

Variability in clusters and continuums

The sociolinguistic situation of the Manila Lannangs in the 2010s

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This study explores the sociolinguistic situation of a metropolitan Manila Lannang community based on data gathered between 2017 and 2020. A survey was administered to 117 individuals to probe into various dimensions of self-reported language use (e.g., proficiency, confidence) and attitudes (e.g., pride). The results show that, among the Lannangs, there is a range of language use and attitudes, with age and other social factors such as identity impacting the scope of this variability. This variability appears to progress along a continuum in some areas, while forming cluster patterns in others. An examination of the contemporary data alongside data from investigations done in the late 1980s and 1990s reveals some disparities, pointing to generational shifts in language use. The findings demonstrate that the sociolinguistic situation of the Manila Lannang community is unique, dynamic, and complex, enabling us to gain some insights and a nuanced view of the sociolinguistic landscape of the broader Asia-Pacific region.

Keywords: sociolinguistic profile of the Lannangs, language attitudes, Sino-Philippine studies, community variability and change, ethnic minorities in the Philippines, Principal Components Analysis

1. Introduction

The Philippines is an archipelago in Southeast Asia, bordered by Taiwan to the north, Vietnam to the west, Indonesia to the south, and the Pacific Ocean to the east. It is home to many ethnolinguistic groups (e.g., Tagalogs, Cebuanos) (Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig, 2020). Few people know that the Philippines is also the homeland of the Lannangs (Gonzales, 2021; Michael Lim Tan, 2021). This minority group has a cultural background that combines Southern Chinese

(Hokkien, Cantonese) and Filipino heritage, as they are descendants of immigrants from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces who settled in the Philippines from the late 19th to early 20th century (Doeppers, 1986; Gonzales, 2017a, 2022b, 2022d). Metropolitan Manila, the focus of this paper, is the National Capital Region of the Philippines and is the most densely populated region of the country (population = 13,484,462 as of 2020) (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2020) (Figure 1), with roughly 21,764 residents per square kilometer. Based on Uytanlet (2014) and Ang See's (1990) estimates, roughly 1.5 to 2% of the Manila population have Lannang heritage.

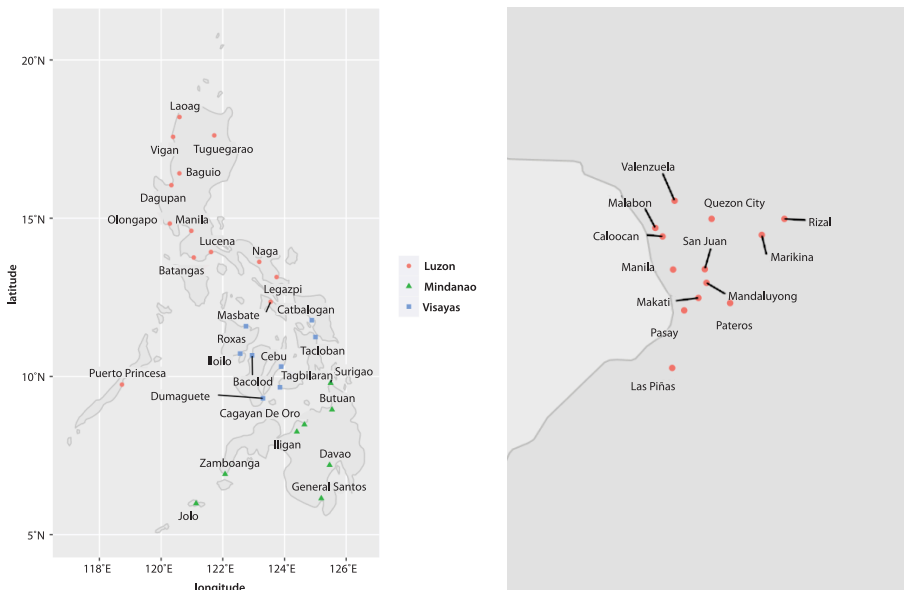


Figure 1. Map of the Philippines (left) and metropolitan Manila (right)

Prior research on the Manila Lannangs has characterized the group as being historically marginalized by both Filipino and Chinese societies (Gonzales, 2021; Hau, 2014). The Lannangs have been criticized by the Filipinos for being ‘too Chinese’ and also regarded as ‘too Filipino’ for the (Mainland) Chinese (Gonzales, 2021). Overall, the community finds itself at the peripheries of both Chinese and Filipino societies and, consequently, at the nexus of Chinese and Filipino linguistic “ecologies” (Haugen, 1971, p.19). In other words, the Lannangs are situated in a multilingual environment where Sinitic (i.e., Hokkien, Mandarin, Cantonese), Austronesian (e.g., Tagalog), and Indo-European (e.g., English) languages interact with each other (Ang See, 1990; Chuaunsu, 1989; Gonzales, 2017b, 2022b, 2022a). Their exposure to this environment means that

they are usually trilingual in English, Filipino/Tagalog, and Chinese (Chuaunsu, 1989; Poa, 2004; Zulueta, 2007).

There is no evidence to suggest that the Lannang sociolinguistic situation exhibits a clear case of diglossia since all of the languages identified above are found in their ethnolinguistic repertoires in varying degrees and can be employed regardless of the context (Gonzales, 2022d, 2022b). However, some tendencies can be found: generally, Hokkien and/or a related mixed language Lánnang-uè is the most common language spoken in the community and is seen as the community lingua franca (Ang See, 1990). Tagalog or Filipino tends to be the language used for inter-ethnic communication in Manila, while English is more prevalent in media, academia, and digital communication. Mandarin is often perceived as a language for school and is not used in many Lannang community domains.

The literature published on the Manila community and language since the late 1980s has been invaluable in understanding the sociolinguistic situation until the 2000s. However, it should be noted that many of these earlier studies focused on specific subsets of Lannangs, certain time periods, and/or adopt a more exploratory approach to investigating them using anecdotal evidence. The most comprehensive and systematic study on the Manila Lannangs and their languages, to my knowledge, is Chuaunsu's (1989) speech communication profile, where she interviewed and surveyed 150 Protestant Lannangs, stratified by generation (i.e., first to third generation). Chuaunsu investigated the role of English, Filipino, and Chinese (most likely Hokkien) in the domains of school, work, church, and the community. She also measured the proficiency of these Lannangs with respect to the three languages. The most recent work is that of Gonzales (2017a, 2018, 2022b), who utilized statistics to describe the language situation of 65 Manila Lannangs (divided into age groups) in 2017, but concentrated on their dominant languages. Poa's (2004) work discussed languages used in the context of Lannang education in the early 2000s, relying on observation. These works have different focuses; however, a shared theme is that they all primarily concentrate on the links between the Lannang languages and sociolinguistic variables such as age, rather than on the relationship between these languages and language attitudes or any other sociolinguistic variables that may have an impact on Lannang language utilization and perception.

This study explores the sociolinguistic situation of metropolitan Lannang in the late 2010s and early 2020s, based on the respondents' own accounts of their language use and attitudes. It aims to complement existing surveys by focusing on previously studied variables (e.g., proficiency, age) as well as unexplored sociolinguistic variables (e.g., language comfort, pride, confidence, native language). The paper builds on Chuaunsu's (1989) research by exploring the influence of age on language use and attitudes among the Lannang community, with the aim of deter-

mining if age-based differences in language use and attitudes exist in the community. The other purpose of this paper is to provide a contemporary description of the sociolinguistic situation of the Manila Lannang community, showcasing lesser-known contact languages like Lánang-uè¹ (Gonzales, 2023). By shedding light on the sociolinguistic situation of this group and their relationship with languages, I hope to highlight the uniqueness of the Lannangs, their language-related practices, and sociolinguistic ecology – contributing to the steadily growing body of work that highlights linguistic diversity in the Asia-Pacific region. Perhaps one of the best features of this work is that it is based on data collection that is driven by the community and presents an inside or ‘endoscopic’ look at the sociolinguistic situation of the Lannang people, which is not easily accessible when *gualáng* or ‘outsiders’ are involved in the research.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows: in Section 2, I discuss the methodology. The distribution of participants, data collection procedure, as well as statistical tools used to analyze the data are presented in this section. Section 3 outlines and discusses the key findings, followed by a conclusion in Section 4.

2. Methodology

Over a period of four years, from May 2017 to May 2020, I conducted a sociolinguistic survey using a questionnaire. The survey can be found in the link below:

<https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/W7NJZ>

The survey – part of a larger sociolinguistics and language documentation project (Gonzales, 2018, 2022b, 2022c, 2022d) – was administered to a total of 117 Lannangs, stratified by age and sex. Because random sampling is almost impossible in the Lannang context due to the lack of resources and Lannang population information, the participants were recruited using a mix of purposive and snowball sampling. I reached out to roughly 270 prospective Lannang-identifying participants in various educational and religious institutions in metropolitan Manila (Figure 1) as well as various online platforms (e.g., Facebook, Viber), briefly asking them to provide information on basic demographics and respond to language and identity questions. These participants were asked if they have acquaintances who identified as Lannang in their social network and who would be interested

1. I use Lánang-uè to refer to a linguistic variety that has characteristics of mixed languages and some properties or features of Southern Min or Hokkien varieties (Gonzales, 2022d). Unlike many scholars, I do not equate it to “Southern Min” or ‘Hokkien’ (Michael Lim Tan, 2021, p. 198). Instead, I treat it as an independent language.

in answering the questionnaire. I also reached out to their acquaintances after receiving permission to contact them.

