

The Changing Bilingual Grammar: A Quasi-Diachronic Investigation of the Syntactic Constraints of Tagalog-English Code-Switching Using a Grammaticality Judgment Test

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Abstract

The hypothesis the present investigation builds on is that bilingual grammar changes over time. Hence, it is possible that the syntactic constraints identified would have changed in the span of two generations - a seemingly adequate time frame for language change to be observed. And so, this investigation defines the syntactic constraints in present-day Tagalog-English code-switching, thereby pointing out how rules governing the switching between Tagalog and English have changed over time. But the present investigation methodologically departs from Sobolewski in terms of methodology: Grammaticality judgment test was used to determine if what was previously unacceptable have become acceptable. The constraints that Sobolewski pointed out in 1982 may be claimed to still be in place, that, from 1982 to present, there has not been much loosening of these constraints. But that is not to say that there took place no loosening at all. There is, but, given the timeframe, the loosening has not been as significant to strikingly alter the constraints. Amidst the seeming presently low acceptability of the Tagalog-English code-switching syntactic constraints of Sobolewski (1982), it is still possible to be able to identify specific constraints that may be considered to be advancing a little faster than the others in terms gaining higher acceptability. Those constraints are: (1) Tagalog subject pronoun + Tagalog inversion marker *ay* + English main verb, (2) Tagalog verb + English infinitive complement that is a direct object, (3) English main verb + Tagalog infinitive complement that is a direct object, (4) Tagalog negator *di* or *hindi* + English main verb, (5) English verb + Tagalog verb enclitic + English object pronoun, and (6) Tagalog pseudo-verb + English main verb.

Keywords: Tagalog-English code-switching, bilingual grammar, historical sociolinguistics

Tagalog-English Code-switching: A Review of Recent Studies

The Philippines has such a (psycho-socio) linguistic environment that makes it almost inevitable to become a bilingual or even multilingual depending on from which community a person comes from. This is because there exist at least 180 languages in the county, which serve as opportunities to many to know how to speak and/or write in more than a single language. Although it is a fact that such a big number of languages exist, there are no recent figures that can give the approximate number of bilinguals in the Philippines. The number of English-using individuals in the country is known: In 1990, it was around 70% of the whole population or 42 million (Gonzalez, 1998). Since English was used in different social contexts and even in education, English therefore can be viewed as the most popular second language in the Philippines. And thus, it can be inferred that the number of bilinguals would more or less be at par with the number of English-using individuals. According to Gonzalez, at least four languages are learned by a typical

Filipino as they grow up: (1) the language of home, (2) the vernacular in the wider community, (3) Filipino primarily as a symbol for national unity and linguistic identity, and (4) English for education, commerce, science and technology, and wider communication.

The presence of quite a number of languages and their various specific applications in the society, needless to say, make code-switching unavoidable and Bautista (1991) considers the situation as, “a salient phenomenon and experience to most Filipinos” (p. 28). The phenomenon has actually caught the attention of scholars (primarily those in linguistics and sociolinguistics) and non-scholars alike. Earlier studies on code-switching in the Philippines have been summarized by Bautista in a 1991 state-of-the-art paper. The more recent studies have actually been more involved in pedagogical implications, such as the proposal to use code-switching as a resource in teaching and learning (Bernardo, 2005) and the study of Martin (2006a, 2006b), which examined classroom discourse of tertiary-level students. In addition, Borlongan (2009b) Tagalog-English- code-switching practices of teachers and students in English language classes in Metro Manila Schools in the Philippines were analyzed.

Thus, Bernardo (in press) makes this suggestion as regards language-in-education policy:

what is needed in multilingual educational communities is a creative and pragmatic approach to defining how language could be used in facilitating student learning and achievement. The approach may need to allow the various agents in the learning process to flexibly negotiate how the various proficiencies could be best appropriated in specific learning episodes and contexts. (p. 8-9)

Earlier work of Bautista (1991) analyzing texts that contain code-switches was the focus then described in a mode that is used in linguistics. In contrast, recent studies are more focused in actual classroom data as Borlongan (2009b) and Martin (2006a, 2006b) did. The present study is a unique investigation in that it looks at code-switching from a diachronic perspective.

