the smoking   in order to relax
   I absolutely love smoking in order to relax

3.   **have you ever tried reading the bible while smoking? i did, and i find it unique.**

4.   *kakaiba.* actually, *may sinumite akong* article *sa peyups* dot com.
   different. actually have submitted my a   article in Peyups dot com
   very different. actually, I have an article submitted in Peyups dot com

5. *sana, ipublish na. maiintindihan niyo kung bakit.*
i wish, publish already. understand   you   why
I hope that it gets published already. you will understand why.

6. **i don't want to get into the nitty-gritty details.**

7. *basta*.   i think it was written out of 'love.'
that's it. i think it was written out of 'love'
suffice it to say i think it was written out of love.

8. **but my being toxic nowadays doesn't mean that I am not aware with what's happening in my surroundings.**

9. *tulad na   lang kangina, nasa jeep ako,*
like now   just earlier,   in   jeep I
just like earlier, I was in a jeep

10. *napansin ko yung   isang ale, walang   tigil   sa kakakulangot.*
notice   I   that   one   older woman no end of picking nose
I happened to notice an older woman who kept picking her nose.

11. *ang nakatutuwa   pa doon, di   niya tinatapon   kaagad,*
The amusing thing still there not she get rid of   straight away
The amusing thing was she didn't get rid of the snot straight away.

12. *binibilogbilog niya   muna at   parang iniipon,*
make a ball   she   first and seems   collect
she made it into a ball first and seemed to be collecting it.

13. *hanggang sa   makabuo   siya ng   isang mini-ball na booger.*
until   in   able to complete she (LK) one   mini-ball (LK) snot
Until she was able to make a complete mini-ball of snot

14. *kahapon naman, sa dyip ulit,   nairita   ako sa mga aleng*
yesterday also,   in jeep again irritated I   at (PL) older lady (LK)
Yesterday also, in a jeep again I was irritated at some older women

15. *nagpapaabot lamang ng bayad na   walang pasintabi.*
hand over   merely the money (LK) no   giving due respect
who handed over their fare without showing any respect.

16. *ni hindi man lang masambit na   'makikiabot nga..... salamat.'* rude *sila.*
not   just mention (LK) 'handover (polite) thanks' rude they
they didn't even say 'here's our money …. thanks' they were rude

17. they're so nasty.   *kaya ako*
they're so nasty. so   I

18. I make it a point *na   kapag nagpapaabot ako ng bayad*,
I make it a point that when   hand over   I   the money
I make it a point that when I hand over the money

19.   **I observe the usual acts of courtesy.**

(Blog 25)

Analysis
  ➢ Lines 1-7
This section prepares the way for the two anecdotes that follow. The love of smoking is expressed in Tagalog, the language which corresponds to more emotional and personal attachment and what we have referred to at times as the genotext. Having explained his love of smoking in Tagalog, he deliberately switches to English (3) and directly addresses his audience using *you*. Then he talks of reading the Bible while smoking, perhaps to portray it as a sophisticated act. English also conceivably enables the blogger to distance himself from connecting smoking with the Bible, insofar that elsewhere on his weblog entries he displays both a positive view of the Bible and a negative view of smoking and in fact attempts to give it up. The switch to English in line 6 could be explained in two ways. Primarily, it is a formulaic English expression. Secondly, it is a metadiscursive commentary about what he has decided to include and exclude from his story and thus requires an objective stance about his writing. The switch in line 7 *basta* is emphatic, to emphasise he did not wish to go into details; whereas *article* is an expedient switch to English.

  ➢ Lines 8-16
The blogger begins two short anecdotes. He uses English to position himself as aware, and Tagalog to position some older women as foolish and unaware. The first anecdote describes a woman picking her nose and rolling the snot into a ball. It is a particularly earthy account and previous comments about genotext being conveyed in Tagalog may also be relevant here. Line 8 is the abstract where the blogger uses English to position himself as self aware. Line 9 is the orientation, and lines 10-13 present the remarkable event (the rolling of the snot). Then line 14 gives an orientation to the second event, a description of the rude behaviour of some elderly women on a jeepney. Again the description is in Tagalog with lines 15-16 giving the second remarkable event. Finally, lines 17-19 provide the reaction. The abstract and reaction are in English; the orientations and remarkable events are in Tagalog. In terms of discursive psychology it might be said the blogger wants to position and construct himself as aware (abstract and reaction) and he does so by narrating about a woman who is unaware others may see her picking her nose (orientation and remarkable event). The woman is positioned as a fool

and Tagalog is used with humorous language to achieve this. In contrast, the narrator uses English to present himself as aware (line 8).

> ➤ Lines 17-19

This story ends with an evaluative reaction. The blogger uses English to distance himself from the behaviour of the women on the jeepney and take an objective stance. With these switches to English there is a sense of formality. There is a heteroglossic feel – a styling of a recognisably sophisticated person. There is a switch to Tagalog when the blogger uses a subordinate clause to point to his action of handing over the money. Here again is a possible contrast between the agentive self (Tagalog – simply describing actions) and the epistemic self (English – evaluating in terms of beliefs, values, feelings and desires). The English segments (18 and 19) though describing actions are distinctly evaluative (*I make it a point, I observe..)* in the context of the anecdote. One question that arises is why does this writer use Tagalog and English differentially in the way he does to achieve these effects? Why isn't Tagalog used to position the blogger and English to position the women? The answer does not lie in some inherent feature of the languages themselves. The answer seems to be related to the idea of communicative efficiency. As Tagalog and English are 'first' and 'second[16]' languages for the blogger then he uses them differentially in the most efficient way for himself. For example, it is more efficient for him to engage Tagalog to convey the humour that is required to position the women as stupid. Had English been his first language and Tagalog the second, he may well have used the languages in reverse fashion to achieve the same effects.

