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Spread, stability, and sociolinguistic variation in multilingual practices: the case of Lánnang-uè and its derivational morphology

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ABSTRACT

This study examines nominal derivational affixes in a multilingual practice in the Philippines involving Hokkien, Tagalog, and English called Lánnang-uè. A feature of this practice is the systematic combination of affixes and roots (henceforth, 'system'). Certain morphological combinations (e.g. Tagalog prefixes + English root) are used frequently and are regarded by Lánnang-uè users as well-formed, while others are not. This paper seeks to examine the spread, stability, and possible patterns of sociolinguistically-conditioned variation involving this system in the Lánnang-uè-speaking community. I conducted an acceptability judgment experiment involving 65 users in Manila and found high rates of spread and stability within my sample. Factors such as age, sex, and attitudes towards mixing selectively conditioned how some speakers adhered to system. For example, older users tended not to follow the affix source language, length, and position condition of the system whereas male users only tended not to follow the first condition. Based on the findings, I argue that the derivational affixation system exhibits conventionalisation, and that it emerged due to identity negotiation practices led by younger and female users. I also argue that conscious positive attitudes towards mixing help shape the stable development of multilingual practices.

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1. Introduction

Decades of research on multilingual practices, such as code-switching or mixed codes, has shown that the characteristics of these practices vary from community to community (Chan, 2004; Lipski, 2020; Meakins, 2012). Some practices have high rates of adoption within their community of use (i.e. higher 'spread'), such as the case of Tagalog-English 'Taglish' code-switching in the Philippines, where it is employed by virtually all (contemporary) Tagalog speakers (Thompson, 2003). However, there are multilingual practices that are only adopted by a portion of speakers and thus have lower 'spread.' An example would be Catalan heritage community in Germany, where Catalan-German code-switching is generally found in individuals whose families do not adopt a 'one parent-one language' policy and have selected a family language (Arnaus Gil &

Jiménez-Gaspar, 2022, p. 1). Apart from spread, we also know that the ‘stability’ of these multilingual practices – here operationalised as the consistency or lack of variability between and within their speakers – is also highly community-dependent. Some communities, like the Gurindji Kriol speech community in Australia (Meakins, 2012), have high rates of inter- and intra-speaker consistency, and thus stability, in their deployment of multilingual resources. Speakers of this mixed language involving Gurindji and Kriol, for example, always derive pronouns from Kriol, and tend to derive nouns from Gurindji (Meakins, 2012, p. 116). However, this is not the case for some communities. The Catalan-German community in German discussed earlier, for example, have low rates of interspeaker consistency (i.e. low rates of stability) with respect to their code-switching practice. Some speakers employ limited code-switching to German in Catalan, while others almost always code-switch to German (Arnaus Gil & Jiménez-Gaspar, 2022). The research so far indicates that the nature of multilingual practices (e.g. degree of spread and stability) is not universal but is highly dependent on the sociolinguistic context and the community of use. Consequently, to comprehend multilingualism more thoroughly, it is essential to consider the social and cultural contexts in which multilingual practices take place. Further research on multilingual practices in various contexts and communities is, thus, necessary.

In this paper, I attempt to contribute to our understanding of multilingual practices by presenting a case study featuring the Philippines. The object of study is a salient mixing practice used by an ethnic minority in Manila (northern Philippines) called *Lánnang-uè* – a practice that involves the systematic use of Hokkien, Tagalog, and English lexicon and grammar (see details in Section 2). I particularly focus on a feature of *Lánnang-uè* that has received little attention in the literature – its systematic use of nominal derivational affixes (see Section 3 for details). This phenomenon (henceforth, system) was described using a corpus-based approach (Gonzales, 2022a) but has not yet been systematically investigated with respect to spread/diffusion and stability. Little is known whether most *Lánnang-uè* users follow the system at all or whether only a subset of users does. Not much is also known about the stability of the system: do *Lánnang-uè* users consistently use the feature individually? Are the patterns of variation similar to each other? How much variability is there? To the best of my knowledge, no existing research has also examined whether social factors directly constrain potential variability in the adherence to the derivational system. The closest example is Gonzales (2018), who identified social factors that influence the overall acceptability of affixes, but not the variation in adherence to the nominal derivational affixation.

The primary goal of this paper is to bridge the gaps by examining the system’s diffusion or spread within the community as well as intraspeaker and interspeaker consistency in the adherence to the system. I also attempt to examine the variability (i.e. lack of consistency) and test whether social factors – particularly age, sex, and attitudes towards mixing – condition it. It is hoped that this investigation will enrich current descriptions of the low-resource mixing practice *Lánnang-uè* and contribute to the scarce but growing body of work exploring the intersection of multilingualism and language variation and change (Dickson & Durantin, 2019; Lee, 2014; Starr & Balasubramaniam, 2019).

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: Section 2 provides general information about *Lánnang-uè* while Section 3 details its derivational affix system. These sections

are followed by Section 4, which introduces the hypotheses of this paper. Sections 5 and 6 present the methodology and findings of the study, respectively. The paper ends with a general discussion in Section 7 and some concluding remarks in Section 8.

2. Lánnang-uè

Lánnang-uè (also sometimes referred to as Philippine Hybrid Hokkien) is a predominantly oral Sino-Philippine multilingual practice employed in the Philippines, a Southeast Asian nation home to seven major ethnolinguistic groups (e.g. the Tagalogs, the Cebuanos, the Ilocanos) (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2010). It is used by a minority ethnic group – the Lannangs or individuals with a mixed Southern Chinese (predominantly Hokkien, Cantonese) and Filipino cultural heritage (Gonzales, 2021; Uytanlet, 2014). Unlike other linguistic practices, Lánnang-uè (loosely, ‘our people speech/language’) is relatively unknown in the literature, partially since its users generally avoid the use of Lánnang-uè when communicating with ‘out-group’ community members.

To date, there is no consensus on the nature of the mixing practice: some research has characterised the practice as intra-sentential code-switching between Hokkien, English, and Tagalog (Gonzales, 2016; Gonzales, 2017a; Zulueta, 2007), while some has regarded it as a product of imperfect acquisition of Hokkien (Uytanlet, 2014). Others have analyzed it as a ‘mixed language’ with Hokkien-, English-, and Tagalog-derived features, as well as features that cannot be directly traced back to a single language (Matras & Bakker, 2003, p. 1; Meakins, 2013; Gonzales & Starr, 2020; Gonzales, 2022a). The most recent work done so far on Lánnang-uè situates the practice in a multidimensional continuum of contact phenomena rather than exclusively belonging to an exclusive type of contact language (e.g. ‘creole’, ‘mixed language’) (Gonzales, 2022a).

Linguistically, the practice – particularly the one employed in Manila – systematically derives its lexicon and grammar from Hokkien (Southern Min), Tagalog, English, and to a lesser extent, Mandarin (Gonzales, 2018; Gonzales, 2022a). A sizable part of the vocabulary and structure is sourced from Hokkien (Gonzales, 2022a). Several of its features across different linguistic levels have been documented, including the phonetic level (Gonzales & Starr, 2020), the discourse level (Gonzales, 2017a), and the syntactic level (Gonzales, 2022a).

3. The nominal derivational affixation system of Lánnang-uè

The systematic combination of affixes and roots from different languages in Lánnang-uè (henceforth, system) has been argued to favour Tagalog, such that all affixes in Lánnang-uè come from this language (Gonzales, 2018; Gonzales, 2022a). Based on the most comprehensive corpus-based description to date (Gonzales, 2022a), however, the process of selection was not one of wholesale transfer. Users of Lánnang-uè did not select the entire nominal derivation system of Tagalog. Instead, they systematically incorporated parts of the system to form a new system unique to their practice. It only incorporated simple Tagalog prefixes (i.e. mono-/bi- morphemic/syllabic prefixes), which can be attached to a verb, noun, and/or adjective base derived from Hokkien, Tagalog, or English (see Table 1).

Table 1. Derivational affixes in the domain of the noun phrase (Gonzales, 2022a).

| Prefix | Type/class | Attaches to | Derives | Example |
|-----------------|----------------|---|---------|---|
| <i>kâ-</i> | colleague | V, N (location for gathering, person that has gatherings) | N | <i>ka-trabahò</i> 'workmate/colleague' |
| <i>mâg-</i> | relationship | N | Adj | <i>mag-pieng-iù</i> 'characterized as having a friendly relationship' |
| <i>nakâ-</i> | resultative | V | Adj | <i>naka-patông</i> 'being in a position or state directly resulting from the action of placing' |
| | article-wear | N (article) | Adj | <i>naka-bakkià</i> 'characterized as wearing glasses' |
| <i>pag(kâ)-</i> | manner | V | N | <i>pag(ka)-tshâm</i> 'manner of mixing' |
| <i>pagkâ-</i> | state-of-being | N | N | <i>pagka-lánnang</i> 'the state of being a Lannang' |
| <i>pampâ-</i> | cause | V, Adj | Adj | <i>pampa-gaú</i> 'intelligence-causing' |
| <i>pâng-</i> | reservation | V, N | Adj | <i>pang-airfry</i> 'machine that is reserved for air-frying' |
| <i>tagâ-</i> | function | V | Adj | <i>taga-tsítsiáh</i> 'cook-er/cook' |
| | origin | N (location) | Adj | <i>taga-San-Pablò</i> 'San Pablo-er/ originating from San Pablo' |

The examples below illustrate the conventions involving nominal derivational affixes, based on examples found in Gonzales (2018; 2022a), descriptions of affixes in English (Quirk et al., 1985), Tagalog (Schachter & Otones, 1972), Hokkien (Chappell, 2019), and Mandarin (Li & Thompson, 1981) as well as the description of Lánnang-uè phonological rules in Gonzales (2022a). Examples preceded by an asterisk (e.g. *b) indicate that the construction is not well-formed in Lánnang-uè – these constructions were either incomprehensible to informants who are dominant users of Lánnang-uè or awkward-sounding to them (Gonzales, 2018).

