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## Foreword

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### Foreword

I am happy to publish this issue of TESOL Journal for the month of December 2012. The teaching of English in non-Anglophone contexts is an ever-dynamic enterprise, field, and profession. Most especially in today's globalized world that does not have borders, English language teaching contexts have been beyond diversity that was previously imagined. Therefore, contributions of scholars in journals such as TESOL Journal makes the understanding of English language teaching much better and clearer.

This issue features a range of topics: Eduardo Bolaños tells of the implications of his study on the reading strategies used by good readers in print and hypertext environments for reading instruction. Ma. Joahna Mante-Estacio looks into the dimensions of reading motivation among Filipino bilinguals. Fahad Al-Rashidy is interested on how hedging devices serve a function as discourse politics strategy. Lina Tao and Rochelle Irene Lucas explore the development of reference in bilingual children's oral narratives in Mandarin language in situations where the children as narrators have to introduce, maintain, and reintroduce referents and the addressee has no perceptual access. Two contributions talk about code-switching; Ariane Macalinga Borlongan, JooHyuk Lim, and Rachel Edita Roxas focus on university students' attitudes towards the use of code-switching in classroom instruction while JooHyuk Lim investigates on the changes in syntactic constraints in Tagalog-English code-switching across two time periods.

It is hoped that contributions to TESOL Journal will continue to increase in number and quality, and the present issue makes this hope a possibility in the not so so distant future.

# A Comparison of the Reading Strategies Used by Good Readers in Print and Hypertext Environments: Implications and Recommendations for the Improvement of Reading Instructions

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## Abstract

This paper reports in summary the findings of Bolaños (2009) where he compared the reading comprehension strategies being used by good second language (L2) readers when they read in print and hypertext environments. The paper then provides the implications of its findings and conclusions for further improvement of reading instruction.

*Keywords:* Reading strategy, Hypertext, Reading instruction

## Instruction

The 21<sup>st</sup> century has been characterized by rapid technological breakthroughs that have impacted significantly on the lives of people, particularly students in the tertiary level. What was once in print form alone has now its electronic version readily available. As a matter of fact, countless learning materials are being introduced every now and then having only online electronic versions available to every learner. Given the recent scenario these days, educators are challenged to ask and answer questions such as: What does the current deluge of technological developments imply pedagogically? What should be done in order to benefit from the numerous forms of technologies that continue to come out day in and day out? And how do teachers make use of the different forms of technologies effectively and efficiently in their respective classrooms?

Reading is one area of literacy that is predisposed to the changing forms brought about by persistent and unstoppable developments in technology. The information and communication technology (ICT) phenomenon has brought the field of reading to a form way complicated than ever before especially to general readers. With it came the birth of hypertext or “a kind of informational environment in which textual materials and ideas are linked to one another in multiple ways” (Burbles & Callister 2000, p. 43).

Anderson (2003) claims that studies investigating the nature of comprehension and comprehension strategies in online environment are too limited. In fact, it is Coiro and Dobler (2007) who, so far, have done an elaborate study on the topic. It goes without saying then that the area is under investigated. Fontanini (2004) states that due to the dearth of studies in the area, the differences in the processing of linear text and hypertext seem not to be totally established yet.

The exploratory study of Coiro and Dobler (2007) investigated the online reading comprehension strategies used by sixth-grade skilled readers to search for and locate information on the Internet. Their 11 good readers of traditional print form were tasked to locate, evaluate, and synthesize content area information within informational websites and search engines. Data analysis of verbal protocols, interviews, and field observations following a grounded theory model (Glaser, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) demonstrated that first, “in

some ways, reading on the Internet looks the same as reading printed text” (p. 229) and second, “reading on the Internet is uniquely more complex” (p. 229).

Responding to the call for more studies that explore the reading strategies readers apply while engaged in online and print reading tasks, Bolaños (2009) aimed at identifying the specific comprehension strategies good L2 readers use when they process texts in linear and nonlinear contexts. His study is a deliberate attempt to problematize the usual way good readers are described - active, skilled, proficient, among others - which can be said to be vague.

Premised on the view that reading is a process of constructing meaning while interacting with texts (Ruddell, 2002), the comprehension processing in Bolaños (2009) was accounted for by some theories and models that served as framework of the study and these are 1) *self-regulated learning* by Azevedo (2005, as cited in Scheiter & Gerjets, 2007) which states that for better processing of any textual information, awareness and monitoring of the reading activity being performed are necessary; 2) *cognitive flexibility theory* by Spiro, Feltovich, Jacobson, and Coulson (1991, as cited in Bolaños, 2009, p. 70) which argues that for successful hypertext navigation, flexibility is important for it is centered on the cognitive aspect which is in command of restructuring knowledge processing in hypertext context; 3) *new literacies* by Leu, Kinzer, Coiro, and Cammack (2004) which succinctly asserts that as new technologies emerge, new ways of reading also emerge; and 4) *cognitive load theory* by Sweller, Chandler, Tierney, and Cooper (1990) which explains that to reduce the mental effort readers must exert in comprehending a text, readers must be presented with organized, readable material.

Bolaños (2009) employed a qualitative research perspective to draw out the specific comprehension strategies as evident in the readers’ verbal protocols. In this comparative inquiry, 16 participants who were equally good L2 readers were randomly assigned to read three editorials in just one of the two reading environments - either in print or in hypertext. Their usage of comprehension strategies was then compared. This design followed the argument that making the same readers read the same text in both environments and then examine them for the differences in their use of strategies later would yield contaminated data, for their exposure to the content in one environment would have corresponding effects when they process the same text in the other environment. Thus, making the same readers read the same texts in both environments was not done. As Anderson (1999) argues, activation of prior knowledge can influence reading comprehension strategies and comprehension as a whole. Just as there is a causal relationship that exists between comprehension strategy use and comprehension (Pressley, 2002), the same thing can be said between schema and comprehension strategy. To control the influence that schema might bring, the need to have two sets of equally good L2 readers randomly assigned to read only in a particular environment was necessary.

The participants were able to successfully hurdle the inclusion criteria set by the researcher in order to establish the idea of “good L2” readers. Among these criteria were grades in their previous language course, IQ level, age, scores in a standardized test, and scores in a cloze test.

Eight readers were randomly assigned to read in each environment. Since intensive data were gathered, it took each participant an hour and a half to complete all the required tasks. The data from 16 comparable female readers were obtained through verbal protocols. Three editorials of Philippine Daily Inquirer in print and online forms available during the data-gathering schedule were used as primary research materials. As the main objective of this study was to identify specific strategies being used by good L2 readers when they read expository texts in print and online forms, periodicals - particularly broadsheets - were used as main materials. According to Marshall and Bly (2005), “periodicals represent a type of material that invites many different kinds of reading -browsing, skimming, flipping, and glancing - and a variety of strategies” (Introduction section).

Triangulation was also observed in collecting the needed data as evident in the following methods: transcribed videotapes of think-aloud protocols, individual interviews, and focus group discussion.

Since the study focused on expository text - the kind of text where the writer's primary goal is to give or share information - three editorials which appeared to be argumentative were used as reading texts for the study. These texts were good examples or representatives of academic reading texts as many critical academic reading books today contain editorial texts. Being an article in a newspaper, editorial gives the views of the editors or publishers. They can be argumentative depending on the subject or the pressing issues of the day. As such, it can be claimed that it still falls under the rubric of expository texts.

The data gathering proceeded in three phases - pre-gathering, gathering, and post-gathering. The pre-gathering phase considered think-aloud training as well as setting up the venue; the gathering phase included warming up through think-aloud practice, navigating, observing and field note taking, giving retrospective verbal report, interviewing, and doing focus group discussion; and post-gathering phase which took into account transcribing, validating the transcription, inferential coding and validation of strategies.

As operationally defined by Bolaños (2009), strategy (reading strategy) refers to any specific conscious verbal or nonverbal act that readers engage in to facilitate and/or enhance their meaning-making of the text or to address actual or even perceived comprehension difficulty. This is in agreement with Alexander, Graham, and Harris' (1998, as cited in Varaprasad, 2006) definition that strategies are procedural, purposeful, effortful, willful, essential, and facilitative in nature. It also conforms with Duffy (1993, as cited in Almasi, 2003) who states that strategies are "plans for solving problems encountered in constructing meaning" (p. 214) as well as with Paris, Wasik, and Turner (1991, p. 692, as cited in Koda, 2005, p. 205) whose definition of strategies is "actions selected deliberately to achieve particular goals." Thus, in essence, it can really be said - and that there is sense to believe - that strategy is a "planned and useful action in context" (Allan & Miller, 2005, p. 16).

Furthermore, strategies in the paper were deduced, inferred, identified, and defined based on the context in which they occurred in the readers' verbal or think-aloud protocol. In short, these strategies were data-driven, adhering to the bottom-up approach of data treatment.

To draw the line between skill and strategy in the coding process, which in some instances created ambivalence for other researchers (Koda, 2005), the differentiation made by Koda between these two concepts was considered. That is, "skills are used subconsciously, strategies require deliberate activation" (p. 210). Thus, all throughout the coding, the intention of the reader for using a certain strategy was considered and became the primary compass in determining whether a certain behavior is a strategy or merely a skill.

Specifically, the main concern of Bolaños (2009) descriptive study is the investigation of the comprehension strategies good L2 readers employ when they read expository texts in print and hypertext environments. Of corollary interest to the aforesaid primary concern are the three-fold related purposes which are: 1) determining the readers' level of comprehension in the two environments, 2) finding out if there is a difference in their comprehension, and 3) checking if there is a relationship or association that exists in some of the important constructs in the study such as reading environments, reading strategies, and comprehension.

Results of the study indicate that, in general, good L2 readers of expository texts employ a wide repertoire of strategies when they process texts. These strategies are almost the same in both environments. Owing to their relative nature, the 54 strategies elicited were clustered into six which are: 1) *meaning-negotiating or transacting strategies* which include asking/questioning, agreeing, using physical action or expression, justifying their agreement/disagreement, suggesting action or solution, raising clarificatory question, and disagreeing; 2) *trouble-shooting or facilitating strategies* which are rereading, pausing, unlocking

vocabulary, pronouncing the new plan of attack, giving specific on-line mental response, toning down, adjusting speed, asking where they are at in the text, waiting for a clue, changing/modifying/correcting oneself, recognizing an unfamiliar lexical item, marking the portion where they are in, commenting on the text, repeating, noticing a textual element, previewing/overlooking/surveying, and noticing a grammatical item or structure; 3) *meaning-enhancing or feedback-giving strategies* such as giving immediate reaction, drawing on background knowledge/recalling, expressing surprise, expressing/showing absence of knowledge, responding emotionally, providing additional relevant information, evaluating a point, responding to self-generated question, looking back, guessing/estimating/approximating, making personal stance, responding to rhetorical question, confirming a (correct) guess, offering synonymous term, self-questioning, and recasting/reformulating the question; 4) *meaning-reinforcing or meaning-remembering strategies* like acknowledging information/learning/realization, rehearsing a key word or an idea, and code-switching/code-mixing/processing in L1; 5) *meaning-generating or meaning-constructing strategies* consisting of inferring, expressing assumption, apprehension, or reservation, elaborating, paraphrasing, taking risk, gesturing, synthesizing, expressing a hope or a wish, and forming a conclusion; and 6) *information-checking or information-monitoring strategies* that include establishing the linkage of information and keeping track of information.

The findings also reveal that, over all, the level of comprehension of the participants is the same regardless of environments, though there is indication that the print readers have a slight advantage over the hypertext group.

As regards the difference in comprehension, on the whole, the result indicates that the difference is not significant, suggesting that reading environments may not affect or influence comprehension, its level, and quality, significantly. However, it can be noted that, perhaps, the nature of comprehension measure such as questions that examine the text's global structure/macrostructure can spell a significant difference in the two groups' comprehension as shown in the second comprehension question of the study.

Lastly, results likewise reveal that there is a significant association / relationship between reading environment and reading strategies, implying that an environment may trigger usage of a particular strategy or vice versa. The same finding is true of reading strategy and level of comprehension, which means that the more frequently the strategies are used, the better the comprehension becomes; it can also be that the more effectively the strategies are used, the more effective the comprehension becomes. Simply put, reading strategies offer salutary effects on comprehension. On the other hand, results of reading environment and level of comprehension reveal no association/relationship between the two. As pointed out, this may mean that reading environment and level of comprehension are independent of each other - that, regardless of environment, comprehension level may remain the same.

In the light of the findings of this study, Bolaños (2009, pp. 201-203) offers the following conclusions: First, reading is truly an activity or experience unique to every individual. Though readers arrive at a common understanding of the text, the process by which they explore or make their way through text and respond to the information varies. The variations in the readers' processing strategies attest to this. Second, reading is not solely a cognitive endeavor. It is also affective, as indicated by high cases of strategies which are emotionally-laden in nature. Third, strategies have primordial roles in the meaning-making process of good readers. In fact, most of the good readers in the study are aware of their strategy usage and how it helps them handle the text effectively. Fourth, strategies and schemata are two influential and converging variables in reaching a desired level of comprehension. The participants of this study believe that successful comprehension happens when there is convergence and fusion between prior knowledge and strategies. Fifth, there is no one best strategy to make sense of the text. Pearson et al. (1992) buttressed this view. As evident in the processing strategies of

good readers, strategies come in combination or in most cases, in group. Sixth, good readers employ an aggregate of strategies that they bring with them every time they read or interact with text. This supports the claim of Duke and Pearson (2002) that multiplicity in strategy usage is apparent in comprehension processing of good readers. This likewise vouches Jimenez, Garcia, and Pearson's (1995) "multistrategic approach to reading" (p. 80) as practiced by good readers. Seventh, good readers are "good" because they are cognitively advanced, they are motivated and focused, they monitor their engagement with the text, they apply the appropriate strategies available in their resources, they are in control of the whole reading activity, they have a clear grasp of their roles as readers, and they know how to skillfully summon or invoke the appropriate strategies and the strategies to combine or coordinate. Simply stated, they demonstrate what Almasi (2003) calls declarative knowledge (what the strategy is and does), conditional knowledge (when and why to use the strategy), and procedural knowledge (how to use the strategy). Eighth, regardless of environment or situation, good readers can manage and probably transfer reading skills and strategies they use in the traditional context. Their good ability to make sense of the text regardless of reading environment is a proof of this. Ninth, reading environment cannot simply be taken for granted for it has a relationship with reading strategies. Tenth, good readers are dynamically using the linguistic resources they have to their advantage. The code-switching/code-mixing cases provide evidence on this. Lastly, even good readers are not spared from the difficulties in processing a certain text especially those in which limited prior knowledge is available to them. However, they always make it a point to address those challenges. Thus, schema is particularly crucial.

All in all, Bolaños (2009) concludes that good college readers of L2 expository texts take advantage of and benefit from their being multistrategic. Since they possess a heightened awareness of reading strategies, they are, in most cases, skillful and successful comprehenders.

### **Some Implications and Recommendations**

Given the findings and the conclusions of Bolaños (2009, pp. 203-206), the following recommendations on curriculum development, pedagogical practice, and administrative support are offered:

Concerning curriculum development, it is crucial to note that being in the age where information and communication technologies (ICTs) play a key and pervasive role in the lives of the people, it is vital that technologies and their various forms occupy a certain curricular space. Their integration and use in the classroom must be seen with a clear sense of purpose and prudent judgment coupled with the best strategies by which they can be utilized and explored. Thus, curriculum engineers may be of utmost help if they can consider and heighten the ways by which effective utilization of these ICTs can be achieved across educational levels and across curriculum with emphasis on content-area subjects/courses. One way of achieving this is through the development, testing, and implementation of a well thought-out strategy-based curriculum.

An intensified, strategy-anchored reading component for each content-area subject across educational levels can be a part of the curriculum. This is in keeping with the view that learners' success, particularly on content-area subjects, largely depends on their ability to read.

Development, validation, and adoption of more appropriate print- and online-based instructional materials can also be done to ensure that they conform to the nature and overall goals of reading for meaning.

As regards pedagogical practice - the teachers, being the key implementer of the curriculum, can help best if they have a clear and sound grasp of the nature of reading, its processes, principles, and underlying theories. It may make them more equipped in facing the humongous task of guiding and making students construct meaning from text. Being aware of how reading processes interact, as well as of the prerequisite skills for effective comprehension,

teachers can plan and devise effective means of optimizing the potentials of every learner in the classroom. Hence, there is a need for all teachers, especially those in the content areas, to receive serious and continuous in-service strategy training/workshop from highly competent literacy coaches or professionals. This practice, in turn, may facilitate transfer of skills among students - one problem schools have been contending with due to lack of uniformity in practice. Furthermore, it may orient teachers concerning the importance of gradual release of responsibility (Keene & Zimmerman, 1997).

The strategy training can focus on key aspects such as development and use of schema, awareness of levels of comprehension, ways of approaching and overcoming inconsiderate texts, enhancement of vocabulary and word attack skills, development of reading-writing connection, and other areas reflective of integration of top-down-bottom-up processes and of the most frequently used reading strategies good L2 readers used in this study such as: asking or questioning, rereading, acknowledging information/learning/realization, rehearsing a key word or an idea, agreeing, inferencing, giving immediate reaction, drawing on background knowledge or recalling, and using physical action or expression. At the end of this strategy training is a showcase of teaching demonstrations by the teachers. Just as the training is meant to be serious, teachers, in the same vein, must give it considerable thought, assiduousness, and disposition.