Concluding remarks

These anecdotes are a clear example of using a narrative to construct a version of self over against other characters. In the words of Gergen, "the actions of others become an integral part of narrative intelligibility" (2001, p. 258). Once again the code-switching gives some insight into how the blogger negotiates his identity. The switching for the most part is intersentential with a deliberate feel to it. The older women are positioned in Tagalog as being unsophisticated and rude. The entire tale of the women rolling snot is also in Tagalog apart from a couple of borrowings. The tale of the impolite women is likewise Tagalog. The blogger uses English to criticise the women and present himself as sophisticated and aware. It may well be the code-switching may assist the blogger to

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[16] or third language etc.

build coherence and validate himself (at a time when he feels 'toxic') by linguistically supporting the need to psychologically grant distance from characters positioned as more toxic than him. In other words code-switching can be used as a kind of psychological sorting mechanism as he portrays himself as a superior person (see Schiffrin, 1996, p. 169).

What is vital to this story is not only the way the blogger positions self, but his reciprocal positioning of other characters (in this case anonymous – thus safe) to provide a contrast. These positions are essentially achieved in different languages. This is an example where "constructing one's self is achieved relationally, contrasting one's actions and behaviour in relation to other characters in the narrative and to one's interlocutors" (Dyer & Keller-Cohen, 2000, p. 285).

6.1.6 *Extract six: Love knows not its own depth …*

This blog is a whole entry in two paragraphs which cover two topics. In the first section, the blogger is reflecting over the absence of his wife for four months. It is an exemplum (see section 4.3) and deals with the general human predicament of being separated from loved ones and how to make sense of it. The second section involves a recount of the blogger and his wife bringing a wrong suitcase from the airport. It is a simple narrative (section 4.3) which serves to construct the identity of a happy reunited couple in adverse circumstances. The ratio of English to Tagalog is 45% to 55%. It is interesting to note that the Tagalog word for suitcase, *maleta*, is used interchangeably with the English *suitcase*. In fact, in line 14 *maleta* is imported into a section where English is the base language: …*carrying the wrong maleta.* In line 19 *suitcase* is imported into a sentence where Tagalog is the base language: *na-maligno ang suitcase.* These cannot be considered as either loans or nonce borrowings. They are simply code-switches of single items.

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1. *narito na   ang mylabopmayn ko   sa* singapore *pagtapos ng*
   arrive now The "my love of mine" in Singapore after   (LK)
   'My love of mine' has arrived back in Singapore after

2. *humigit kumulang ay   mga apat na   buwan din naming pagkakalayo.*
   more or less   are (pl) four (LK) months also we   apart
   more or less four months that we have been far apart.

3. *masakit talaga ang mawalay sa mahal mo sa buhay.*
painful really the separation from love your of life.
It is really painful to be separated from your loved one

4. *pero sa isang banda, maigi rin ito dahil nalalaman mo talaga*
but on one part, good also this because know you really
but on the other hand this is also good because you really know

5. *ang halaga ng isang tao pag siya'y wala sa tabi mo*
the value of one person when he/she not at side you
the value of a person when she/he is not by your side

6. (*kahit sandali lang* as in our case - but it did feel like an eternity).
(even short time only as in our case - but it did feel like an eternity).
(even if only for a short time as in our case – but it did feel like an eternity).

7. *minsan kasi* you tend to take for granted, the things that matter
once in a while because you tend to take for granted, the things that matter
because once in a while you tend to take for granted, the things that matter

8. **the most to you simply because you see them everyday**.

9. **separation, my dear friends, makes sure you never ever forget.**

10. *sabi nga ni janice jurado kay johnny wilson*
said (EMP) janice jurado to johnny wilson
as once said by Janice Jurado to Johnny Wilson.

11. *doon sa* sitcom of my childhood -
there in the sitcom of my childhood -
back in the sitcom of my childhood

12. **"johnny baby, what are you taking me for? GRANTED?"**

13. *may nakakatawang nangyari sa amin kaninang madaling araw*
there was funny thing happened to us then early morning
there was a funny thing that happened to us in the early morning

14. *nang sunduin ko si jet - nakarating kami ng bahay*
when fetched I Jet - arrived we the house
when I fetched Jet – we arrived back at the house

15. from the airport carrying the wrong *maleta.*
from the airport carrying the wrong suitcase

16. *siguro dahil na rin sa* over excitement *namin* or *sa pagkapagod ko.*
maybe because now also the over excitement of us or the tiredness my
maybe it was also because of our over-excitement or my tiredness.

17. **perhaps both. we ended up going to the airport twice**

18.   *dahil*   we needed to return   the wrong bag and reswitch.
    because we needed to return the wrong bag and reswitch.