1. Affix source language: Affixes should be derived from Tagalog.

- (1)
- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------|
| a. | $ta^{22}ga^{22}t_i^{55}t_o^{35}$ <i>taga-thithó</i> FUNC-play 'one who plays' | Tagalog-derived |
| *b. | $t_i^{h55}t_o^{22}w_t^{51}$ <i>thithó-er</i> play-FUNC 'one who plays' | English-derived |
| *c. | $tsjaw^{55}a^{51}$ <i>tsiaú-â</i> bird-DIM 'little bird' | Hokkien-derived |
| *d. | $law^{22}taj^{22}g_t^{51}$ <i>lau-tigèr</i> ANIM-tiger '(animal) tiger' | Mandarin-derived |

2. *Affix position/type*: In addition to being sourced from Tagalog, the affixes should be prefixes. The examples below all feature Tagalog-derived affixes.

- (2)
- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| a. | paŋ ²² mej ²² ʔup ⁵⁵ pang-makeŋp RES-make.up 'reserved for make-up' | prefix |
| *b. | ts ^h eŋ ⁵⁵ ʔan ⁵¹ tshéh-an book-LOC 'location with books/library' | suffix |
| *c. | ka ²² siok ²² die ²² ŋan ⁵¹ ka-siokdiéng-ân QUAL-holy-QUAL 'holiness' | circumfix |

3. *Affix syllable number*: The affixes – specifically Tagalog-derived prefixes – should be mono-/bisyllabic. The examples below all feature Tagalog-derived prefixes.

- (3)
- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|
| a. | ka ²² kla ²² se ⁵¹ ka-klasè COLL- class 'classmate' | monosyllabic |
| b. | pag ²² ka ²² hwa ²² na ⁵⁵ pagka-hwanâ STAT-local 'the state of being a local' | bisyllabic |
| *c. | pag ²² ka ²² ka ²² bo ²² le ²² so ⁵¹ pagkaka-bolesò GER-disrespect 'having disrespected' | trisyllabic |
| *d. | pag ²² ka ²² ka ²² pa ²² ki ²² ts ^h jo ⁵¹ pagkaka-paki-tshiò GER-ENSEM-laugh 'having joined in laughing' | pentasyllabic |

4. *Base source language*: The short, Tagalog-derived prefixes can be attached to bases derived from Hokkien, Tagalog, or English. They do not exclusively attach to bases derived from a specific source language.

- (4)
- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|
| a. | ta ²² ga ²² tsi ³⁵ tsja ³⁵ taga-tsitsiâh FUNC-cook 'cook-er/cook' | Hokkien-derived |
| b. | ta ²² ga ²² lu ²² to ⁵⁵ taga-lutò FUNC-cook 'cook-er/cook' | Tagalog-derived |
| c. | ta ²² ga ²² kuk ⁵⁵ taga-coòk FUNC-cook 'cook-er/cook' | English-derived |

5. *Base domain*: The prefixes attach to verbs, nouns, and/or adjectives depending on the class of prefix (Table 1). They do not exclusively attach to bases in a specific domain.

Overall, Lánnang-uè has a more restrictive set of noun phrase derivational affixes compared to Tagalog. A complete list of the affixes and constraints in the nominal derivational system of the language is found in Table 1.

Some example utterances containing affixed words are as follows:

- (5) kjaw³³ ?in⁵⁵ hwaj³⁵ ?in⁵⁵e³³ 'ka²².ta²².ba²².ha²².do⁵⁵
kiaū *in* *hual* ... *in = ē* **ka-trabahadōr**.
 with 3.PL DEM.PL ... 3.PL = GEN COLL- worker
 'with those, their fellow workers'
 (PC0012-CLIN19)
- (6) di⁵⁵ tuj⁵⁵ la³⁵na²²?ue⁵¹e²² pag²²ka²² ts^ham³³
Dī *tuī* *Lánnang-uè = ē* **pagka-** *tshām*
 2.SG towards Lánnang-uè = GEN MAN- mix
 ?u²² ja²²mi^{?55} kam²²kak⁵⁵ bo⁵¹
u *shammih* *kamkāk* *bò?*
 have what feel NEG
 'Do you feel anything towards Lánnang-uè's manner of mixing?'
 (PC0012-CLIN19)
- (7) so³³ hi³³ge⁵⁵ gin³³na⁵⁵ tsju³³ si³³ na²²ka²² pa²²ton⁵⁵
Sō, *higē* *ginnā* *tsiū* *sī* **naka-** *patōng*
 So, ART.SG kid then COP RSLT- place
 ti³³ di⁵⁵e³³ t^haw³⁵ lo⁵¹
tī *deēr = ē* *thau* *lō.*
 PREP deer = GEN head PFV
 'So the kid is placed at the deer's head.'
 (PC0103-FRST19)

It is clear that users engaging in the Lánnang-uè multilingual practice generally do not favour combinations involving English and Mandarin, even if these languages hold prestige in the community as global languages that help them connect with the world (Gonzales, 2022b; Poa, 2004). The phenomenon might be historically rooted: Hokkien and Tagalog were introduced to the Lannang community of practice much earlier than English and Mandarin (Van der Loon, 1966; Wickberg, 1965), and as such had more time to interact with each other at different levels of language (e.g. lexical, morphological) and be conventionalised in the community.

It should be noted that while English is generally disfavoured, there are contexts that license the use of English affixes. Some younger speakers (i.e. those in their 20s and 30s), in Gonzales' (2018) ethnographic research – who tend to be highly proficient in English in the community – explicitly said that they do not usually want to use English affixes in bi-morphemic morphological combinations. They also said that they rarely hear other people use it, but that they can still accept these English-related combinations if they are used in comedy or if they are used to present one's self as 'innovative' or 'trendy.' This finding points to the subtle influence of English on the system, where English affixes can be used possible stylistic resources beyond the 'system.'

4. Hypotheses

I have three hypotheses regarding the nominal derivational affixation system described in Section 3. First, I hypothesise that the system will be highly widespread. Most users of Lánnang-uè will follow the system at least once. Second, I hypothesise that the system will be highly stable. Users who follow the system at all will do so at the individual level with high degrees of consistency. They will also have patterns of variation that will not differ too much from each other. Finally, I hypothesise that a significant part of the variation in the system, if present, will be conditioned by at least one of the following sociolinguistic factors: age, sex, and attitudes towards mixing. If the variation involves innovation/change, a large part of non-conformance to the system will come from younger users (specifically, younger females). A large part of non-conformance will come from users who perceive mixing in Lánnang-uè negatively, or as something that is a threat to linguistic ‘purity’ (Lannang Corpus, CLIN-18-19:5706).

My first and second hypotheses were motivated by previous findings in Lánnang-uè and the finding that Lánnang-uè is highly ‘language-like’ (Gonzales, 2018; Gonzales, 2022a; Gonzales & Starr, 2020). In prior work, high levels of spread and stability were consistently observed across many Lánnang-uè features: tone, stress, conjunction and preposition lexicon, and *wh*-phrase position distribution (Gonzales, 2022a). Given that Lánnang-uè has characteristics of ‘language-ness’, I expect features in other levels (e.g. derivational affixation system, morphological level) to also exhibit high degrees of spread and stability, as features belonging to a language usually cluster – they tend to exhibit similar linguistic properties (e.g. stability, spread) because they are part of a single linguistic system. In other words, Lánnang-uè will pattern after other language-like multilingual practices like Colloquial Singapore English and the Topo and Ugsha varieties of Media Lengua where patterns of spread and stability were also noted across features (Leimgruber et al., 2021; Lipski, 2020): the spread and stability observed in one linguistic feature will also be observed in other features (Mechler & Buchstaller, 2019; Meir & Sandler, 2019).

My third hypothesis on variation was motivated by general sociolinguistic theories (Eckert, 1989; Labov, 1963; Sankoff, 2006) and previous sociolinguistic work done in Lánnang-uè. A common thread in variationist sociolinguistics research is that linguistic features encode social meaning. From a constructivist perspective (Eckert, 2012), in particular, researchers have reported how socially-meaningful linguistic elements serve as resources for (un)consciously stylistic practices (Dodsworth, 2005), such as the performance of ethnic and domain-specific identities (Starr & Balasubramaniam, 2019; Zhang, 2005); individuals can skillfully manipulate linguistic resources depending on the social context (e.g. use tapped and trilled /r/ in Colloquial Singapore English to perform Indian-Singaporean identity) (Benor, 2010; Eckert, 1989; Starr & Balasubramaniam, 2019). In other words, variation in linguistic behaviour that cannot be accounted for by linguistic factors can be constrained by social factors – languages have sociolinguistic conventions on top of linguistic ones. Adopting this view of language and variation, I anticipate linguistic behaviour pertaining to Lánnang-uè nominal affixation to also be sociolinguistically constrained, similar to what was observed in previous work on other Lánnang-uè features (Gonzales, 2018; Gonzales, 2020; Gonzales, 2022a; Gonzales & Starr, 2020).