The Present Investigation

In 1982, Sobolewski determined the apparent constraints in the switching between Tagalog and English. More specifically, he looked into the syntactic constraints that involve pronouns and verbs and also those that involve involving main verbs and auxiliary verbs, negators, and direct object complements, picking up from Timm’s (1975) analysis of Spanish-English code-switching. Data for his study comes from letters that were printed from magazines dated 1979. He points to the following syntactic constraints in Tagalog-English code-switching:

- 1 Constraints involving pronouns
 - 1.1 English pronouns and the placement of Tagalog adverbial enclitics
 - 1.2 Mixing subject pronouns and negators
 - 1.3 Mixing subject pronouns and verbs
 - 1.4 Mixing verb and object pronouns
 - 1.5 Mixing prepositions and pronouns that are objects of prepositions
- 2 Constraints involving main verbs and auxiliary verbs, negators, and direct object complements
 - 2.1 Mixing auxiliary verbs and main verbs
 - 2.2 Mixing negator verbs
 - 2.3 Mixing main verbs and infinitive complements that are direct objects

2.4 Verbs and direct object case markers

The hypothesis the present investigation builds on is that bilingual grammar changes over time. Hence, it is possible that the syntactic constraints identified would have change in the span of two generations - a seemingly adequate time frame for language change to be observed. And so, this investigation defines the syntactic constraints in present-day Tagalog-English code-switching, thereby pointing out how rules governing the switching between Tagalog and English have changed over time.

But the present investigation methodologically departs from Sobolewski in terms of methodology: Grammaticality judgment test was used to determine if what was previously unacceptable have become acceptable. The premise then is that what may be a constraint before may no longer be a constraint at present and that this may be measured by a grammaticality judgment test of Tagalog-English code-switching samples.

The grammaticality judgment test is specifically designed to measure the acceptability of certain sentences in Tagalog-English code-switching. It instructs respondents to choose a number from the scale provided that indicates the degree to which they find each sentence acceptable or unacceptable, with one (1) being totally unacceptable to (8) being totally acceptable. The items were culled from the ungrammatical samples of Sobolewski (1982). There were 63 items divided over 24 constraints. The distribution of the items across the constraints were not even; some constraints had more than five items while some on had one, and this is because some constraints need to be explained more in the case of Sobolewski (1982) and tested more in the case of the present investigation.

The grammaticality judgment test was implemented through the Internet and was responded by 43 university students who mean age is 18.33. There is rough distribution between male and female respondents. The university where the students are enrolled is one that is private and Catholic and typically caters to students coming from middle- to high-income families. This has advantages and disadvantages to the present investigation: It is good in that the respondents are “native speakers” of “Taglish”, the colloquial label to Tagalog-English code-switching. However, it is bad because their English language proficiency is more advanced than average Filipinos, and so their language competencies and views might slightly differ from most Filipinos.

While the ideal diachronic linguistic investigation should look into two comparable sets of data from two points in time, the present investigation is quasi-diachronic in a sense that it still looks into differing language use and acceptability in two points in time. The findings of Sobolewski (1982) were used as basis and reference for time point one and the grammaticality judgment test was used as basis for time point two. The grammaticality judgment test was also seen as the most viable instrument to take a peek into the syntactic constraints of Tagalog- English code-switching at present because having to look for instances that will prove or refute the constraints of Sobolewski will require an enormous amount of data.

Acceptability

The grammaticality judgment test, which more specifically aimed to determine the present acceptability of syntactic constraints previously identified by Sobolewski in 1982, tells of information of note as regards the apparent loosening or also possibly the strong grip to these constraints. Table 1 presents the acceptability scores of the purported syntactic constraints in Tagalog-English code-switching:

Table 1
Acceptability of Syntactic Constraints

Syntactic Constraint	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1 Constraints involving pronouns		
1.1 English pronouns and the placement of Tagalog adverbial enclitics		
1.1.1 English personal, possessive, or demonstrative pronoun subject + Tagalog enclitic + English verb	2.10	1.85
<i>1.1.2 English verb + Tagalog verb enclitic + English object pronoun</i>	<i>3.23</i>	<i>1.96</i>
1.2 Mixing subject pronouns and negators		
1.2.1 English subject pronoun + English auxiliary verb + Tagalog negator <i>hindi</i> ('no')	1.36	0.03
1.2.2 English subject pronoun + Tagalog inversion marker <i>ay</i> + Tagalog negator <i>hindi</i>	1.31	0.03
1.2.3 Tagalog subject pronoun + Tagalog inversion marker <i>ay</i> + English auxiliary verb + English negator <i>not</i>	2.06	0.50
1.3 Mixing subject pronouns and verbs		
1.3.1 Tagalog subject pronoun + Tagalog inversion marker <i>ay</i> + English auxiliary verb	1.95	0.40
1.3.2 English subject pronoun that is a single word + Tagalog inversion marker <i>ay</i> + Tagalog pseudo-verb	1.46	0.71
1.3.3 Tagalog pseudo-verb + English subject pronoun + Tagalog main verb	1.59	1.11
<i>1.3.4 Tagalog subject pronoun + Tagalog inversion marker <i>ay</i> + English main verb</i>	<i>3.81</i>	<i>1.42</i>
1.3.5 English subject pronoun that is a single word + Tagalog inversion marker <i>ay</i> + Tagalog main verb or Tagalog main verb + English subject pronoun that is a single word	2.50	0.96
1.4 Mixing verb and object pronouns		
1.4.1 Tagalog verb + English object pronoun	1.70	0.64
1.4.2 English verb + Tagalog object pronoun	2.42	0.39
1.5 Mixing prepositions and pronouns that are objects of prepositions		
1.5.1 Tagalog preposition + English pronoun that is a single word	1.74	0.05
1.5.2 English preposition + Tagalog pronoun	2.62	0.31
2 Constraints involving main verbs and auxiliary verbs, negators, and direct object complements		
2.1 Mixing auxiliary verbs and main verbs		
2.1.1 English auxiliary verb + Tagalog main verb	1.64	0.31
<i>2.1.2 Tagalog pseudo-verb + English main verb</i>	<i>2.83</i>	<i>0.53</i>
2.2 Mixing negator and verbs		
<i>2.2.1 Tagalog negator <i>di</i> or <i>hindi</i> + English main verb</i>	<i>3.35</i>	<i>1.88</i>
2.2.2 English auxiliary verb + Tagalog negator <i>di</i> or <i>hindi</i>	1.93	0.43
2.2.3 English negator <i>not</i> + Tagalog main verb	2.09	0.45
2.2.4 English negator <i>not</i> + Tagalog pseudo-verb	2.22	0.17

2.3 Mixing main verbs and infinitive complements that are direct objects		
2.3.1 English main verb + Tagalog infinitive complement that is a direct object	3.42	0.09
2.3.2 English main verb + English infinitive marker <i>to</i> + Tagalog infinitive complement that is a direct object	2.44	1.74
2.3.3 Tagalog verb + English infinitive complement that is a direct object	3.49	2.28
2.4 Verbs and direct object case markers		
2.4.1 Tagalog verb + English direct object (without the Tagalog direct object marker <i>ng</i>)	2.74	0.15
2.4.2 English verb + direct object marker <i>ng</i>	2.81	0.35
Total	2.20	0.80

Overall, in a scale of one (1) being totally unacceptable to eight (8) being totally acceptable, the constraints have a mean of only 2.20 with the standard deviation at 0.80. The highest mean attained for any constraint is only 3.81, which is not even midpoint in the scale. However, looking more closely at the figures, though the mean of the means and standard deviation are low, it is worth pointing out that there are items in the test that got an acceptability mean as high as 5.23 and the rating eight (8) was still given with some relative frequency.

That said, the constraints that Sobolewski pointed out in 1982 may be claimed to still be in place, that, from 1982 to present, there has not been much loosening of these constraints. But that is not to say that there took place no loosening at all. There is, but, given the timeframe, the loosening has not been as significant to strikingly alter the constraints.

Constraints Advancing towards Acceptability

Amidst the seeming presently low acceptability of the Tagalog-English code-switching syntactic constraints of Sobolewski (1982), it is still possible to be able to identify specific constraints that may be considered to be advancing a little faster than the others in terms gaining higher acceptability. The measure used here of what may be advancing ahead of the others is the first quartile of the ranking of the means of the syntactic constraints. And rightly so, except one, all belonging to the first quartile of the ranking has a mean of at least 3.00, the odd one having 2.83 which is not too distant from the norm of the others. The constraints belonging to the first quartile of the ranking are listed below, in order, from highest to lowest mean:

1. Tagalog subject pronoun + Tagalog inversion marker *ay* + English main verb (3.81)
2. Tagalog verb + English infinitive complement that is a direct object (3.49)
3. English main verb + Tagalog infinitive complement that is a direct object (3.42)
4. Tagalog negator *di* or *hindi* + English main verb (3.35)
5. English verb + Tagalog verb enclitic + English object pronoun (3.23)
6. Tagalog pseudo-verb + English main verb (2.83)