19.   *kaya pala*   *biglang*   *naging*   two wheels *yung* four wheel *maleta*   *namin*.
    so   (SURP) suddenly became two wheels that   four wheel suitcase of us
    that's probably why our four wheel suitcase became a two wheel model!

20.   for a moment there, *akala*   *ko na-maligno*   *ang* suitcase.
    for a moment there, thought I   demon possessed the suitcase
    for a moment there, I thought the suitcase was demon possessed.

21.   *pero* ok lang. *masaya naman kaming*   *nakauwi*
    but ok only happy   really   we   get home
    but no big deal, we were happy getting home.

22.   (*ng*   *dalawang*   *beses din siyempre*).
    ((LK) two   times   also of course).
    (though it took us two times of course).

<div align="right">(Blog 7)</div>

Analysis

   ➤ Lines 1-6

An orientation and record of events and their significance begin this extract. The blogger gives the specific situation of absence from his wife in Tagalog. In line 3, Tagalog carries the emotional feelings involved and the language of close relationship. The switch to generalising and reflecting on the absence (lines 3, 4 and 5) does not in this case coincide with a switch to English. This is mainly because of the Tagalog lexis *masakit talaga (really painful), mahal mo sa buhay (the loves of your life), and halaga (value)* which carry deep emotional valuation of the state of affairs. It is doubtful that English could do this valuation for Filipinos. The Tagalog *mo* which is being used in exactly the same way as the general indefinite English *you* occurs three times in the emotionally charged language. The switch to English in parenthesis *as in our case...* is an objective clarifying comment.

   ➤ Lines 7-9

The generic indefinite pronoun *you* continues in English (three times). The main switch to English actually corresponds to the realisation of the transgression of *you tend to take for granted*. We have a switch to a greater level of generality and objectivity for the moral lesson to be extracted. It marks a shift from particular Filipino values (lines 3, 4, and 5) to a universal value. Separation from things in general teaches us not to take things for granted. The switch is again a textualisation cue which tends to say "I am no

longer just speaking of my own experience … I am moralising in general". It may be that the formulaic phrase *tend to take for granted* drives the switch. The English in lines 7-9 also serves as a contextualisation cue that this lesson is universal transcending any particular cultural values. Within the moral lesson is a specific address to the audience *…my dear friends…*(9) which acts as a contextualisation cue that this is a moral lesson. This could be seen as working at two levels. Firstly, the phrase is perhaps redolent with the preaching contexts. It also helps construct an intimate relationship with the audience. Building a 'personal relationship' with an often largely unknown audience is a key tool in the evangelist's tool box. The actual intimate content came earlier in Tagalog (3-5) which set the stage for an appeal to the audience. For Bakhtin, "Intimate speech is imbued with a deep confidence in the addressee, in his sympathy, in the sensitivity and goodwill of his responsive understanding" (1986, p. 97). We have seen many times in the weblogs that Tagalog has been the language associated with the personalisation and emotional depth to seek such a responsive understanding. And again Bakhtin says, "Familiar and intimate genres and styles (as yet very little studied) reveal extremely clearly the dependence of style on a certain sense and understanding of the addressee on the part of the speaker" (1986, p. 97).

➢ Lines 10-12

The blogger briefly switches back to Tagalog to set the stage for a quote which will complete the moral interpretation in English of the exemplum (line 12).

➢ Line 13-14

These lines introduce the second phase of this weblog entry – a short narrative – and give the abstract and orientation. The signalling of an interesting event is given in pure Tagalog as is the orientation to the event and people involved. The story is framed in key Tagalog expressions *nakakatawang nangyari (funny happening)* (line 13) and *masaya naman kaming nakauwi (we were happy getting home)* (21 – the coda). This framing sets an evaluative posture that the inconvenience should not be taken seriously.

➢ Lines 15-16

This gives the complication. The mistake of bringing the wrong suitcase is given in English. The reason for the mistake (over excitement and tiredness) involves a switch to Tagalog as base language with an English borrowing.

➢ Lines 17 – 18

The resolution is given. Again another switch to English presents the consequences of the error: two trips to the airport.

➢ Lines 19-20

These lines offer some evaluation of the situation. The writer jokes that he thought the suitcase was spirit possessed. The switch to Tagalog is needed to grasp the humour and vocabulary associated with a very rich Filipino mythology.

➢ Lines 21-22

Finally the optional coda, bringing things back to the present, is presented in Tagalog.

Concluding remarks

In the first section, the blogger negotiates an identity as a wise sage – someone who interprets life and relates events to a moral imperative. In this case, the identity is constructed in relation to the audience who are directly addressed in English (9).

The second section is an example of a narrative in which human predicaments are central to the plot structure, or in the words of Sarbin: "Our plannings, our rememberings, even our loving and hating, are guided by narrative plots" (1986, p. 11). There is a clear dialogic feel to the story with the problem, cause and solution presented with language switches between each. Through the story the blogger constructs a joint identity for himself and his wife, and in doing so makes an implicit point about the first part of the blog. He constructs the couple as harmonious who see the funny side of events and take the inconvenience in their stride. Switches to Tagalog primarily do this by giving a sense of lightness and human happiness. They point to the couple's happy relationship (lines 14, 16 and 21), to their humorous view of the situation (lines 13, 19 and 20), and their not apportioning blame (line 16). The simple facts of the adverse circumstances and practical issues are conveyed in English. Through the narrative, these two streams become dialogised via code-switching to construct the identity of the couple in adverse circumstances.