I hypothesised the effects of age, sex, and language attitudes on affixation because these variables were reported to be robust predictors of linguistic behaviour in variationist research in different multilingual practices such as Kriol in Australia as well as Colloquial Singapore English and Baba Malay in Singapore (Dickson & Durantin, 2019; Lee, 2014; Leimgruber et al., 2021). Furthermore, based on ethnographic observations in the Lannang community and preliminary research on Lánnang-uè, these factors were found to account for variation in linguistic behaviour better compared to other variables like generation (e.g. first-generation Lannang) and educational level (e.g. post-graduate) (Gonzales, 2018). I predicted that young and female users of Lánnang-uè will vary (not follow the affixation system) more in the context of language change because young and female individuals tend to be full of ‘energy and enterprise’ (Maclagan et al., 1999, p. 19) and tend to be at the forefront of change – a sociolinguistic pattern observed in many several sociolinguistic studies that view variation as a consequence of linguistic innovation (Eckert, 1989; Maclagan et al., 1999; Sankoff, 2006). The pattern was also found in Lánnang-uè: younger and female users, for example, produced the [ʊ] and [ɛ] monophthongs in Lánnang-uè differently compared to the rest of the population – an innovative practice (Gonzales & Starr, 2020). In addition to age and sex, the literature shows that users’ views towards certain linguistic processes can have a profound impact on actual linguistic practice (Sande, 2015; Thomason, 2007). Users of a particular language, for example, who view language mixing practices with disfavour (e.g. mixing as a threat to authenticity or purity) (Wan, 2022) tend not to do so (e.g. Ibani-Igbo bilingual speakers in southern Rivers State in Nigeria avoiding borrowing to maintain a ‘pure’ Ibani) (Thomason, 2007) while those who perceive mixing as a positive practice tend to engage in mixing practices (e.g. Colloquial Singapore English users preferring to use Chinese and Malay discourse particles as part of their Singaporean identity) (Leimgruber et al., 2021). Given this, I anticipate that attitudes towards mixing will condition linguistic behaviour relevant to the nominal affixation system: Lánnang-uè users who view mixing positively (e.g. mixing as part of their identity) will adhere to the system while those who stigmatise it will be less likely to do so.

5. Methodology

5.1. Participants

After receiving approval from the University-level Institutional Review Board, seventy prospective participants were invited for a pre-study screen conducted in April 2017. Roughly half of them were recruited online through Facebook whereas the other half was recruited based on recommendations given by the first half of the participants (i.e. friend-of-a-friend sampling) (Schleef & Meyerhoff, 2010). Not all individuals who expressed interest in my study participated in the study. Only those who fit the following criteria were invited as participants:

1. Claims to have native-like proficiency in Lánnang-uè
2. Must identify as Lannang
3. Must be between 20–89 years old
4. Must identify as male or female

5. Must have no problems with hearing
6. Must be willing to sign a consent form endorsed by the Institutional Review Board

After screening, a total of 65 male and female respondents ranging from 20 to 89 years old were recruited (Table 2). The imbalance in the distribution (i.e. fewer older male participants) was partially due to the difficulty of finding older male participants, who either reported not being interested in the study or were busy focusing on their careers or businesses.

5.2. Data collection

I met the screened participants individually in one-hour sessions conducted in a quiet location of their choice (e.g. their house, church) between April and August 2017. Lánnang-uè was the medium of communication in the sessions to prime the participants for the Lánnang-uè task. After signing the consent form, participants were first asked to participate in an experiment, specifically, an acceptability judgment task (~ 40 min): they were asked to judge words (affix + base) that either adhered to the nominal derivational affixation system or not. The words, presented to them via audio and textual stimuli, were embedded in a Lánnang-uè carrier sentence (i.e. *And so huai mga Manila-e Lánnáng e usually kongtsuè ____*. 'And those Manila Lannangs would usually say this as ____'.) to ensure that the words are interpreted as Lánnang-uè words and not as words from Filipino – a standardised hybrid variety of Tagalog that accommodates English and Hokkien lexicon.

The audio stimuli, recorded using a Zoom H1 device in a laboratory-like location in metropolitan Manila, featured my voice. Participants listened to them using 3.5mm-jack wired headphones manufactured by Apple connected to a 2017 iPad Pro tablet. Participants were simultaneously exposed to textual stimuli in the form of a hard-copy word list containing the aforementioned words written using Lannang Orthography (The Lannang Archives, 2020). They were instructed to give a rating between 1–6 after being presented each affix-base combination (in the form of audio and textual stimulus). The task was self-paced, which means that the participants were allowed to listen to a particular audio stimulus more than once if they were not able to comprehend it the first time. No restrictions were also imposed with respect to the speed of the response – participants responded to the stimuli when they were ready to.

A total of 408 unique words (affix-base combinations distributed across conditions relevant to the nominal affixation system) were created (Table 3) (Appendix 1). The affixes in the stimuli were derived from a comprehensive list of nominal derivational affixes in Tagalog and English (Quirk et al., 1985; Schachter & Otones, 1972). The bases were all familiar/non-technical nouns, verbs, or adjectives derived from Hokkien, Tagalog, or English that were vetted by two native Lánnang-uè users. Note that there are no stimuli involving long Tagalog-derived suffixes/circumfixes or long English-derived suffixes because the

Table 2. Distribution of participants by self-reported sex and age group.

| Sex | Age group | | | | | | | Total |
|--------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 20–29 | 30–39 | 40–49 | 50–59 | 60–69 | 70–79 | 80–89 | |
| Female | 8 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 50 |
| Male | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 15 |
| Total | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 65 |

Table 3. Distribution of stimuli by conditions: affix source language, affix position/type, affix length, condition, base source language, and base domain.

| Affix source language | Affix position/type | Affix length | Base source language | Base domain | Items | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|---------|---------|---|
| Tagalog | prefix | short | Hokkien | nominal | 30 | | |
| | | | | verbal | 24 | | |
| | | | Tagalog | nominal | 0 | | |
| | | | verbal | 0 | | | |
| | | English | nominal | 30 | | | |
| | | | verbal | 24 | | | |
| | | long | short | Hokkien | nominal | 21 | |
| | | | | verbal | 21 | | |
| | Tagalog | | | nominal | 0 | | |
| | | | verbal | 0 | | | |
| | English | | nominal | 21 | | | |
| | | | verbal | 21 | | | |
| | | non-prefix (i.e. suffix, circumfix) | short | Hokkien | nominal | 12 | |
| | | | | verbal | 9 | | |
| | Tagalog | | | nominal | 0 | | |
| | | | verbal | 0 | | | |
| | English | | nominal | 12 | | | |
| | | | verbal | 9 | | | |
| | | | long | short | Hokkien | nominal | 0 |
| | | | | | verbal | 0 | |
| | Tagalog | | | | nominal | 0 | |
| | verbal | | | 0 | | | |
| English | nominal | | | 0 | | | |
| | verbal | | | 0 | | | |
| English | prefix | short | Hokkien | nominal | 0 | | |
| | | | | verbal | 0 | | |
| | | | Tagalog | nominal | 0 | | |
| | | | verbal | 0 | | | |
| | | English | nominal | 0 | | | |
| | | | verbal | 0 | | | |
| | | long | short | Hokkien | nominal | 0 | |
| | | | | verbal | 0 | | |
| | Tagalog | | | nominal | 0 | | |
| | | | verbal | 0 | | | |
| | English | | nominal | 0 | | | |
| | | | verbal | 0 | | | |
| | | non-prefix (i.e. suffix) | short | Hokkien | nominal | 57 | |
| | | | | verbal | 30 | | |
| | Tagalog | | | nominal | 57 | | |
| | | | verbal | 30 | | | |
| | English | | nominal | 0 | | | |
| | | | verbal | 0 | | | |
| | | | long | short | Hokkien | nominal | 0 |
| | | | | | verbal | 0 | |
| | Tagalog | | | | nominal | 0 | |
| | verbal | | | 0 | | | |
| English | nominal | | | 0 | | | |
| | verbal | | | 0 | | | |
| Total | | | | | 408 | | |

two languages do not have them (Quirk et al., 1985; Schachter & Otones, 1972). Also, stimuli involving combinations where the affix and base were derived from the same language (e.g. *pang-kain*, Tagalog-derived prefix + Tagalog-derived base), stimuli featuring combinations involving Hokkien- and Mandarin-derived affixes (and English prefixes), and stimuli involving combinations involving Mandarin-derived bases were excluded in the final set of stimuli. This was done to reduce the amount of time in each session while still being able to test my hypotheses involving the derivational

affixation system. The decision to downsize the stimuli set was made after participants in a pilot study in early 2017 complained about the long session time, which affected the quality of their responses.

To further mitigate the effect of session duration on response quality, I only exposed participants to a subset of the whole stimulus set. The stimuli were evenly distributed between three sets such that each participant was only exposed to a third of the stimuli (a total of 136 items per participant distributed across the conditions) (see Appendix 2), which were presented to them in random order.

After the experiment, I collected age and sex information from my participants to test my hypotheses involving age and sex. I also asked them to respond to the following prompt using a 6-point Likert scale (1 – strongly disagree, 6 – strongly agree), to test my hypothesis involving language attitudes: *Guâ kamkâk halo-halô ti Lánnang-uè yá acceptablè.* ‘I view mixing in Lánnang-uè very acceptable.’

5.3. Dataset preparation

Each of the 8,840 responses (136 judgments X 65 participants) was coded for affix source language (Tagalog vs. English), affix position/type (prefix vs. non-prefix), affix length (short or one/two syllables vs. long or three or more syllables), base source language (Hokkien vs. Tagalog/English), base domain (nominal vs. verbal), participant, experiment item, age, sex (male vs. female), and attitudes towards mixing. All categorical predictor variables that were coded binarily were also coded using unweighted effect contrast coding conventions (i.e. 1 vs. -1) (Sonderegger, 2022). The responses (dependent variable) were z-scored by participant.

Because my analysis of system spread and stability requires frequencies, I also coded each judgment for ‘adherence to system’. If the judgment meets all the following criteria or conditions, it is marked as ‘adhering’:

- Z-scored judgment is above 0 (‘acceptable’)
- Affix source language is ‘Tagalog’
- Affix length is ‘short’
- Affix position/type is ‘prefix’
- Base source language is ‘Hokkien’, ‘Tagalog’, or ‘English’
- Base domain is ‘nominal’ or ‘verbal’

If the z-scored judgment is below 0 (‘unacceptable’) and meets any of the following criteria, it is also marked ‘adhering’:

- Affix source language is ‘English’
- Affix length is ‘long’
- Affix position/type is ‘non-prefix’

Otherwise, the judgment is marked ‘non-adhering’.