Since strategy instruction takes time, it is vital for teachers to explicitly model each strategy in class. Teacher think-aloud can better serve the purpose. In this way, learners may be able to understand better how each strategy relates with one another and realize for themselves the strategies' value in order for them to function independently, strategically, and metacognitively. Strategies that are fix-up in nature can be highlighted. Moreover, it is essential at this juncture for teachers to underscore the point that, regardless of reading environments or forms, the interactive nature of reading should continuously be upheld, that strategies can simply be transferred, and that comprehension should remain the pivotal goal for reading. This will create more impact if it is to be started in the basic level.

It is also essential for teachers to encourage extensive reading/reading for pleasure in class. Since reading is best learned through actual reading, students will have more exposure to both knowledge of the word and knowledge of the world if outside-of-class reading will be promoted. The need to introduce reader response and other transactional views on reading may help teachers motivate students regarding the relevance and benefits of independent reading to them.

As regards school administrators, it is worthy to note that since they are instrumental to teacher development and overall success of reading instruction, it is crucial that they give their teachers the necessary support in order for the teachers to advance their learning and to implement in class (or in school in general) what they think must be prudently done to create a culture of reading. It is also crucial that school administrators forge good partnership with parents and the immediate community so they can extend support to school endeavors that may benefit the students later on.

### **Concluding Remarks**

As the times continue to usher in changes and developments, educators should remain at the forefront embracing all the new that come. The effort and the path to adapt and adopt may not always be smooth but if they remain committed to the true nature of the calling, no challenges are so difficult to hinder them from becoming the ideal teachers that they can be in this century. As Lao Tzu puts it, "Life is a series of natural and spontaneous changes. Don't resist them – that only creates sorrow. Let reality be reality. Let things flow naturally forward in whatever they like."

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# Dimensions of Reading Motivation among Filipino Bilinguals

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## Abstract

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This study seeks to identify and measure the dimensions of the motivation to read in English among Filipino bilingual high school students and to determine the relationships among these dimensions. Using the Dimensions of Bilinguals' Motivation to Read in English Questionnaire, an instrument combining some items in Baker and Wigfield's (1999), Mori's (2002) Motivation to Read Questionnaires and additional items by the researcher, the study was able to identify the various dimensions of the 246 bilingual-participants' motivation to read in English. Results from a factor analysis revealed six independent dimensions, namely Social and Learning Environment, External Motivation, Mastery Orientation, Performance Orientation, Pressure, and Familiarity with the Content and Format of the Text, which confirmed that the participants' motivation in the domain of reading is multifaceted. Some of the factors reported in previous studies clustered to form the present set, while some were those proposed by the researcher as they were facets consistently mentioned in literature as factors in reading comprehension, but were never tested as second language reading motivation factors.

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*Keywords:* Reading Motivation, Filipino bilinguals

## Introduction

In the field of education, there is a constant search for various ways that will make learners maximize their potentials, abilities, and performance. In this regard, a key issue is to understand the role played by a learner's willingness to engage in various learning undertakings. In particular, researchers have identified motivation, defined as "the personal goals, desires, and intentions of an individual" (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000, p.2), as an important affective factor to consider in learning, which is considered more adaptable than learning style and the second most important individual difference factor next to aptitude (Ellis, 2006).

While it is true that illiteracy is a very serious problem, aliteracy may be an even greater one. The latter has been defined as "lack of the reading habit; especially, such a lack in capable readers who choose not to read" (Harris & Hodges, 1981, in Cramer & Castle, 1994, p.4). In America, it has been observed that although their students learn how to read at increasingly difficult levels, too many of them do not voluntarily choose to read for their own personal pleasure or information (Cramer & Castle, 1994). Similarly, in the 2007 National Book Development Board (NBDB) Readership Survey, it has been reported "the percentage of book readers (among Filipinos) has decreased by 7%" (Mandigma, 2008, par. 5).

## Motivation to Read

Applied to reading, *motivation* is “the individual’s personal goals, values, and beliefs with regard to the topics, processes, and outcomes of reading” (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000, p. 2).

*Motivation to read* is said to be a multidimensional concept which makes one’s choice to read to come from varied reasons. Moreover, since there are several aspects of motivation, some of them will be stronger than others within an individual at various points in his/her life.

This description of reading motivation is very much related to how Gardner (1998, in *Literature Review: Affect in Language Learning*, n.d.) defines motivation in second language learning: “Motivation is dynamic.....different sources of motivation leads to different kinds of motivation” (par. 4). This is the reason why he also argues that it is not acceptable to suppose that motivation is the same and consistent in the different context of language learning. Another authority in motivation research, Dornyei (1998 in *Literature Review: Affect in Language Learning*, n.d.) defines motivation as a multifaceted factor. He suggests that it should be perceived as a process which needs to be described in its different stages. These positions on how motivation should be studied and analyzed are relevant for researchers who would like to identify other dimensions of motivation in the different domains of learning. A section of this paper discusses how the present researcher intended to look into text-related and context-related factors in reading as possible sources of the other dimensions in second language reading motivation.

General motivation constructs and theories have been adapted to explain the motivations of learners when they read. This is so because it was only recently that researchers have begun to explore the nature of motivation in the field of reading (Gambrell, 2001). She noted that historically, reading has been viewed primarily as a cognitive process, and only the relatively new studies show that there are also social and individual factors that need research attention to fully understand the process of reading.

Using Competence and Efficacy theories, reading researchers have been able to explain the role of learners’ beliefs about their efficiency and ability to perform certain reading tasks. They have reported that these two related factors actually estimate one’s achievement in reading, and have cited activity choice, willingness to expend effort, and persistence as mediators (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000). Moreover, a person’s anticipation that he/she will be successful in a reading activity positively predicts his/her performance on that task. Constructs related to Subjective Task Value such as interest, attainment, and utility values explain why there are competent and confident readers who do not prefer to read when they do not perceive any reward for doing so. A third construct which has been used to study reading motivation is Achievement Goals. Clear, specific, and appropriate learning goals lead to better performance as argued by experts. Researchers like Ames (1992, in Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000) have likewise identified two goal patterns that influence how individuals set their goals— mastery goals and performance goals. Learners who set mastery goals (also called task goals or learning goals) are expected to have greater persistence in doing tasks and more positive motivation, which is the reason why instructional methods in reading should highlight this type of goals. On the other hand, performance goals of learners will make them focus more on comparing their abilities and grades with others, and in securing social approval (Kolic-Veholec, Roncevic, & Baysanski, 2007). It should be noted that based on some recent studies, both mastery goals and performance goals can and are actually being pursued at the same time by students, although the latter have been

previously thought to cause maladaptive learning and achievement outcomes (Wolters & Rosenthal, 2000; Woolfolk, 2007). The last construct which has been employed to explain what makes individuals want and not want to read is Intrinsic Motivation. It has been defined as “being engaged in an activity for its own sake, rather than for “extrinsic” reasons” (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000, par. 12). Reading experts explain that an intrinsically-motivated reader has stronger and more long-lasting reasons for reading.

### Studies on Motivation to Read

Unfortunately, research literature addressing topics related to motivation to read has remained relatively fragmented, and studies which dwell on achievement motivation processes have not explored the area on how motivational processes operate in particular achievement contexts such as reading (Wigfield & Asher, 2002). Two reasons for this are the difficulty of researching affective variables and strong emphasis on cognitive variables (Mathewson, 1994, in McKenna, 1994). However, limited as they are, these studies on reading motivation have uncovered significant aspects of this affective factor.

**Studies on Reading Motivation in a first language.** Theorizing that a reader’s motivation to read is multidimensional, Wigfield and Guthrie constructed a Motivation to Read Questionnaire which they have used in a number of studies. In their model, Wigfield and Guthrie (1997, in Baker & Wigfield, 1999) conceptualized 11 dimensions of reading motivation which they further clustered into three categories: The first category, based on competence and efficacy constructs, includes *self-efficacy*, *challenge*, and *work avoidance*. The second category comprises the following: *curiosity*, *involvement*, *importance*, *recognition*, *competition*, and *grade*. The third and final category includes two dimensions: *social reasons for reading* and *reading compliance*. Guthrie and Baker (1999, in Nichino, 2005) used this instrument to identify the different dimensions of the motivation to read of 371 children and their relations to reading activity and reading achievement. The results revealed that those dimensions belonging to the extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, like Importance and Grades, were the strongest. Social and Work Avoidance dimensions were the lowest which were interpreted to mean that the participants did not read for social reasons and that they did not avoid work in reading.

Nelson and Manset-Williamson (2006) looked into the possible effect of two kinds of reading intervention, explicit teaching and guided reading, on the self-efficacy, attributions, and affect of 20 students from grades 4 to 8 with reading disabilities. Using data from a Self-efficacy questionnaire, Attribution Strategy Success and Failure Scales, oral retelling, multiple choice scores which were administered prior and after the treatment, the pair’s main finding was that both reading interventions resulted in greater self-efficacy, more adaptive reading attributions, and more positive affect for reading although the reading comprehension scores did not significantly increase.

The studies reported here have indicated that motivation is truly adaptable, multidimensional, and dynamic. Moreover, these studies have cited the role of reading task, reading context, and especially the background and experiences of the participants in increasing and varying their motivation to read.

Since motivation has a social dimension, there have been studies too that attempted to explain the role of home and parental factors in children’s motivation to read. Sonnenschein and Munsterman (2002) examined the types of comments made by African-American and European-American parents while their five-year old children were reading as well as the affective quality of

the reading interaction at home during one summer. They have observed that the children were reading both a familiar and an unfamiliar book with a member of their family, usually a parent but in one-third of the cases, an older sibling. The strongest predictor of their motivation to read was the affective quality of their reading interaction.

The pair of Baker and Scher (2002) had 65 6-year-olds and their mothers who came from different socio-cultural backgrounds as participants. Each child was asked to answer a Motivation for Reading Scale while the mothers were interviewed regarding their beliefs about reasons for reading, their beliefs about their child's interest in learning to read, and their ratings of the frequency of their child's experiences with printed materials. Findings revealed that the children-participants had generally positive views about reading and that neither gender, ethnicity, nor income level of their family affected their motivation to read. Value, enjoyment, and perceived competence were the dimensions of their motivation to read. Their over-all motivation was not associated with frequency of storybook reading or library visits, and frequent use of basic skills books (ABC books) was negatively associated with their motivation. Two parent-related factors predicted the children's motivation to read: parental identification of pleasure as a reason for reading and parents' reports that their child took an active interest in learning to read.

Research has also noted that maintaining motivation for reading activities is not an easy task because academic motivation naturally tends to decline by the middle grades or early adolescent years (Pressley, 1998, in Caldwell, 2002; Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000). Possible reasons that have been cited are changes from intrinsic to extrinsic motivation of students at this stage, decline in their self-efficacy, and instructional processes in reading that negatively affect students' reading motivation (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000). For instance, the three most common strategies that schools use to motivate their students, namely rewards, competition, and the instrumental value of the task, are extrinsic in nature (Good & Brophy, 1987, in Johns & VanLeirsburg, 1994), which has obvious limitations. This is because rewards can make learners feel disheartened and unwilling to participate if they know that they do not have a genuine chance of getting the reward, while competition creates winners and losers which could affect students' self-confidence and self-concept (Johns & VanLeirsburg, 1994).

Interestingly enough, the study that follows is one of the few which revealed positive results with regard to the motivation to read of learners in this age bracket.

Another example of a study on adolescent motivation is the one by Pitcher et al. (2007) who modified Gambrell, Palmer, Codling and Mazzone's (1996) Motivation to Read Profile (MRP) and called their instrument the Adolescent Motivation to Read Profile (AMRP). Eleven researchers conducted the survey to 384 students and interviewed 100 students who were in their early, middle, and late adolescence. The respondents came from different ethnicities. Results revealed that females had higher scores than males who had decrease in their scores in later adolescent years. Moreover, the answers during the interview proved to be richer because these explained, gave support, and clarified the respondents' answers in the survey.

In addition, Guthrie et al. (2006) have reported that American adolescents were more motivated to read 'non-traditional' texts and to read outside the classroom. The researchers inferred that this could mean that readers in this age group do not like reading materials and tasks to be imposed on them; they would like to be given choices when it comes to what and when to read.

Majority of the studies on motivation to read, especially in the first language, have focused on young readers. This may be explained by theorizing that early success or failure in reading would affect one's reading motivation which may be carried through the years. Furthermore,

motivation is the “preeminent predictor’ of frequent reading” (Guthrie, 1999, in Morgan & Fuchs, 2007, par. 3). That is why reading experts have cited the role of early intervention to prevent problems related to **both** poor reading skills and low motivation to read among children.

**Studies on Reading Motivation on a Second Language.** While most of the previous research on motivation to read in the first language focused on children’s motivation, studies on L2 reading motivation have generally employed adolescent and adult students as participants. It should be noted that this area of second language reading is more limited compared with first language reading; however, the studies have likewise revealed significant findings. The following are some of those which attempted to explain the motivational factors in reading and other topics related to motivation among second language readers.

Fransson (1984, in Bernhardt, 1998) in his study on university students found that positive affect facilitates reading comprehension and that motivation for reading influences strategy use. Moreover, he reported that those students who were anxious while reading focused on details than on the important ideas, which made him conclude that when a reader has high anxiety, he/she loses the purpose of reading (Alderson, 2000).

Mori (2002a) also investigated what comprises foreign language reading motivation. Using Wigfield and Guthrie’s (1995; 1997) model in an EFL context, she tested whether reading motivation in the new situation will be similar to L1 reading motivation which is multidimensional and independent of each other. The 447 participants were women from a Japanese university who were tested in intact groups. Using a modified Motivation to Read Questionnaire, the findings revealed that the participants’ motivation to read were also multidimensional which included Reading Efficacy, Reading Challenge, Reading Curiosity, Reading Involvement, Importance of Reading, Reading for Grades, Compliance, and Reading Work Avoidance. However, among those eight dimensions, only Reading Efficacy and Importance of Reading were clearly identified. Reading Curiosity, Reading Involvement, Reading Avoidance, and Reading Challenge clustered into one dimension, defined as Intrinsic Value of Reading. The researcher then proposed that motivation to read in English for her participants may instead be divided into four sub-components, namely Intrinsic Value of Reading in English, Attainment Value of Reading in English, Extrinsic Utility Value of Reading in English, and Expectancy for Success in Reading in English.

A researcher who replicated Mori’s (2002) study is Nichino (2005). For the participants in this study, six factors were obtained and categorized into five sub-components of EFL reading motivation: Reading Efficacy, Intrinsic Value of Reading in English, Extrinsic Utility Value of Reading in English, Importance of Reading in English, and Communicative Orientation.

A similar study was conducted by Takase (2007) who had high school girls as participants who underwent an extensive reading program for one year. The researcher investigated the factors that affected the girls’ reading motivation in English. Findings identified intrinsic motivation in L1 reading and in L2 reading were the two most important factors. Parental involvement and family attitudes affected their L1 reading motivation but not their L2 reading motivation. Moreover, there were those who had intrinsic motivation to read in English but did not develop positive reading attitudes in their L1.

Kondo-Brown (2006) investigated how 17 affective factors were related to Japanese second language (L2) reading comprehension and *kanji* knowledge test scores of 43 university students in advanced Japanese courses. Major findings showed that reading comprehension ability and *kanji* knowledge had direct associations with self-perception of Japanese reading ability, perceived

difficulty in learning *kanji*, and the intensity of motivation for reading Japanese. Also, self-perception of Japanese reading ability correlated more strongly with demonstrated *kanji* knowledge than with reading comprehension ability. Students who were more determined to learn Japanese in general seemed to have higher intrinsic or extrinsic orientation for reading Japanese, but only those with stronger intrinsic orientation for reading Japanese are more likely to work at reading Japanese. Finally, it was noted that intolerance of ambiguity and disengagement from the analytical study of *kanji* may be signs of lack of intrinsic orientation and motivation for reading Japanese.

The results in the four previous studies provided evidence that motivation to read in one's first language and second language tends to be different and is affected by different factors. However, the construct of L2 reading motivation closely resembles the general motivational structure proposed by expectancy-value theory on which Guthrie and Wigfield based their model.

There have been studies that used motivation and other variables to know how these affect, facilitate, or decrease one's motivation to read in L2.

Two hundred sixty-two first and second year English and non-English major Japanese students participated in another experiment by Mori (2002b). They were asked to answer a questionnaire and to do an extensive reading assignment. Using principal components analysis and multiple regression analysis, the researcher was able to identify the different motivational subcomponents of their motivation to read and the relationship between some subcomponents of motivation and the amount of reading. The results of the factor analysis revealed seven independent motivational subcomponents in the questionnaire related to reading motivation and motivation to learn English, and five independent factors pertaining to motivation to work on the task, namely Intrinsic Value of Reading and Learning English, Integrative Orientation, Expectancy for Success, Attainment Value of Reading and Learning English, Interest in Cultures, Grade-related Extrinsic Utility Value, Effort, Intrinsic Value of the Task, Attitudes Toward Procedures of the Task, Extrinsic Utility Value of the Task, Attitudes toward Stories in the Task, and Cost. The results of multiple regression analysis suggested that the significant predictors of the quantity of time the students read outside their classes were Expectancy for Success, Cost, Intrinsic Value of the Task, and Attitudes toward Procedures of the Task.

Reiter (2003) reported that Sustained Silent Reading increased the reading comprehension and motivation of high school students who were learning English as an L2. This implies that there is an association among pleasure reading, motivation, and reading comprehension.