Tagalog subject pronoun + Tagalog inversion marker *ay* + English main verb

There are two items in the test under this constraint, and they are reproduced below with their means and standard deviations (*M/SD*):

- (1) Ako went to the store yesterday.¹ ‘I went to the store yesterday.’ (2.38/1.56)
- (2) Ah, hindi kayo check-out? ‘Ah, you are not checking out?’ (5.23/2.14)

It is actually (2) that gained for this constraint a higher acceptability score, which is actually twice that of (1). The mean of (1) is just within close range of the mean of the means of all the items, which is 2.20. It seems that what distinguished (2) from (1) and, possibly, what made it more acceptable is its context: It is negated, with the presence of the Tagalog negator *hindi*. Furthermore, the verb *check-out* is almost formulaic and nominalized, much more than *go* in (1).

Tagalog verb + English infinitive complement that is a direct object

Sobolewski (1982) says that an English infinitive serving as direct object of a Tagalog verb will render a sentence unacceptable and, therefore, ungrammatical. However, this item received the second highest acceptability mean:

- (3) Nagpasiya akong to study at the University of the Philippines. ‘I decided to study at the University of the Philippines.’ (3.49/2.28)

However, he points out that infinitive phrases that are used as adverbial phrases of purpose may be permissible, as in this example from his data:

- (4) Ano ang dapat kong gawin to cure these pimples? ‘What should I do to cure these pimples?’
- (5) Minsan naman, kapag ‘di siya nakakaluwas ng bayan to see me, ako ang gumagawa ng paraan para makapunta doon [...] ‘One time also, when he was unable to leave town to see me, I was the one who succeeded in finding a way in order to be able to go there’

Probably, this constraint is one those whose acceptability is slowly spreading from the specific infinitive phrases used as adverbial phrases of purpose only to almost all occurrences of the form.

¹ Because the syntax of these sentences are under scrutiny as to whether they are grammatically acceptable or not, the asterisk (*) marking of ungrammatical sentences which has been the norm in linguistic description for the specimen sentences will not be applied in the discussion in this paper. Other sentences will be asterisk-marked as necessary.

English main verb + Tagalog infinitive complement that is a direct object

This constraint is almost the same as the one previously discussed; however, the languages of the relevant constituents are interchanged: The main verb is in English and the infinitive complement is in Tagalog. Sobolewski (1982) points out that Tagalog does not have an equivalent for the infinitive particle *to* in English. There are two items in the test that is under this constraint; the two items are the following:

(6) I have decided mag-aaral sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas. ‘I have decided to study at the University of the Philippines. (3.33/2.34)

(7) I am avoiding na mag-steady dahil alam ko [...] ‘I am avoiding to go steady because I know [...]’ (3.51/2.53)

However, (12) has a higher mean than (11), probably because of the presence the relativizer *na* in (12) which might have substituted for the infinitive particle *to*. Though the relativizer and infinitival particle are two syntactically different constituents, the higher acceptability of the item with the relativizer might be due to the fact that the relativizer may have assumed the linking role of the infinitive particle.

Tagalog negator *di* or *hindi* + English main verb

There are also two items that came out in the test for this constraint, and one item involves a previously discussed item:

(8) The refugees do hindi have enough food. ‘The refugees do not have enough food.’ (1.46/1.11)

(9) Ah, hindi ka check-out? ‘Ah, you are not checking out?’ (5.23/2.14)

This constraint received a high mean because of (13). The high acceptability of (13) may be due to the fact that both the negator and the subject *ko* is in Tagalog.

English verb + Tagalog verb enclitic + English object pronoun

Lim and Borlongan (in press) comments that Tagalog particles carry a range of functions and meanings (e.g. force, modality, orientation, politeness) that it is not impossible for a clause’s semantics to change with these particles’ mere presence or absence. They also hint at the relative freedom of these particles in terms of their position in sentences, based on their analysis of the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English. The present investigation supports their hinting on the free placement of these particles, as compared to the time Sobolewski (1982) did his study. This item received a high acceptability mean:

(10) Write naman me a letter. ‘Please write me a letter.’ (3.23/1.96)

Sobolewski says insertion of these particles may only be allowed in these instances:

1. In some syntactic situations, after English object pronouns
Do write me naman, please. 'Please do write me.'
2. Between English verbs and English direct objects that are not pronouns
O, wipe muna your hands. 'Oh, wipe your hands first.'
3. Before prepositional phrases that function as direct objects
Make pansin naman to me. 'Please do notice me.'