5.4. Analytical method

I estimated the system’s degree of spread by dividing the number of participants who adhered to the system at least once by the number of all users (henceforth, spread

score). System stability was approximated by acquiring the mean and mean-normalized standard deviation (i.e. ‘coefficient of variation’) (Pélabon et al., 2020, p. 180) of the individual intra-user consistency scores (i.e. number of judgments made by an individual that adhered to the system divided by the total number of judgments made by that individual). I interpret both the mean as individual consistency and the coefficient of variation as group-level consistency or stability. My hypothesis on spread will be supported if the spread score is above average (i.e. above 0.5, or more than half of the population). My results support my hypothesis on stability if the mean individual intra-user score is above 0.5 (the features were used more than 50% of the time, on average) and if the coefficient of variation is below 0.5 (the patterns of variation among users have heterogeneity levels below 50%).

To test my hypotheses on the potential effects of social factors on possible patterns of variation, I fitted a linear mixed-effects regression model on my data using the *lmer* package in the R environment (Bates et al., 2015; Kuznetsova et al., 2019). Participant and experiment item were included as random effects; the fixed effects tested included affix source language, affix length, affix position/type, base source language, base domain, age, sex, and attitudes towards mixing. Interaction effects between two social factors (i.e. age and sex) and each of the structural factors were included. Interaction effects between attitudes towards mixing and two structural factors (i.e. affix source language, base source language) were also included. My hypotheses on the effects of social factors will be supported if I find that any of the interaction effects are significant and if an analysis of the marginal effects (Lüdtke, 2018a; Lüdtke, 2018b) show that the direction of the effect is in the expected direction.

6. Results

6.1. Spread and stability

All 65 of my participants followed the nominal derivational affixation system at least once (spread score = 1) – they rated constructions that conformed to the system (e.g. *pang-haktshè* ‘item reserved for the bathroom’, Tagalog-derived prefix + Hokkien-derived base) acceptable (z-scored response mean = 0.6689, SD = 1.01, SE = 0.02) and rated constructions did not adhere to the convention (e.g. *dating-əl* ‘arrival’, Tagalog-derived base + English-derived suffix) as unacceptable (z-scored response mean = -0.2408, SD = 0.87, SE = 0.01) at least once. None of my participants did not follow the system at all.

Examining the individual consistency rates, I found that participants varied in their adherence to the affixation system. None of the participants were 100% consistent in following it – variation is present. The rates ranged from 0.7353–0.9926 (median = 0.9412, 1st Quartile = 0.8971, 3rd Quartile = 0.9632). However, on average, participants rated constructions in accordance to the system with very high rates of consistency (mean intra-user consistency score = 0.9218, SD = 0.0652). In addition to high rates of intra-user consistency, I also observed that the participants’ patterns of variation are relatively homogenous (coefficient of variation = 0.0707): the proportion of system-conforming and non-conforming judgments are similar across participants. This is illustrated in Figure 1, where the individual intra-user consistency scores cluster towards the right. The results indicate that derivational affixation system of Lánnang-uè has high rates of

spread as well as high rates of intra- and inter-user stability within my sample. Intra- and inter-user variation in adherence to the affixation system is limited.

6.2. Sociolinguistic variation

A breakdown of the consistency scores by age (younger vs. older), sex (male vs. female), and language attitudes towards mixing (positive vs. negative) reveals differences in adherence to the affixation system. Younger users (mean = 0.952, SD = 0.02, SE = 0.005, $n = 29$) were found to follow the system more consistently than older users (mean = 0.897, SD = 0.07, SE = 0.013, $n = 36$). Users who reported being female (mean = 0.923, SD = 0.067, SE = 0.009, $n = 50$) had higher conformance scores compared to male users (mean = 0.92, SD = 0.061, SE = 0.016, $n = 15$). Finally, participants who perceived language mixing in Lánnang-uè positively (mean = 0.92, SD = 0.07, SE = 0.009, $n = 45$) adhered to the system more consistently than those who did not (mean = 0.90, SD = 0.06, SE = 0.01). Descriptively analyzing the means by social factors, I found that age, sex, and language attitudes towards mixing all seemed to correlate with system adherence: being part of the group of older users, male group, and group of users who perceived mixing negatively appears to be linked to system non-conformance. These effects were found even after normalising the data (statistically isolating the effect of age, sex, and attitudes on system adherence) using regression. However, the effects of these social factors were found to be asymmetrical (Table 4). While age accounted for the bulk of the variation relevant to three conditions of the system (affix position/type, affix length, affix source language) and while language mixing attitudes accounted for variation relevant to the language mixing (i.e. affix source language), sex only accounted for a significant part of the variation with respect to one system condition – the affix's source language.

Specifically, for age, I found that younger users systematically distinguished between constructions that conformed to the source language, position/type, and syllable length conditions in the system (i.e. words with short Tagalog-derived prefixes, e.g.

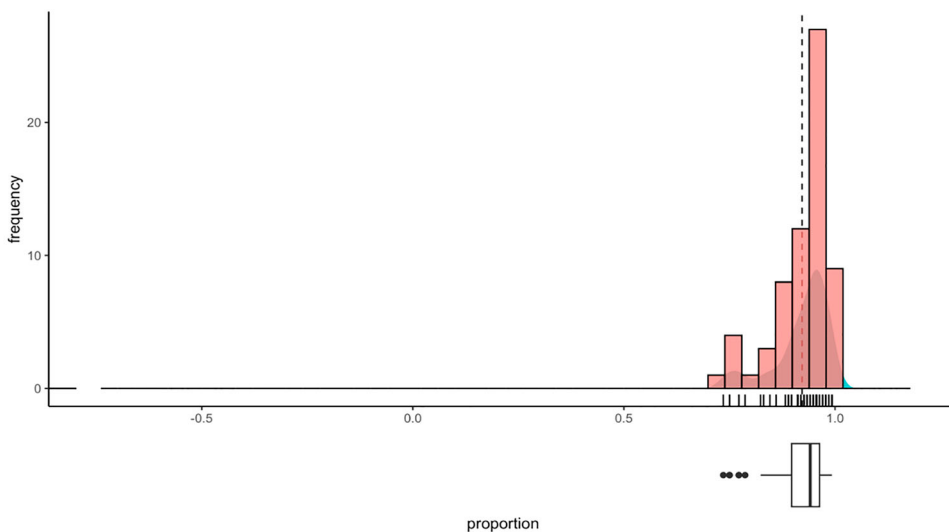


Figure 1. Distribution of participants' individual intraspeaker consistency scores.

pang-) and constructions that did not (e.g. words with long prefixes, *pagkaka-*). They rated constructions with an affix derived from Tagalog ($\beta = -0.01$, $SE = 0.0001$, $p < 0.001$), constructions with prefixes ($\beta = 0.01$, $SE = 0.0001$, $p < 0.001$), and constructions with short affixes ($\beta = -0.01$, $SE = 0.0001$, $p < 0.001$) consistently high (Figure 2); they consistently rated constructions with English-derived affixes, suffixes, and/or long affixes low. This is not the case for older users, who appeared not to follow the affixation conventions in Lánnang-uè: they tended to rate all affix-base constructions – even constructions involving short Tagalog-derived prefixes – as unacceptable or bordering acceptable. The effects of age on constructions involving these three particular structural conditions in the derivational affixation system are clearly illustrated in Figure 2a to Figure 2c, where the lines corresponding to acceptability ratings are distinct in the youngest group (conforming to the system) but overlap for the oldest group (not conforming to the system). Note that the acceptability judgments of younger users towards constructions that conform to the three conditions – Tagalog-derived affixation (Figure 2a, blue), prefixation (Figure 2b, red), and short affixation (Figure 2c, blue) – are all above zero, the cut-off for acceptability in this study. This is noticeably different from the judgments of older users, where the ratings tended to be below zero or unacceptable regardless of whether the construction follows the affixation system or not.

There is no evidence of an age effect on the last two conditions of the system – base source language and domain non-exclusivity. Both younger and older users conform to the affixation system by rating constructions containing Hokkien-derived bases similar to constructions containing Tagalog-derived and English-derived bases. Both groups also behaved similarly with respect to their ratings of constructions with verbal or nominal bases: the lines overlap regardless of age group (Figure 2d and Figure 2e).

A close examination of the results for sex showed that female users patterned differently from male users with respect to the affix source language condition of the

Table 4. Linear mixed-effects regression results – predictors of acceptability ratings (observations = 8,840, $R^2 = 0.596$, random intercepts for item, trial number, and participant). Reference levels are highlighted in boldface; in the p -values column, statistically significant values are in boldface.