Only participants who are between 10 to 99, those who identify as male or female, those who communicate in at least one Lannang language (e.g., Mandarin,² Lánnang-uè, English, Tagalog), and those who at least weakly associate with the Lannang identity were invited to the actual survey session. A total of 185 individuals met the criteria and were invited, but only 117 agreed to contribute to the survey. The breakdown of participants by age group and sex can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of participants by age and sex groups (raw count and percentage)

Sex	10–21	22–39	40–59	60–79	80–99	Total
female	60% (9)	52% (22)	58% (14)	46% (11)	67% (8)	55% (64)
male	40% (6)	48% (20)	42% (10)	54% (13)	33% (4)	45% (53)
Total	100% (15)	100% (42)	100% (24)	100% (24)	100% (12)	100% (117)

The survey questionnaire contains items that can be thematically categorized into three groups: questions about individual language use, questions about language use in the home, and questions involving language attitudes. It is also designed to collect demographic information (e.g., age, sex, religion, ethnic identity, genealogy).

The first group of questions comprises questions about the informants' native languages, first language (L1), and second language (L2). For the question on 'native tongue(s)', my Lannang informants were given a list of seven languages used in the metropolitan Manila Lannang community³ – Tagalog, Hokkien, Lánnang-uè, English, Cantonese, Taishanese, and Mandarin (see Appendix B) – and were asked to identify linguistic varieties that they use as a native language, here defined as a language that the individual regards as 'indigenous' or 'local', a language that they are competent in and use frequently, and a language that has been "acquired from naturalistic exposure in early childhood and in an authentic social context" (i.e., the Lannang community) (Cheng et al., 2021, p.3; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014, p.95). Informants were also given the option to add more languages they regard or use as 'native languages.' For the questions involving

2. The Lannangs recognize Mandarin as an umbrella term to describe any variety of Mandarin Chinese, such as *Guoyu* in Taiwan and *Putonghua* in Mainland China. Although Mandarin is used as one language in the community, there isn't a community-perceived localized dialect of Mandarin that existed historically in the community.

3. This list was derived from a pilot survey conducted in 2016.

their L1 and L2, the informants were presented the same seven languages, but were instructed to only choose one language from the set that they believe they have learned first and second in their early childhood. Note that the definition presented to the participants deviate from some popular definitions of L1 and L2 (i.e., ‘native’ vs. ‘non-native’ language, Bardel & Falk, 2021). Finally, the first set of questions also asks informants to rate themselves based on language proficiency, comfort, confidence, and frequency of language use in the seven languages using a 7-point Likert scale.

The second cluster of questions aims to identify the languages used at the home domain. The same seven languages were presented to the informants, and participants were asked to identify the language that they use the most at home and the language they primarily use with their father and mother, respectively. Informants were allowed to identify a language that is not among the seven languages provided.

The third group of questions probes the participants’ attitudes towards the seven languages spoken by Lannangs in Manila, focusing on perceived pride and importance (i.e., significance and value in society). It also contains questions that aim to explore the sentiments and reactions of the Manila Lannangs towards the community mixed language Lánnang-uè. Specifically, participants were asked to rate Lánnang-uè based on how *barok* ‘broken’, *conyo* ‘elite/pretentious’, comical, natural, bad-sounding, bastardized, prestigious, and reflective of the hybrid Lannang identity the language is. The seven attributes were derived from ethnographic studies and previous research (Ang See, 1997; Gonzales, 2022d; Uytanlet, 2014).

The questionnaire (along with the protocol), originally created in English and approved by the university Institutional Review Board, was conducted verbally by me in Lánnang-uè, a language used and/or understood by virtually all Lannangs in my sample. I decided not to conduct the survey in English because, in a pilot survey conducted in 2016, I found that many of the older participants had a difficult time understanding and interpreting the survey items, leading to frustration and refusal to continue the questionnaire. I decided to focus on self-reported language use and attitude data rather than “actual” data partially due to constraints in time and financial resources. Additionally, even though certain dialects may be looked down upon, the survey was created to take possible biases related to language attitudes into consideration, and the terms used in the survey were precise to guarantee that participants responded in the intended manner. Therefore, the survey results should not be too far from reality and can be trusted to some extent.

I coded the responses directly into a spreadsheet electronically for uniformity and uploaded them to the DeepBlue Data Repository (Gonzales, 2022c). The average duration of the survey sessions is 17 minutes. The sessions were con-

ducted after experimental and/or elicitation sessions conducted in Lánnang-uè (Gonzales, 2022d). I will not be delving further into those for the sake of brevity.

I also ran a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) (Lê, Josse, & Husson, 2008) in the R environment to investigate whether people in the Lannang community tend to cluster together based on their survey responses. This analysis enabled me to identify any prominent social groupings within the community, based on variables related to self-reported language use and attitudes.

3. Findings⁴ and discussion

I report and discuss the results of my survey thematically in three parts: (1) *language and the self*, where I describe the Lannang language situation at the individual or informant level, focusing on self-reported language use, (2) *language and the home*, where I report figures relevant to (members of) Lannang households, and (3) *language attitudes*, where I provide and discuss the evaluative reactions and sentiments of the Lannang community to different language varieties in their linguistic “ecology” (Haugen, 1971, p.19).

3.1 Language and the self

3.1.1 Native language

Most speakers (73% out of 117) reported using Lánnang-uè as a native language. Roughly half identified (Philippine) English (56%) and Tagalog (43.59%) as native tongues; only some regarded the Sinitic languages (i.e., Hokkien, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Taishanese) as their native languages. These figures are partially consistent with previous research that describe Tagalog and English as native languages of the community (Ang See, 1997; Chuaunsu, 1989). The proportion of Lannangs in the 1980s who are described as fluent, native speakers of Tagalog (44%) (Ang See, 1997, p.50) is almost identical to the proportion derived in this paper (43.59%). The proportion of English native speakers in 1980s (31%) (Ang See, 1997, p.50) is smaller compared to the proportion of self-reported native English speakers (56%) in the late 2010s/early 2020s. The comparative results indicate an increase of (Philippine) English native speakers and a slight

4. Descriptive (i.e., frequencies, proportions, correlation) and inferential statistics (i.e., *p*-values, confidence intervals) were used to analyze the data, and a non-Bayesian “frequentist” approach was adopted (Pek & Van Zandt, 2020, p.21). All statistical analyses (e.g., Chi-square tests with or without Yates correction, correlation tests) were conducted in the R environment (R Core Team, 2015).

decrease of Tagalog native speakers in the Lannang community in the past 40 years.

Focusing on the Sinitic languages, I found that Hokkien had the highest proportion of self-identified native speakers (38%). This slightly corroborates results of earlier works in the 1980s to 1990s on the use of Chinese languages in the Lannang community, which show Hokkien functioning as the dominant native language or “lingua franca” of the community, and not Mandarin or Cantonese (Ang See, 1997, p.51). I also discovered that 9% of the Lannangs sampled reported being native speakers of Cantonese and roughly 2% reported native proficiency in Taishanese, correlating with the proportion of Cantonese- and Taishanese-heritage Lannangs (~10 to 15%) (Ang See, 1997, p.47) in the community. In addition, I found that 17% of Lannangs regarded Mandarin as a native language. This is surprising, as Mandarin has never been reported as a native language of the Lannangs and has been described as not having a native speech community in previous research (Ang See, 1997, p.100).

A breakdown of the native language user proportions by age revealed interesting patterns (Figure 2). Age was found to condition the use of certain languages as native tongues. Older informants were more likely to report using Hokkien natively ($\rho(115)=0.413$, $CI=[0.25, 0.55]$, $p<0.001$) and less likely to report using Tagalog ($\rho(115)=-0.2467$, $CI=[-0.41, -0.06]$, $p<0.01$) and English ($\rho(115)=-0.415$, $CI=[-0.55, -0.25]$, $p<0.001$) as their native tongues; the reverse is true for my younger informants, who were more likely to treat Tagalog and English as native languages they use, but not Hokkien. The age effect is reminiscent of a previously documented age (generational) effect in Ang See’s (1990, 1997) study, where the younger generation is described as having more associations with Tagalog and English, and less links to Hokkien compared to the older generation.

Based on the survey results, Lánnang-uè is the only language of the four (Mandarin, Cantonese, Taishanese, and Lánnang-uè) that is reported to be used by most of the community members, regardless of age. The survey data does not demonstrate any statistically significant age-related distinctions in the use of Mandarin, Cantonese, Taishanese, or Lánnang-uè as native languages within the community.

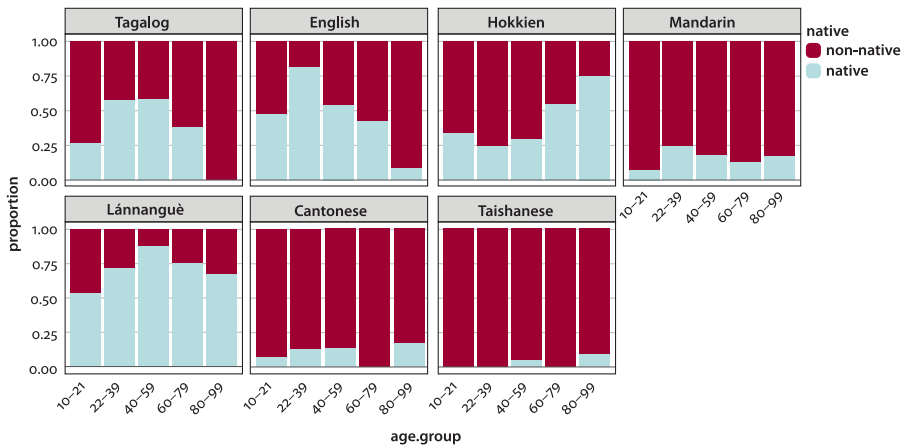


Figure 2. Proportion of informants who reported using Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese as native tongues, stratified by age

3.1.2 First language

In my sample, Hokkien is the most popular self-reported L1 (36% out of 116),⁵ followed by Lánnang-uè (33%), Tagalog (15%), English (13%), and the non-Hokkien Chinese languages Cantonese (1%), Mandarin (1%), and Taishanese (1%). A comparison of figures in the 1980s and contemporary figures show that the relative popularity of Hokkien as an L1 in the Lannang community compared to other languages has not changed even after 40 years (Chuaunsu, 1989, p. 71). This is unsurprising given the community's strong desire to preserve their Hokkien heritage through the Hokkien language (Ang See, 1997; Gonzales, 2021, 2022d) – a desire that is partially amplified by the perceived attrition of Chinese/Hokkien culture within the community (in part due to Filipinization policies) (Susan Villanueva Tan, 1993; Uytanlet, 2014) as well as the pressure to dissimilate from non-Hokkien-speaking Chinese immigrants who are negatively perceived by society (Gonzales, 2021).