Hitosugi and Day (2004) had first year university students who were studying Japanese as a foreign/second language as their participants in a study which investigated if extensive reading would help improve L2/EFL learners' reading abilities and motivation to read. For ten weeks, they were asked to read books which were primarily written for children who are learning Japanese as their first language. These books (all 266 of them) have been listed and ranked according to their difficulty. As a requirement in their course, the students were asked to select and read a minimum of 40 books. Furthermore, they were to submit a Reaction Report in Japanese. Students were asked to rate the books they read by using a code from one to five, with five indicating a really terrific book and one indicating a very boring book. To encourage students to continue reading once they had read 40 books an additional 5% in their grade was given for reading an additional 20 books. Once a week, the students had varied extensive reading activities to develop their oral fluency in the target language. At the end of the semester, the students reported that they looked forward to the activities. The results of the questionnaire on their motivation to read and reading tests showed improvement.

The three previous studies noted the effectiveness of two instructional strategies, namely extensive reading and sustained silent reading, in improving the participants' motivation to read in a second and foreign language. Similar to some L1 reading motivation studies reported here earlier, improving the learning context and environment will likely lead to increase in motivation to read in a second language. The last foreign study to be reported in this section analyzed the relationship between reading motivation and strategy use while using extensive reading as an instructional strategy.

Nichino (2007) did a longitudinal case study on the reading strategies and motivation of 2 Japanese middle school students beginning to read extensively in English. During a 2.5-year study, the researcher conducted interviews 4 times, gave tests regularly, and observed participant behavior in each reading session. The results showed that the 2 participants used a variety of reading strategies and that their L2 reading motivation changed as they became increasingly fluent readers. The findings revealed significant individual differences in the use of reading strategies and support a dynamic view of L2 reading motivation.

In the Philippines, there are a number of recent studies which examined the role of reading motivation and attitudes. Mercado (1999) found that among her 90 intermediate student-participants, only 19 have high, positive self-perception as a reader. However, these students' self-perception had no significant relationship with their academic reading achievement.

Perez (2004) attempted to identify the difference in reading ability and motivation among high school students with personality as the independent variable. Randomly selected students from Rizal High School were asked to answer the Achievement Motivation and Learning Strategies Survey (AMLSS), Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), and the Reading Comprehension California Achievement Test to gather the needed data. After analyzing her data using t-test and Pearson Product Moment Correlation, she found that her participants had a number of positive learning strategies and achievement goals like working hard to have good grades and to be recognized, double-checking their answers for accuracy, and preparing, attending and reciting during their English classes. Those with the judging type of personality used effective methods to achieve high academic performance. Moreover, five factors of motivation had significant correlation with reading comprehension: Achievement Motivation, Attitude in English Class Participation, Attitude in Reading Comprehension Test, Attitude in Reading Comprehension, and Strategy in Reading Comprehension Test. One motivational factor, Strategy in Reading Comprehension did not significantly correlate with reading comprehension.

Just like the results of a good number of foreign and local studies reported earlier, the last set of studies revealed inconsistent findings as to the relationship of the participants' motivation to read and their reading achievement and use of reading strategies. This gives the idea that there are intervening or mediating factors that have not been accounted for.

### **Other Possible Dimensions of Reading Motivation**

Although previous studies have been able to identify a number of reading motivation dimensions, Wigfield and Guthrie (2000, in Baker & Wigfield, 1999) still think that "questionnaires containing other kinds of items could potentially uncover other aspects of reading motivation. We believe it is important for researchers to extend the search for additional dimensions of reading motivation" (p. 39).

Their idea makes sense because as reflected in the review earlier, there have been only four reading researchers who have modified their original questionnaire and added some items

which they deem appropriate for the participants they had in their studies in order to capture the dimensions of their reading motivation. None of these motivational researchers has claimed any generalization as far as their findings are concerned.

Along this line, the present researcher is particularly interested to study and explore whether there are dimensions of reading motivation which are truly unique to Filipino bilingual adolescents. This particular group of learners has not been tapped in earlier reading motivation research since past participants have been monolingual and EFL learners. Using a basic tenet in reading education that reading is one's first language is different from reading in one's second language, this researcher argues that it is probable that learners who are reading in their native language and those who are reading in a distant language would have different reasons for doing so from those who are reading a language that they learn openly and naturally like their first one. The age of the participants is another factor that may provide different results. The previous participants were either children or college students. If indeed reading motivation decreases at certain age and grade levels (middle grades and early adolescents), a study with adolescents will either confirm or weaken this finding.

But what are the possible other dimensions of reading motivation? What are the sources of these dimensions?

Articles on reading comprehension discuss many factors that affect the reading process. These factors have been categorized as reader, text, and context factors (Ocampo, 2006). These categories are said to be linked with one another. For instance, a Grade 4 student may be able to comprehend a story from his or her textbook, but may have difficulty if given a story from a Grade 6 textbook. This highlights the importance of text factors. Whereas, when a seemingly uninteresting text to a class may become exciting when a teacher employs creative reading activities and tasks points to the importance of context factors in reading. In fact, it has been observed that instructional methods play an important role especially in second language learning.

From this background, this researcher would like to look into the various text and context factors of reading as possible sources for the other dimensions of reading motivation, and which will differentiate the bilingual readers' reasons for reading from those of the monolinguals and EFL readers. *If reader, text, and context factors in reading are indeed interrelated, could it be possible that certain text and context factors are also dimensions of motivation to read?*

What follows is a short review of studies that found particular text and context reading factors to be associated with some affective factors.

An important step taken by a reader to be able to make sense of the printed page is to connect what he or she is reading with his or her existing body of knowledge. A text that contains information and details close to what a reader already knows is likely to be understood and appreciated better than one which has ideas that are far or opposite to what a reader perceives to be true and correct. So far, research on content schema has revealed that learners have better comprehension, read the text faster, and recalled more of the content when they have background knowledge on the topic being discussed in texts (Steffensen, Joag-dev, & Anderson, 1979, in Carrell, 1983; Johnson, 1983; Aron, 1986; Malik, 1990, in Carlo & Sylvester, 1996; Pritchard, 1990; Roller & Matambo, 1992; Abu-Rabia, 1996). Similarly, Anderson (1982, in Fox, 1990) found that more interesting materials were more likely to be attended to by students and so they spent more time reading these texts.

Context also plays an important role in attempting to develop students' genuine love for reading, as reported by previous researchers (Gambrell, 2001; Pressley, 2002).

*Self-selection* or giving students some choices as to the reading materials, manner of expressing their comprehension of the text is strongly-linked to motivation to read, persistence, effort, and attention, while *social interaction* among the students, teachers, peers, and family also fostered intrinsic motivation to read (Gambrell, 2001; Morrow, 1992, in May, 2001).

Fox (1990) recommended that teachers encourage their students not to read books they are not enjoying, not to use threatening ways of checking students' reading, and to ensure that students read in a relaxed and comfortable place.

Gee (1999) had similar points that can be summarized in 5 Cs: give students opportunities for Choice, Challenge, Control, Collaboration, and Connection. Moreover, they should be taught to accept and attempt to read both easy and difficult books.

From all of these, common threads are noticeable: *Students understand reading materials which are familiar to them in content and format. Reading texts chosen by the learners themselves are enjoyed more than those imposed on them. Readers do not enjoy materials that are too difficult for them. Reading becomes an enjoyable activity when learners are in a relaxed atmosphere. Interesting reading lessons and classroom activities will make students want to read.* All these statements point to the importance of enjoyment and interest in any attempt to read. This researcher argues that when one talks about enjoyment and interest, he/she is actually making a case for motivation.

Therefore, all of the statements above are snippets on how motivation to read can be developed by positive encounters with texts and context. Extending Wigfield et al. (2006) argument that motivation is a personal attribute that is significantly affected by an individual's varied experiences, this researcher asserts that experiences with certain text and with other people are among those events that may develop or hamper an individual's motivation to read.

The studies which have been reviewed so far are those that show connection between text and context factors in reading and motivation. These have not empirically tested the factors as possible dimensions of reading motivation.

The present researcher has found two studies which have identified text and context factors as dimensions or factors of reading motivation. However, these studies have obvious limitations and differences with how the studies on reading motivation dimensions have been conducted. First, the two studies have employed Conversational Interviews to gather data from a limited number of participants (4 and 16 respectively); this did not allow the researchers to generalize their findings. Second, the studies had 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> grade students as participants. Third, the participants were monolinguals. Despite these restrictions, the findings have discovered that indeed, there are text and context factors that have motivational dimensions as well.

The first study was conducted by Edmunds and Bauserman (2006). They found that their participants' personal interest on certain topics, materials that contain humor and adventure, exciting book covers and illustrations, teachers who read books to them, peers and family member who expose them to books primarily by giving them books as gifts and who share books with them are their motivations for reading. The first three are text-related dimensions while the last two are context-related dimensions.

The second study, carried out by Cole (2003) revealed similar results. The participants identified the following as their motivations in reading: classroom activities that attempt to relate what they read with real life, teaching strategies that allow self expression, feedback, social discussion, and participation, and books which are presented in chapter and series format. Except for the last which is a text-related dimension, the study was able to identify four context-related dimensions.

Aside from the two empirical studies, there are related concepts discussed by motivational researchers which are worth discussing at this point because they give justification to the possible inclusion of text and context factors as dimensions of reading motivation.

The first is on sources of motivation. According to Csikszentmihalyi & Rathunde (1993, in Literature Review: Affect in Language Learning, n.d. ), many past theories on motivation have not given enough emphasis on *emergent motivation* which refers to the “enjoyment of performance in the present” (par. 4). They claim that existing theories have dwelt on the drives and goals of individuals which are considered instinctive reactions. This is evident in the area of reading since the constructs that have been used to explain individuals’ reasons for reading are those that analyze their long-term intentions and aims. On the other hand, text and context factors as possible domains of reading motivation are clear examples of “here and now” type of motivation. Fleeting as it is, an emergent motivation can develop into a more lasting one.

The other two concepts are based on the Self-Determination Theory by Ryan and Deci (2000, in La Guardia & Ryan, 2002). These are the individual’s need for *relatedness* and *autonomy*. The former is defined as “the feelings of connection and belongingness with others” (p. 195) while the latter is synonymous with the notion of independence. These constructs are able to explain how some socio-contextual factors at home and school could either develop or diminish motivation. In reading, it is highly probable that learners enjoy reading when it allows them to express and share their feelings toward reading materials with their peers and teachers, and when they are given the chance to demonstrate their understanding and appreciation of texts in their own ways.

With these points, the present researcher believes that other dimensions of reading motivation can truly be present when text and context factors of the reading process are analyzed. Specifically, this study tested whether *content schemata, formal schemata, text structure, syntax, pressure/tension to read, opportunities for choice, instruction, atmosphere, and family/peer factors* are dimensions of Filipino bilinguals’ motivation to read.

### Methodology

To address the concerns of this exploratory study, a descriptive-correlational design was employed. Through the administration of a questionnaire, the researcher was able to identify and describe the dimensions of the participants’ motivation to read English texts, and determined the relationships and the extent of correlation that existed. The specific research questions are the following:

1. *What are the domains of the motivation to read of the participants?*
2. *How are these domains interrelated?*

To do this, the researcher, with her two research assistants, administered The Dimensions of Bilinguals’ Motivation to Read in English Questionnaire (DBMREQ). To identify the first language and second language of the participants, a Language Background Questionnaire was also given out.

## Participants

The study involved 646 students (girls=366, boys=280) of a co-institutional parochial school in the city of Manila. Their first language is Tagalog while English is their second language. The students came from the 14 sections in the Junior Year. They were in intact classes when they answered the questionnaires during their regular English class time. One section spent an average of 40 minutes to answer the two instruments.

## Instruments

**The Dimensions of Bilinguals' Motivation to Read in English Questionnaire (DBMREQ).** This is a 63-item five point Likert scale (1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree), combining 20 items from Mori's (2002) and 7 items from Wigfield & Guthrie's (1997) Motivation to Read Questionnaires and 36 items which the present researcher added to find out if motivation to read is affected by other reader-related and text-related factors, such as self-schemata, content schemata, formal schemata, text structure, syntax, family/peer, context, pressure, and perceived choice. The role that these additional factors play in second language reading has been mentioned and discussed in the previous section of this paper. The items have been checked for their comprehensibility.

**Language Background Questionnaire.** In the present study, this three-page instrument was used to confirm that the students' first and second languages are Tagalog and English respectively. The other parts of the questionnaire however were not analyzed in the current report.

## Results and Discussion

The next sections present the discussion of the answers to the two research questions posed by the researcher.

1. What are the domains of the motivation to read of the participants?

A factor analysis was done to identify the various domains of the participants' motivation to read. The data from the 64 items were analyzed using varimax rotation. Those items with loadings  $>.40$  were included in the final factors while those with loadings  $<.40$  were eliminated. A loading of  $.41$  was the lowest while the highest was  $.79$ . Forty eight of the original 64 items remained which produced six interpretable factors that represented 38.48% of the reading motivation variance. (See Table 1)

Factor 1 obtained high loadings from nine items. Those include items that were expected to split into two components, but, in fact, loaded together on this factor: Social Factors (Items 30 and 35), and Context/Instruction (Items 42, 44, 46, 49, 56, 57, and 58). Factor 1 is best defined as *Social and Learning Environment* because a close examination of the items reveals that these variables are outside of a reader. Sample items are *"I enjoy reading because the teacher prepares interesting lessons and activities"* and *"I enjoy reading in English when I'm allowed to read in a relaxed atmosphere."* This factor accounted for 10.88% of the difference which is the highest

among the six factors considered in this study. It could be interpreted to indicate that the bilingual participants' motivation to read in English is primarily affected by common purposes among the learners and by teachers' style and class atmosphere during reading activities.

Table 1  
*Summary of Item Factor Loadings*

Items	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
<b>Factor 1: Social and Learning Environment</b>						
By learning to read in English, I hope to learn about various opinions of different people.	.41					
Learning to read in English is important in that we need to cope with globalization.	.50					
I appreciate when a teacher gives praise and positive feedback about my efforts to read in English.	.58					
I enjoy reading in English because the teacher prepares interesting lessons and activities.	.49					
I enjoy reading when the teacher helps me with difficult English words and other language problems.	.55					
An interesting method of teaching will make me want to read in English.	.57					
I enjoy reading in English when the teacher allows us to express ourselves and our understanding of a reading material.	.51					
I like reading in English when the teacher uses our background knowledge and experiences in discussing reading materials in class.	.56					
I enjoy reading in English when I'm allowed to read in a relaxed atmosphere	.45					
<b>Factor 2: External Motivation</b>						
It is a waste of time to learn to read in English.		.60				
It is difficult to read in English		.45				
I do not want to read in English even if the content is interesting.		.55				
Long and difficult English passages make reading not interesting for me.		.61				
I do not read unless I have to.		.60				
I read because it is a requirement in many of my subjects in school.		.47				
I would not volunteer to read unless it is required as a homework or assignment.		.61				
When a writer uses English words that I don't understand, or writes complicated and/or long sentences and paragraphs, I don't enjoy reading.		.57				
I do not enjoy reading in English when I'm under time pressure.		.41				
I don't read in English because the teacher does not encourage me enough to do so.		.69				
I feel pressured when I'm given an English reading task.		.41				
I don't read in English much because it is not a usual activity at home.		.58				
I feel it was not my own choice to read in English.		.60				
<b>Factor 3: Mastery Orientation</b>						
I get deeply interested in stories even if they are written in English.			.69			
I like reading English novels.			.67			
I tend to get deeply active and diligent when I read in English.			.67			
It is fun to read in English.			.62			
I like reading English newspapers and/or magazines.			.49			
I like challenging my English reading skills and abilities.			.48			

<i>Cont. Table 1</i>						
I consider myself a good reader in English.			.55			
I am good at reading in English.			.42			
I'm confident that I can understand a new reading material in English because I have done so in the past.			.46			
I enjoy reading difficult English passages.			.53			
I read even if it is not required by the teachers.			.57			
I enjoy reading in English because I feel that it is my own choice.			.49			
I can still concentrate on my reading in English even if the environment is noisy.			.41			
Reading materials in English are fun to read.			.53			
<b>Factor 4: Pressure</b>						
I feel tense when I'm asked to read in English.				-.58		
I feel pressured when I'm given an English reading task.				-.49		
I don't feel nervous when I read in English.				.57		
<b>Factor 5: Performance Orientation</b>						
I like being the best in reading in English.					.56	
Reading in English is important because it will make me more knowledgeable than others.					.53	
I like to get compliments for my English reading skills and abilities.					.52	
I like to finish my reading before other students.					.46	
I like being the one who knows an answer in something we read in class.					.56	
<b>Factor 6: Familiarity with the Content and Format of the Text</b>						
I like reading in English when I'm familiar with the kind of reading material I'm reading.						.79
I enjoy reading English materials when the content is familiar to me.						.78
I appreciate a reading material in English when I know how the ideas are related with one another.						.47
I get interested in reading in English when I can choose the material I want to read.						.42
<b>Eigenvalue</b>	10.88	5.17	2.85	2.24	1.96	1.54
<b>Percentage of variance explained</b>	16.99	8.07	4.46	3.50	3.06	2.40

Thirteen items loaded on Factor 2 which accounted for 5.17% of the variance. These come from various variables such as Work Avoidance, Compliance, Content and Forma Schemata, Pressure, Context/Instruction, Family/Peer, and Perceived Choice. Together, they explain how finding significance and enjoyment in reading materials, activities and tasks, which are factors outside of a reader, would affect one's reading motivation; hence this factor is called *External Motivation*. Notice that the statements under this factor were reversed items- like "*It is a waste of time to read in English*" which expresses a reason why someone would avoid reading; "*I do not read unless I have to*" which implies the lack of initiative to read, and "*I feel pressured when I'm given an English reading task*" which indicates a feeling of unsteadiness during a reading activity. Therefore, the reversed scores actually refer to external factors as a domain of reading motivation.