| Predictors | Estimates | SE | CI | p |
|---|-----------|--------|---------------|------------------|
| (Intercept) | 0.02 | 0.31 | -0.58–0.62 | 0.95 |
| Affix – Source language (Tagalog vs. English) | 0.61 | 0.13 | 0.35–0.88 | <0.001 |
| Sex (Male vs. Female) | 0.03 | 0.14 | -0.25–0.31 | 0.841 |
| Age | 0.0001 | 0.0001 | -0.01–0.00 | 0.119 |
| Affix – Position (Prefix vs. Suffix, Circumfix) | -1.12 | 0.13 | -1.37 – -0.88 | <0.001 |
| Affix – Number (1–2 vs. 3 above) | 0.73 | 0.1 | 0.53–0.92 | <0.001 |
| Base – Source language (Hokkien vs. Tagalog, English) | 0.05 | 0.09 | -0.12–0.23 | 0.56 |
| Base – Domain (nominal vs. verbal) | -0.18 | 0.07 | -0.31 – -0.04 | 0.013 |
| Attitudes (language mixing) | 0.02 | 0.04 | -0.06–0.10 | 0.602 |
| Sex: Affix – Source language | -0.13 | 0.06 | -0.24 – -0.02 | 0.022 |
| Age: Affix – Source language | -0.01 | 0.0001 | -0.01 – -0.00 | <0.001 |
| Sex: Affix – Position | -0.09 | 0.06 | -0.21–0.03 | 0.123 |
| Age: Affix – Position | 0.01 | 0.0001 | 0.01–0.01 | <0.001 |
| Sex: Affix – Number | 0.02 | 0.05 | -0.07–0.12 | 0.655 |
| Age: Affix – Number | -0.01 | 0.001 | -0.01 – -0.00 | <0.001 |
| Sex: Base – Source language | -0.04 | 0.03 | -0.10–0.03 | 0.289 |
| Age: Base – Source language | 0.0001 | 0.0001 | -0.00–0.00 | 0.637 |
| Sex: Base – Domain | 0.0001 | 0.03 | -0.07–0.07 | 0.972 |
| Age: Base – Domain | 0.0001 | 0.0001 | -0.00–0.00 | 0.181 |
| Attitudes: Affix – Source language | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.01–0.05 | 0.014 |
| Attitudes: Base – Source language | -0.01 | 0.01 | -0.03–0.01 | 0.188 |

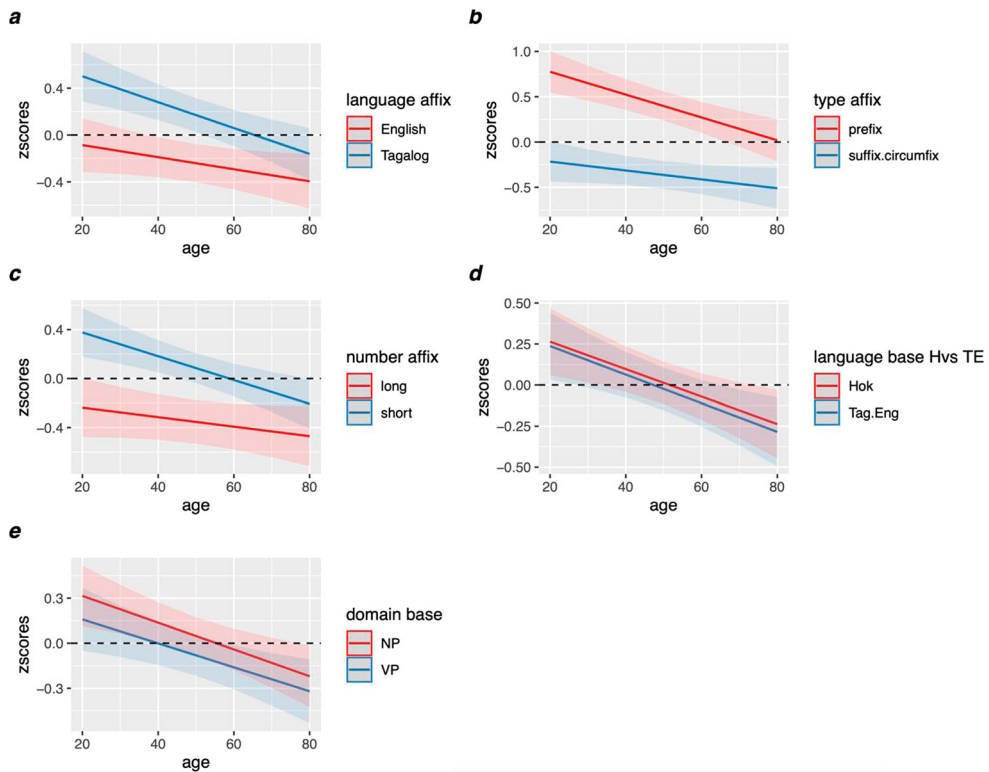


Figure 2. Age effects on Lánnang-uè’s nominal derivational affixation system.

system: they clearly distinguished between English-derived affixes and Tagalog-derived affixes (conforming to the system) but males did not. Females rated constructions with an affix derived from Tagalog ($\beta = -0.13$, $SE = 0.06$, $p < 0.05$) consistently high (Figure 3a) and consistently rated constructions with English-derived affixes low. Males also rated constructions with English-derived affixes low but tended to rate Tagalog-derived affixes low (Figure 3a). I did not find evidence of a significant sex effect on the rest of the conditions of the system (Table 4). The results indicate that male and female Lánnang-uè users pattern similarly with respect to affix position/type, affix length, base source language, and base domain (Figure 3b to Figure 3e).

I also analyzed the patterns of variation with respect to language attitudes and found that Lánnang-uè users who perceived language mixing positively tended to follow the affix source language condition in the system. These users had an affix source language contrast (English-derived affix vs. Tagalog-derived affix), unlike users who viewed mixing negatively. Specifically, users who viewed mixing positively rated constructions with an affix derived from Tagalog consistently high and rated constructions with English-derived affixes consistently low ($\beta = 0.03$, $SE = 0.01$, $p < 0.05$) (Figure 4a), but users who viewed mixing negatively did not. There was no evidence of a significant attitude effect on the base source language condition of the system (Table 4). Regardless of their views towards mixing, users conformed to the convention by treating constructions with Hokkien-derived bases and Tagalog-/English-derived bases the same (Figure 4b).

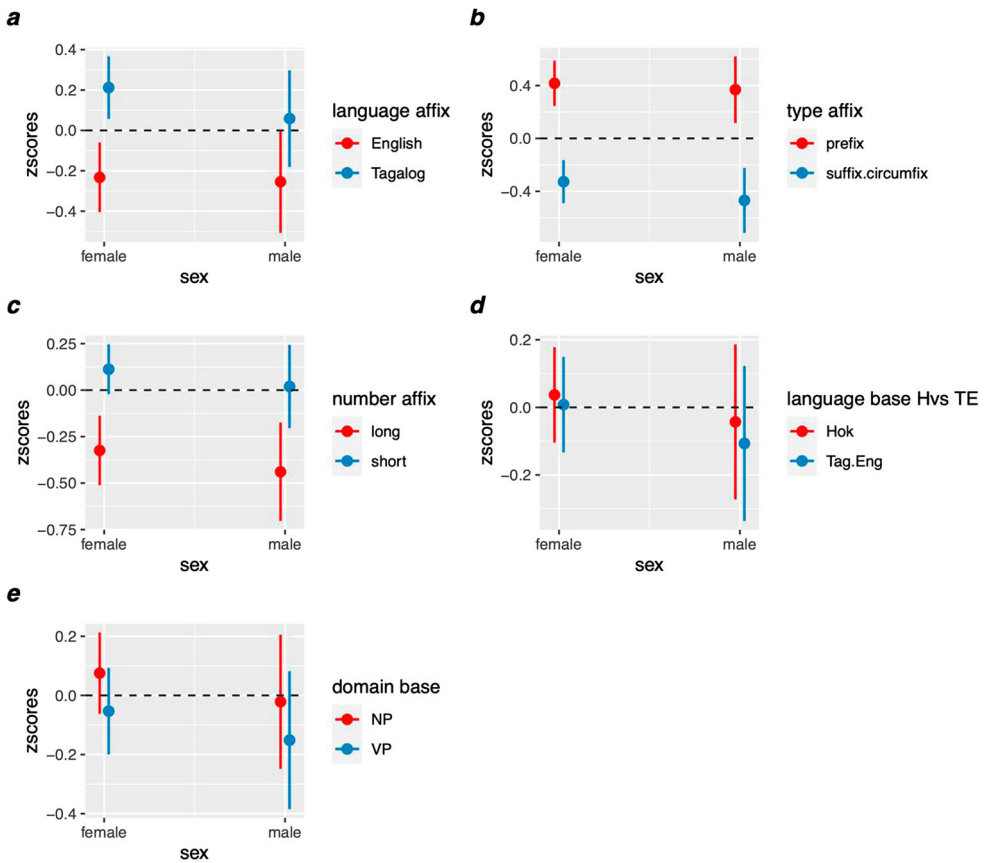


Figure 3. Sex effects on Lánnang-uè's nominal derivational affixation system.

7. Discussion

This study has examined spread and stability of the nominal derivational affixation system among Lánnang-uè speakers and has tested for the potential effects of social factors on patterns of variation. I found strong evidence that the system is highly widespread and stable. Variation in adherence to the system is relatively low, and the bulk of this variation was found to be conditioned by age, sex, and language attitudes towards mixing in Lánnang-uè. The results revealed that older users tended not to follow the affix source language, affix length, and affix position/type conditions of the affixation system; male users and users who perceived language mixing negatively were less likely to follow the affix source language condition compared to female users and those who perceived mixing positively. While the patterns of variation relevant to the affixation system were conditioned by all three hypothesised social factors, my findings overall indicate selective (stipulation-specific) sociolinguistic conditioning instead of system-wide, across-the-board sociolinguistic conditioning – a pattern that is consistent with previous work on Lánnang-uè and other contact languages (Gonzales, 2022a; Leimgruber et al., 2021; Starr & Balasubramaniam, 2019).