The syntax of particles in Tagalog-English code-switching then has been loosening, providing more allowance in the placement of the said constituents within sentences.

Tagalog pseudo-verb + English main verb

Verb sequences seem to be restricted. While constraints that have been claimed to be gaining acceptability earlier also deal with the verb phrase, they have not involved the most central constituents in the verb phrase; for most of the time, the switch happens between the main verb and the arguments. Expression of modalities through Tagalog pseudo-verbs is the closest loosening of constraints can get to as regards the central elements of the verb phrase, as in the items in the test relevant to this constraint:

(11) Gusto kong play softball. 'I want to play softball.' (3.36/2.23)

(12) Dapat akong learn how to speak Japanese. 'I should learn how to speak Japanese.'
(2.31/1.43)

Based on the forgoing discussion, the verb phrase, most especially its most central constituents, is the hardest to penetrate. For most of the loosening syntactic constraints, the interaction between the verb and its argument has been open to change but not so much at the core of the verb phrase, which is the verb and its auxiliaries.

Discussion

Based on the findings of the present investigation, it can be said that the syntactic constraints on Tagalog-English code-switching initially identified by Sobolewski in 1982 is loosening, but at a pace that is very slow but nevertheless assured. While the time frame is far wide, it may not be wide enough to see substantive loosening of the constraints. Mair (2006) says something of grammatical change in English, which may be applied to diachronic changes in Tagalog-English code-switching, which, in turn, may also be considered English language change: "[...] it generally unfolds much more slowly, often taking hundreds of years to run its course to completion [...]" (p. 82). But while Mair tells that grammatical changes in English tend "to proceed below the threshold of speakers' conscious awareness [...]" (p. 82), it seems that changes in the syntactic constraints in Tagalog-English code-switching are within users' conscious awareness.

It can be hypothesized here that the consciousness awareness on the part of the users may be brought about by two factors: First, because (Tagalog-English) code-switching entails the merging of two linguistic systems, there is a much smaller allowance for changes or rule revision, unlike in pure English (or the language [variety] documented by Mair [2006]) wherein it only has

to flout one linguistic system. Second, there exist these apparent restraint and stigma that the present educational system associates with Tagalog-English code-switching. Bernardo (2005, 2007) laments that Philippine education in general and classroom teachers in particular totally prohibits the use of Tagalog-English code-switching without looking at the benefits it has on bilingual cognition, learning, and communication. He therefore suggests that Filipino educators must reconsider this stance on Tagalog-English code-switching. This stigma is also documented in a language attitude survey implemented by Borlongan (2009a), that, though young Filipinos use Tagalog-English code-switching in a number of domains and verbal activities, they prefer that its use be lessened.

The stigma is primarily rooted in the belief that Tagalog-English code-switching is “broken English”, that it is the kind of English spoken by incompetent language learners. But Bernardo (2005) so boldly, rightly argues:

code-switching should not be construed as a process that merely reflects the lack of control the bilingual has over the separation of the two languages or the lack of proficiency in the language. Instead, [...] code-switching is a rule-governed and functionally specific language behavior that the bilingual may use to attain various communicative and social goals. [...] the linguistic competencies underlying code-switching behavior consist of systematic and complex knowledge and skills that involve working within and switching across two language systems. Thus, we can conceive of code-switching as a reasonable, high-level linguistic skill that can be appropriated for difference purposes. (p. 159-160)

Therefore, Tagalog-English code-switching is not the kind of English that anything goes. There systematicity in it, as evidenced by the findings of the present investigation. Not all code-switches will be deemed acceptable, even after some period of time.

The findings of the present investigation should spark the interest of future researchers to take on a different kind of approach in analyzing (Tagalog-English) code-switching. If previously, Tagalog-English code-switching was only analyzed using the tools of text linguistics (cf. Bautista, 1991), this investigation has demonstrated that analysis of code-switching can be done in other ways. A fertile ground for investigation might be to look at how code-switches are processed by the brain, and such an analysis might then need to involve psycholinguistics, an approach that has not been previously taken in Philippine analyses of code-switching. Sadicon (1978) began analyzing code-switching between two Philippine languages beyond Tagalog and English but not a lot has followed her lead, and this might also be another viable direction in the study of code-switching in the Philippines.