Shotter (1993, p. 195) puts it well:

> "We must link ourselves to our past and to our future (and death), to each other, to nature, to our parents and our children, and to, seemingly, something beyond ourselves, a horizon of ideals."

6.1.7 *Extract seven: Weblogger of the year*

With this final extract, I focus mainly on the Bakhtinian notion of heteroglossia combined with the referee design dimension of Bell's audience design framework. The blogger has won the competition for 'Filipino Blogger of the Year'. He gives his

response to this event in the form of a 'thank you speech'. The association between code-switching and style switching is clearly exemplified in this salient example as the blogger engages in some overt and deliberate stylistic switches.

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1. *bili naman kayo ng* manila bulletin   *at basahin*
   buy indeed you the manila bulletin and read
   Please buy the Manila Bulletin and read

2. *ang "BLOG-O-RAMA"*   article *ni Annalyn Jusay.*
   the "BLOG-O RAMA" article by Annalyn Jusay.

3. *naka* feature   *ako,* believe it or not.
   happen to be featured I,   believe it not not
   I happen to be featured, believe it or not

4. not bad for a simple *bastos*   OFW from singapore
   not bad for a simple unrefined/rude overseas filipino worker from singapore
   not bad for a simple rude/crude Overseas Filipino Worker from Singapore

5. *na   isang   dating supot*   *pero tuli   na   ngayon*
    LK) one (LK) former uncircumcised guy but   circumcised already now
   who was once uncircumcised but is now circumcised

6. *kaya wala nang   kupal.*
   so   none now (LK)   dried semen under the foreskin
   so I no longer have dried semen under the foreskin.

7. *bilang pagpapasalamat, hayaan nyo akong   mag* speech...
   as   giving thanks,   tolerate you my (LK) speech
   by way of giving thanks please accept this speech

8. ay wan tu tenk   Annalyn Jusay for being   *mahusay.*
   I want to thank Annalyn Jusay for being skilful

9. ay wan tu tenk   my parents for giving me *baon.*
   I want to thank my parents for giving me provisions

10. ay wan tu tenk   god for making me *pogi*
    I want to thank god for making me handsome

11. **and most of all, for giving me a nice looking penis that i play around with sometimes.** *ay wan tu tenk* **my wife jet for loving me in spite of my eccentric behavior and for always being by my side all these 14 years. i also wish for world peace!**

12. *(sabay   kaway   na   parang* miss universe*)*
    (accompany   wave of hand (LK) like   miss universe)
    (accompanied with a wave of the hand like miss universe)

Analysis

➢ Lines 1-7

The blogger sets the stage for his 'thank you speech' (8-12). The switching is mostly intrasentential with expedient switches *manila bulletin*, *article*, and *feature* – all lexis from the domain of newspaper reporting. *Believe it or not* could also be treated as a lexical item as it is a formulaic chunk. Line 4 sees local change of matrix language to English with the Tagalog insertion *bastos* (rude/crude).

➢ Lines 8-12

The blogger commences his speech. The matrix language changes to English with carefully measured Tagalog insertions: *mahusay* (skillfull), *baon* (food, provisions), *pogi* (handsome). *Mahusay* also offers the opportunity for word play (Jusay – mahusay). He invokes the voice of a stereotypical winner of a 'Miss World Competition' especially in line 11 with the very formulaic *I also wish for world peace.* In terms of the audience design framework, we see some initiative shifting (see Bell, 1984, 1999). The style the blogger selects is designed in terms of a referee group whereby "referees are third persons who are not physically present, but are so salient for the speaker that they influence style even in their absence" (Bell, 1997). The blogger more or less tells us who the referee group is in line 12, and that he is styling the stereotypical thank you speech at the end of a Miss Universe award ceremony. It is, as we saw in section 6.1.2, a "knowing and self-aware performance of a style drawn from a pre-established repertoire" (Coupland, 2001c, p.422). However, it is only an "evocation" of a referee group associated with the beauty contest winner rather than a "whole hearted identification" (see Bell, 1999, p. 525). It is again a metaphorical code-switch (see Gumperz, 1982) whereby another context is evoked (stereotypical beauty contest) and, as a parody, serves as a contextualisation cue for the reader. The contextualisation cue is to enable the reader to infer that the blogger is a humble receiver of the award. In fact, much of the rather earthy lexis the writer uses (lines 4, 5, 6 &11) is probably also to achieve this precise effect. The purpose then of this code-switch/stylistic shift is to negotiate the identity of one who is not 'big headed' or over inflated about is achievement.

Another stylistic shift also helps achieve the blogger position himself as unassuming recipient of the blogging award. Four times he writes *I wan tu tenk* (I want to thank). This code-switch does two things. Firstly, it sustains the parody of the style of the typical 'beauty contest speech'. Secondly, it is also parodies the pronunciation of Filipino English. The writer code-switches to English employing orthography which indexes a caricature of Filipino English at the level of basilect[17]. By doing this he negotiates once again the identity of a humble Filipino acknowledging he is 'blogger of the year'.