The high rates of spread and stability of the affixation system within Lánnang-uè speakers is expected, given previous research in the multilingual practice that also found similar

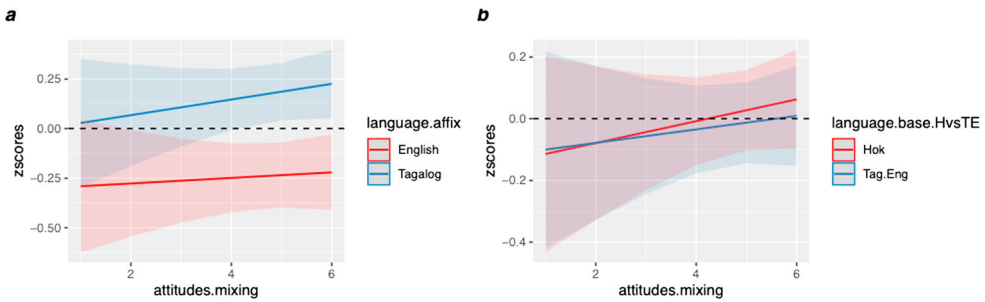


Figure 4. The effects of attitudes towards mixing on Lánnang-uè’s nominal derivational affixation system.

patterns. It was discovered, for example, from a production perspective, that almost all users of Lánnang-uè adopted the tone and stress systems of the practice with comparable rates of spread and stability (Gonzales, 2022a). The findings also parallel what was found in Gonzales and Starr’s (2020) study, where almost all Lánnang-uè users were found to consistently use a single vowel system instead of a stratified Hokkien-Tagalog-English system. The findings of the current morphological study contribute to the growing literature on the nature of Lánnang-uè, providing strong evidence against the popular claim in the Lannang community that Lánnang-uè is an unsystematic, ad-hoc mix of Hokkien, Tagalog and English (Ang See, 1990; Uytanlet, 2014). They also highlight striking differences between language-related behaviour (here, uniform judgments on affix-base constructions) and the dominant community belief that Lánnang-uè’s features are mostly idiolectal or family-specific (Gonzales, 2022a) – that the features have low degrees of stability and spread within the community. My findings present further evidence of a stable, widespread multilingual practice in a community that generally does not view it as such (Gonzales, 2022a).

Although I have found that age and sex conditioned the variation in adherence to the system – a finding in line with my hypotheses, the direction of their effects was surprising in the context of language change. One striking finding is that much of the system-non-conforming behaviour is linked to older and male speakers rather than younger and female speakers. This pattern deviates from the general trend in sociolinguistic work, where young females tend to lead linguistic change (Maclagan et al., 1999), assuming of course that system-non-conforming behaviour is the innovation and not system-conforming behaviour. Under this view, older users and male users can be viewed as linguistic vanguards attempting to change parts of the conventionalised affixation system through avoidance of rules that promote impurity in their ancestral language Hokkien. There is some evidence of this in my post-experiment conversations with these participants, who constantly brought up the idea of Hokkien bastardisation throughout the experiment. Based on my observations, they seem to be innovating Lánnang-uè by consciously attempting to suppress their knowledge of Lánnang-uè derivational morphology to preserve the integrity of their Hokkien. Similar sociolinguistic patterns (at least, sex-related patterns) of change have also been observed in some variationist work, where males have been reported to pattern differently from the norm, due to several factors such as stressing a certain social identity (e.g. Vineyarder identity) (Labov, 1963) or avoiding sounding effeminate (Obeidat & Hammoudi, 2019).

There is another possibility – that the system-conforming behaviour (i.e. the acceptance of constructions with short Tagalog-derived prefixes) is the innovation and not system-non-conforming behaviour. Under this assumption, the results support the sociolinguistic literature, showing that young females are leading change in apparent time (Sankoff, 2006) – in this case, change from a language that does not have stable rules for derivational affixes to a language that does. This particular interpretation of the sociolinguistic patterns is justified when one views the data in light of sociohistorical research on the Lannang community in Manila, reported to have predominantly Hokkien roots (Chu, 2021; Chua, 2004; Tan, 1993). From a language development perspective, it is possible that Lánngang-uè began as Hokkien, a language without said rules, but gradually diverged over time due to sociohistorical and political events experienced by its users. Many of these events (e.g. the Chinese Civil War, the rise of Communist China, Chinese immigration bans, the Filipinization movement, policies mandating a Filipino-oriented curriculum and discouraging Chinese-oriented curricula) drove a wedge between the Lannang community and its Chinese roots. At the same time, there were existing social practices (e.g. endogamy within the Lannangs, intentional exclusion of Filipinos in Lannang social activities and vice versa, anti-Chinese sentiments) – consequences of colonialism that promoted discord between ethnic groups – that prevented the Lannang community from completely integrating to the Filipino culture (Chu, 2021; Chua, 2004; Gonzales, 2017b; Tan, 1993; Uytanlet, 2014). The Lannangs were, as a result, at the margins of both Filipino and Chinese society: an effect that is still experienced by many Lannangs today.

- (8) *Nán khàlàng tiâu lè puâ không tiông. ùmstai-ia guâ sî Huìdipinláng âsî Tiôngkòkláng ... Taidiók e lánng khuâ guâ sî Huânâ là. Tsitâh Huânâ khuâ guâ sî lánngàng là. Tsia e lánng kâ dî kông 'intsik yun ah'; Taidiók khuâ dân tsuê ô sô sô ... khuâ dân tsuê Huânâ. Paláng kông guâ sî yayá.*

'We are like caught in between. We don't know if we are Filipino or Chinese ... The Mainland Chinese regard me as Filipino. Here, the Filipinos say I am Chinese. They would say, that you're a Chinese. The Mainlanders would say we are too black, regarding us as Filipinos. They even said that I was a domestic helper.'

(PC0124: Female, 86 y/o, retiree, Lánngang-uè) (Gonzales, 2021, p. 11)

These events provided an environment conducive for the birth and maintenance of a hybrid identity – one that has Filipino and Chinese aspects (or neither Filipino nor Chinese, by virtue of being both) (Gonzales, 2021; Uytanlet, 2014), and consequently the genesis of a hybrid practice or language with conventions that integrate Filipino linguistic resources and ancestral Hokkien (Chinese) elements from a common Lannang 'ethnolinguistic repertoire' (Benor, 2010, p. 162) reflecting the hybrid ethnic identity of the Lannangs. An example of such conventions is the nominal affixation system described in this paper, which is distinct from Hokkien and Tagalog despite being derived from both languages (i.e. tone and mono-bi-syllabic tendencies from Hokkien, selected phonological forms and meaning from Tagalog). Overall, from a Hokkien-origin perspective of Lánngang-uè development, it is likely that Lánngang-uè users did not initially have conventions for affixation mixing but developed one after a series of sociohistorical upheavals – a change presumably led by younger and female users, based on the current data. Of course, it is possible that the variation conditioned by age and sex is not a

consequence of change, but rather a result of stable age-specific or sex-specific stylistic practices (e.g. wanting to appear young and cool) (Eckert, 2012). However, I do not currently have evidence of them in this study, so I hesitate to commit to a stylistic account of variation in the affixation system. The documented socio-history of the Lannang community, along with the absence of evidence of age- and sex-specific stylistic practices involving the system, makes the aforementioned language change account of variation particularly compelling.

Another finding worth discussing is the correlation between language mixing attitudes and patterns of variation: users with positive attitudes towards mixing were found to exhibit more principled and systematic behaviour compared to those with negative attitudes. This finding is consistent with sociolinguistic work that underscores the fundamental role of user attitudes on linguistic innovation (Leimgruber et al., 2021; Thomason, 2007; Thomason, 2008; Wan, 2022). However, unlike previous work, my research goes further to illustrate a potential scenario where users' positive attitudes towards language mixing do not lead to increased adherence to *any* form (both structured and unstructured forms) of language mixing, as indicated by the lack of an attitude effect on general acceptability of mixed constructions in Table 4, but rather, an increased adherence to structured, *systematic* forms of mixing. This finding suggests that the conscious and deliberate acceptance of mixing practices within the community is an important factor (perhaps a necessary condition) for the crystallization of stable multilingual practices.

8. Concluding remarks

The findings of this study are consistent with research on other features of Lánnang-uè, which indicate relatively high levels of stability and spread as well as sociolinguistic patterning in the nominal affixation system of the multilingual practice. They accentuate the differences between the Lannang community's perception and their actual linguistic practice, illustrating how many members of a community can adhere to sociolinguistic conventions despite not explicitly believing in the existence of such conventions. The findings involving sociolinguistic patterns of variation observed offers clues regarding the development of the affixation system in Lánnang-uè: using the apparent time methodological framework (Sankoff, 2006), I have argued for a developmental account where the unique hybrid affixation system emerged in Lánnang-uè as a consequence of its users' historical negotiation between Chinese (Hokkien) and Filipino (Tagalog) identities, based on sociohistorical evidence. A direct comparison of linguistic behaviour under different language mixing attitude conditions revealed an intriguing, and to my knowledge, undiscovered pattern: users with positive sentiments towards general mixing did not favour all mixed utterances, as one would expect; instead, they only favoured *systematic* forms of mixing. This result suggests that positive attitudes towards mixing is a crucial condition for the establishment of (linguistic systems in) multilingual practices.

While much has been explored in this study, many trajectories for future inquiry remain. For example, one might consider replicating the study in the present. As mentioned earlier, this study was conducted in 2017, and much has happened since then and today. It is unclear whether the patterns discovered in this paper apply to the present day. For instance, the influx of non-Lannang Mandarin speakers from Mainland China in the recent five years may facilitate the inclusion of Mandarin elements in the

morphological conventions of Lánnang-uè. However, given the less than amiable relationships between Lannangs and the Mainlanders, an opposite effect is also expected: Lannangs might deliberately try to keep out 'non-local' elements like Mandarin bases or affixes out of the mixing practice. The COVID-19 pandemic has also disrupted in-person networking within the community, which may have implications on the spread and stability of the system, as community-wide reinforcement of these norms has lessened. Future work can test whether the conventions still exist today or whether new patterns and innovations have emerged as a result of recent societal changes.