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Appendix

Tagalog-English Code-Switching Grammaticality Judgment Test

Please respond to the following items choosing a number from the scale provided that indicates the degree to which you find each sentence acceptable or unacceptable. Mark the number you select in the blank beside each item number.

Totally unacceptable		Unacceptable		Acceptable		Totally acceptable	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

- _____ 1. I rin will go to the fiesta tomorrow.
- _____ 2. Write naman me a letter.
- _____ 3. I will hindi return to the Philippines this year.
- _____ 4. I will hindi bumalik sa Pilipinas sa taong ito.
- _____ 5. I ay hindi babalik sa Pilipinas sa taong ito.
- _____ 6. They ay hindi nagtatrabaho sa pabrika.
- _____ 7. Ako'y not babalik sa Pilipinas sa taong ito.
- _____ 8. Ako'y not return to the Philippines this year.
- _____ 9. Ako will not return to the Philippines this year.
- _____ 10. Ako'y will not babalik sa Pilipinas sa taong ito.
- _____ 11. Ako have visited the Philippines.
- _____ 12. Ako'y have visited the Philippines.
- _____ 13. Ako will go to the airport.
- _____ 14. I ay dapat mag-aral ng Japanese. ('I should study Japanese.')
- _____ 15. Dapat I mag-aral ng Japanese. ('I should study Japanese.')
- _____ 16. Ako went to the store yesterday.
- _____ 17. Ah, hindi kayo check-out?
- _____ 18. He ay pumunta sa Maynila.
- _____ 19. Pumunta he sa Maynila.
- _____ 20. Nakita ko na that.
- _____ 21. Mine ay binigay sa akin ng mga magulang ko.
- _____ 22. All ay uminom ng beer.
- _____ 23. Kumain it ako. ('I ate it.')
- _____ 24. Kumain ako ng it. ('I ate it.')
- _____ 25. Kumain ng it ako. ('I ate it.')
- _____ 26. Bumisita ako him. ('I visited him.')
- _____ 27. Bumisita ako sa him ('I visited him.')
- _____ 28. Ako'y nagbisita sa him. ('I visited him.')
- _____ 29. Nagmakinilya siya ng his. ('He typed his.')
- _____ 30. Sumulat siya ng this.
- _____ 31. Humiram siya ng some.
- _____ 32. Nagturo siya sa himself.
- _____ 33. I gave kanya a book.
- _____ 34. I carried siya to a place where he could rest.
- _____ 35. I write siya a letter.

- _____36. I carried ito to the market.
- _____37. I carried ito sa palengke.
- _____38. Kung tayo pasa, T.Y. tayo kanya. ('If we pass, we will say thank you to him/her.')
- _____39. Bumoto ako para sa him.
- _____40. I gave some candy sa him.
- _____41. I voted for siya.
- _____42. I voted for kanya.
- _____43. I gave some money to kanya.
- _____44. I can magsalita ng Tagalog.
- _____45. Ako'y can magsalita ng Tagalog.
- _____46. I have pumunta sa Maynila. ('I have gone to Manila.')
- _____47. Ako'y have pumunta sa Maynila. ('I have gone to Manila.')
- _____48. Gusto kong play softball.
- _____49. Dapat akong learn how to speak Japanese.
- _____50. The refugees do hindi have enough food to eat. ('The refugees do not have enough food to eat.')
- _____51. Former President Arroyo will hindi be a candidate for President or Vice President this year.
- _____52. Ang mga estudyante ay not gumawa ng kanilang homework.
- _____53. Not pumunta si Juan sa Maynila.
- _____54. Si Juan ay not pwedeng bumili ng mga sigarilyo.
- _____55. Not pwedeng bumili ng mga sigarilyo si Juan.
- _____56. I have decided mag-aaral sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas.
- _____57. I am avoiding na mag-steady dahil alam ko...
- _____58. I have decided to mag-aaral sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas.
- _____59. Nagpasiya akong to study at the University of the Philippines.
- _____60. Ako'y bumili many books in Manila.
- _____61. Ako'y sumulat letters to my friends.
- _____62. I bought ng many books in the Philippines.
- _____63. I bought ng maraming libro sa Pilipinas.

About the Author

JooHyuk Lim is graduate student in the Department of English and Applied Linguistics, De La Salle University, Manila, the Philippines. His interests are on Asian Englishes and world Englishes, English linguistics, historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, and contact linguistics. He is co-compiler of the Philippine parallel to the Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-Day Edited American English.