Concluding remarks

The blogger styles the stereotypical speech of a beauty contest winner and incorporates with this a stylisation of the basilectal level of Filipino English. Code-switching is thoroughly implicated in this stylisation and indeed serves to highlight it. The writer employs very elaborate language play to deliberately position himself in solidarity with his audience and negotiate an identity as a humble award winner.

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[17] The basilect is the style of English used by the lower socio-economic groupings and is heavily influenced by the first language.

Chapter 7   *Conclusion*

This thesis has looked at how linguistic and discursive practices involving code-switching between Tagalog and English are implicated in identity negotiation and construction in weblog narratives. It continues a focus on "social identities" which has become a key concern in sociolinguistics in recent years (Auer, 2004, p. 403). The study has relied on Bakhtinian conceptions of language-in-use and suggests that code-switching highlights the thoroughgoing dialogism of seemingly monological texts. Within the broad Bakhtinian ideas of heteroglossia and dialogism, it has combined three frameworks from:

1. the referee design dimension of Bell's audience design model (1984, 1999) with its emphasis on initiative style shifts to project different identities;

2. discursive psychology with a particular emphasis on the use of language to position self and others;

3. and narrative psychology, with its stress on an evaluative stance in the process of meaning-making and the use of narrative as a means of seeking coherence of self and life-experience.

The primary purpose of this thesis has been to answer the question: why do writers of weblogs code-switch in non-conversational contexts where there is no direct addressee? The question has been deemed important because the majority of research and theorising around code-switching has assumed a conversational context. Indeed, the term 'code-switching' has sometimes become synonymous with 'conversational code-switching.' Implicated within this main research question has been the more complex secondary question: why is 'this' particular language used at 'this' point in the weblog narrative? Even though this research only examines switching between one pair of languages, the findings offer a serious challenge to the sufficiency of conversational analysis to fully explain why people code-switch. Primarily, switching by a blogger highlights that language use remains interactive in the absence of conventional face-to-face interaction.

Although this research design has addressed code-switching from a sociocultural perspective, a short examination of the structural nature of language switching in

weblogs showed that Muysken's model of insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation (2000) is applicable to written Taglish code-switching in weblogs. These structural findings were also in accord with the conclusions of Thompson (2003) who, likewise, found that insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation were evident when he applied the Muysken model to spoken Taglish. So Thompson's structural findings on conversational Taglish can be applied to written Taglish.

The average ratio of Tagalog to English used over the twenty-five blogs analysed was extremely close to 50:50. These ratios of Tagalog to English ranged from 30:70 to 71:29. Clearly the levels of English used suggest that the historical realities of the role of English in the Philippines have come to mean that English plays a key role in the identity negotiation of these Filipinos – some of them members of the Filipino diaspora. It also endorses what has been said frequently in this thesis: that Taglish itself is the unmarked choice for both spoken and written computer mediated communication. It is normal and expected in weblog entries.

I now want to briefly recapitulate the main findings of this thesis and suggest that each of these findings has ramifications for research into the ongoing negotiation and construction of identity. The research questions mentioned above have been tackled throughout the analysis of a corpus of some 25 extracts, and seven of these extracts have been presented in this thesis to exemplify the key answers to these questions. There are five key areas in which code-switching plays an important role in these weblogs.

1. **Switching to English to take a more objective stance.**

Some Filipino bloggers may use switches to English in written narratives to gain some emotional distance or even some dissociation from what they are writing. Gumperz (1982) suggested that in conversation, speakers may switch codes in order to take a more objective (compared to personal) stance in regard to what they are communicating. This thesis confirms Gumperz's finding and demonstrates it can be extended to written switching. Code-switching to a language which is not one's mother tongue seems to afford the emotional distance to do this. The examples Gumperz gives (1982) suggest that the first language ('we' code) is more associated with personalization and the other language ('they' code) with a more objective stance (pp. 80-83). Filipino bloggers tend to use switches to English to afford themselves a more

objective stance with respect to the content and events outlined in the unfolding narrative. At times, some bloggers switch to English to make a metadiscursive commentary on their unfolding text. Thus, switching serves as a textualization cue to highlight the speaker's stance to what is being written in terms of association or dissociation and hence, code-switching can be viewed as a kind of metadiscourse.

It is particularly salient that the use of the generic indefinite pronoun 'you' co-occurring with switches to English is a common feature of these weblog narratives, and some of these switches are of considerable duration. The co-occurrence of generic indefinite 'you' with switches to English strengthens the argument that Filipino bilinguals, at times, code-switch when they wish to adopt a more objective stance with respect to the content of their narrative or when they are making generalisations. This may not be surprising given that a key function of blog writing is to help clarify one's thoughts to oneself (Dubber, 2006). Thus, in accordance with what we noted in section 4.2.1, it seems a key purpose for code-switching in a weblog is self-clarification.