After analyzing the percentages by age, it was evident that there was variability in the L1 proportions based on age (Figure 3 and Table 2). Primarily, most elderly people reported having Hokkien as their L1, whereas most of the younger participants claimed that a mixed language with Chinese and Filipino elements, Lánnang-uè, is their L1. The findings could signify L1 shift from Hokkien to Lánnang-uè in the community (Gonzales, 2018, 2022b, 2022d) (Table 2, shaded cells). The shift can be partially explained by a shift in community identity – from a “pure Chinese” to hybrid Chinese-Filipino or ‘Lannang’ identity (Gonzales,

5. One participant did not provide L1 information.

2022c, p. CLIN-18-1:202). While older Lannangs view themselves as Chinese, the younger speakers tend to adopt an equivocal stance, often avoiding referring to themselves as completely Chinese or Filipino (Ang See, 1997; Gonzales, 2021; Uytanlet, 2014). Also of note is the stark difference between the oldest group of informants and the rest of the informants: the prior group is almost consistent in their choice of Hokkien as an L1 whereas the latter group exhibited more variability. For instance, some of the informants between 22 and 79 years of age have reported Tagalog as an L1 and some between 10 and 79 years of age have identified English as an L1. This finding is reminiscent of Chuaunsu’s (1989) findings in the 1980s, which found a similar age effects. It has been found that Tagalog was not reported as the L1 of any of the youngest informants, which has not been previously documented. There is currently no explanation as to why this is the case, though it may indicate that Tagalog is no longer seen as the preferred first language.

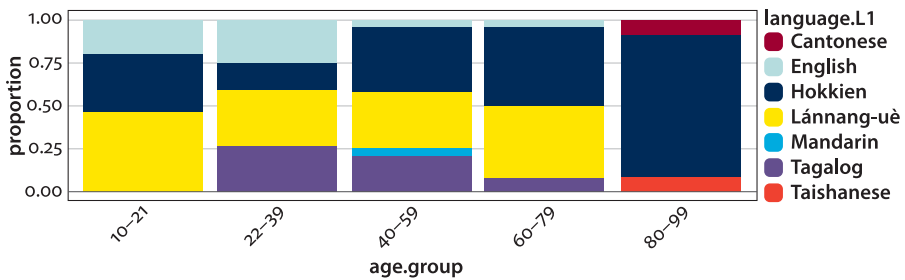


Figure 3. Proportion of informants who use Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese as L1, stratified by age

Table 2. Distribution of informants who reported using Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese as L1, stratified by age (shaded cells indicate the highest values for those columns)

	10-21	22-39	40-59	60-79	80-99
Cantonese	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	8% (1)
English	20% (3)	24% (10)	4% (1)	4% (1)	0% (0)
Hokkien	33% (5)	17% (7)	38% (9)	46% (11)	84% (10)
Lánnang-uè	47% (7)	32% (13)	33% (8)	42% (10)	0% (0)
Mandarin	0% (0)	0% (0)	4% (1)	0.00% (0)	0% (0)
Tagalog	0% (0)	27% (11)	21% (5)	8% (2)	0% (0)
Taishanese	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	8% (1)
Total	100% (15)	100% (41)	100% (24)	100% (24)	100% (12)

3.1.3 Second language

Of the 116 individuals who responded to the survey question about second language, the most widely reported L2 was Tagalog at 41%, followed by English at 35%, Lánnang-uè at 16%, Mandarin at 7%, and Hokkien at 1%. It is expected that Tagalog and English would be popular L2s for the Lannangs, as they are associated with the Filipino identity and often have Tagalog and English as part of their “ethnolinguistic repertoire” in addition to Hokkien and Lánnang-uè, the more commonly used L1s. (Benor, 2010, p. 159).

An examination of the proportions by age groups reveals three interesting patterns. First, none of the oldest informants considered Lánnang-uè as an L2 (or as an L1, see Section 3.1.2). Second, the youngest group (10–21 years old) has L2 proportions that deviate from other age groups. The proportion of Tagalog as an L2 is significantly larger in this group compared to the 22–39 group ($\chi^2(1) = 5.7143, p < 0.05$). Third, most of my informants in all age groups except for those between 22 and 39 years of age stated that Tagalog was their L2 (Table 3). However, the majority of those in the outlying age group reported having English as their primary L2 rather than Tagalog. I am currently unable to explain these patterns with great certainty due to lack of evidence; future research could shed more light on the underlying factors contributing to these patterns.

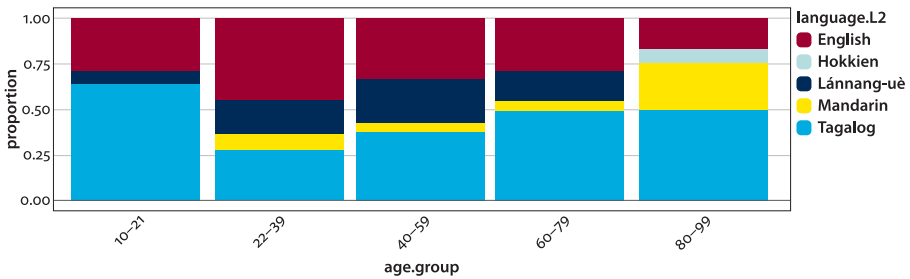


Figure 4. Proportion of informants who reported using Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese as L2, stratified by age

Table 3. Distribution of informants who reported using Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese as L2, stratified by age (shaded cells indicate the highest values for those columns)

	10–21	22–39	40–59	60–79	80–99
Cantonese	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
English	29% (4)	45% (19)	33% (8)	29% (7)	17% (2)
Hokkien	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	8% (1)

Table 3. (continued)

	10–21	22–39	40–59	60–79	80–99
Lánnang-uè	7% (1)	19% (8)	25% (6)	17% (4)	0% (0)
Mandarin	0.00% (0)	7% (3)	4% (1)	4% (1)	25% (3)
Tagalog	64% (9)	29% (12)	38% (9)	50% (12)	50% (6)
Taishanese	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Total	100% (14)	100% (42)	100% (24)	100% (24)	100% (12)

3.1.4 Language proficiency

The 117 people I surveyed reported different levels of knowledge in the seven primary Lannang languages spoken in Manila. (Table 4). Using the mean/median value of the 7-point Likert scale as a heuristic cut-off point for linguistic proficiency (i.e., more proficient vs. less proficient), I found that my sample reported being generally proficient in Hokkien, Tagalog, English, and Lánnang-uè, but not proficient in Mandarin, Taishanese, and Cantonese. My sample stated being most proficient in Lánnang-uè and English and reported being least proficient in Taishanese. If what the informants provided was reflective of actual proficiency, it is not unexpected that the community has high proficiency in Lánnang-uè, given that the language is utilized in numerous communication domains in the Lannang community (e.g., home, school, work) (Chuaunsu, 1989; Uytanlet, 2014). Lánnang-uè is also regarded a language that marks the Lannang identity, and proficiency in the language is necessary for social functions (e.g., distinguishing oneself as Lannang, establishing solidarity with other members of the community) (Gonzales, 2021). The reported high levels of English proficiency can be explained by the robust use of English in the community (e.g., education, business) as well as the continued use of English as a medium of instruction in kindergarten to college, regardless of whether the educational institution is Lannang (Poa, 2004; Susan Villanueva Tan, 1993).

I also observed that the variability in self-reported proficiency levels in Hokkien, Mandarin, and Lánnang-uè was more pronounced compared to the variability found in other languages like Taishanese, Cantonese, English, and Tagalog, as indicated by the standard deviation scores. This makes sense as the participants had gone to schools with different curricula with varying focus on Hokkien, Mandarin, and Lánnang-uè. Some informants were enrolled in schools that prioritized Mandarin education; others were enrolled in schools that emphasized Hokkien over Mandarin. There are also those who went to schools that teach Mandarin using Hokkien and Lánnang-uè and also those who were enrolled in schools that did not have a Chinese curriculum (Ang See, 1997; Gonzales, 2022c, in press; Poa, 2004).

Table 4. Self-reported language proficiency in Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese (mean, average = 4)

Language	Mean	SD	SE	CI
Hokkien	4.308	1.764	0.163	0.323
Tagalog	4.162	1.474	0.136	0.270
English	5.094	1.559	0.144	0.285
Mandarin	3.838	1.592	0.147	0.291
Lánnang-uè	5.094	1.592	0.147	0.291
Taishanese	1.154	0.761	0.070	0.139
Cantonese	1.359	0.933	0.086	0.171

Comparing the figures derived here with normalized figures in Chuaunsu's (1989, p. 161) study – specifically the chapter on proficiency – and assuming that the participants in both studies are comparable, I found that the self-reported proficiency in English (mean = 4.5025, $SD = 0.2227$) and in Lánnang-uè⁶ (mean = 4.7425, $SD = 0.43$) has increased by roughly 13% and 7%, respectively, since the late 1980s. The comparison also revealed that self-reported proficiency in Filipino/Tagalog (mean = 4.3675, $SD = 0.096$) and Hokkien (mean = 4.905, $SD = 0.5564$) has decreased by 5% and 12%, respectively, in the past 40 years.