Factor 3 obtained high loadings from 14 items, most of which are concerned with the importance of *Mastery Orientation* in reading. This factor explained 2.85% of the difference. The majority of the items corresponded to four aspects of L1 reading motivation identified by Wigfield and Guthrie (1995). Those aspects include Involvement, Curiosity, Efficacy, and Challenge. The results reflect the earlier descriptions given to mastery-oriented students: "*They assume*

*responsibility for learning and have a strong sense of self-efficacy. They perform best in competitiveness*” (Woolfolk, 2007, p.393). Likewise, variables based on the Competence and Efficacy Theory actually combined with the Achievement Goals’ construct in this Factor.

Another factor which emanates from the reader is Factor 4. The three (two were reverse-coded) items are collectively labeled *Pressure* because these describe how reading can bring anxiety, burden and similar negative feelings which make some people avoid the activity, and even to lose their purpose in reading (Alderson, 2000). Corollary, to be motivated to read, one should feel some control and freedom to make some choices being given to him/her. This is one of the proposed factors of reading motivation by the present researcher. Factor 4 accounted for 2.24% of the variance.

Factor 5 included five items that refer to *Performance Orientation*. Collectively they describe how a motivated reader wants to be known as a good reader and the positive challenge that reading brings to a motivated learner. Like Factor 1, this factor has two separate variables noted in previous motivation to read research, Competition and Recognition, which loaded together and explained 1.96% of the difference.

Another factor, which was one of those proposed by this researcher, cites the connection between certain text factors and one’s motivation to read. Even if *Text Content and Format Familiarity* has been acknowledged and noted to be an important factor in reading comprehension and is related to reading motivation, its direct relationship with the latter has not been studied enough. Factor 6, which explained 1.54% of the variance, may then be considered a text-based factor in motivation to read. The items indicate that when the content and format of a reading material is typical and known to the reader, reading becomes enjoyable.

Consistent with the results of previous empirical studies on reading motivation, the present research involving bilingual participants revealed that their motivation to read is multi-dimensional that ranges from extrinsic to intrinsic to text-based ones. Likewise, a good number of these factors are constructs from general motivation theories which have been identified by previous studies as factors of motivation in this specific domain.

However, it is very noticeable that the factors of the present participants’ reading motivation are not the same compared with those of the participants in previous research. Social and Learning environment, their strongest motivational factor which is the combined effect of instructional strategies employed by the teacher, atmosphere in the classroom, and people we are in contact with, may be considered extrinsic in nature. In a previous study by Wigfield and Guthrie (1997), the foremost reading motivation among their participants was Importance of Reading, while for the participants in the studies by Mori (2002), Nichino (2005), and Takase (2007), it was the Intrinsic Value of Reading. Hence, in these studies that used framework and methodology similar to the one at hand, the top most reason for reading among the readers was intrinsic in nature. Their other reasons for reading which are basically extrinsic were Social, Recognition, Competition, and Utility factors. For the present participants, Social factor loaded with Context factor as Social and Learning Environment factor, while Recognition and Competition combined as Performance Orientation factor of reading motivation, whereas the pattern of their motivation to read using the intrinsic-extrinsic dichotomy reveals that they generally have three intrinsic factors (Learning Environment, Mastery Orientation, and Pressure) and two extrinsic factors (External Motivation and Performance Orientation). A unique motivational factor found among them is Familiarity with the Content and Format of Text which is neither intrinsic nor extrinsic.

All of these comparisons seem to point to the idea that although motivation to read is indeed multi-dimensional, the factors of motivation in this domain may still differ depending on the characteristics of the participants being profiled. It should be noted that in the examples noted above, Wigfield and Guthrie's (1997) participants were monolingual boys and girls who were in grade school, those by Mori (2002) were Japanese female university students, while Nichino's (2005) and Takase's (2007) were Japanese high school students. On the other hand, the participants in the current study are male and female high school students who are ESL readers living in an urban setting. Age, SES, family language background, language proficiency in L1 and L2, reading proficiency in L1 and L2, language community where motivation in the target language is being tested, are just some of the numerous variables that should be considered to get a very clear picture of one's motivation to read.

A very important contribution of the present study is the one on the additional variables proposed by the researcher. Context (which includes items on instruction and learning atmosphere), Family/Peer, Perceived Choice, Pressure/Tension, and Familiarity with the Content and Format of Text have been empirically tested and proven to be factors of reading motivation of bilingual readers. The last two even resulting to independent dimensions of the domain of motivation being investigated, while the others clustered with the other variables similar to what earlier studies have reported.

Looking at the items proposed by the current researcher helps prove that certain text and context factors of reading are sources of reading motivation dimensions. All the five items which were projected by the researcher to test Text Content and Structure Familiarity loaded as one dimension of reading motivation. The same can be said about the three items for Pressure and the nine for Instruction. Three of the four items for Atmosphere, a Context factor like Instruction, also loaded as the Social and Learning Environment dimension. Two of the five items proposed for Choice split into External Motivation and Pressure dimensions. Lastly, one of the three items intended to test Family/Peer as a dimension loaded as a variable in the External Motivation dimension.

## 2. How are these domains interrelated?

After identifying the dimensions of the participants' motivation to read, scales were created for each factor. To find out if there were statistically significant relationships among the six dimensions, a Pearson correlation was employed. Overall, results revealed that the different dimensions of motivation have significant but weak to moderate (.39-.61) correlations with each other.

Table 2

### *Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations of Reading Motivation Dimensions*

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Social & Learning Environment	4.24	.46	-					
2. External Motivation	2.53	.68	.03	-				
3. Mastery Orientation	3.73	.56	.51*	-.30	-			
4. Pressure	3.28	.61	.30	.19	.61*	-		
5. Performance Orientation	3.36	.66	.28	-.02	.30	.11	-	
6. Familiarity with the Content and Format of the Text	3.86	.65	.52*	.39*	.01	-.08	.17	-

Table 2 shows the relationship among the various dimensions of reading motivation. External Motivation (Factor 2) correlated with Familiarity with the Content and Format of the Text dimension (Factor 6) of the same domain of motivation ( $r=.39$ ). A common element in both domains is the presence of interest in the reading texts which probably relates the two dimensions with each other. This means that both familiarity and enjoyment with various reading texts and tasks lead to motivation among ESL readers.

Mastery Orientation (Factor 3) correlated with Social and Learning Environment (Factor 1) ( $r=.51$ ) and with the Pressure dimension (Factor 4) of reading motivation ( $r=.61$ ). These findings may mean that bilingual readers who value their achievement and self-worth are also motivated by factors outside themselves like the learning environment, and they tend to handle pressure well when reading.

Social and Learning environment reading dimension, which is actually a cluster of Context factors, correlated with Content and Format Familiarity dimension ( $r=.52$ ). It has been noted in previous studies that text, context, and reader factors influence reading (Lipson & Wixson, 1991, in Ocampo, 2006). This new finding seems to indicate that these factors do not just affect the general reading process, but also affect a specific domain of reading which is motivation.

The dynamic characteristic of motivation is made evident by these results, mainly because the factors which are outside the reader show connection with those found within the reader. Moreover, one's familiarity with text content and format seems to be related with external factors of reading motivation but not with the internal ones.

### Conclusion and Implications

Through this empirical undertaking, it has been established that the same text and context factors that play significant roles in the general reading process are also motivational dimensions in reading, specifically in second language reading. For teachers, the findings imply that learners' interest, preferences and choices, familiarity with the content and format of reading materials are to be considered in choosing texts to be used in their classroom. Also, text should give enough challenge to the students without making them feel pressured to read which may lead them to become frustrated and to avoid reading. A balanced use of narrative and informational texts must also be observed.

Because context factors are the ones controlled by the teacher, using engaging methods and strategies are encouraged to facilitate students' motivation to read in a second language. Moreover, since Social & Learning environment and external factors proved to be dimensions of reading motivation among bilingual readers, giving praises and positive feedback, planning interesting lessons and activities, allowing varieties in student self-expression and their understanding of reading materials, tapping students' background knowledge, and encouraging competition among learners are worth considering as well. Moreover, by giving students reading activities that they will accomplish outside the classroom and by using non-traditional reading materials, teachers highlight the important message that reading is not limited to school setting and school-type materials, and that it should be enjoyed and appreciated more with their parents and peers.

Similarly, for school administrators, a reflection on whether their schools' curriculum gives reading its due importance by having a constantly updated, flexible and well-rounded reading program is one way to increase and develop their bilingual students' motivation to read. Likewise, parents as first teachers of their children are encouraged to model positive reading behaviors and

attitudes which later on will manifest in their children's motivation to read. They can also assist the school in its endeavor to develop motivated readers by seeing to it that their children read at home and share what they read to them. These suggestions will likely benefit Filipino students in general, but especially those who are students in the public schools who may have limited access to good reading materials, who have low English language proficiency, who are reading below their expected levels, who have parents and peers who have no time and/or limited knowledge (among many other possible reasons) to model good reading habits and practices. In this case, the schools are given additional responsibility not just to make their students learn to read and to read in order to learn, but also to choose to read and enjoy reading because they appreciate doing so.

The same findings on the importance of text in motivating readers will guide textbook writers and publishers to consider these factors in planning and writing their books. More than matching texts with certain readability measurements, people in the textbook production business are to regard what topics and structure the expected readers are familiar and interested in, without sacrificing the goal of helping them develop a fine taste and appetite for reading.

For research purposes, the findings here open up many possible tasks and topics for those interested in the field of reading motivation. Future researchers may want to know if there are differences in bilingual participants' motivation to read in their first and second languages. Other assessment tools, such as observation, interview, think aloud protocols, are encouraged to be used to identify and describe the dimensions of motivations. For those inclined to use self-report instruments like those which were used here, they may want to further validate these instruments and to add other possible constructs of reading motivation aside from those identified in the present study using the researcher-made questionnaire. Furthermore, using other variables like gender, language and reading proficiency, socio-economic status, educational level (grade school, high school, college, etc.), could reveal significant findings as well. Also, it would be interesting to undertake a longitudinal study on bilinguals' reading motivation. There had been some studies of this type among children who are reading in their first language, and the results have been revealing as reported in a section of this paper. Another interesting study is to know whether one's motivation in the four macro skills are related with one another, whether amotivation exist in any of the four dimensions, and whether amotivation in one skill will affect the motivation in the other skills. As noted by some motivation researchers, socio-cultural factors in reading motivation have not been fully studied which make them possible and worthy research undertakings.

The methodology and results presented here, modest as they appear, contribute in the attempt to probe into and to understand the role of affective factors in the specific domain of reading. As noted in the review of previous studies made, established reading researchers have pointed to this domain as the most probable source of difference in second language reading performance.

Moreover, since there have been very few empirical studies on reading motivation in the Philippines, this study may be considered an important addition to this small group in terms of the number of participants, its attempt to identify and describe bilingual readers' motivation to read in a second language. Indeed, like what this study and the previous ones have proven, the area of reading motivation has a lot of potentials for research and practical application that will ultimately help students become lifelong readers and learners.

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# Determining the Role of Hedging Devices in the Political Discourse of Two American Presidentiables in 2008

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## Abstract

The use of hedging devices or expressions that convey inexactitude in political discourses may mitigate the strength of the assertions intended in written and oral communication (Martin-Martin, 2009). This study aims to investigate how hedging devices serve a function as discourse politics strategy. Specifically, it focuses on the analysis of the three presidential debates between Barack Obama and John McCain during the 2008 US election cycle. Using the descriptive-quantitative research design, hedging devices and their functions are qualitatively and quantitatively treated following the frameworks of Hyland (2005), Salager-Meyer (1997), and Martin-Martin (2008). The mixed method of discourse analysis, survey, and focus group discussion were used to gather, validate, and analyze data from the target respondents consisting of 35 graduate students pursuing language-related studies. Initial analysis reveals that hedging devices are also prominently used in the spoken discourse specifically in the context of politics or political debate and that they can be categorized into different types such as modal auxiliary verbs; modal lexical verbs; adjectival, adverbial, nominal modal phrases and approximators, among others. As indicated, some types are more dominant than the others. Another is that hedging devices also serve different functions depending on the intention or purpose of the speaker. Furthermore, the frequent use of certain hedging devices including can, will, should, I think, among others, appears to significantly promote the effectiveness of a speaker's argument.

*Keywords:* Political Discourse, American Presidentiables

## Introduction

The radical technological inventions that ushered the world into the new millennium had turned the once impossible concept of global community into a glaring reality. Correspondingly, the establishment of the global community has resulted in the greater challenge for English language teaching practitioners to help second language learners (L2) acquire not only grammatical competence but a total communicative competence in the English language. According to Canale and Swain (1980), total communicative competence entails discourse competence or the ability to communicate in a coherent and logical way, strategic competence or the ability to negotiate meaning, sociolinguistic competence or the ability to use language appropriately depending on the culture and social context of the discourse, and linguistic competence or the ability to manipulate the system of the language. As a result, research investigations in the field of linguistics and English language teaching have focused on the analysis of discourses which are used in different disciplines in order to find out relevant concepts in the field of linguistics. These concepts help the L2 learners incorporate the said concepts in their discourses which characterize the language of native English speakers. Thus, it has been part of the mission of English language teaching practitioners to equip the L2 learners with communicative competence that will facilitate their participation in the global community of professionals.

Apparently, among the characteristics of native English speakers' discourse that is essential for the L2 learners to acquire if they were to be accepted as part of the global community of professionals is the effective use of cautious and polite language or more popularly known as hedging devices (Hyland, 1995). As pointed out by Brown and Levinson (1987), interlocutors who participate in conversation bring with them a "face" or "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (p. 61) that needs to be protected from "face threatening acts" or utterances that violate the need of the face to be free from imposition. Hedging devices are important as a politeness strategy because they enable interlocutors to "minimize the imposition, authoritativeness or directness of the utterances" (Wilamova, 2005, p. 85).

### Related Literature and Studies

Fraser (2010) did a study on hedging in political discourses which focused on U.S. President George Bush's press conferences. He found out that there are hedge-type expressions that did not function as hedging devices. Furthermore, he found out that some neutral hedging devices had no impact on the issue being discussed. The study somewhat proved that the use of hedges in Bush's speeches did not show his evasion of responsibility.

Hedges frequently occur in academic discourse (Martin-Martin, 2008), which has been traditionally characterized by its rationality and neutrality, points to the fact that scientific texts are not merely a collection of conventions that can be explained in terms of the norms for conveying scientific information, that is, scientific texts are not only content-oriented and informative but also seek to convince and influence their audience. An increasing number of research studies on a variety of disciplines has been able to demonstrate just how academic discourse is both socially-situated and structured to accomplish rhetorical objectives. In this research tradition, politeness has been seen as a main motivating factor for hedging, because as Myers (1989, p. 5, as cited in Martin-Martin, 2008) states "scientific discourse consists of interactions among scientists in which the maintenance of face is crucial". Myers (1989) applied Brown and Levinson's (1987) model to a corpus of biology research articles (RAs) and found that some of the politeness strategies that are used in spoken interaction can be extended to scientific texts. He argues that in scientific discourse, the making of claims and even the mere act of presenting one's findings threatens the negative face of other researchers. As a result, the use of politeness strategies (e.g. hedges) is frequent in a bid to mitigate Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) involved in the social interactions between writers and readers.

In scientific writing, vagueness has also been seen as a motivating factor for the use of hedges. In order to avoid making categorical assertions, the writer will make vague statements if, for example, exact data is missing or if precise information is irrelevant in preliminary results. Hedges thus protect writers from making false statements by indicating either a lack of complete commitment to the truth value of a proposition, or a desire not to express that commitment categorically. This role of hedging as an indicator of vagueness and imprecision has been discussed in the framework of LSP texts by, for example, Salager-Meyer (1994), who claims that the association of hedges with evasiveness does not necessarily show confusion or imprecision. On the contrary, hedges, for Salager-Meyer (1994, p. 151), can be considered as "ways of being more precise in reporting results". She also argues that academics may choose to remain vague in their claims to show their readers that they do not have the final word on the subject, revealing that typical features of science are "uncertainty, skepticism and doubt". Taking this into consideration, hedges, because of their mitigating and evasive effect, can increase the credibility of a statement in academic texts (Martin-Martin, 2008).

Over the last decade, there has been an increasing interest in cross-cultural studies which have analyzed the phenomenon of hedging in academic texts. Ventola and Mauranen (1990, as

cited in Martin-Martin, 2008) found that Finns writing in English showed less variation in expressions of epistemic modality than did native speakers of English. Clyne's (1991) interlanguage study of German scholarly writing in English revealed that German writers hedge more both in their native language and in English than do native speakers of English. Following the work by Clyne (1991), Kreutz and Harres (1997, as cited in Martin-Martin, 2008) analyzed the distribution and function of hedging in English and German academic writing, and found that while hedges serve to downtone and mitigate arguments in English texts, their main function in German writing may be one of "assertion and authority". Vassileva (1997) examined hedging in English and Bulgarian research articles. Her results revealed differences in the distribution of hedges throughout the research articles and in the means of realizing hedging in both languages. The results of all these studies point to the view that the pragmatics of hedging is culturally determined. Although the strategy of hedging in the RA has been analyzed in a number of languages other than English, contrastive studies of this phenomenon in English and Spanish papers have received less attention.

The confidence or the detachment of novice writers across all disciplines in their research papers was the focus of Nivales (2005). Hyland's (2005) categorization was used in the study. It was found out that hedges and boosters were almost equally used in the introduction and conclusion sections of the research articles sampled. Moreover, it appeared that psychology writers appear to be more detached while mass communication writers seem more committed. The usage of the hedges and boosters appeared to be influenced by the topics of the research papers.