2. Switching to Tagalog to take a more personal, emotionally involved stance.

As a corollary of the above, Tagalog is usually the favoured language when emotional states are presented or even when the discussion turns to basic bodily functions. We have mentioned how Allen (2000) interprets Kristeva's (1980) discussion of the contrasting terms 'genotext' and 'phenotext' to indicate how the human subject is essentially split between the more irrational compulsions (emanating from the unconscious) involving the bodily drives and erotic impulses of the semiotic, and the more social ordered rational/logical realm of the symbolic. This thesis suggests that for some of the Filipino bilingual bloggers, English may signal a connection with the phenotext (as we have seen above with the discussion of objectivity) and Tagalog with the genotext. Bloggers switch to Tagalog to discuss illness, basic bodily functions, romantic and sexual attraction, and to indicate strong emotional reactions. This is in agreement with research by Chanco et al. into switching by hosts of television shows. They showed that switches to Tagalog were employed to express strong emotions (1999). Why then might the languages be used differentially by some bloggers to signal objective versus personal stances? Firstly, it must be stated categorically, that this thesis in no way endorses any decontextualised view that English is somehow a more suitable language for conveying objective/rational content and Tagalog is more suitable for conveying more subjective/emotional content. However, it does suggest that in a

context where code-switching is normal and expected, writers may call upon the languages differentially to maximally achieve certain effects in terms of overall communicative efficiency. Part of this contrastive use is based on the common sense reality that a first language has stronger emotional affiliations than a second language. Thus Filipino bilinguals on these blogs seem to employ three 'languages' (Tagalog, English and hence Taglish) to make personal or objective stances, and in doing so, to position versions of self and other (including the audience, as we shall see). Such switching serves as a contextualisation cue whereby a change in emotional tone is signalled and a different facet of identity projected.

3. Switching contributes to a sense of narrative (and thus personal) coherence. Code-switching also plays a key role for the bloggers in achieving a sense of coherence of self through their narratives. Firstly, in terms of the various narrative genres outlined in section 4.3, switching appears to work differentially with respect to the various moves. The orientation to a narrative (or anecdote, exemplum, etc.) is usually given with Tagalog as the matrix language; so is the complication (or remarkable event etc.). Of particular interest are the overt evaluations and the marking of time. The evaluation (or interpretation) tends to be given in English and often this takes the form of the reaction to another's comments or behaviour. Time is also usually marked in English in the corpus and a number of the blogs presented in this research have exemplified this. Insofar as the temporal elements in a narrative tend to provide an objective framework in which events and experience unfold, it is not surprising that these coincide with switches to English. What might be the significance of these two features (evaluation and time marking) being implicated with code-switches to English? Schiffrin proposes two key areas that contribute to narrative coherence: a moral framework and the building of temporal continuity. These enable the self to be positioned in a moral framework, and positioned with respect to other characters, enabling self reflexivity (1996, pp. 169 & 198). The evaluative aspect of the narrative contributes to the moral framework and the marking of time to the temporal framework. Such temporal elements may be implicated in sustaining narrative coherence and identity construction (Crossley, 2003). This again adds weight to the argument that bilinguals switch codes to index a more objective stance.

4. Switching to construct and position versions of self and other

With the assistance of discursive psychology we have been able to see, most importantly for this study, how the language components of Taglish (Tagalog and English) are used differentially to position self with respect to key others in the narrative, or even other versions of self. A key truth in these analyses has been that "the constructions of self require a supporting cast" (Gergen, 2001, p. 257). One blogger positions himself in English as an aware individual, while he positions others in Tagalog as people lacking self-awareness. Another positions himself as a smoker in Tagalog and as a non-smoker in English. A number of the bloggers are members of the overseas Filipino diaspora. Such bloggers tend to use Taglish to make sense and coherence of their diaspora self. One blogger uses English to reject some Filipino values that are obstacles to her self-fulfilment, as she seeks to position her diaspora self with respect to a 'Filipino self'. Another uses very deliberate switching to struggle with versions of self connected to the reality of being an overseas Filipino worker.

I mentioned above the co-occurrence of the generic 'you' and switches to English. With this switching may come the projection of a more 'relational identity', as the writer also seeks to involve the audience. The use of the generic 'you' becomes "a 'you' with which the reader in the role of '(any)one' can identify" (see, Fludernik, 1996, p. 5) and corresponds to an attempt to implicitly involve and position the reader as one who would respond empathically. Thus, a switch in language co-occurring with 'you' may well be used to position the reader in the narrative.

5. Switching coinciding with a style shift

Some bloggers bring into play another voice when they switch to English, so that the code-switch coincides with a style shift. Such switching corresponds to an initiative style shift in the referee design dimension of Bell's audience design framework (1984, 1999). A style associated with an absent referee group is adopted by some bloggers so that by "styling the other [they] define the self" (see Bell, 1999, p. 523). These stylistic code-switches to English carry embedded valuations whereby the writer invokes another voice and, in doing so, summons an identity and evaluative viewpoint associated with that voice (Maybin, 2001, p. 68). In this sense, the switch becomes a contextualisation cue for a moral framework which is an essential component in narrative for identity construction (Crossley, 2003). Such style switches take advantage of "a distinguishable and stable core of linguistic features that can be modelled" (Bell, 1999, p. 525) in the projection of identity and positioning of self in the narrative.