The survey results showed that there were distinctions in self-reported language proficiency depending on age group in Hokkien, Tagalog, English, and Mandarin, but not in Lánnang-uè, Taishanese, and Cantonese (Figure 5). I found that older Lannangs reported being more proficient in Hokkien ($\rho(115) = 0.6047$, $CI = [0.475, 0.708]$, $p < 0.001$) and Mandarin ($\rho(115) = 0.23$, $CI = [0.055, 0.399]$, $p < 0.05$) compared to younger Lannangs. This pattern is reminiscent of Chuaunsu's study, which found the oldest speakers to be the most proficient in Hokkien (normalized Likert score = 5.395) and the youngest speakers not as proficient (score = 4.3). Younger Lannangs, on the other hand, expressed more proficiency in Tagalog ($\rho(115) = -0.24$, $CI = [-0.41, -0.06]$, $p < 0.01$) and English ($\rho(115) = -0.50$, $CI = [-0.62, -0.35]$, $p < 0.001$) than their older counterparts. No evidence of age-related differences in proficiency of Lánnang-uè, Taishanese, and Cantonese was found, indicating that my informants uniformly reported similar levels of proficiency in the three languages.

6. I assume that “English-Pilipino-Chinese code-switching” in Chuaunsu (1989) corresponds to Lánnang-uè.

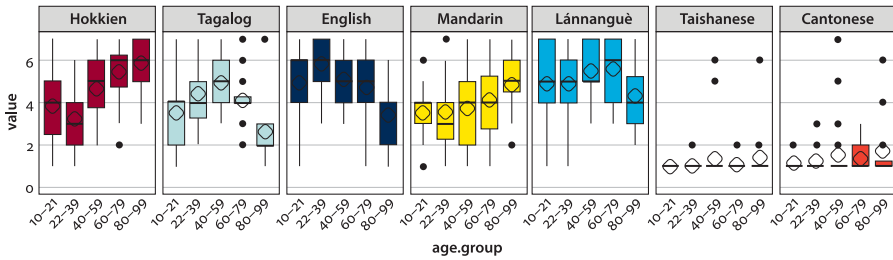


Figure 5. Self-reported proficiency in Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese, stratified by age (boxplot)

3.1.5 Language comfort

I found that informants who provided language comfort data ($n=78$) generally report being comfortable using all languages except Taishanese (mean = 1.192, $SD=0.0968$) and Cantonese (mean = 1.1346, $SD=1.193$), languages that many Lannangs do not consider their native language or their heritage language (Ang See, 1990, 1997). They claimed to be most comfortable using Lánnang-uè (mean = 5.68, $SD=1.316$) – the community ‘lingua franca’ – and reported being highly comfortable using English (mean = 5.090, $SD=1.699$) and Hokkien (mean = 5.038, $SD=1.834$), languages also regarded as native languages in the community (see Section 3.1.1). They expressed moderate comfort in using Tagalog (mean = 4.87, $SD=1.693$) and slight comfort in using Mandarin (mean = 4.026, $SD=1.698$). I have not investigated why my informants claimed to have some discomfort using Mandarin, but many factors may have contributed to this (e.g., perception of Mandarin as an out-group language, lack of proficiency in Mandarin) (Poa, 2004). Finally, examining the standard deviation scores, I observed greater rates of variability in Hokkien self-reported confidence levels ($SD=1.834$) compared to confidence levels in other languages. This is, I argue, partially due to the varying levels of Hokkien exposure (e.g., education, home use) in the community (Ang See, 1997).

My informants reported feeling comfortable using Hokkien, Tagalog, English, and Mandarin, but not Lánnang-uè, Taishanese, and Cantonese (Figure 6). Correlation tests showed that older participants were more likely to say they were comfortable speaking Hokkien ($\rho(76)=0.587$, $CI=[0.419, 0.716]$, $p<0.001$) and Mandarin ($\rho(76)=0.336$, $CI=[0.122, 0.519]$, $p<0.01$). On the other hand, they reported being less comfortable speaking Tagalog ($\rho(76)=-0.427$, $CI=[-0.593, -0.227]$, $p<0.001$) and English ($\rho(76)=-0.475$, $CI=[-0.631, -0.283]$, $p<0.001$). Younger informants, on the other hand, reported feeling more comfortable with Tagalog and English, but not as comfortable with Hokkien and Mandarin. Regardless of age, informants reported feeling consistently comfortable with

Lánnang-uè and uncomfortable with Taishanese and Cantonese, as there was no evidence of age impacting self-reported language (dis)comfort with respect to the three languages.

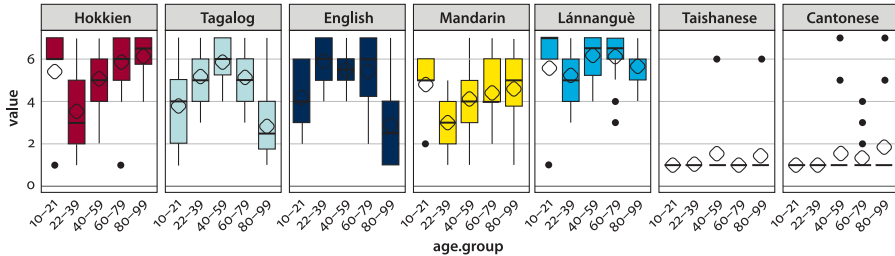


Figure 6. Self-reported language comfort in Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese, stratified by age (boxplot)

3.1.6 Language confidence

Seventy-eight informants who reported their language confidence indicated that they feel most confident speaking Hokkien (mean = 4.78, $SD = 1.98$), Tagalog (mean = 4.667, $SD = 1.849$), English (mean = 4.935, $SD = 0.1993$), and Lánnang-uè (mean = 5.576, $SD = 1.372$). On the other hand, Mandarin (mean = 3.86, $SD = 1.96$), Taishanese (mean = 1.24, $SD = 1.05$), and Cantonese (mean = 1.33, $SD = 1.22$) were languages they did not feel confident in using. Out of the seven languages, the Lannang informants reported being most confident in Lánnang-uè and least confident in Taishanese. Looking at the standard deviation scores, I found greater variability in Hokkien ($SD = 1.98$) and Mandarin ($SD = 1.96$) confidence levels compared to confidence levels in other languages (mean $SD = 1.486$). This finding can again be partially explained by the fact that my informants also varied with regard to Hokkien and Mandarin exposure (e.g., education, home use) (Ang See, 1997; Gonzales, 2017a).

Analyzing the confidence data with respect to age, I found the effects of age yet again. Specifically, I found that older informants tended to report being more confident in using Hokkien ($\rho(76) = 0.612$, $CI = [0.45, 0.73]$, $p < 0.001$) and Mandarin ($\rho(76) = 0.36$, $CI = [0.15, 0.54]$, $p < 0.01$) and less confident in using Tagalog and English. Younger informants, on the other hand, tended to report being more confident in using Tagalog ($\rho(76) = -0.468$, $CI = [-0.62, -0.274]$, $p < 0.001$) and English ($\rho(76) = -0.48$, $CI = [-0.63, -0.29]$, $p < 0.001$) and less confident in the Chinese languages.

I found that conditioning effect of age was once again evident when observing the confidence data, as seen in Figure 7. Older informants reported higher levels of confidence when using Hokkien ($\rho(76) = 0.612$, $CI = [0.45, 0.73]$, $p < 0.001$)

and Mandarin ($\rho(76) = 0.36$, $CI = [0.15, 0.54]$, $p < 0.01$) while younger informants showed greater confidence in Tagalog ($\rho(76) = -0.468$, $CI = [-0.62, -0.274]$, $p < 0.001$) and English ($\rho(76) = -0.48$, $CI = [-0.63, -0.29]$, $p < 0.001$). Conversely, the older informants expressed less confidence in the use of Tagalog and English, whereas the younger informants were less confident in the Chinese languages. No differences in self-assessed confidence in the usage of Lánnang-uè, Taishanese, and Cantonese were found across age groups, suggesting that my informants were similar in terms of their (lack of) confidence in these three languages.

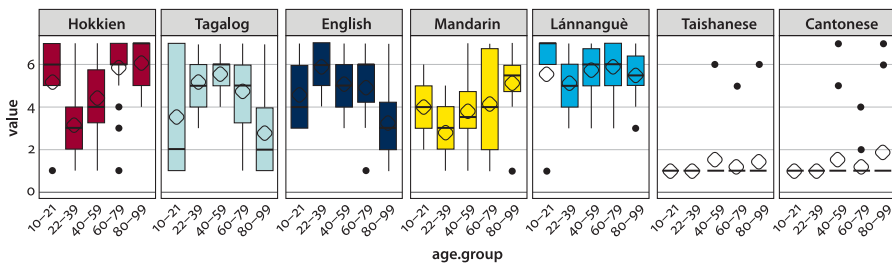


Figure 7. Self-reported language confidence in Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese, stratified by age (boxplot)

3.1.7 Frequency of language use

My informants reported frequently using Lánnang-uè (mean = 5.624, $SD = 1.601$), English (mean = 5.171, $SD = 1.811$), Tagalog (mean = 4.889, $SD = 1.947$), and Hokkien (mean = 4.521, $SD = 1.924$), but not Mandarin (mean = 3.325, $SD = 1.701$), Cantonese (mean = 1.325, $SD = 0.879$), and Taishanese (mean = 1.111, $SD = 0.469$). Lánnang-uè appears to be the most frequently used among the seven languages, while Taishanese is the least utilized. The popularity of Lánnang-uè in the community is expected given that it is the community lingua franca. Moreover, based on interview and observation data, my informants (and, perhaps, the larger Lannang community), in general, tend to interact with fellow Lannangs (at home, work, religious institutions) more frequently than non-Lannang individuals, using Lánnang-uè as the medium of communication, except for some Lannangs, who opted to use more Tagalog and/or English. In addition to functioning as the community lingua franca and a language in many domains of communication (Ang See, 1990; Gonzales, 2018; Susan Villanueva Tan, 1993), Lánnang-uè is also used as a “secret code” that indexes the unique hybrid identity of the community (Gonzales, 2022d). As such, the relative popularity of Lánnang-uè over other languages does not come as a surprise.