Mojica (2005) extended the study on hedging in research articles to examine how Filipino authors use this academic discourse feature in introduction, discussion, and conclusion sections. She found out that there was significant difference in the way the two groups of authors would show commitment and detachment to their proposed ideas: Engineers boost more while linguists hedge more. She attributed this difference to the highly technical discussions in engineering as well as to its writing conventions which may not be as rigid as that of the linguists'. Mojica further suggested that the engineers' use of hedging despite the probable absence of academic writing training could be influenced by the Filipino culture, known for its politeness. Despite this interest however, there has been little attention to what hedging and boosting devices are and how these are used in political speeches.

The present study is deemed first in its investigation of hedging devices as discourse strategy in formal political speeches specifically debates. And given the foregoing, this paper aims to find out the a) hedging devices that are used in the three political debates between the two US presidential candidates (one Democrat and one Republican) of 2008; b) identify the types of hedging devices used and figure out which types of hedging devices are most dominant in the political discourse of the two mentioned American presidential aspirants during their three debates; and c) identify the specific functions of hedging in those three political debates of the two subjects.

### **Theoretical Framework**

To analyze the spoken discourse - specifically in deducing a speaker's intent, pragmatics is thus necessary. As its components, the cooperative principle of Grice, politeness principle of Leech, speech act theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) and that of Searle (1976) are briefly discussed. The typology of hedging devices and hedging functions proposed by Martin-Martin (2008) as well as Salager-Meyer's (1994) taxonomy of hedges is also accounted for. Included too is the discussion in casual spoken discourse and the use of hedges as politeness strategy in academic writing. Relevant theories and concepts such as conversational analysis, genre analysis, and pragmatic analysis are also taken into account.

## Cooperative Principle of Grice

According to Grice, persons involved in a conversation or discourse are essentially rational beings who cooperate with each other in order to achieve the purpose of the conversation or discourse. Thus, in the context of Gricean cooperative principle, interlocutors are expected to “make conversational contribution such as what is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which they are engaged” (Grice, 1975, p. 45). Consequently, the Gricean cooperative principle was divided into four maxims which include maxims of quantity, maxims of quality, maxims of relevance, and maxims of manner. The maxims of quantity expect the interlocutors to give as much information as required while the maxims of quality require interlocutors to say only what they believe to be true. On the other hand, the maxims of relevance instruct interlocutors to provide only relevant information while the maxims of manner expect interlocutors to avoid obscurity of expression and ambiguity.

### Politeness Principle of Leech (1983)

Leech (1983) posited that aside from the cooperative principle, there is the politeness principle that governs successful conversations. According to Leech (1983), the politeness principle consists of six maxims—tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. Leech (1983) further argued that among the six maxims, the maxim of tact which implies the maximization of expressing the beliefs that entail cost to other interlocutors and the minimization of expressing beliefs that entail benefit to other interlocutors rank the highest. Tact is said to be most powerful among maxims because it focuses more on the addressee, signifying that politeness is focused more strongly on the other person than on the self.

### Typology of Hedging Devices and Hedging Functions Proposed by Martin-Martin (2008, p. 138-139)

The taxonomy of hedging devices which Martin-Martin (2008) proposes draws on the different classifications that can be found in the literature. For the analysis, he primarily considered the socio-pragmatic context in which hedges occur, as it appears that it is virtually impossible to attribute a function to a hedge without considering both the linguistic and situational context. A preliminary analysis of the corpus revealed that the linguistic devices which the writers in both languages use at a lexico-grammatical and syntactic level for the explicit function of hedges can be described as realizing the following basic strategies:

1. Strategy of Indetermination, by giving a proposition a coloring of lesser semantic, qualitative and quantitative explicitness as well as of uncertainty, vagueness and fuzziness. This strategy may comprise:

1.1. Epistemic modality, which can be realized by means of:

- Modal auxiliary verbs expressing possibility, such as may, might, can.
- Semi-auxiliaries such as to seem, to appear.
- Epistemic lexical verbs such as to suggest, to speculate, to assume, that is, verbs which relate to the probability of a proposition or hypothesis being true.
- Verbs of cognition such as to believe, to think.
- Modal adverbs (perhaps, possibly, probably)
- Modal nouns ( possibility, assumption, suggestion).
- Modal adjectives (possible, probable, likely).

1.2. Approximators of quantity, frequency, degree and time such as generally, approximately, most, relatively, frequently, etc., which indicate an unwillingness to make precise and complete commitment to the proposition expressed.

2. Strategy of Subjectivization.

This includes:

2.1. The use of first personal pronouns (I/we) followed by verbs of cognition (think, believe) or performative verbs (suppose, suggest), that can be interpreted as the writers signalling that what they say is simply their personal/subjective opinion. In this way, the writers show respect for the reader's alternative opinion and invite the reader to become involved in the communicative situation. In this subcategory, Martin-Martin (2008) also included those linguistic devices which express the author's personal doubt and direct involvement such as to our knowledge, in our view, in my experience.

2.2. Quality-emphasizing adjectival and adverbial expressions such as extremely interesting, particularly important that is, emphatic expressions that Hyland (1998) names "boosters" and which are equivalent to what Salager-Meyer (1994) terms as "emotionally-charged intensifiers", which are used to convince the readers of the importance / truth of the propositions expressed by revealing the writer's emotional state. At the same time, these expressions can be considered as a positive politeness strategy (Myers, 1989) as they show solidarity with the discourse community by exhibiting responses that assume shared knowledge and desires.

3. Strategy of Depersonalization. This refers to those cases in which the writers diminish their presence in the texts by using various impersonal, agentless and passive constructions in order to relieve themselves of responsibility for the truth of the propositions expressed. This strategy is syntactically realised by means of:

3.1. Agentless passive and impersonal constructions such as an attempt was made to see..., it seems/appears that

3.2. Impersonal active constructions in which the personal subject is replaced by some non-human entity such as findings, results, data, as in the following examples: The findings suggest/ reveal..., these data indicate...;

### **Hedges in Casual Spoken Discourses**

Nevertheless, advocates of Brown and Levinson's theory of hedging as a politeness strategy investigated the use of hedging in spoken discourses. Among the pioneering studies in the use of hedging in spoken discourse is the study published by Lakoff (1975, cited in Dixon & Foster, 1997) which investigated hedging in women's discourse. Lakoff hypothesized that women would hedge more than men because culture dictates that in order to be feminine, women have to use language that manifests lack of assertiveness and lack of force. According to Lakoff (1975, cited in Dixon & Foster, 1997), women use hedges to soften utterances, signal imprecision, and demonstrate lack of commitment. Despite the fact that Lakoff's pioneering work spurred interest in gender and communication, it has been criticized for its bias against women as it puts forward the belief that women are indecisive and deficient. Also, Lakoff's study seems to lack validity and reliability because she based her argument only on personal observations and hypothetical statements.

Testing the argument of Lakoff that women hedge more because hedging manifests women's deficiency and indecisiveness, Holmes (1995, cited in Dixon & Foster, 1997) spent considerable time studying the use of hedging in casual conversation using a corpus of New Zealand English. Her analysis revealed that hedges serve a variety of functions, and she distinguished between the affective and the epistemic functions of hedges. According to Holmes (1995, cited in Dixon & Foster, 1997, p. 91), affective hedges "express speakers' solidarity" while epistemic hedges "express speakers' uncertainty about the validity of particular statements. Furthermore, she pointed out that based on her data, men and women hedge equally, and gender differences in the use of hedging are manifested only in the functions of the hedges used. To illustrate, women use hedging as a positive politeness strategy to soften

statements and to make others part of conversation while men use hedges to indicate hesitancy and uncertainty.

### **Taxonomy of Hedges of Salager-Meyer (2007, pp. 109-110)**

Although not totally comprehensive nor categorically watertight, the scheme below represents the most widely used hedging categories, at least in scientific English. Typically, hedging is expressed through the used of the following “strategic stereotypes”:

1. Modal auxiliary verbs (the most straightforward and widely used means of expressing modality in English academic writing), the most tentative ones being: may, might, can, could, would, should.

2. Modal lexical verbs (or the so-called “speech act verbs” used to perform acts such as doubting and evaluating rather than merely describing) of varying degree of illocutionary force: to seem, to appear (epistemic verbs), to believe, to assume, to suggest, to estimate, to tend, to think, to argue, to indicate, to propose, to speculate. Although a wide range of verbs can be used in this way (Banks, 1994), there tends to be a heavy reliance on the above-mentioned example especially in academic writing:

3. Adjectival, adverbial and nominal modal phrases:

3.1. probability adjectives: e.g., possible, probable, un/likely

3.2. nouns: e.g., assumption, claim, possibility, estimate, suggestion

3.3. adverbs (which could be considered as non-verbal modals): e.g., perhaps, possibly, probably, practically, likely, presumably, virtually, apparently.

4. Approximators of degree, quantity, frequency and time: e.g., approximately, roughly, about, often, occasionally, generally, usually, somewhat, somehow, a lot of.

5. Introductory phrases such as I believe, to our knowledge, it is our view that, we feel that, which express the author’s personal doubt and direct involvement.

6. “If” clauses, e.g., if true, if nothing.

7. Compound hedges. These are phrases made up of several hedges, the commonest forms being: 1. a modal auxiliary combined with a lexical verb with a hedging content (e.g., it would appear), and 2. a lexical verb followed by a hedging adverb or adjective where the adverb (or adjective) reinforces the hedge already inherent in the lexical verb (e.g., it seems reasonable/probable). Such compound hedges can be double hedges (it may suggest that; it seems likely that; it would indicate that; this probably indicates); treble hedges (it seems reasonable to assume that); quadruple hedges (it would seem somewhat unlikely that, it may appear somewhat speculative that), and as can be seen all the forms presented above imply that the statements in which they appear contain personal beliefs based on plausible reasoning (or empirical data). Without these “strategic stereotypes,” readers would imply that the information conveyed pertains to universally established knowledge.

## Methodology

### Subjects of the Study

The subjects of this study are the two 2008 US presidential aspirants – Barack Obama and John McCain. The demographic profile of the two subjects consists of their educational attainment, language background, ethnicity, and political party.

Barack Obama, by profession, is a lawyer. He earned his law degree from Harvard Law School, one of the top universities worldwide. He is African-American and his first language is English. He ran for the US election in 2008 representing the US Democratic Party.

John McCain, on the other hand, is a military man and served the military profession for 22 years. He is a product of the U.S. Naval Academy. He is American and a native speaker of English. He was the Republican's representative in 2008.

Comparatively speaking, the two subjects are of equal footing particularly on the language variable which serves as the major focus of this investigation.

### B. Instrumentation and Research Procedure

This study makes use of the following research instruments: Grid for discourse analysis, Survey Questionnaire, and Focus Group Discussion questions as Interview Index.

### Grid for Discourse Analysis

The grid for discourse analysis consists of five elements or headings such as sentence, codes, hedging device, type, and function. Sentence refers to the statement or utterance as translated in the transcription. Each sentence that carries a hedging device is copied under the sentence heading. Codes, on the other hand, refer to the utterance number and debate number where the sentence will be lifted. Under hedging device, what is written will be the particular hedge that appears in the sentence. For type, the specific kind of a hedging device as analyzed is indicated while in the function heading, the identified purpose of the hedging device is written. This instrument has been designed to expedite the analysis of hedging devices employed by the two American presidentiables in their debates.

### Survey Questionnaire

This instrument is used to gather the ideas or reactions of the respondents who are asked to view the videos of the debate between Obama and McCain. Generally, the questions center around a) asking them which hedging devices (as adopted from Salager-Meyer, 1997) they are most familiar with that they use them often in their daily discourse, in particular, spoken discourse, b) how they find the debates, c) their reaction or comments on the use of language of the two speakers, and d) who they think is probably the better speaker, and why, as based on their careful observation. The said questionnaire has been subjected to validation.

### Respondents of the Study and the Research Locale for the Study

The respondents of this study are graduate students of a Catholic University in the Philippines who are pursuing degrees aligned with language teaching and English language. The purpose of considering respondents whose specializations are aligned with language is the assumption that they have a relatively better grasp of the main topic of the study which is hedging in particular. Furthermore, these respondents were asked to view all the videos of the identified debates. The target number of respondents is 30 which represents around 80% of the population. All of the target 30 respondents are bonafide graduate students but not

necessarily an all-Filipino group as a few of them are foreign nationals. They are chosen from the research population using purposive sampling to ascertain the right sample for the study.

### Focus Group Discussion Questions

This interview index instrument lists crucial questions that ask respondents about their observations on: a) the use of language or hedging devices in particular of the two subjects, b) what they perceive as functions of those hedging devices as well those functions which prove to be the most effective discourse strategy, and c) if the frequent use of hedges would significantly promote the effectiveness of arguments being raised by any of the party.

The purpose of this instrument is to validate the answers of the respondents in the survey questionnaire with the hope also of gaining more insights from the respondents to enrich the interpretive analysis to be made in the study. The participants are given a list of hedging devices, their functions, and categories to guide them more concretely as they are asked to respond to the focus group interview.

### The Corpora for Discourse / Text Analysis

The transcripts of the three U.S. presidential debates form the major corpora of this study. These debates transpired on the following dates: Friday, September 26, 2008 which was originally planned to focus on foreign policy, national security, and economic issues; Tuesday, October 7, 2008 which had a town meeting hall format; and Wednesday, October 25, 2008 which focused on domestic and economic policy. Videos of the said debates are available online through the website [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) for viewing purposes. Transcripts of the debates are archived online in websites such as [www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com).

## Results

This section presents the findings of the study following the order of problems identified in the study.

### A. Hedging devices used by McCain and Obama in the three political debates in 2008

In order to send their message to the American people, McCain and Obama made use of the following hedging devices in the three debates they engaged in as US presidential aspirants in 2008: may, might, can, could, would, should, to suggest, to think, perhaps, possibly, probably, about, somewhat, somehow, well, if, it seems, may suggest, I think, in my experience, among others.

Below are some examples showing each of them:

L364 And that's just a fact. Again, you can look it up.

L368 Now, look, we all would love to lower taxes on everybody.

L526 There's no doubt it will affect our budgets.

L635 So I think the lesson to be drawn is that we should never hesitate to use military force....

L954 You might think that with that kind of concern that Senator Obama would have gone to Afghanistan, particularly given his....

L555 ...anyone's taxes is probably the best recipe for eventually having our economy recover.

L2595 ...send Marines in there, how can we possibly beneficially affect this situation?

### B. Types of hedging devices used

The following are the types of hedging devices used in McCain and Obama's exchange in their 2008 US presidential debates: modal auxiliary verbs that include may, might, can, could, would, should; subjectivization which includes the use of first personal pronouns (I/we) followed by verbs of cognition (think, believe) or performative verbs (suppose, suggest); adjectival, adverbial, and nominal modal phrases including probability adjectives: e.g., possible, probable, un/likely; nouns: e.g., assumption, claim, possibility, estimate, suggestion; adverbs (which could be considered as non-verbal modals): e.g., perhaps, possibly, probably, practically, likely, presumably, virtually, apparently; modal lexical verbs such as may, might, can, could, would, should; approximators like approximately, roughly, about, often, occasionally, generally, usually, somewhat, somehow, a lot of; introductory word and that is well; if clauses such as if true, if nothing; and compound hedges which include a modal auxiliary combined with a lexical verb with a hedging content (e.g., it would appear), and a lexical verb followed by a hedging adverb or adjective where the adverb (or adjective) reinforces the hedge already inherent in the lexical verb (e.g., it seems reasonable/probable).

The table below presents the order of the said types of hedging devices based on frequency.

Table 1  
*Types of Hedging Devices and their Frequency*

Type	F (D1)	F (D2)	F (D3)	Total
Modal auxiliary verbs	168	132	137	437
Subjectivization	113	71	158	342
Quality-emphasizing adjectival/adverbial expressions	22	38	35	95
Adjectival, adverbial, and nominal modal phrases	19	34	30	83
Modal lexical verbs	27	33	21	81
Approximators	23	5	11	39
Introductory phrases	10	9	11	30
If clauses	4	3	5	12
Compound hedges	3	2	2	7

As can be seen from the table, modal auxiliary verbs attained the highest frequency consisting of 437 (39%) followed by subjectivization with 342 occurrences corresponding to 30%. Quality-emphasizing adjectival/adverbial expressions and adjectival, adverbial, and nominal phrases follow respectively having both 8%. The least used are introductory phrases (30 / 3%), if clauses (12/1%), and compound hedges (7/1%).

### C. Specific roles or functions of hedging in those three political debates of the two subjects

This section presents the specific roles or functions of hedging in the three 2008 US presidential debates between McCain and Obama.

C.1 Modal auxiliary verbs – similar to what Salager-Meyer (2007, pp. 109-110) states, modal auxiliary verbs are the most straightforward and widely used means of expressing modality in English academic writing, the most tentative ones being: may, might, can, could,

would, should. All these are true also of the three debates between the two US presidential candidates.

C.2 Strategy of Subjectivization - Similar to what Martin-Martin (2008, pp. 138-139) states, the use of first personal pronouns (I/we) followed by verbs of cognition (think, believe) or performative verbs (suppose, suggest), can be interpreted as the speakers signaling that what they say is simply their personal/subjective opinion. In this way, the speakers show respect for the listener's alternative opinion and invite the listener to become involved in the communicative situation. In addition, the use of first personal pronouns puts forward the candidates' accomplishments that they know they can use to win the people's support.