Thus we have seen that code-switching operates at a metadiscursive level, granting texualisation and contextualisation cues so that the Filipino webloggers can maximally use their linguistic repertoire to engage in self clarification; highlight different parts of the narrative; position versions of self, other characters and the reader; invoke another voice through stylization; and, by doing so, negotiate and construct their identity. Code-switching in weblogs enables the content to be clearly dialogised to facilitate this ongoing identity construction. When Bakhtin spoke of languages, he basically referred to social languages and spoke of hybridization as:

> A mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter within the arena of an utterance, between two linguistic consciousnesses separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor." (1981, p. 358)

This thesis has demonstrated this reality in the most extreme case: that of two overtly different linguistic systems from entirely different linguistic families – Tagalog and English. Doub (1999) proposes that in the performance of code-switching, the dialogism that Bakhtin says is a reality in all language use becomes plainly apparent. I have shown, above all, that many of Bakhtin's insights combined with the insights from the referee design component of Bell's audience design model (1984, 1999) and those of narrative and discursive psychology can shed new light on code-switching which until now has been seen purely as a conversational phenomenon and primarily explicable through conversational analysis. The language switching has demonstrated that extracts, which may seem to be very monological works, are in fact dialogical. It has shown that notions of positioning in discursive psychology, the pursuit of coherence in narrative psychology, and initiative style shifting whereby the other is styled to define the self (Bell, 1999), find a cadence with Bakhtin's ideas that "language arises from man's need to objectify himself" (1986, p. 67); that in secondary speech genres, " … the speaker (or writer) raises questions, answers them himself, raises objections to his own ideas, responds to his own objections" (1986, p. 72); that "our speech, that is in all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness'" (1986, p. 89); and that "an utterance is filled with dialogic overtones, and they must be taken into account in order to fully understand the style of the utterance" (1986, p. 92).

The study also highlights the need to avoid any simplistic postulation of the different languages correlating with different ethnic identities in some one-to-one correspondence. Pavlenko and Blackledge suggest that such an approach betrays a monolingual and monocultural ideology "which conceives of individuals as members of homogeneous, uniform, and bounded ethnolinguistic communities and obscures hybrid identities and complex linguistic repertoires of multilinguals" (2003, p.5). Conversational analysis is correct in suggesting that a simple application of macrolinguistic parameters to a speech situation is insufficient to explain or predict code-switching patterns (Auer, 1998). Language switching may be linked to all manner of possible identity configurations aside from solely ethnic or national considerations. In this weblog corpus, some code-switches to English (utilizing stylized Filipino English) were in fact employed to reinforce a Filipino identity. Switches to English were also employed to objectively reinforce values already indexed by Tagalog. Pavlenko and Blackledge follow Auer, and the conversational analytical school, in suggesting that patterns of code-switching can only be disclosed through very close scrutiny of the interactional characteristics of a conversation. I would add that these patterns must also be disclosed by close attention to the implicit dialogical features, and to the evaluative and positioning work achieved through code-switching as bloggers use it to seek out a coherent sense of self.

Coupland (2001b) called for an approach to style in sociolinguistics which would "engage with current social theorising about language, discourse, social relationships and selfhood…" (p. 186). This study has contributed a little toward that goal. It has sought to integrate, albeit in a very preliminary fashion, issues around discursive and narrative psychology, selfhood and negotiation of identity, and stylistic difference, in the service of making sense of code-switching in written texts. It has recognised the interrelationship between style and code-switching in the manifestation of intrapersonal language variation. Key to this understanding has been Bakhtin's pivotal insight of heteroglossia as reality even in the most monological of texts.

The code-switching examined in this thesis has also highlighted how language works in the negotiation and construction of identity. Such identity negotiation is implicated in all of the reasons for switching given above. Persons with communicative competence in more than one language can employ these differentially to construct, explore and negotiate their multiple social identities even in the absence of a direct addressee.

Indeed, the code-switched variety itself seems to offer a linguistic 'third space' (Nubla, 2004; Rafael, 1995 & 2000), whereby a blogger appropriates it to negotiate a diaspora identity somewhat free from the constraints of English/Tagalog hierarchical configurations, or predetermined essentialist and reductionist views of identity as Filipino/western or local/global. Taglish is used to renegotiate the complexities and constrictions afforded by binary configurations of Filipino/western identity and sometimes to index a pan-national Philippine identity (Tyner & Kuhlke, 2000).

We have seen how code-switching is an all-pervasive reality for many Filipinos who display with patent clarity an undoubted facility in both Tagalog and English. Often the switching is for convenience and expediency. However, it is also working heteroglossically, dialogically and stylistically: to position versions of self and other; to invoke other voices; and to negotiate and construct multiple and contingent identities. Code-switching also works in tandem with the aforesaid at a metadiscoursal level as webloggers use it to frame events in their narrative and signal an evaluative stance toward the content of the text.

This thesis then calls for an approach to code-switching research that goes beyond the defence of particular methodologies (like conversational analysis) to recognise the many comprehensive and interrelated dimensions involved in language switching. This analysis and explanation of code-switching has highlighted what is true of all language use – its multidimensionality. Yet, paradoxically, it also shows that code-switching is simply an evidence of multilinguals maximally employing their linguistic repertoire to give meaning to their being in the world.

In terms of possible future research, this thesis has focused on asynchronous non-interactive blogs in CMC. Sites of course exist for both asynchronous and synchronous interaction and these obviously present opportunities to further research into code-switching in general and Taglish in particular. Likewise, the question of whether Taglish ought to be considered a language in and of itself has haunted this study, especially in section 3.4.6. The question, "Is Taglish an emerging mixed language in its own right?" remains a key one for research especially as the increasing opportunities to write Taglish in CMC may assist in its codification and standardisation. This possibility carries significant political implications for the Philippines as debates continue around the use of Taglish in domains like education, the media and government.