An intriguing result was the wide range of Hokkien and Tagalog use within the community in comparison to other languages. According to the standard devi-

ation scores, some informants used Tagalog and Hokkien often, while others did not.

The results reveal a disparity in the self-reported frequency of Hokkien and English use based on age. Older informants report using Hokkien more often than younger speakers ($\rho(115)=0.646, CI=[0.52, 0.74], p<0.001$), while the younger informants report using English more ($\rho(115)=-0.5613, CI=[-0.67, -0.42], p<0.001$). Several correlation tests, however, found no relationship between the age of the informants and the self-reported frequency of using Tagalog, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Taishanese, and Cantonese. This implies that all the informants, regardless of age, use Tagalog and Lánnang-uè frequently and seldom use Mandarin, Taishanese, and Cantonese.

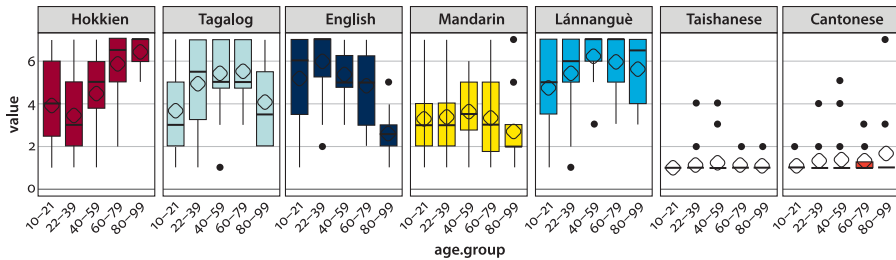


Figure 8. Self-reported frequency of Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese use, stratified by age (boxplot)

3.2 Language in the home

3.2.1 General

Out of all the Lannang languages, my informants identified five languages as home languages: Lánnang-uè (72% out of 116), Hokkien (13%), Tagalog (10%), English (4%), and Cantonese (1%). Assuming that the figures in both studies are comparable, the figures in this study are partially inconsistent with findings in Ang See’s (1997, p.52) survey. The proportion of Lannangs in the late 1990s who regarded Hokkien (12% of 510) and Mandarin (1%) as home languages is almost identical to the proportion of Lannangs in the late 2010s and early 2020s (13% out of 116 for Hokkien, 0% for Mandarin). But the percentage of informants who regarded Tagalog (45% out of 510) and English (31%) as home languages in the late 1990s is significantly different from the percentage of respondents in the present (10% out of 116 for Tagalog, 4% for English). The reported use of Lánnang-uè as a home language has increased dramatically from roughly 0.2%⁷ to

7. I assume that the ‘Others’ category includes Lánnang-uè.

72%. Pending further verification, the data from the comparative analysis appears to indicate that there has been a shift in the language spoken in the home domain over a span of approximately 25 years, from primarily Tagalog and English to mainly Lánnang-uè.

I found distinctions in the home language information based on age (Figure 9 and Table 5). For one, I discovered that roughly half of the oldest speakers identified Hokkien or Lánnang-uè as their home language whereas most of the younger speakers reported Lánnang-uè as the language used at home (Figure 9, Table 5). The age difference (80–99 group vs. all other age groups) that corresponds to the identification of Hokkien as a home language is statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=7.176, p<0.01$).

Figure 9 and Table 5 also show a difference in proportion of reported Lánnang-uè use in the home between the oldest group and the younger groups. The oldest participants appear to be using Lánnang-uè as a home language significantly less than my younger informants, but a Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction reveals that the difference is statistically insignificant at the 0.05 confidence level ($\chi^2(1)=1.9874, p=0.1586$). Generationally, the findings indicate that there has been a decrease in the reported use of Hokkien as a home language and that Lánnang-uè has remained relatively stable as the language of the home. The results of this study corroborate Uytantlet's (2014, p. 181) ethnographic findings that the younger generation of Lannangs generally do not use Hokkien as much as the older generation.

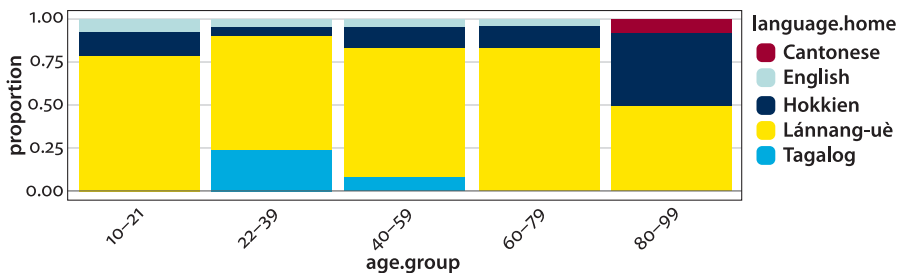


Figure 9. Proportion of informants who reported using Cantonese, English, Hokkien, Lánnang-uè, and Tagalog as a language of the home, stratified by age

Table 5. Distribution of informants who reported using Cantonese, English, Hokkien, Lánnang-uè, and Tagalog as a language of the home, stratified by age (shaded cells indicate the highest values for those columns)

	10–21	22–39	40–59	60–79	80–99
Cantonese	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	8% (1)
English	7% (1)	5% (2)	4% (1)	4% (1)	0% (0)
Hokkien	14% (2)	5% (2)	13% (3)	13% (3)	42% (5)
Lánnang-uè	79% (11)	66% (28)	75% (18)	83% (20)	50% (6)
Mandarin	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Tagalog	0% (0)	24% (10)	8% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Taishanese	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Total	100% (14)	100% (42)	100% (24)	100% (24)	100% (12)

3.2.2 *With parents only*

Most informants reported speaking Hokkien with their fathers (44% out of 115). Lánnang-uè was the second most common language (34%), followed by Tagalog (19%), Taishanese (2%), and Cantonese (1%). On the other hand, the language that most informants stated they used to communicate with their mother is Lánnang-uè (37% out of 117). Other languages that were employed include Hokkien (36%), Tagalog (22%), English (2%), Taishanese (2%), and Cantonese (1%). Overall, I found that most reported using either Lánnang-uè or Hokkien with their parents. Some participants use Tagalog (~21% of 115) to communicate with them. This finding is different from what was found in Chuaunsu's (1989, p.100) study, where the vast majority of her participants (79% out of 100) reported Hokkien as the language used with parents and only a small portion (6%) reported Lánnang-uè.⁸ Only 11% reported using Tagalog with their parents. The disparities between the figures may be seen as a sign of a change in the way Lannangs people communicate with their parents; previously, most spoke mainly Hokkien, but now, a combination of Hokkien, Lánnang-uè, and Tagalog is more common.

My synchronic analysis of the patterns by age group (Table 6 and Table 7) revealed that most of my oldest informants (part of the 60–79 and 80–99 age groups) reported using Hokkien both with their fathers and mothers. Most of those in the middle-aged group – those aged 40 to 59 – indicated they used Hokkien or Lánnang-uè with their parents. Those in the 22 to 39 group mostly

8. I assume that 'Pilipino-Chinese' code-switching is Lánnang-uè.

stated they employ Lánnang-uè or Tagalog whereas the youngest group claimed they utilized either Hokkien, Lánnang-uè, or Tagalog with their parents.

It is evident from the data that the youngest age group has reported a different pattern of speaking Hokkien to their parents than other younger cohorts. The evidence could suggest a generational change that supports the account mentioned earlier in this subsection: originally, Hokkien was the primary language used to talk with parents. Yet, it steadily changed to Lánnang-uè and then Tagalog. In recent years, there seems to be an initiative to use Hokkien to communicate with parents again.

Table 6. Distribution of informants who reported using Cantonese, English, Hokkien, Lánnang-uè, Mandarin, Tagalog, and Taishanese with their father, stratified by age (shaded cells indicate the highest values for those columns)

	10–21	22–39	40–59	60–79	80–99
Cantonese	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	7% (1)
English	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	7% (1)
Hokkien	36% (5)	10% (4)	50% (12)	88% (21)	65% (9)
Lánnang-uè	28% (4)	51% (21)	42% (10)	12% (3)	7% (1)
Mandarin	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	7% (1)
Tagalog	36% (5)	39% (16)	4% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Taishanese	0% (0)	0% (0)	4% (1)	0% (0)	7% (1)
Total	100% (14)	100% (41)	100% (24)	100% (24)	100% (14)

Table 7. Distribution of informants who reported using Cantonese, English, Hokkien, Lánnang-uè, Mandarin, Tagalog, and Taishanese with their mother, stratified by age (shaded cells indicate the highest values for those columns)

	10–21	22–39	40–59	60–79	80–99
Cantonese	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	8% (1)
English	7% (1)	2% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Hokkien	27% (4)	5% (2)	38% (9)	79% (19)	67% (8)
Lánnang-uè	33% (5)	43% (18)	54% (13)	21% (5)	17% (2)
Mandarin	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Tagalog	33% (5)	50.00% (21)	4% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Taishanese	0% (0)	0% (0)	4% (1)	0% (0)	8% (1)
Total	100% (15)	100% (42)	100% (24)	100% (24)	100% (12)

3.3 Language attitudes

This section shows that the Lannang community's attitudes and perceptions towards their languages also exhibit variability and change over time.