C.3 Quality-emphasizing adjectival and adverbial expressions- these are expressions extremely interesting, particularly important, that is, emphatic expressions that Hyland (1998) names "boosters" and which are equivalent to what Salager-Meyer (1991, 1994, 1998) terms as "emotionally-charged intensifiers", which are used to convince the readers of the importance / truth of the propositions expressed by revealing the speaker's emotional state. In addition, quality-emphasizing adjectival and adverbial expressions in the debates add a certain effect that would convince the listeners that the speakers are so confident of what they say and of their accomplishments thereby making people think the speaker is really good.

C.4 Adjectival, adverbial and nominal modal phrases - these modal phrases are used to show probability as in probability adjectives like possible, probable, un/likely; nouns such as assumption, claim, possibility, estimate, suggestion; and adverbs (which could be considered as non-verbal modals): e.g., perhaps, possibly, probably, practically, likely, presumably, virtually, apparently. By these modal phrases, the speakers soften their claims and that they acknowledge they are not sure of the veracity of what they say.

C.5 Modal lexical verbs or the so-called "speech act verbs" - true to what Salager-Meyer (2007, pp. 109-110) states, modal lexical verbs are used to perform acts such as doubting and evaluating rather than merely describing) of varying degree of illocutionary force: to seem, to appear (epistemic verbs), to believe, to assume, to suggest, to estimate, to tend, to think, to argue, to indicate, to propose, to speculate.

C.6 Approximators of degree, quantity, frequency and time - as stated by Salager-Meyer (2007, pp. 109-110), examples of these approximators are approximately, roughly, about, often, occasionally, generally, usually, somewhat, somehow, a lot of, among others, that are used to estimate degree and quantity as well as frequency and time.

C.7 Introductory phrases - according to Salager-Meyer (2007, pp. 109-110), introductory phrases such as I believe, to our knowledge, it is our view that, we feel that, express the author's personal doubt and direct involvement. In this investigation, an introductory phrase is shown through an introductory word well that reflects the speaker's mark that he is carefully thinking or processing the information he is about to utter.

C.8 "If" clauses, - as noted by Salager-Meyer (2007, pp. 109-110), examples of this hedging device include if true, if nothing, that also shows uncertainty or doubt concerning a condition.

C.9 Compound hedges - following what Salager-Meyer (2007, pp. 109-110) notes, compound hedges are phrases made up of several hedges, the most common forms being: 1. a modal auxiliary combined with a lexical verb with a hedging content (e.g., it would appear), and 2. a lexical verb followed by a hedging adverb or adjective where the adverb (or adjective)

reinforces the hedge already inherent in the lexical verb (e.g., it seems reasonable/probable). Such compound hedges can be double hedges (it may suggest that; it seems likely that; it would indicate that; this probably indicates); treble hedges (it seems reasonable to assume that); quadruple hedges (it would seem somewhat unlikely that, it may appear somewhat speculative that), and as can be seen all the forms presented above imply that the statements in which they appear contain personal beliefs based on plausible reasoning (or empirical data). Without these “strategic stereotypes,” listeners or viewers would imply that the information conveyed pertains to universally established knowledge.

### Discussion

As indicated in the results of this study, hedging devices cannot simply be limited to the written discourse. They are also observed in the spoken discourse like in the data analyzed in this study. This confirms the validity of Lakoff’s study (1975, as cited in Foster, 1977) that the use of hedging devices in the casual spoken discourse is observed by speakers regardless of gender. In this particular case, it can be assumed that McCain and Obama are so conscious of everything that they say during the debate. They perhaps know that their thoughts and how they are translated into actual language would have certain effect on their listeners who will later on vote for them. Since the two presidential candidates are aware of debates and how they can influence particularly the undecided voters, they know that they need to exercise appropriate tone, that they need to be formal, and that they need to be cautious with what they say. With propriety in language, they must be aware that there is a big chance for one of them to win.

One evidence that shows their being mindful of their language is the apparent use of hedging devices and using them in instances they deem appropriate. For instance, the use of *can* in line 364 (L364 And that's just a fact. Again, you can look it up.) shows the speaker’s confidence with what he says and that he is certain. The same is true with the use of *should* in L365 (So I think the lesson to be drawn is that we should never hesitate to use military force....) where evidently, the speaker is sure with what he says and that using military force for national security is really needed. On the other hand, if the speaker is not so certain with what he says, the use of other modal auxiliary verbs surfaces as in lines 954 and 555 (L954 You might think that with that kind of concern that Senator Obama would have gone to Afghanistan, particularly given his....L555 ...anyone's taxes is probably the best recipe for eventually having our economy recover.) respectively. Notice that the use of *might* and *probably* clearly shows the speaker’s uncertainty. Again, the examples above simply show that hedging devices come alive in the spoken discourse in much the same way that they are more consciously observed by writers when they write academic papers, in particular (Salager-Meyer, 2007).

Another point of concern in this investigation is the identification of the types of hedging devices and putting them in order based on the frequency of occurrences beginning from the most used. As shown in the results, modal auxiliary verbs, subjectivization, quality-emphasizing expressions and adjectival, adverbial and nominal phrases are among the most frequently used types of hedging devices with 39, 30, 8, and 8 percent shares respectively. Those that are least used are approximators (3%), introductory phrases (3%), *if* clauses and compound hedges with 1% share each. Why modal auxiliaries and subjectivization top the order can be explained in two ways. First, through modal auxiliaries, the speakers can very well distinguish between points they are most certain and least certain and they are needed when they talk about their plans for America - their country. The second point which explains the high occurrences of subjectivization, that is, verb plus either verb of cognition or performative verb is also understandable since the speakers have to talk about things with reference to themselves and their specific achievements, hence the use of personal pronouns *I*

and we. It is through the use of these personal pronouns that they can sell themselves best to the voting public. This finding is quite unexpected yet understandable.

As expected for the third concern of this study, the use of the hedging devices are justified in a way that the speakers observed them appropriately. This is also understandable since both debaters are using English as their first language. Using modal auxiliaries when they are either certain or uncertain about what they say shows their being knowledgeable of how hedging devices can positively support their intention of winning the voting public. In addition, the use of subjectivization such as I think, I believe, I suppose, I suggest, reflects the speaker's signal that what he says is merely his personal opinion. Using quality-emphasizing adjectival and adverbial expressions such as L1829 (And so while it's true that nobody's completely innocent here, we have....) and L1176 (And at this point, it is absolutely critical for the next president to make....) also shows their awareness that through emphasizing quality, viewers would be able to measure up their certainty. They can be good devices to convince the listeners or viewers of the importance or truth of the discourse by revealing their emotional state.

### Conclusion

Hedging devices can be very useful in oral discourse like debate. If every speaker is aware of the benefits he or she can get from using them, then, he or she would be able to attain effective communication. Thus, it can be safe to say that hedging devices can be used as discourse politics strategy especially among politicians.

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# The Effect of Age and Discourse Position on Referential Adequacy in Filipino Bilingual Children's Oral Narratives in Mandarin

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## Abstract

In producing comprehensible narratives, a narrator needs to introduce participants, maintain the reference, and show if a switch in the reference has been made. The present study examines the effect of age and discourse position on referential adequacy in bilingual (L1: Mandarin and L2: English) children's storytelling in Mandarin and the specific referential expressions that are used in introducing, maintaining, and reintroducing a character, separately. Eighty children aged three, five, seven, and nine (20 children for each age range) were selected from Chinese International School in the Philippines and four wordless picture books were designed based on the three referential functions. Results showed that children's referential ability developed as they aged. Three-year-olds could only adequately maintain major characters, whereas the nine-year-olds performed all referential functions near ceiling. Out of expectation, children tended to act better when reference occurred later in the discourse. Older children had the tendency to employ more different linguistic forms for each type of referential function than younger ones. Results seem to reflect children's development of two sorts of cognitive presupposition: the addressee's knowledge of the referent and the addressee's attention toward it.

## Introduction

A narrative refers to the narration of a succession of fictional or non-fictional events. Narrative ability has a close relationship with overall linguistic skills and cognitive capacity and it develops with age throughout childhood. In producing comprehensible narratives, a narrator needs to introduce participants, to maintain the reference, and to show if a switch in the reference has been made. These functions can be fulfilled by different linguistic devices. Clearly, the narrator's presupposition about the addressee's knowledge of the referents plays a decisive role in linguistic decisions about referential expressions.

Chafe (1980) analyzes the narrator's choice between nominal and pronominal reference in terms of the dichotomy of old vs. new information on the part of the addressee. According to Chafe (1980), old information refers to the knowledge that already exists in the addressee's mind at the point the utterance occurs while new information denotes information newly activated or reactivated in the addressee's mind. In general, old information can be expressed and stressed linguistically in a weaker way (e. g. using pronominalization) than new knowledge and once the information has left the addressee's mind, its treatment as given should stop. Perhaps one of the most influential models for understanding presupposition might be that characterized by Levelt (1989), who postulates that the narrator repeatedly changes two sorts of presupposition: the addressee's knowledge of the referent and the addressee's attention toward it. Suppose that a dog is first introduced into a story, the narrator will regard it as presently known to the addressee and

currently the addressee's focus of attention. As the discourse develops and the dog is not referred to further, it becomes old information and no longer the focus. These presuppositions update again if the dog is re-introduced. Such shifts demand cognitive resources and thus we might assume that the more referents monitored in the speaker's mind and/or the greater the length of the discourse, the more difficult the referential task.

Many factors may have an effect on narrator's construction of presuppositions and his/her use of referential expressions, such as discourse position where a reference occurs (discussed above), addressee's perceptual access to the referents (e. g., Kail & Hickman, 1992), narrator's age (e. g., Clancy, 1992), and different design of materials and prompts (e.g., Shapiro & Hudson, 1991; Wigglesworth, 1990). For new character's introduction, Kail and Hickmann (1992) designed addressee's two situations for French children of six, nine, and eleven years: one in which the addressee was blindfolded when the children were telling a story (Situation 1) and the other where the addressee was looking at the pictures (Situation 2). Results showed that more indefinite determiners were used by all children in Situation 1 than in Situation 2. Six-year-olds chose both definite and indefinite determiners in Situation 1 where nine-year-olds used indefinite determiners only. Definite ones were produced by nine-year-olds in Situation 2 only while indefinite determiners were employed by eleven-year-olds both in Situation 1 and in Situation 2.

Most researchers reach a general agreement as to developmental trend, that is, at first employing definite expressions to sustain known participants occurs more frequently than indefinite expressions to introduce new participants, then the two kinds of use are fully adopted (e. g., Clancy, 1992; Hickmann & Liang, 1990). However, they are at variance over the age at which children first succeed in introducing, maintaining, and reintroducing participants. For instance, Hickmann and Liang (1990) found that until between four and a half years of age, Mandarin-speaking children demonstrated the successful use of indefinites to introduce new characters and of definites to maintain known ones and thus, gain some understanding of the addressee's knowledge via inference. In contrast, Clancy (1992) revealed that Japanese children achieved such referential choices even prior to age four while Warden (1976) discovered that English children under five years ignore the addressee's knowledge.

It is unclear whether the nature of Japanese language could explain Japanese children's early acquisition but plausible is that some methodological factors affected children in Warden's (1976) study, who had no opportunity to pre-view the materials. In other words, different design of prompts or materials may impact children's narrative ability. Shapiro and Hudson (1991) made an investigation on English preschoolers' and first graders' oral narratives in terms of previewing the materials (or not) and including problem-solution structure in material (or not). Results showed that previewing pictures with eventful structure did stimulate the children to produce more coherent and cohesive stories. Another finding in their investigation was that in using pronominal strategies identified by Shapiro and Hudson (1991), thematic subject pronoun strategy was utilized by over half of the preschoolers and first-graders to form problem-solving stories.

The current study aims to explore the development of reference in bilingual (L1: Mandarin and L2: English) children's oral narratives in Mandarin language in situations where the children as narrators have to introduce, maintain, and reintroduce referents and the addressee has no perceptual access.

## 1. Referential Expressions in Mandarin

Mandarin noun system is not an inflectional system to mark case, tense, number, and gender. Formally, Mandarin nouns can be combined with various elements like numerical

classifier, demonstrative classifier, determiner classifier, possessive, attributive noun, attributive adjective, or relative clause (see Warden, 1996). They can also happen without any modifiers at all, known as simple nouns (or bare nouns, in Li & Thomson term). Zero nouns and zero pronouns are formed because of the salient feature of Mandarin grammar: nouns and pronouns do not need to be specified if they can be understood from context. All these result in a variety of nominal and pronominal expressions, as shown in Table 1. In a noun phrase, all modifiers, including relative clause, precede the noun. However, in English, the relative clause is put after the noun modified. The following specific types of referential expression are categorized on the basis of the work by Li and Thompson (1981) and accompanied examples are given:

Table 1  
*Specific types of referential expression in Mandarin*

	Referential expressions	Examples	
		Mandarin	English
Nominal	Zero noun ( omitted )	(那个女孩)在玩	(The girl) is playing
	Bare noun/Simple noun	马	Horse
	Numerical Classifier NP	一个女孩	A girl
	Demonstrative Classifier NP	这个女孩	This girl
	Determiner Classifier NP	那个女孩	The girl
	Possessive NP	我的女孩	My girl
	Attributive adjective NP	肥妞	Fat girl
	Attributive noun NP	书包	Book bag
	Relative NP	我喜欢的车	The car that I like
Pronominal	Zero pronoun ( omitted )	(我) 不喜欢它	(I) don't like it
	Pronoun	我喜欢他	I don't like it

Like English, Mandarin has the unmarked subject-verb-object (SVO) word order. But for spoken Mandarin, semantically and pragmatically marked OSV, SOV, and VOS are also allowed (Li & Thomson, 1981). Like English, nominal and pronominal expressions can be used to refer to old/known and new/unknown information presupposed on the part of addressee. Pronominals are taken as definite referential expressions, marking the known information. Nominals, on the other hand, can function as either indefinite or definite expressions, depending on the context used and the positions they occupy. For instance, Mandarin adult speakers used noun phrases in the preverbal position to mark old information and those in the post verbal position to mark new information (Wigglesworth, 1990). This is different from English in which the distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness is decided by determiners such as definite and indefinite articles.

Until now, there have been very few studies examining factors that influence referential

adequacy. Besides, very less systematic research is conducted to investigate reference in bilingual children's narratives. Therefore, the present study attempts to examine the effect of age and discourse position on referential adequacy in Filipino bilingual children's storytelling in Mandarin and the specific referential expressions that are used in introducing, maintaining, and reintroducing a character, separately.

## Method

### Participants

Eighty English-Mandarin children aged three, five, seven, and nine (20 children for each age range) were involved in the study: 40 children aged three and five were selected from the kindergarten of Chinese International School in the Philippines, and 40 children aged seven and nine were chosen from Grade 1 and Grade 3 of that school, separately. In Chinese International School, English was the medium of instruction and English and Mandarin were the obligatory language subjects the children had to learn. All participants were Filipino bilingual (their L1 was Mandarin and L2 was English) children from upper class families with monthly income of at least Php 60,000 a month.

They were new immigrants from Mainland, China, and most of them (88%) lived in the same community in Global city in the Philippines. They had stayed in the Philippines for around two years and their parents were mainly businessman and businesswoman (95%). According to the data from home visits, the children usually spoke Mandarin with their parents, English with their teachers and English/Filipino with their nannies. Because of professional position and relative high economic status, parents paid more attention to international business and encouraged their children to learn English as soon as possible. Some parents had even given them some prize money if they made obvious progress in English subject. This resulted in the fact that most of children (81%) only used Mandarin in daily conversation with their parents and become more interested in English learning. At home, no children received storytelling experiences or scaffolding in Mandarin and their Mandarin learning mainly (94%) depended on the textbooks distributed by the school. Based on the feedback from the children, it was difficult for them to find bookstore selling books written in Mandarin in the Philippines, and most of the participants (75%) showed no interest to buy.

### Materials

Four wordless picture books/stories (please see Appendix A-D) were designed based on a book by Linlan (2008) which was considered suitable for children aged three to seven by its publisher. Each book contained four (for maintaining a character) or six (for introducing or reintroducing a character) pictures and the pictures were drawn in pencil and then bound into book form. In the two stories for maintenance, only a major character acted as the only character, that is, the main character was maintained. In the other two stories for introduction and reintroduction, a major and a minor character were characterized, the distinction depending on the times they presented in the pictures. The two characters appeared in their respective pictures except when the minor character was introduced or the main character reintroduced into the story. Early reintroduction showed in the third picture while late reintroduction in the fifth picture. Early introduction happened in the second picture and late introduction in the fourth picture. Thus, there were totally two referential acts for maintenance, two for introduction (one early and one

late), and two for reintroduction (one early and one late) in the present study.

In this study, two stories (Appendix B and D) contained the problem-solution structure, meaning a problem-solution sequence was embedded in the event sequences, and the other two stories (Appendix A and C) not, that is, had non-problem-solution structure. Data from ANOVA indicated no effect of the structure on the use of referential expressions ( $F=4.97$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) which would not be presented in detail as this is not the focus of the study.

## Procedure

Once permission and assistance were given by the school, the time schedules were made at the school's convenience. Each child was interviewed individually in two sessions three days apart in a quiet room in their school in turn. For each interview, the experimenters brought chocolates and candies to the children to build rapport and asked the children to tell two short stories (four short stories in total for two interviews) to a blindfolded big bear played by an experimenter. The children previewed the picture books once and then produced the stories over the pictures. During the story-telling, the big bear just kept silence without any comments, but encouraged the child at the end of each story. All stories were audio taped using a portable Aigo recorder, transcribed into Mandarin characters, and then translated into English. Sample transcripts for the story "getting up" were given in Appendix E.