Though research into code-switching has come a long way in the last thirty years, the linguistic concerns with grammatical constraints has at times obscured the sociolinguistic issues. In addition, code-switching has been viewed primarily as a province to be inhabited mainly by conversation analysis in making sense of why people code-switch. Clearly, the techniques of conversational analysis would have been inadequate to explicate the code-switching in the data investigated here. This research suggests that the adequacy of conversational analysis to fully explain any code-switching must be seriously questioned. It is clear that people code-switch for the primary reason that they wish to exploit maximally the full resources of their linguistic repertoire to make their communication as effective as possible, and to construct and negotiate multiple identities. This study is a reminder of the reality that the linguistic repertoire of probably the majority of the world's population includes more than one language, in the strictly linguistic sense, and in the heteroglossic Bakhtinian sense. Monolinguistic ideologies which view code-switching as somehow a marked phenomenon are no longer tenable. Computer Mediated Communication affords a rich new arena for both the production and investigation of code-switching, and future research into switching in interactive and synchronous contexts will grant insights into the commonplace socio-cultural-linguistic reality of millions.

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APPENDIX: THE BLOGS IN THE ANALYSIS

Blog 1. http://tabulas.com/~driven/
Entry: April 18, 2005
Retrieved: 12/07/05

Blog 2. http://yuuisama.easyjournal.com/entry.aspx?eid=1064837
Entry: August 5, 2003
Retrieved: 12/07/05

Blog 3. http://balikbayanbox.blogspot.com/2004_01_01_balikbayanbox_archive.html
Entry: Jan 25, 2004
Retrieved: 3/04/05

Blog 4. http://ellenangelinearesmendi.blogspot.com/
Entry: November 23, 2004
Retrieved: June 4, 2005

Blog 5. http://www.tabulas.com/~boobakai/comment
Entry: November 17, 2003
Retrieved: May 17, 2005

Blog 6. http://kwentongtambay.nicanordavid.com/
Entry: April 18, 2004
Retrieved: June 07, 2005

Blog 7. http://kwentongtambay.nicanordavid.com/
Entry: May 21, 2005
Retrieved: May 23, 2005

Blog 8. http://reyagapay.blogspot.com/2005_04_01_reyagapay_archive.html
Entry: Thursday April 28, 2005
Retrieved: 25-05-05

Blog 9. http://loveunrequited.easyjournal.com/entry.aspx?eid=1352405
Entry: July 25, 2003
Retrieved: 20-04-05

Blog 10. http://www.tabulas.com/~xtann/259635.htm
Entry: May 5th, 2004
Retrieved: 20-04-5

Blog 11. http://kwentongtambay.nicanordavid.com/
Entry: May 30, 2005
Retrieved: July 1, 2005

Blog 12. http://almamiclat.blogkadahan.com/2004_08_01_almamiclat_archive.html
Entry: August 1, 2004
Retrieved: March 10, 2005

Blog 13. http://kwentongtambay.nicanordavid.com/
Entry: March 07, 2005
Retrieved: June 10, 2005

Blog 14. http://tatskie.com/webjournal/comments.php?id=11_0_1_0_C
Entry: February 4, 2004
Retrieved: March 5, 2005

Blog 15.
http://sizzlingnsingapore.blogspot.com/2005_04_01_sizzlingnsingapore_archive.html
Entry: April 15, 2005
Retrieved: June 26, 2005

Blog 16. http://kwentongtambay.nicanordavid.com/
Entry: April 13, 2005
Retrieved: June 23, 2005

Blog 17. http://happyandgay.blogspot.com/2004_10_01_happyandgay_archive.html
Entry: October 08, 2004
Retrieved: May 11, 2005

Blog 18. http://demolition-thesis.blogdrive.com/archive/cm-1_cy-2004_m-1_d-8_y-2004_o-0.html
This entry is no longer available on the web. It can be found in Appendix three.
Entry: January 01, 2004
Retrieved: 13-07-05

Blog 19. http://atesienna.pansitan.net/archives/2004/01/
Entry: January 31, 2004
Retrieved: May 05, 2005

Blog 20. http://gorjuice.blogspot.com/2004/04/sniff.html
Entry: April 23, 2004
Retrieved: May 05, 2005

Blog 21. http://balikbayanbox.blogspot.com/2004_01_01_balikbayanbox_archive.html
Entry: December 03, 2003
Retrieved: June 12, 2005

Blog 22. http://kwentongtambay.nicanordavid.com/
Entry: March 02, 2005
Retrieved: June 23, 2005

Blog 23. http://balikbayanbox.blogspot.com/2004_01_01_balikbayanbox_archive.html
Entry: January 25, 2004
Retrieved: June 12, 2005

Blog 24. http://www.blurty.com/users/tj03/
Entry: July 14, 2003
Retrieved: June 13, 2005

Blog 25. http://kulukoynimart.blogspot.com/2004_03_01_kulukoynimart_archive.html

Retrieved: May 12, 2005
Entry: March 10, 2004