3.3.1 *Pride*

My results demonstrate that the 78 Lannangs in the study who reported their language pride had the strongest sense of pride in their English skills (mean = 5.141, $SD = 1.99$), followed by Hokkien (mean = 5.064, $SD = 1.85$), Lánnang-uè (mean = 4.92, $SD = 1.95$), Tagalog (mean = 4.57, $SD = 2.09$), and Mandarin (mean = 4.56, $SD = 1.79$). Conversely, Taishanese (mean = 1.20, $SD = 0.944$) and Cantonese (mean = 1.41, $SD = 1.36$) were not viewed as languages of pride by these participants. When asked why they are proud of English, many participants responded by saying that their knowledge of English connects them to the rest of the world and differentiates them from other individuals with Chinese heritage (e.g., Mainland Chinese in Manila). I also found that, out of the seven languages, the ratings for Tagalog as a language of pride had the highest degree of variability. While some of my informants viewed Tagalog as a language they are proud to use and have as part of their linguistic repertoire (Gonzales, 2021), there are also those who view Tagalog as a language that contributed to the attrition of the Hokkien language in the Philippines and consequently the Hokkien heritage, consistent with observations in previous studies (Ang See, 1997; Poa, 2004; Uytanlet, 2014).

I analyzed the means by age group and found age effects for pride in Hokkien, Tagalog, English, and Lánnang-uè (Figure 10). First, I found that older informants tend to view the Hokkien language with pride ($\rho(76) = 0.26$, $CI = [0.05, 0.47]$, $p < 0.05$) and tend to be ashamed of Tagalog ($\rho(76) = -0.385$, $CI = [-0.56, -0.17]$, $p < 0.01$), English ($\rho(76) = -0.467$, $CI = [-0.62, -0.27]$, $p < 0.001$), and Lánnang-uè ($\rho(76) = -0.31$, $CI = [-0.50, -0.09]$, $p < 0.01$) use. On the other hand, younger participants tend to be proud of their ability to use Tagalog, English, and Lánnang-uè and tend to be less proud of Hokkien. I did not find evidence of age effects for pride in Mandarin ($p = 0.695$), Cantonese ($p = 0.165$), and Taishanese ($p = 0.718$). Participants seemed to be uniformly proud of their ability to communicate in Mandarin and not as proud of Taishanese and Cantonese. The community-wide consistency of rating Mandarin as a language of pride can be explained by interview and observation data, as well as previous studies (Uytanlet, 2014), which all show participants commenting about Mandarin being a language of utility – a tool for communicating with a large portion of the global population. The consistently low ratings for Taishanese and Cantonese could be explained by the fact that the majority of Lannang community members – and

specifically my sample – do not have Cantonese or Taishanese heritage (Ang See, 1990; Gonzales, 2017a). In other words, most do not associate with the Cantonese and Taishanese identities and thus do not feel strong feelings of pride in communicating in these two languages.

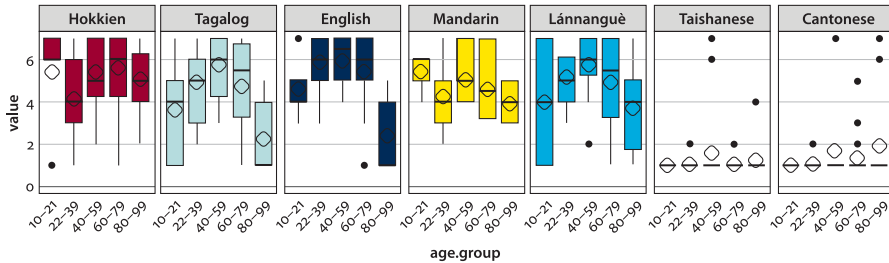


Figure 10. Self-reported pride in Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese use, stratified by age (boxplot)

3.3.2 Importance

Out of the seven languages, my informants rated English (mean = 5.94, $SD = 1.55$) the highest with regard to perceived importance or perceived significance or value in society, citing its utility in many domains of communication (e.g., education, business). They view English as a language that gives them more opportunities compared to the rest of the languages. English is followed by Hokkien ($SD = 5.69$, $SD = 1.26$), Mandarin (mean = 5.58, $SD = 1.71$), Lánnang-uè (mean = 5.52, $SD = 1.28$), and Tagalog (mean = 5.46, $SD = 1.65$). Cantonese (mean = 2.46, $SD = 1.97$) and Taishanese (mean = 2.33, $SD = 1.89$) were regarded as least important among the seven languages. When asked why, some participants mentioned that all languages are equally important, but stated that Cantonese and Taishanese are only used by a very small number of people in the Philippines and that they would rather place more emphasis on learning other languages that would give them more opportunities.

I discovered age effects on the importance-related judgments of my informants (Figure 11). Older participants tended to view English ($\rho(76) = -0.35$, $CI = [-0.53, -0.14]$, $p < 0.01$) and Mandarin ($\rho(76) = -0.32$, $CI = [-0.50, -0.10]$, $p < 0.01$) as not important, whereas younger speakers tended to view these two languages as highly important. The age-based difference can be explained by multiple factors, such as the rise of globalization and/or the promotion of English and Mandarin as global languages. In my interviews, younger participants appear to be more receptive to the idea of globalization and the idea of English and Mandarin as global lingua francas compared to older participants. I did not find statistical evidence of differences conditioned by age in the other five languages.

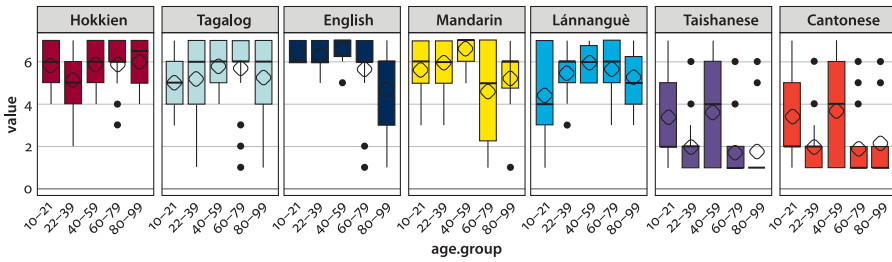


Figure 11. Self-reported importance of Tagalog, English, Hokkien, Mandarin, Lánnang-uè, Cantonese, and Taishanese use, stratified by age (boxplot)

3.3.3 Attitudes towards Lánnang-uè

The survey results indicate that Lánnang-uè is generally viewed as reflective of the hybrid Lannang identity (mean = 5.63, $SD = 1.42$). Informants believed that the language represents their unique situation and upbringing. These findings corroborate Gonzales' (2022c) findings, which showed a direct link between language use (e.g., use of Tagalog-derived conjunctions) and the Lannang identity (Gonzales, 2021; Michael Lim Tan, 2021). It is interesting to note that, even if it is used to index the Lannang identity, Lánnang-uè is generally not considered a prestigious language in the community (mean = 3.22, $SD = 1.79$). Many participants expressed a preference for “pure” and “authentic” varieties of language such as Hokkien, as it was believed that this conferred greater “Chinese-ness” and more sociocultural capital. This is similar to the findings of Wan (2022), who discovered a similar asymmetry between Taiwanese and Kinmenese Hokkien, with the latter seen as more authentically Chinese due to its reduced loanwords. It appears that the same attitudinal patterns are reflected in other cultures that greatly value the idea of language purity, such as those that speak Welsh, Quechua, and Basque, where there is a distinct idea of who is considered to be a legitimate speaker of the language (Tovar & Ottman, 2015).

The survey also demonstrated that the participants had a positive outlook towards Lánnang-uè, viewing it as ‘natural’ (mean = 4.86, $SD = 1.655$) and not ‘broken’ (mean = 3.333, $SD = 1.79$), ‘cringeworthy’ (mean = 2.44, $SD = 1.81$), ‘conyo/konyo’⁹ (mean = 1.87, $SD = 1.43$), or ‘bastardized’ (mean = 3.19, $SD = 1.87$). My research overall demonstrated that the Lannangs generally have a favorable opinion of the dialect, with a few exceptions which were discussed earlier.

9. Konyo/conyo is a negatively stigmatized linguistic style that is associated with young individuals who are perceived to be status-conscious, fussy, empty-headed, privileged, and effeminate (Reyes, 2017, p.213).

There are age effects in certain attitudes towards Lánnang-uè (Figure 12). For instance, although the community generally does not perceive the language as ‘broken’ or ‘cringeworthy’, I found that older informants tended to regard it as *baròk* ‘broken’ ($\rho(115)=0.26$, $CI=[0.08, 0.42]$, $p<0.01$) or *phaí thiänn* ‘cringeworthy’ ($\rho(115)=0.29$, $CI=[0.12, 0.45]$, $p<0.01$), consistent with previous reports and accounts (Gonzales, 2018; Uytanlet, 2014). I also discovered that, unlike older participants, younger participants were more likely to view Lánnang-uè as prestigious ($\rho(115)=-0.34$, $CI=[-0.49, -0.17]$, $p<0.01$) and reflective of the mixed Lannang identity ($\rho(115)=-0.19$, $CI=[-0.36, -0.01]$, $p<0.05$). In other words, the sentiment of younger Lannangs towards Lánnang-uè is more favorable than that of the older Lannangs. The age effects suggest that a generational shift is not only apparent in the reported use of Lánnang-uè, as indicated in previous paragraphs, but also in the attitudes towards the language. The findings imply that attitudes may be an important factor in the emergence and maintenance of language. This is not an outlandish idea, as attitudes are often the biggest drivers of language change (Thomason, 2007). I did not find evidence of age effects on the other attitudes towards Lánnang-uè (i.e., conyo, bastardized, natural).