## Data Analysis

The judgment of referential adequacy in the children's narratives was determined by examining how the children referred to the characters. The experimenters stopped at the points at which introduction, maintenance, or reintroduction function were actually performed and saw if the children were featuring the same character as that in the previous utterance or not. If not, they would see if this character occurred in some earlier sentence or not. A reference was coded as being "adequate" if the above question(s) was(were) correctly/properly answered by the experimenters. For instance, the correct answer for maintenance would be "same". All the stories (320 stories) produced by 80 children were coded by one experimenter, and the other coded 30% of the stories. Overall inter-coder reliability reached 93.5%. The disagreement between the experiments was resolved through discussion.

## Statistical Treatment

This study investigated the effect of age and discourse position on referential adequacy and the types of referential expression used by the children. For the first two variables (the effect of age and discourse position), the statistical technique ANOVA was employed. The frequency and percentage of referential acts judged as adequate in each function were computed for a presentation of children's referential performance in terms of age and discourse position, respectively. For the third variable (the types of referential expression), the frequency of each type of referential expressions were counted.

## Results

### Effect of Age

Table 2 presents the frequency and percentage of referential acts judged as adequate for each age group and each type of referential function.

Table 2  
*Overall referential performance by referential function and age group*

Age	Referential Function						Total	
	Maintenance (160)		Introduction (160)		Reintroduction(160)		f	%
	f	%	f	%	f	%		
3	24	60%	8	20%	4	10%	36	30%
5	32	80%	28	70%	16	40%	76	63%
7	40	100%	36	90%	28	70%	104	87%
9	40	100%	40	100%	36	90%	116	97%
Total	136	85%	112	70%	84	53%	332	69%

f: frequency; %: percentage; the total number of occurrence of each function is 160.

As can be seen, the three-year-olds could maintain the main characters to a large extent (60%), but they rarely have the ability to refer to the story characters that need to be introduced (20%) or reintroduced (10%). The five-year-olds, on the other hand, exhibit strong ability for introduction (80%) and maintenance (70%) although they still have some difficulty in reintroducing (40%) the protagonists. It's not surprising to see that children aged seven and nine perform near ceiling for the three types of referential function despite some imperfection shown by the seven-year-olds in reintroducing the major characters. Noteworthy is that children develop significantly as the type of referential function shifts from maintenance through introduction to reintroduction. Specifically, children display the greatest proficiency (85%) in maintaining a character, poorer (70%) for introduction, and poorest (53%) for reintroduction. Table 3 indicates the effect of age on referential adequacy in the bilingual children's oral narratives in Mandarin.

Table 3  
*Effect of age on referential adequacy in children's oral narratives*

Referential Function		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	P
Maintenance	Between Groups	2.20	3	.73	5.87	.00*
	Within Groups	2.00	16	.13		
Introduction	Between Groups	7.60	3	2.53	7.80	.00*
	Within Groups	5.20	16	.33		
Reintroduction	Between Groups	7.35	3	2.45	7.00	.00*
	Within Groups	5.60	16	.35		

\*  $p < .05$

An overall analysis of performance over age groups for each function (ANOVA) reveals that age has a significant effect on referential adequacy for each type of referential function: maintenance ( $F=5.87$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), introduction ( $F=7.80$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), and reintroduction ( $F=7.00$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Post-hoc tests demonstrate that for the maintenance and reintroduction functions, there are only reliable performance differences between children aged three and seven ( $p < 0.05$ ) and between children aged three and nine ( $p < 0.05$ ); for introduction, the three-year-olds are significantly different from children aged five ( $p < 0.05$ ), seven ( $p < 0.05$ ), and nine ( $p < 0.05$ ), separately.

Table 4  
*Overall referential performance by function and discourse position*

Age	Referential Function							
	Introduction (160)				Reintroduction (160)			
	Early (80)		Late (80)		Early (80)		Late (80)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
3	4	20%	4	20%	0	0	4	20%
5	8	40%	20	100%	4	20%	12	60%
7	20	100%	16	80%	12	60%	16	80%
9	20	100%	20	100%	16	80%	20	100%
Total	52	65%	60	75%	32	40%	52	65%

f: frequency; %: percentage; the total number of occurrence of each function is 160.

## Effect of Discourse Position

Table 4 summarizes the frequency and percentage of referential acts judged as adequate for discourse positions (early and late).

In this study, early or late occurrence of referential acts is devised to investigate whether or not it would affect the children's referring ability. Out of expectation, children tend to perform better in the late cases than in the early ones for both introduction and reintroduction. Data from ANOVA further indicate that the difference is statistically significant ( $F=5.96$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) despite an opposite result from the seven-year-olds for introduction.

## Specific Types of Referential Expression

Table 5 shows the specific types of referential expressions used by the children to achieve referential adequacy for each type of function. The expressions that all children do not, or incorrectly, utilize in their narratives would not display in the table though Li and Thompson (1981) identify eleven linguistic forms (as discussed in Table 1). Even if the children correctly use the expressions, they would not present in the table below likewise if the frequency of their occurrence is not more than two (i.e.  $f \leq 2$ ). The assessment of definiteness versus indefiniteness of expression is principally based on the narrative context where it occurs.

Table 5

*Frequency of types of referential expression by Function and Age Group*

Specific Types for Each Function	Age Groups			
	3	5	7	9
	f	f	f	f
<i>A. Maintenance</i>				
Zero Pronoun	21	10	10	11
Pronoun	0	21	28	28
<i>B. Introduction</i>				
Numerical Classifier NP	5	21	26	21
Determiner Classifier NP	0	6	0	0
Possessive NP	0	0	8	18
<i>C. Reintroduction</i>				
Pronoun	3	10	7	10
Bare Noun/Simple Noun	0	0	5	8
Demonstrative Classifier NP	0	5	11	12
Relative NP	0	0	4	5

f: frequency

As shown, the linguistic forms used by the children in their narratives vary with age and function. For maintenance, definite *Zero Pronouns* are dominantly used by the three-year-olds, i.e. predicates with no subjects are uniquely involved in the descriptions of the second pictures in the two stories, e.g. (他) 在穿衣服 (“(He) is wearing the cloth”). On the other hand, not only definite *Zero Pronouns*, but also definite *Pronouns* are typically employed by the older groups to maintain the main characters, e.g. 他在穿衣服 (“(He) is wearing the cloth”).

Three-year-olds exhibit no typical use of linguistic forms for introduction and reintroduction because of their poor performance in the two functions and thus small numbers of the use of the expressions. However, the other older groups mainly prefer using the indefinite *Numerical Classifier NP* expressions, e.g. 一只山羊 (“(a) goat”) when introducing the minor characters in the two stories, which accounts for about 60% of the correct referential acts. Further, they also make use of two other expressions, specifically, *Determiner Classifier NPs*, e.g. 另外一只熊 (“(another) bear”), and *Possessive NPs*, e.g. 它的妈妈 (“(its) mother”). These forms have been perceived as indefinite in their respective contexts though they can be understood either definitely or indefinitely in Mandarin.

When reintroducing the major characters, there is a tendency for the older groups (five-, seven-, and nine-year-olds) in favor of the following definite expressions: *Pronouns*, e.g. 它 (“it”), and *Demonstrative Classifier NPs*, e.g. 那只熊 (“that bear”). But definite *Relative NPs*, e.g. 拿着绳子的熊 (“the bear who is holding the rope”), and definite *Bare Nouns* (here refers to proper nouns and common nouns in English), e.g. 熊熊 (“bear”), can only be found in the seven- and nine-year-olds.

### Discussion

Data of this study show several evident progressive tendencies on referential adequacy with the increase of children's age. First, the three-year-olds can only adequately maintain the major characters, whereas the nine-year-olds perform all referential functions near ceiling. This implies another progressive one lying in the three referential functions: that is, maintaining a major referent develops prior to introducing a minor one, which is then followed by reintroducing a known referent. Moreover, older children have the trend to employ more different linguistic forms than younger children.

Using primarily *Zero pronouns* to all three functions, three-year-olds incorrectly presuppose the experimenter's (addressee's) knowledge as known when introducing or reintroducing a character in that they themselves can see and thus know the pictures. This is consistent with Peterson's study, who reported that children aged two to three used definite pronouns or common names to introduce unknown people. That some three-year-olds indisputably cannot fully understand the pictures might partly explain the phenomenon. This runs parallel to the finding of Shapiro and Hudson (1991) that lack of problem-based material design would add difficulty to children's reference. However, in the present study, half of the stories have the problem-solution structure and *Zero pronouns* are still primarily used in them. Thus, it might be concluded that it is these children's inability to presuppose the addressee's knowledge and focus that results in the erroneous use of referential expressions.

Situation changes from the age of five. Most five-year-olds are able to adequately maintain

and introduce characters, but not more than half for reintroduction. Given their ability in maintenance and introduction, it is plausible to say that they can presume whether a character is known or unknown to the addressee. However, for reintroduction, children need to determine not only the knowledge of the addressee, but the focus information as well, that is, whether the character must be foregrounded or not at the present. Mistake over the focus might cause improper presupposition and subsequently wrong reference for reintroduction function. Synthetically, the children first presuppose addressee's knowledge successfully at about five years, which corresponds to the previous study on Mandarin children and Japanese children, respectively, but conflicts with that on children learning English by Emslie and Stevenson (1981) where the distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness was well shown by English three-year-olds. This opposition assumes the possibility that children's presupposition of addressee's knowledge might be hindered by NP's optional property in Mandarin language (which does not exist in English). As introduced, NP in Mandarin is optional which includes explicitly demonstrated NP and zero NP (NP is omitted), whereas NP in English mainly refers to the former. Zero NP in Mandarin resulted from the salient feature of Mandarin grammar: nouns and pronouns do not need to be specified if they can be understood from context. This more complicated characteristic in NP in Mandarin language than that in English may obstruct the process of children in understanding addressee's needs.

Interestingly, this age also differs from that found in Clancy's (1996), who reported that around two years, children speaking Korean (which also has zero pronouns) demonstrated the same characteristic. Different from the current study, however, the contexts designed in Clancy's (1996) study are spontaneous conversations, which might require less cognitive processing efforts, provided that conversation skills generally grow earlier than narrative abilities.

Older children's preference towards different referential expressions seems to reflect their mature presuppositional abilities and development in narrative coherence. As discussed, Children's choice of definite and indefinite form implicates their presuppositional ability. In the present study, indefinite *Numerical Classifier NPs*, *Possessive NPs*, and *Determiner Classifier NPs* are applied by the children for introduction, and definite *Pronouns* and *Zero pronouns* for maintenance, and *Pronouns*, *Demonstrative NPs*, *Bare nouns* and *Relative NPs* for reintroduction. This suggests that the two presuppositions at least partly direct children's selectivity in referential forms. Here, noteworthy is the specific expressions made by the seven- and nine-year-olds: *Possessive NPs* for introduction, and *Bare nouns* (proper nouns and common nouns in English) and *Relative NPs* for reintroduction. To employ a *Proper Noun*, a child needs to create a name for a referent, whereas to employ a *Possessive NP* or *Relative NP*, the child needs to have an understanding of a relationship between the referents. These abilities might be better developed as children enter schools.

Although the presuppositions may account for children's pronominal use for maintenance (known information) and nominal for introduction (unknown information), the explanation of the use of both nominal and pronominal for reintroduction might be difficult in the same way. Karmiloff-Smith [16] might provide some related implications, who discovered that Children aged three to nine have typically utilized "thematic subject" strategy for reintroduction, that is, using pronoun when reintroducing protagonist while nominal when reintroducing minor character, with the purpose of reaching coherence. Such strategy is also used by some of the older children in this study, suggesting that not only presuppositions but also narrative coherence provide directions for children's choice of linguistic forms. However, as the application of the strategy is not typical and there is no minor character designed for reintroduction in this study, the likelihood of the simultaneous reflection of coherence and presuppositions needs to be further proved.

Results of the present study show the impact of discourse position on the children's referential performance. Based on the assumption that narrator constantly monitors and updates the information in his/her mental model, it is expected that context has the ability to influence the narrator's success in reference. It has hypothesized in the Introduction section that the greater the length of the discourse, the more difficult the referential task and hence, the poorer the performance. However, this is not the case as the data shows. In contrast, children generally act better in the position where the reference happens later than earlier for introduction and reintroduction. This might be due to that the late occurrence of introducing or reintroducing a character results in longer no-change length than that early one, which emphasizes the new change made by introduction or reintroduction of the characters and thus captures children's attention and interest. In support of this view, Greenfield and Westerman (1978) have found that changes happening in the environment was more probably to be encoded than other actions by young children and hence, to attract their interest.

### Conclusion

Children's age-related increasing ability to make reference seems to reflect the progressive acquisition of two sorts of cognitive presupposition: the addressee's knowledge of the referent and the addressee's attention toward it. As discussed previously, Mandarin children's presupposition about addressee's knowledge first succeeds around five years while such success was made by English three-year-olds and Korean two-year-olds in turn. Mandarin children's later presuppositional emergence than English children might be accounted for by NP's zero property in Mandarin language. Different context design may explain the earlier demonstration of Korean children in the referential ability. These explanations, however, need to be further confirmed by studies with carefully material control examining the comparative use across languages and within the same language, respectively.

The present study will provide an opportunity for linguists and educators to overview children's acquisition and development in Mandarin reference and related psychological and cognitive aspects. Results can help kindergarten and primary teachers to have greater awareness and understanding of the use of reference in oral discourse in Mandarin. Importantly, it would remind them of paying special attention to the optional characteristic of referential expressions in Mandarin and provide them with the direction to create a suitable environment that will stimulate children to properly use reference during their narrative production in Mandarin. Moreover, this study will also provide curriculum designers more insights into the design of appropriate narrative materials for Filipino bilingual children in order to develop their narrative skills, specifically, their use of reference in their oral narrative production.

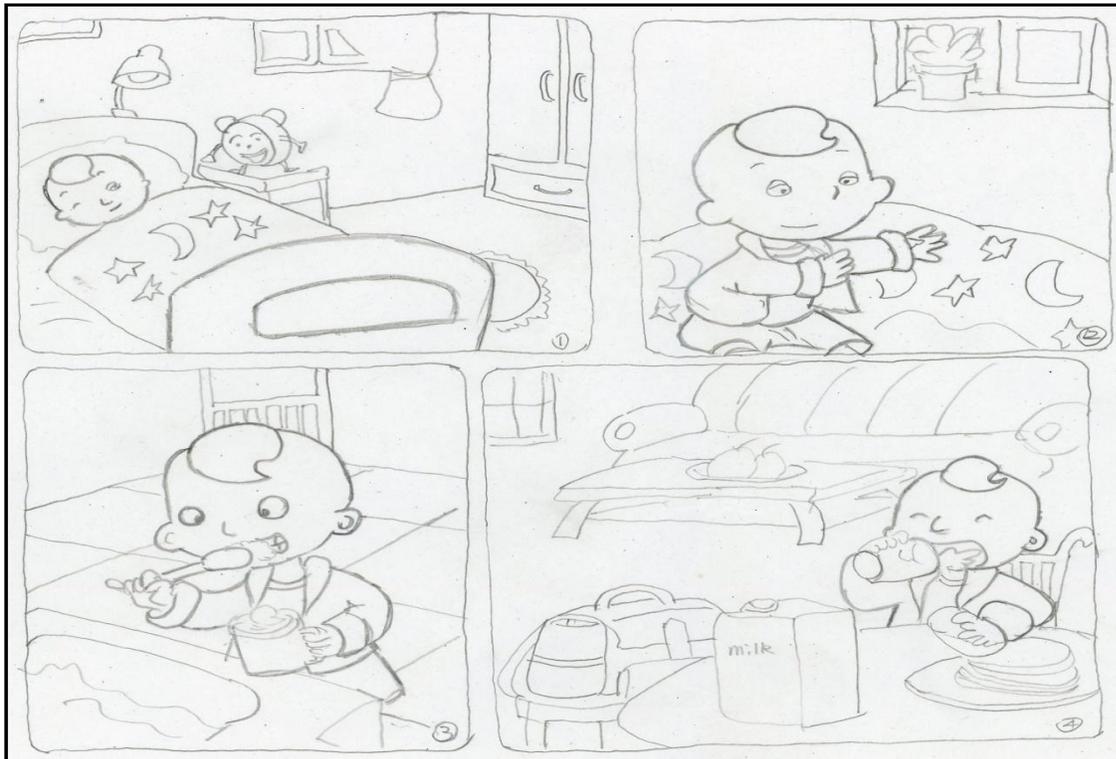
### Acknowledgements

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Appendix A



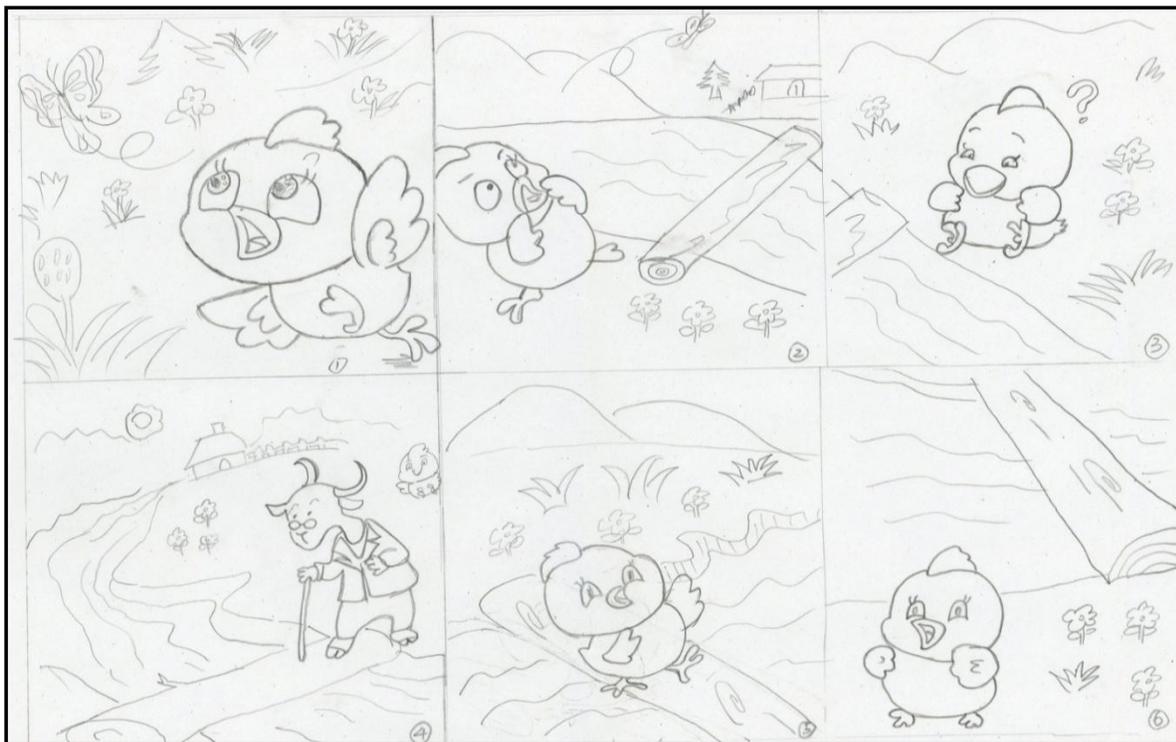
Appendix B



Appendix C



Appendix D



## Appendix E

### Sample Transcription

Transcripts of the story “getting up” from a three-, five-, seven-, and nine-year-old

A three-year-old

Mandarin narrative: 在睡觉，在穿衣服，在刷牙，在吃东西。

English translation: “( He ) is sleeping, ( he ) is wearing the cloth, ( he ) is brushing his teeth, ( he ) is eating something.”