Another fruitful direction for further research would be broadening the scope of this research to include other social variables that were mentioned in the discussion earlier but not directly tested in the regression model of affixation system adherence, such as ethnic orientation (e.g. Filipino-oriented vs. Chinese-oriented), style (e.g. *konyò* vs. 'proper' style) (Reyes, 2017), and attitudes towards Hokkien (e.g. maintenance vs. shift). Proficiency in the source languages have been found to condition linguistic behaviour in Lánnang-uè and could potentially influence the hybrid affixation system. Future work can test whether this is the case. Such an endeavour promises to provide a more holistic picture of the relationship between linguistic behaviour in Lánnang-uè and Lannang society, contributing to the scarce but growing body of literature exploring the nexus of multilingualism, language contact, and language variation and change. More generally, a comprehensive investigation of other features in Lánnang-uè with respect to spread, stability, and sociolinguistic variation will advance our understanding of severely underrepresented and understudied multilingual practices in the Philippines and the Asia-Pacific region at large. It pledges to provide a more nuanced dynamic, characterisation of multilingual practices that, based on limited work, appear to have systems with varying levels of spread and stability (Lipski, 2020) conditioned by the sociolinguistic landscape.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Complete list of stimuli

| # | Affix Source | Affix Position | Affix Length | Base Source | Base Domain | Set A | Set B | Set C |
|----|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | A | sien-ery | tiekpiet-ery | kin-ery |
| 2 | English | Suffix | two | Hokkien | A | tobieng-ism | tsiabieng-ism | sang-ism |
| 3 | English | Suffix | two | Hokkien | A | Salamstam-ity | amstam-ity | boh-ity |
| 4 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | A | goai-ness | hose-ness | hoahi-ness |
| 5 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | A | kham-y | tobieng-y | anstam-y |
| 6 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | tsiau-ling | miau-ling | kau-ling |
| 7 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | phongkan-ery | hio-ery | tshiang-ery |
| 8 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | Tiong-san-ian | Tiong-tsieng-ian | Hokkien-ian |
| 9 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | ong-dom | katieng-dom | atsi-dom |
| 10 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | panto-eer | betsia-eer | hesua-eer |
| 11 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | Taidiok-er | Dipun-er | Hankok-er |
| 12 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | Dipun-ese | Hankok-ese | Taidiok-ese |
| 13 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | isng-ess | pieng-ess | kanglang-ess |
| 14 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | tungsi-ful | tshungsi-ful | pakto-ful |
| 15 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | lame-hood | due-hood | gina-hood |
| 16 | English | Suffix | two | Hokkien | N | Tiongtsieng-ism | Hokkienism | Tiongtsieng-ism |
| 17 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | Hokkien-ist | Tiongtsieng-ist | Tiongtsieng-ist |
| 18 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | ti-let | lame-let | poe-let |
| 19 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | piengiu-ship | ong-ship | isng-ship |
| 20 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | kau-al | toa-al | kaisiau-al |
| 21 | English | Suffix | two | Hokkien | V | tsai-ation | tshong-ation | pangdio-ation |
| 22 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | tshongdiao-ment | kiah-ment | hoat-ment |
| 23 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | tim-age | tshongpai-age | tshongti-age |
| 24 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | gut-ant | thungsak-ant | tsham-ant |
| 25 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | pala-ee | khotsheh-ee | thsim-ee |
| 26 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | kun-er | tshit-er | tsai-er |
| 27 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | tsham-ing | tsien-ing | tshit-ing |
| 28 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | tshong-ity | tshi-ity | oa-ity |
| 29 | English | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | seh-ance | koh-ance | thieng-ance |
| 30 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | A | pagod-ery | duwag-ery | bilis-ery |
| 31 | English | Suffix | two | Tagalog | A | kaliwa-ism | kanan-ism | pareho-ism |
| 32 | English | Suffix | two | Tagalog | A | gitna-ity | peke-ity | nipis-ity |
| 33 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | A | bait-ness | buti-ness | saya-ness |
| 34 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | A | yabang-y | gastos-y | kanan-y |
| 35 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | ibon-ling | pusa-ling | aso-ling |
| 36 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | manok-ery | dahon-ery | baril-ery |

(Continued)

Appendix 1. Continued.

| # | Affix Source | Affix Position | Affix Length | Base Source | Base Domain | Set A | Set B | Set C |
|----|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 37 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | Rizal-ian | Marcos-ian | Quezon-ian |
| 38 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | hari-dom | pari-dom | ate-dom |
| 39 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | bangketa-eer | kalesa-eer | bundok-eer |
| 40 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | Vigan-er | Pasay-er | Mactan-er |
| 41 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | Pasay-ese | Mactan-ese | Vigan-ese |
| 42 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | leon-ess | guro-ess | babaylan-ess |
| 43 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | pinggan-ful | tiyan-ful | bibig-ful |
| 44 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | lalaki-hood | babae-hood | bata-hood |
| 45 | English | Suffix | two | Tagalog | N | Marcosism | Quezonism | Rizalism |
| 46 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | Quezon-ist | Rizal-ist | Marcos-ist |
| 47 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | baboy-let | lalaki-let | baso-let |
| 48 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | N | babae-ship | hari-ship | pinsan-ship |
| 49 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | dating-al | hatid-al | ganap-al |
| 50 | English | Suffix | two | Tagalog | V | tanim-ation | ayos-ation | ih-ation |
| 51 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | tapos-ment | dala-ment | parusa-ment |
| 52 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | lunod-age | sira-age | tawa-age |
| 53 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | dulas-ant | alis-ant | sali-ant |
| 54 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | bayad-ee | hiram-ee | halik-ee |
| 55 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | kulo-er | punas-er | tanim-er |
| 56 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | sali-ing | gupit-ing | punas-ing |
| 57 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | ayos-ity | hubad-ity | piga-ity |
| 58 | English | Suffix | one | Tagalog | V | salita-ance | gabay-ance | hint-ance |
| 59 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | A | ka-thautsui | ka-sakap | ka-pithau |
| 60 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | N | ka-piengiu | ka-bang | ka-phoa |
| 61 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | N | mag-bang | mag-phoa | mag-piengiu |
| 62 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | N | pang-tshia | pang-tshung | pang-haktshe |
| 63 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | V | ka-tshiukoa | ka-thiaubu | ka-tsia |
| 64 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | V | mang-thiaubu | mang-tsia | mang-tshiukoa |
| 65 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | V | pag-kia | pag-tsau | pag-tse |
| 66 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | V | pang-tsitsia | pang-tshit | pang-soe |
| 67 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | Hokkien | V | pang-khun | pang-hiusiak | pang-tsau |
| 68 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | A | ka-front | ka-together | ka-side |
| 69 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | N | ka-friend | ka-partner | ka-partner |
| 70 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | N | mag-room | mag-partner | mag-friend |
| 71 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | N | pang-car | pang-bed | pang-bathroom |
| 72 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | V | ka-sing | ka-dance | ka-eat |
| 73 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | V | mang-dance | mang-eat | mang-sing |
| 74 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | V | pag-walk | pag-run | pag-sit |
| 75 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | V | pang-cook | pang-wipe | pang-wash |
| 76 | Tagalog | Prefix | one | English | V | pang-sleep | pang-relax | pang-run |
| 77 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | A | pagkakupag-hose | pagkakupag-boleso | pagkakupag-thiatshui |
| 78 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | A | pagkaka-boleso | pagkaka-thiatshui | pagkaka-hose |
| 79 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | A | pagkakupagpaka-thiatsui | pagkakupagpaka-hose | pagkakupagpaka-boleso |
| 80 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | N | magkaka-dai | magkaka-khantsiu | magkaka-ban |
| 81 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | N | pagkakupag-siensi | pagkakupag-tshiathau | pagkakupag-haksung |
| 82 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | N | pagkaka-tshiathau | pagkaka-haksung | pagkaka-siensi |
| 83 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | N | pagkakupagpaka-haksng | pagkakupagpaka-siensi | pagkakupagpaka-tshiathau |
| 84 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | V | pakiki-kongoe | pakiki-tsham | pakiki-tsiauthai |
| 85 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | V | pagkakupag-soe | pagkakupag-siu | pagkakupag-sau |
| 86 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | V | pagkaka-siu | pagkaka-sau | pagkaka-soe |
| 87 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | V | pagkakupagkipang-hoah | pagkakupagkipang-thoe | pagkakupagkipang-hoa |
| 88 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | V | pagkakupagpaka-sau | pagkakupagpaka-soe | pagkakupagpaka-siu |
| 89 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | V | pagkakupang-thoe | pagkakupang-hoa | pagkakupang-hoah |
| 90 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | Hokkien | V | tagapag-khe | tagapag-pao | tagapag-sng |

(Continued)

Appendix 1. Continued.