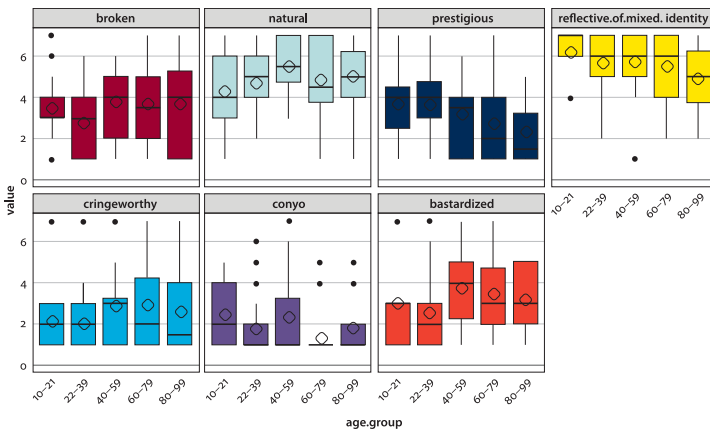


Figure 12. Selected attitudes towards Lánnang-uè, stratified by age (boxplot)

3.4 Relationships between variables

3.4.1 Correlations between selected variables

The research has revealed a complex sociolinguistic situation among the Manila Lannangs, with a wide range of reported language use, behaviors, and attitudes present in the community. The question that now emerges is whether there are correlations between and within these factors (e.g., attitudes and self-reported language use). Due to constraints of space, I will only present and discuss correla-

tions for chosen variables, with a focus on Lánngang-uè – the lingua franca of the community. The full correlation matrix with accompanying *p*-values can be found by visiting the link below:

<https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/W7NJZ>

3.4.1.1 Attitudes and self-reported proficiency in and frequency of Lánngang-uè use

The literature is generally unambiguous about the link between language attitudes and language use (Thomason, 2007), which is confirmed by my results for Lánngang-uè at least (Figure 13). Many people who view Lánngang-uè as part of their mixed identity as well as a language that is important, natural, and something to be proud of generally have a higher level of self-reported proficiency in the language and claim to use Lánngang-uè more often. Those who think Lánngang-uè is *barok* ‘broken’ and bastardized were more likely to report having less proficiency in the language. It should be noted that even though there are correlations, the links between attitudes and reported language use/proficiency are not particularly strong. There are people who have unfavorable views of Lánngang-uè but still report using it frequently and being proficient in it.

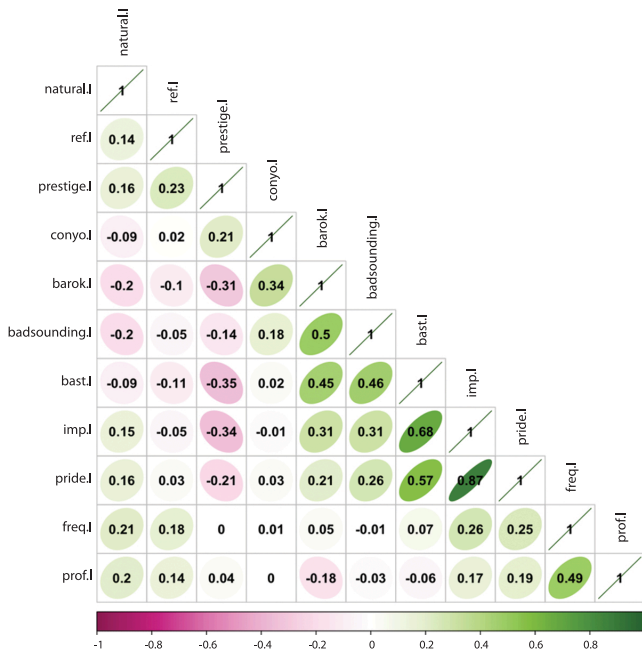


Figure 13. Correlation matrix: Self-reported proficiency and frequency of Lánngang-uè vs. attitudes towards Lánngang-uè (colors indicate degree of correlation, green = positive, magenta = negative)

3.4.1.2 Self-reported proficiency in Lánnang-uè and proficiency in other languages

Did those who report being proficient in Lánnang-uè also report being proficient in its source languages as well as other languages in the Lannang linguistic ecology? The results do not provide a definitive answer to this, as they indicate weak correlations between reported Lánnang-uè proficiency and reported proficiency in other languages (range: 0.06 to 0.37) (Figure 14). Only some of those who claim that they are proficient in Lánnang-uè also claim proficiency in Mandarin, Tagalog, English, Cantonese, and Taishanese. There is a higher tendency for those who reported being proficient in Hokkien to report high proficiency in Lánnang-uè more, but self-reported Hokkien proficiency is barely a necessary condition for self-reported Lánnang-uè proficiency. This contrasts self-reported proficiency in Cantonese and self-reported proficiency in Taishanese, which are highly correlated with each other. That is, those who claim to be knowledgeable about Cantonese almost always are also proficient in Taishanese.

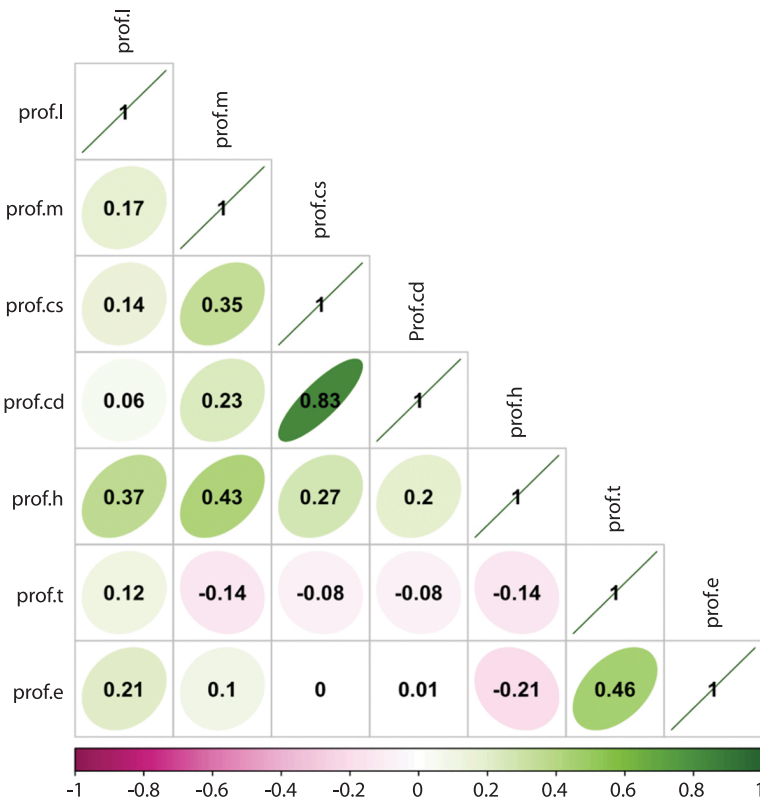


Figure 14. Correlation matrix: Self-reported proficiency of Lánnang-uè vs. self-reported proficiency of other languages used among Lannangs

3.4.1.3 Selected variables related to Lánnang-uè

A further analysis of the relationship between the Lánnang-uè variables has revealed certain patterns (Figure 15). First, Lannangs who claim to be proficient in Lánnang-uè tend to report using it more often. Additionally, those with positive sentiments associated with Lánnang-uè (such as pride) are more likely to identify it as their native language. Finally, the evidence indicates that Lannangs who have a positive attitude towards Lánnang-uè in one aspect (e.g., pride, confidence) are highly likely to have positive sentiments in other areas as well (e.g., comfort). Correlation matrices involving similar variables relevant to other Lannang languages can be found in Appendix A, but will not be discussed further due to constraints of space.

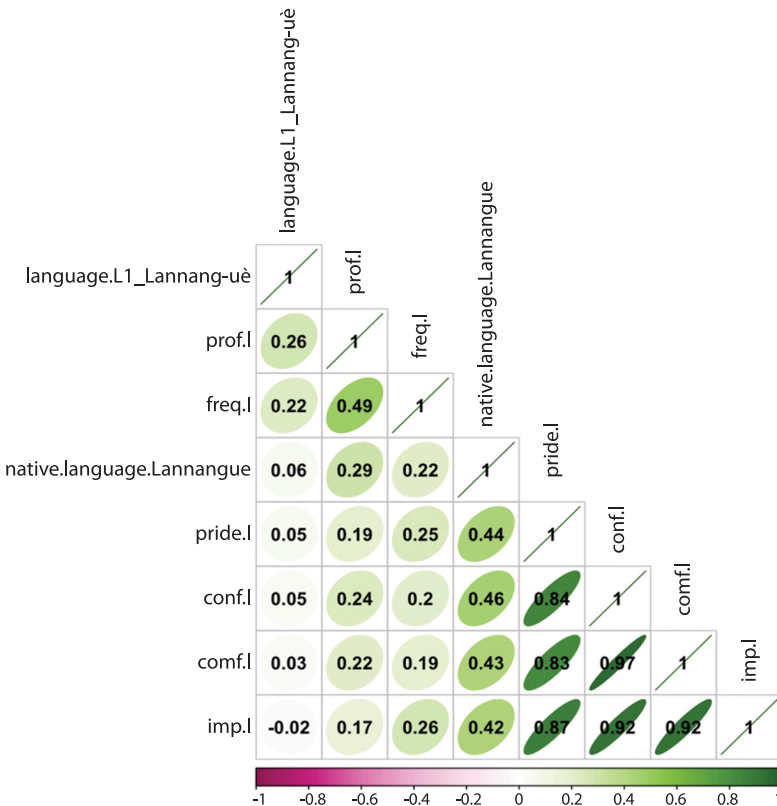


Figure 15. Correlation matrix: Selected variables related to Lánnang-uè

3.4.2 Clusters in the community

The correlations above show that some of the variables in the analyses earlier are dependent on each other. They indicate that these variables can be reduced or combined into single, macro-variables. Considering this, I conducted a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) on all items in the survey. Age and sex were included as supplementary variables, meaning they will not be used to calculate the principal components or factor loadings. Their sole purpose is to help facilitate the interpretation of the dimensions of variability.