A five-year-old

Mandarin narrative:

从前有个男孩在睡觉。闹钟响了，他在穿衣服，他在刷牙，他在吃早餐。

English translation: “Once upon a time, there was a boy sleeping. The bell is ringing. He is wearing the cloth. He is brushing his teeth. He is having breakfast.”

A seven-year-old

Mandarin narrative:

从前有个男孩在床上睡觉。闹钟响了他在穿衣服。他然后刷牙吃早点。

English translation: “Once upon a time, there was a boy sleeping on the bed. The bell is ringing and he is wearing the cloth. Then he is brushing his teeth and having his breakfast.”

A nine-year-old

Mandarin narrative:

小明早上还在床上睡觉。闹钟响了他从床上爬起来。然后他开始穿衣服。接着他就刷牙洗脸。要上学了他就坐在餐桌旁吃牛奶和面包。

English translation: “Xiaoming is still sleeping on the bed in the morning. The bell is ringing and he gets up. Then he begins to wear his cloth. Next he is brushing his teeth and washing his face. It’s time to go to school, so he is eating bread and drinking milk beside the dinner table.”

# 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>
<b>1 Constraints involving pronouns</b>		
<b>1.1 English pronouns and the placement of Tagalog adverbial enclitics</b>		
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>
<b>1.2 Mixing subject pronouns and negators</b>		
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
<b>1.3 Mixing subject pronouns and verbs</b>		
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
<b>1.4 Mixing verb and object pronouns</b>		
1.4.1 Tagalog verb + English object pronoun	1.70	0.64
1.4.2 English verb + Tagalog object pronoun	2.42	0.39
<b>1.5 Mixing prepositions and pronouns that are objects of prepositions</b>		
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
<b>2 Constraints involving main verbs and auxiliary verbs, negators, and direct object complements</b>		
<b>2.1 Mixing auxiliary verbs and main verbs</b>		
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>
<b>2.2 Mixing negator and verbs</b>		
<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

<b>2.3 Mixing main verbs and infinitive complements that are direct objects</b>		
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
<b>2.4 Verbs and direct object case markers</b>		
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
<b>Total</b>	<b>2.20</b>	<b>0.80</b>

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.<sup>1</sup> ‘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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

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# University Students' Attitudes towards English-Tagalog Code-Switching in Classroom Instruction

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## Abstract

The present study looks into attitudes of university students towards the use of Tagalog- English code switching in classroom instruction. The study involved 96 student respondents that took a questionnaire survey and a matched-guse test.

*Keywords:* Code-switching, language of instruction, language and learning

## The Study and Its Background

A typical Filipino (those not living in a Tagalog-using area) grows up to at least speak three languages: (1) the vernacular for the home and wider community, (2) English for education, commerce, science and technology, and wider communication (both intra- and international), and (3) Filipino (which masks Tagalog) primarily as a symbol for national unity and linguistic identity (Gonzalez, 1998). Thus, as with all bilingual and multilingual situations, code-switching (CS) is an inevitable consequence, “a salient phenomenon and experience to most Filipinos” (Bautista, 1991, p. 28). CS is a bilingual’s ability to alternate between two languages in an unchanged setting usually within the same utterance (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). It may take various forms, from insertion of single lexical items to the merging of bigger syntactic and discourse patterns. It is produced by bilinguals of varying degrees of proficiency and their also of varying degrees of alternation. CS is usually exploited to fill linguistic gaps, express ethnolinguistic identity, and achieve particular discursive aims.

CS as a linguistic phenomenon among bilinguals has actually caught the attention of scholars (primarily those in linguistics and sociolinguistics) and non-scholars alike in the Philippines (and other countries as well). Earlier studies on CS in the Philippines have been summarized by Bautista in a 1991 state-of-the-art paper, studies which have primarily dealt on the linguistics (most especially grammar) of English-Tagalog code-switching (ETCS). The more recent studies have actually been more involved with pedagogical implications of CS for education and language teaching. This was primarily motivated by Bernardo’s (2005) proposal to use CS as a resource in teaching and learning:

code-switching can be a legitimate and potent resource for learning and teaching for bilingual students and teachers, and that we [Filipinos in general and stakeholders in Philippine education in particular] should relax our language prescription in formal school environments to allow students and teachers to benefit from the use of this *efficacious* resource of developing knowledge and understanding. [emphasis added] (p. 163)

Bernardo's (2005) proposal has been supported with empirical evidences by Martin (2006a, 2006b), who examined classroom discourse (written) of tertiary-level students. She gathered her data (audio- and video-taped) from two respective classes and from two private, non-sectarian universities in Manila, the Philippines, where general education science was taught to freshmen students. The recorded data was transcribed and the analysis showed that CS does not hinder students to achieve fluency in English nor did it hinder the learning experience of Science course. She has claimed from her data that CS is not only useful in the learning experience of the students, but also in teaching. The analysis showed that CS actually have had some critical impacts on the part of the learner such as motivation in participation, in group solidarity. It also promotes shared meaning, indirectly but naturally be able to monitor student's level of comprehension, and maintains teacher narrative.

Meanwhile, ETCS practices of teachers and students in English language classes in Metro Manila primary schools in the Philippines have been the focus of Borlongan (2009b). A total of 14 English language classes whose discourses have been transcribed were analyzed to determine how frequent teachers and students code-switch in those classes and bring to light the forms and functions of the code-switches of both the teachers and students. He found that most English language teachers in the sample (11 out of 14 or 78.57%) code-switch. That means that they "violate" the implementing speak-English-only policy. They code-switch in around less than 5 to almost fifty utterances or a little less than fifteen, at the average, in the entire class session. students also have their share of CS in class sessions. CS occurs in all classes, even at least once. However, though the instances of CS could be claimed to be significant, one's tendency to code-switch is more of an individual-specific trait. Smooth-code-switch is the most common form of ETCS in English language classes, followed by constituent insertion There are very few instances of nonce borrowings and non-smooth switches.

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. [emphases added] (p. 8-9)

He said that multilingualism is not a problem in teaching and learning. In fact, he emphasizes that it must actually be used as a resource to help increase student achievement. He borrows it from the paradigm of pedagogy of multiliteracies (The New London Group, 2000), Bernardo (2007) predicts that a holistic understanding of the socio-psycholinguistic reality of multilingualism in the Philippines should make teaching and learning in Philippine schools, colleges, and universities empowering in terms of efficient use of language in communication on the part of the students.

Based on the foregoing discussion, it can be confidently said that the phenomenon of ETCS has been a particularly perplexing one. More so, the role it must take in classroom teaching

and learning process has been a puzzling issue to language-in-education policy-makers, educational leaders and managers, classroom teachers, and educational researchers as well as parents, the students themselves, and the wider community. One interesting and important question can be asked: What are the attitudes of students towards ETCS? It is this question on ETCS that the present study has been compelled to answer in the context of the university through a methodology involving a questionnaire survey and a matched-guise test.

## Methodology

Answering the question posed above involves a methodology of two parts: (1) The use of a questionnaire survey that asks behavioral questions of various question formats and (2) the implementation of a matched-guise test.

### The Instruments

**Questionnaire Survey.** Attitudes of the students towards the use of ETCS in classroom instruction were openly and overtly determined through a questionnaire given to the students. It asks direct attitudinal questions as regards the phenomenon in question. Needless to say, this part is an explicit ascertaining of student attitudes towards ETCS.

**Matched-Guise Test.** An implicit measure of attitudes would be the second part of the test, which is a matched-guise test. A matched-guise test is a sociolinguistic experiment technique developed by Lambert in 1967. A recording was made from one instructor making an utterance in ETCS and another in English of roughly two minutes in length. The recording was used as a linguistic stimulus presented to the students and they were asked to describe the owner of the voice using a semantic-differential bipolar adjective scale (e.g. intelligent vs. unintelligent, pleasant vs. unpleasant, successful vs. unsuccessful) without them knowing that the speaker is just one and the same (hence, the term *matched-guise*).

### The Respondents

The study involved 96 students registered and enrolled in a distinguished private university in Manila, the capital of the Philippines. The university is among the top universities of the country and would usually belong to the lists of top universities in Asia (and the Pacific) and the world. More specifically, the students belong to a science and technology college. It has to be mentioned here that the official medium of instruction of the university is English except in courses where Filipino, the national language, is the designated medium of instruction. However, as is typical in most Philippine educational institutions and in the science and technology courses where the policy is English-as-medium-of-instruction, CS inevitably takes place for various reasons, not only because of lack of proficiency but also because of explanatory adequacy of content lectures and discussions.

These students are, as with most Filipinos (cf. earlier discussion), at least bilingual and they are, quite expectedly, bilingual in English and Tagalog. Because the university attracts a sizeable number of Chinese Filipinos, some of them speak at least one Chinese language learned from the home or from their Chinese-medium high school of origin. There are also students who come from the countryside, and they may also speak the vernacular of their origin.

## Findings

### Explicit Attitudes

Attitudes towards code-switching are distinguished as explicit and implicit. Explicit attitudes were derived from the seven-item test given to the students that directly asked them of their position towards the use of ETCS in the university in general and classroom instruction in particular. Out of seven points in total, the sample had an average of 5.67, which means that ETCS is rated favorably. Of the 96 students who participated in the study, 58 or 60.4% unanimously agreed to all attitude statements in the questionnaire.

Table 1 displays the statements on the use of ETCS in the university presented to the students together with the frequency of students who responded positively to the statements:

Table 1

*Students who explicitly signified positive attitude towards ETCS (n=96)*

Statement	<i>f</i>	%
comfortable with my instructor using ETCS in his/her lectures.	86	89.6
1 better understanding of lectures when my instructor uses ETCS.	76	79.2
in favor of my instructor using ETCS in his/her lectures.	73	76.0
lieve that instructors should be allowed to use ETCS inside the classroom.	80	83.3
ieve that students should be allowed to use ETCS inside the classroom.	72	75.0
ieve that instructors should use ETCS in their lectures to help students gain better understanding of their lectures.	79	82.3
ieve that the use of ETCS inside the classroom facilitates learning.	77	80.2

Based on the survey, out of the three questions that are basically concerned on the instructor and his/her use of ETCS, 83.3% of the respondents believe that ETCS for instructors should be *allowed*. Second, 82.3% also believe that the use of ETCS by instructors can *help students gain better understanding*. Third, 80.2% express that they are *in favor* of instructor's use of ETCS in his or her lectures. Looking at the results of the three questions alone, most of the students have signified their ease and acceptance with their instructor's use of ETCS in his/her lectures. The students also signified their strong belief that instructors should be allowed to use ETCS when teaching.

Looking at the four questions that are concerned with the student's personal beliefs and perceived effects of ETCS on their learning, 89.6% stated that they are *comfortable* with ETCS as the mode of instruction. Second, 80.2% of the respondents believe that ETCS *facilitates* learning inside the classroom. Third, 79.2% believe that they *gain better understanding* when his/her instructor uses ETCS. Lastly, 75.0% believe that students themselves should also be *allowed* to use ETCS inside the classroom.

A surprising finding that this attitude survey points out is that students would want to allow instructors to use ETCS but not the students themselves. When asked further, the students said they would want the students to use ETCS for understanding but they would not want for them to use ETCS because they want to learn how to use English more fluently. Thus, the classroom is also seen as a training ground in using "good English".

## Implicit Attitudes

Implicit measures of attitude derived from the matched-guise test though show lesser prestige associated with ETCS as compared to English. The matched-guise test yielded the average score of 4.57 out of the possible 7 for ETCS and 4.74 for English. Therefore, there is a difference of 0.17 between the two scores. A t-test was implemented to find out if there is a significant difference between the prestige associated with ETCS and with English; no significant difference was found. This lower score for ETCS in the matched-guise test may simply be residual effects of the archaic stigma associated with the use of ETCS, though Borlongan (2009a) and also the findings of this study suggest a possible over-turning of this stigma in the coming generations as the younger generation are becoming more and more identified with this linguistic phenomenon.

## Conclusion

The present study has attempted to look into one issue regarding the use of ETCS in the university in general and tertiary-level instruction in particular, more specifically, the attitudes of students towards the use of ETCS in the university. Students are generally in favor of using ETCS in the university and even inside the classroom as they are of the belief that the use of ETCS will make them better understand topics of discussion.

The bigger project where this study is located found that students' learning are not hindered by the use of ETCS in lectures. Additionally and more fascinatingly, students may even perform better in a language they are more comfortable with. Unfortunately, at present, educational policy-makers, educational managers, classroom teachers, and even accrediting agencies of schools are still not yet prepared to accept the reality of multilingualism in the Philippines, that not only do students have positive attitudes towards CS but CS also fosters learning.

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## Reflecting on the Use of Code-Switching in Philippine Education Today

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### Editorial Commentary

Code-switching (CS) in classroom instruction has recently received much attention among Filipino scholars. More specifically, there is this move to view CS as a resource for teaching and learning, and this proposal was initiated and espoused by Bernardo in 2005. He said:

code-switching can be a legitimate and potent resource for learning and teaching for bilingual students and teachers, and that we [Filipinos in general and stakeholders in Philippine education in particular] should relax our language prescription in formal school environments to allow students and teachers to benefit from the use of this efficacious resource of developing knowledge and understanding. [emphasis added] (p. 163)

Bernardo's (2005) proposal has been supported with empirical evidences by Borlongan (2009), Borlongan, Lim, and Roxas (in this issue), and Martin (2006a, 2006b). And even in my on-going project to develop a typology of the functions of CS in English language classes in the Philippines, it seems that, based on the analysis of the functions of CS in English language classes, it is important to stress that CS does not necessarily mean lack of competence in English. It is used with a purpose, and could even be used as a resource in the teaching and learning of English in the Philippines.

And so, this suggestion on language-in-education policy and policy-making is given by Bernardo (2005):

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. [emphases added] (p. 8-9)

He points out that multilingualism should not be considered problem in teaching and learning but must actually be used as a resource by teachers and students in facilitating the learning process. Bernardo (2007) predicts that a holistic understanding of the socio-psycholinguistic reality of multilingualism in the Philippines should make teaching and learning in Philippine schools, colleges, and universities empowering in terms of efficient use of language in communication on the part of the students.

Thus said, discourses on CS suggest some reflecting on current implementing policy: Do they still reflect the psycho-sociolinguistic reality of multilingualism in the Philippines? More importantly, do these language-in-education policies aid in teaching and learning in schools? Or

they hinder teaching and learning instead? These policies should definitely be rephrased, guided by the current perspectives in applied linguistics.

Of course, reviewing these policies may take time, and all the burden at the moment will fall on the shoulders of the classroom teachers. They should therefore be made aware, perhaps through teacher training, both pre- and in-service, of how to negotiate between adherence to the implementing policies and sensitivity to the psycho-sociolinguistic reality of multilingualism in the Philippines. CS should be accorded the entitlement it deserves, as long as it does not hinder learning and teaching, most especially that of English language.

CS should not be frowned upon by educational policy-makers, educational managers, and, quite importantly in the Philippines, accrediting agencies of schools. But this is not to say that a policy must be implemented to make legal the use of CS in Philippine classroom. What is suggested here is that it is compelling to, in the words of Bernardo (2005), “relax our language prescription in formal school environments to allow students and teachers to benefit from the use of this efficacious resource of developing knowledge and understanding” (p. 165). The existing policies need not be changed. However, views on language in education and languages of instruction must be open to the changing times; such policies exist in the context of the sociolinguistic and multilingual realities of the Filipino society. Therefore, the use of CS is not necessarily language deficiency but actually a strategic use of the various linguistic resources available to both the teacher and the student to achieve their ultimate goal and that is learning.

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