| # | Affix Source | Affix Position | Affix Length | Base Source | Base Domain | Set A | Set B | Set C |
|-----|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 91 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | A | pagkakapag-alright | pagkakapag-rude | pagkakapag-obedient |
| 92 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | A | pagkaka-rude | pagkaka-obedient | pagkaka-alright |
| 93 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | A | pagkakapagpaka-obedient | pagkakapagpaka-alright | pagkakapagpaka-rude |
| 94 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | N | magkaka-generation | magkaka-couple | magkaka-class |
| 95 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | N | pagkakapag-nun | pagkakapag-priest | pagkakapag-student |
| 96 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | N | pagkaka-priest | pagkaka-astronaut | pagkaka-nun |
| 97 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | N | pagkakapagpaka-studyante | pagkakapagpaka-nun | pagkakapagpaka-priest |
| 98 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | V | pakiki-talk | pakiki-join | pakiki-entertain |
| 99 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | V | pagkakapag-wash | pagkakapag-fix | pagkakapag-sweep |
| 100 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | V | pagkaka-fix | pagkaka-sweep | pagkaka-wash |
| 101 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | V | pagkakapagkipang-shout | pagkakapagkipang-take | pagkakapagkipang-hold |
| 102 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | V | pagkakapagpaka-sweep | pagkakapagpaka-wash | pagkakapagpaka-fix |
| 103 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | V | pagkakapang-take | pagkakapang-hold | pagkakapang-shout |
| 104 | Tagalog | Prefix | threeplus | English | V | tagapag-arrange | tagapag-wrap | tagapag-count |
| 105 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | A | pagka-siuki | pagka-ulat | pagka-phoapi |
| 106 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | N | mag-pphoa | mag-ppiengiu | mag-babang |
| 107 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | N | mag-hihi | mag-gugu | mag-kkoe |
| 108 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | N | magka-khantsiu | magka-ban | magka-dai |
| 109 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | N | pagka-kanglang | pagka-hautiu | pagka-laobu |
| 110 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | N | taga-taidiok | taga-Bikok | taga-hionggang |
| 111 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | V | pang-hohoa | pang-hohoah | pang-ththoe |
| 112 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | V | pagka-tsau | pagka-tse | pagka-kia |
| 113 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | Hokkien | V | taga-sng | taga-khe | taga-pao |
| 114 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | A | pagka-angry | pagka-strong | pagka-sick |
| 115 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | N | mag-ppartner | mag-ffriend | mag-roroom |
| 116 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | N | mag-ffish | mag-cocow | mag-chicken |
| 117 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | N | magka-couple | magka-class | magka-generation |
| 118 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | N | pagka-servant | pagka-principal | pagka-parent |
| 119 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | N | taga-China | taga-America | taga-HongKong |
| 120 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | V | pang-hohold | pang-shoshout | pang-tatake |
| 121 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | V | pagka-run | pagka-sit | pagka-walk |
| 122 | Tagalog | Prefix | two | English | V | taga-count | taga-arrange | taga-wrap |
| 123 | Tagalog | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | piangko-han | kape-han | angtsiu-han |
| 124 | Tagalog | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | tsitsia-an | katsheh-an | hoado-an |
| 125 | Tagalog | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | katsheh-in | hoado-in | tsitsia-in |
| 126 | Tagalog | Suffix | one | Hokkien | N | bamboo-han | igloo-han | frisbee-han |
| 127 | Tagalog | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | perform-an | enter-an | arrange-an |
| 128 | Tagalog | Suffix | one | Hokkien | V | enter-in | arrange-in | perform-in |
| 129 | Tagalog | Suffix | two | Hokkien | A | siukhi-siukhi-han | utsi-utsi-han | payse-payse-han |
| 130 | Tagalog | Suffix | two | Hokkien | N | tshulai-tshulai-an | otung-otung-an | isung-isung-an |
| 131 | Tagalog | Suffix | two | Hokkien | V | hoado-hoado-an | tsitsia-tsitsia-an | katsheh-katsheh-an |
| 132 | Tagalog | Suffix | two | English | A | heavy-heavy-han | fancy-fancy-han | happy-happy-han |
| 133 | Tagalog | Suffix | two | English | N | intern-intern-an | student-student-an | police-police-an |
| 134 | Tagalog | Suffix | two | English | V | arrange-arrange-an | perform-perform-an | enter-enter-an |
| 135 | Tagalog | Circumfix | two | Hokkien | A | ka-payse-han | ka-bosong-an | ka-siosim-an |
| 136 | Tagalog | Circumfix | two | English | A | ka-happy-an | ka-tender-an | ka-eager-an |

Appendix 2. Sample word list (Set A)

| # | Word |
|----|------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>pang-sleep</i> |
| 2 | <i>pagkacapag-nun</i> |
| 3 | <i>pala-ee</i> |
| 4 | <i>ka-happy-an</i> |
| 5 | <i>Hokkien-ist</i> |
| 6 | <i>tapos-ment</i> |
| 7 | <i>mag-room</i> |
| 8 | <i>piangko-han</i> |
| 9 | <i>tsiau-ling</i> |
| 10 | <i>tsham-ing</i> |
| 11 | <i>ka-tshiukoa</i> |
| 12 | <i>pag-walk</i> |
| 13 | <i>tim-age</i> |
| 14 | <i>pagkaka-priest</i> |
| 15 | <i>ka-piengiu</i> |
| 16 | <i>pang-cook</i> |
| 17 | <i>pagkacapag-siensi</i> |
| 18 | <i>sali-ing</i> |
| 19 | <i>Pasay-ese</i> |
| 20 | <i>pagka-servant</i> |
| 21 | <i>seh-ance</i> |
| 22 | <i>bangketa-eer</i> |
| 23 | <i>lalaki-hood</i> |
| 24 | <i>pagkacapagpaka-haksng</i> |
| 25 | <i>taga-China</i> |
| 26 | <i>mag-fifish</i> |
| 27 | <i>arrange-arrange-an</i> |
| 28 | <i>yabang-y</i> |
| 29 | <i>tshulai-tshulai-an</i> |
| 30 | <i>intern-intern-an</i> |
| 31 | <i>pagkaka-tshiathau</i> |
| 32 | <i>tagapag-khe</i> |
| 33 | <i>pang-hohoa</i> |
| 34 | <i>Vigan-er</i> |
| 35 | <i>pang-car</i> |
| 36 | <i>gitna-ity</i> |
| 37 | <i>hari-dom</i> |
| 38 | <i>katsheh-in</i> |
| 39 | <i>pagkaka-boleso</i> |
| 40 | <i>bamboo-han</i> |
| 41 | <i>dating-al</i> |
| 42 | <i>ibon-ling</i> |
| 43 | <i>pinggan-ful</i> |
| 44 | <i>pagka-run</i> |
| 45 | <i>pang-hohold</i> |
| 46 | <i>pagkacapag-wash</i> |
| 47 | <i>leon-ess</i> |
| 48 | <i>mag-pphoa</i> |
| 49 | <i>heavy-heavy-han</i> |
| 50 | <i>pagka-tsau</i> |
| 51 | <i>kau-al</i> |
| 52 | <i>tsai-ation</i> |
| 53 | <i>ka-front</i> |
| 54 | <i>mang-dance</i> |
| 55 | <i>bait-ness</i> |
| 56 | <i>baboy-let</i> |
| 57 | <i>piengiu-ship</i> |
| 58 | <i>Taidiok-er</i> |
| 59 | <i>pagkaka-fix</i> |
| 60 | <i>pag-kia</i> |

(Continued)

Appendix 2. Continued.

| # | Word |
|-----|---------------------------------|
| 61 | <i>mang-thiaubu</i> |
| 62 | <i>isng-ess</i> |
| 63 | <i>pagkakapagkipang-shout</i> |
| 64 | <i>Salamstam-ity</i> |
| 65 | <i>Quezon-ist</i> |
| 66 | <i>ayos-ity</i> |
| 67 | <i>taga-taidiok</i> |
| 68 | <i>ong-dom</i> |
| 69 | <i>Marcos-ism</i> |
| 70 | <i>Rizal-ian</i> |
| 71 | <i>kaliwa-ism</i> |
| 72 | <i>pang-tsitsia</i> |
| 73 | <i>tobieng-ism</i> |
| 74 | <i>taga-sng</i> |
| 75 | <i>perform-an</i> |
| 76 | <i>mag-ppartner</i> |
| 77 | <i>pagkakapagpaka-sau</i> |
| 78 | <i>pakiki-talk</i> |
| 79 | <i>Tiongsieng-ism</i> |
| 80 | <i>pang-khun</i> |
| 81 | <i>lunod-age</i> |
| 82 | <i>mag-bang</i> |
| 83 | <i>Tiong-san-ian</i> |
| 84 | <i>pagkakapagpaka-thiatsui</i> |
| 85 | <i>taga-count</i> |
| 86 | <i>pagkakapag-alright</i> |
| 87 | <i>pang-tshia</i> |
| 88 | <i>tsitsia-an</i> |
| 89 | <i>pagkakapagpaka-obedient</i> |
| 90 | <i>goai-ness</i> |
| 91 | <i>mag-hihi</i> |
| 92 | <i>kulo-er</i> |
| 93 | <i>lame-hood</i> |
| 94 | <i>magkaka-generation</i> |
| 95 | <i>pagka-angry</i> |
| 96 | <i>tanim-ation</i> |
| 97 | <i>manok-ery</i> |
| 98 | <i>sien-ery</i> |
| 99 | <i>pagkakapag-hose</i> |
| 100 | <i>hoado-hoado-an</i> |
| 101 | <i>pagkakapagkipang-hoah</i> |
| 102 | <i>pagkaka-rude</i> |
| 103 | <i>tshong-ity</i> |
| 104 | <i>pagkakapang-thoe</i> |
| 105 | <i>dulas-ant</i> |
| 106 | <i>pagkakapagpaka-sweep</i> |
| 107 | <i>pagkaka-siu</i> |
| 108 | <i>pagka-kanglang</i> |
| 109 | <i>phongkan-ery</i> |
| 110 | <i>salita-ance</i> |
| 111 | <i>pagod-ery</i> |
| 112 | <i>ti-let</i> |
| 113 | <i>pagkakapagpaka-studyante</i> |
| 114 | <i>pagka-siuki</i> |
| 115 | <i>enter-in</i> |
| 116 | <i>magka-couple</i> |
| 117 | <i>tagapag-arrange</i> |
| 118 | <i>babae-ship</i> |
| 119 | <i>magka-khantsiu</i> |
| 120 | <i>tungsi-ful</i> |
| 121 | <i>kun-er</i> |

(Continued)

Appendix 2. Continued.

| # | Word |
|-----|--------------------------|
| 122 | <i>siukhi-siukhi-han</i> |
| 123 | <i>pagkakatpag-soe</i> |
| 124 | <i>panto-eer</i> |
| 125 | <i>ka-friend</i> |
| 126 | <i>gut-ant</i> |
| 127 | <i>bayad-ee</i> |
| 128 | <i>pagkakatpag-take</i> |
| 129 | <i>tshongdiau-ment</i> |
| 130 | <i>magkaka-dai</i> |
| 131 | <i>kham-y</i> |
| 132 | <i>Dipun-ese</i> |
| 133 | <i>pakiki-kongoe</i> |
| 134 | <i>ka-sing</i> |
| 135 | <i>ka-payse-han</i> |
| 136 | <i>ka-thautsui</i> |