My Principal Components Analysis (PCA) revealed that the Lannang community can be defined by four principal variables or dimensions, reflecting the four ways in which the community is primarily stratified (Table 8, first four rows): (1) reported outlook of languages in multilingual repertoire, (2) Cantonese orientation, (3) Filipino orientation, and (4) Hokkien orientation

Table 8. Eigenvalues of the first fourteen components or dimensions kept by the analyses (dimensions that will be discussed are shaded in gray)

Dimension	Variance	% Variance	Cumulative % of variance
1	22.829	28.898	28.898
2	9.412	11.913	40.811
3	7.156	9.059	49.87
4	4.097	5.186	55.056
5	3.171	4.015	59.07
6	3.116	3.944	63.014
7	2.448	3.099	66.113
8	2.248	2.846	68.959
9	1.969	2.493	71.452
10	1.783	2.257	73.708
11	1.723	2.181	75.889
12	1.519	1.923	77.812
13	1.302	1.648	79.46
14	1.13	1.431	80.891

The first dimension appears to be tightly correlated with variables that are related to self-reported sentiments about the languages in the Lannang linguistic repertoire (Appendix B). One cluster of Lannangs tend to be highly comfortable, confident, and proud of all the languages they know. They also acknowledge the value of these languages in society. The other tends to behave oppositely. Given

this, I interpret the first dimension as ‘reported outlook of languages in multilingual repertoire.’ The results suggest that attitudes towards Lannang languages is an important sociolinguistic dimension among the Lannangs. The age of those surveyed appears to play a significant role in their sentiments of these languages. Younger speakers tended to have a less favorable attitude towards them, whereas older speakers were more likely to have a positive outlook. This is demonstrated in (Figure 16), which shows a clear distinction based on age.

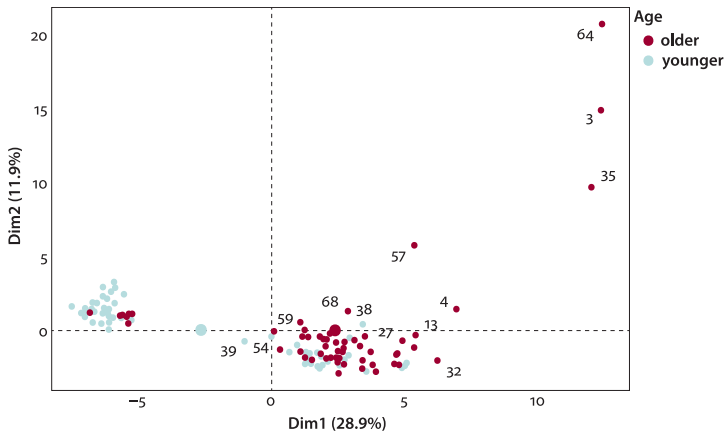


Figure 16. Plot of individuals by the first two dimensions of PCA, color-coded by membership in age group (supplementary variable)

The second dimension is highly correlated with variables that are related to Chinese language found in the Guangdong/Canton region of Mainland China: Taishanese and Cantonese (Appendix B). The speakers in one group consider Cantonese, Taishanese to be their mother tongues, L1, and languages they are proficient in. The remaining speakers, however, do not share this view. It is very likely that this dimension points to the Cantonese ethnic orientation of the Lannangs. In conjunction with ethnographic work, the findings from the study show that people from the Lannang community can be divided into those who identify as *Kúhngtāngláng* (those who identify with *Kúhngtāng* ‘Canton’ culture, or generally ‘Cantonese’) and those who do not, indicating a split in terms of how Cantonese-oriented they are. This suggests that orientation as Cantonese plays a role in the overall identity of many Lannang people, but not all. The results furthermore demonstrate that Cantonese ethnic orientation is dependent on age, as there are more elderly Lannangs that are Cantonese-oriented than there are Cantonese-oriented younger Lannangs (Figure 16).

The third dimension is closely connected to variables that are related to languages that could symbolize Filipino-ness: (Philippine) English, Tagalog, as well

as Lánnang-uè, taking into consideration that Lánnang-uè is a language that originated in the Philippines (Gonzales, 2021) (Appendix B). One group of speakers view Tagalog, English, and Lánnang-uè as their dominant languages. They are proud of their proficiency in these Filipino dialects and use them regularly. However, the other group does not exhibit the same behavior. The findings indicate that the Lannang community can be stratified not only by linguistic attitudes and Cantonese ethnic orientation, but also by Filipino ethnic orientation, implying that Filipino-ness might be a significant aspect of the identity of some, though not all, Lannangs. The findings furthermore point to a possible generational change in the Lannang community towards a more Filipino-oriented mindset, as it is the younger speakers who tend to lean more towards Filipino-orientation (Figure 17). This could potentially show a more assimilated Lannang community into mainstream Filipino society.

The fourth dimension is linked to variables that are related to Hokkien. In my sample, speakers from one group tended to report using Hokkien as their first language and reported using it with their parents. This group tends to have a negative opinion of the Philippine mixed language Lánnang-uè, viewing it as broken, bastardized form of Hokkien. Conversely, the other group of speakers rarely report Hokkien as either their L1 or the language they use with their parents, and they typically have a more favorable view of Lánnang-uè. I uncovered a split in the Lannang community between those who strongly affiliated with Hokkien culture and those who are not. This indicates that Hokkien orientation, is an important facet of the Lannang community, just like Cantonese orientation. Furthermore, it is evident from the findings that the degree of Hokkien orientation among Lannangs varies with age, as there are more elderly Lannangs who orient towards Hokkien culture compared to younger Lannangs (Figure 17).

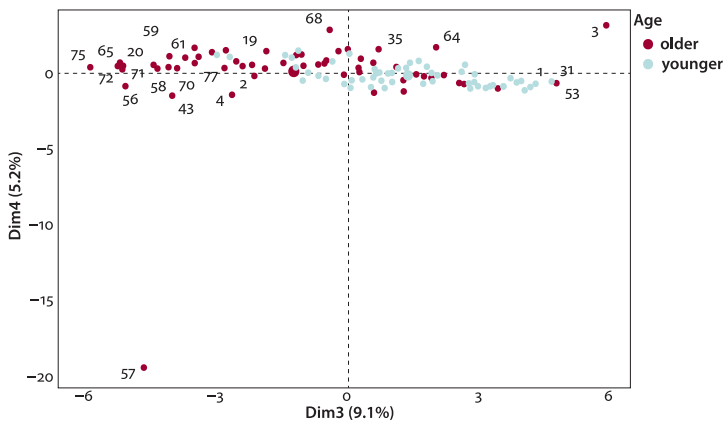


Figure 17. Plot of individuals by the third and fourth dimensions of PCA, color-coded by membership in age group (supplementary variable)

4. Conclusion

I conducted this study hoping to outline the sociolinguistic situation of the metropolitan Lannang community in the late 2010s and early 2020s, focusing on both self-reported language use and attitudes. After surveying 117 Lannangs in metropolitan Manila, it became clear that the sociolinguistic landscape of the region is complex. My main discoveries can be summarized in the following points.

1. *The myth of the Lannang monolith.* The notion that the relationship of the Lannangs with language is monolithic and static is a myth. Assuming that the information provided by the informants is accurate, variability in both language use and attitudes exists. Not all Lannangs use Hokkien as an L1, and not all of them are proud of Lánnang-uè, for example. The proficiency levels and language attitudes of the Lannangs also varied depending on the language and the sentiment being investigated. It was also found that the reported use of language and sentiments can change over time.
2. *Inter-speaker variability.* The degree of variability between Lannang speakers varied depending on the sociolinguistic factor being considered. For instance, when looking at language confidence, there was a lot of variability in how confident speakers were in using Hokkien and Mandarin. On the other hand, when looking at reported frequency of language use, there was much less variability in how much Lánnang-uè the speakers were using.
3. *Stratification or clustering in the community.* The Lannang community appears to have distinct social groups that can be identified by their attitudes towards their languages, their Chinese (i.e., Hokkien, Cantonese) ethnic orientation, and their Filipino ethnic orientation. My findings indicate that these three factors are significant facets of the community. They provide some evidence for the notion that the diversity observed in the Lannang community is not always arranged in a continuum but can also be clustered into distinct patterns.
4. *The role of age.* Age had an impact on the various factors that were examined. Older Lannangs generally for example do not orient themselves towards Filipinos and are more at ease, confident, and proud of the languages they know. Many of them also consider Hokkien to be their native language and reported higher levels of comfort and confidence in speaking it. In contrast, younger Lannangs usually have stronger Filipino ethnic orientation and were less likely to be confident in the languages they knew. They tend to recognize Tagalog and English as their native languages and expressed a higher degree of proficiency, comfort, and confidence in speaking these languages. A more comprehensive list of generational differences can be found in Table 9. The

findings altogether show that age can be a significant factor of variability in language use and attitudes, supporting earlier work on the Lannangs and language (Ang See, 1997; Chuaunsu, 1989; Gonzales, 2018, 2022d). Generational distinctions could point to shifts within the community, such as a change towards becoming more Filipino-oriented and less Chinese-oriented, which several researchers and I have witnessed in the community (Ang See, 1997; Uytanlet, 2014).

Table 9. Summary of salient generational differences (and possible shifts) in reported language use and attitudes

	Older generation (60 to 99 years old)	Younger generation (10 to 39 years old)
native language	Hokkien Lánnang-uè	Tagalog English Lánnang-uè
L1	Hokkien	Tagalog English Hokkien Lánnang-uè
L2	Mandarin Tagalog Hokkien	Tagalog English
self-reported proficiency	Hokkien Mandarin	English
language comfort	Hokkien Mandarin	Tagalog English
language confidence	Hokkien Mandarin	Tagalog English
frequency	Hokkien	English
home language	Hokkien Lánnang-uè	Lánnang-uè Tagalog
attitudes: pride	Hokkien	English Tagalog Lánnang-uè
attitudes: importance	Hokkien Tagalog	English Mandarin Hokkien Tagalog
attitudes towards Lánnang-uè	broken cringeworthy	reflective of mixed identity prestigious


As this study has many limitations (e.g., relatively small sample, focus on self-reported behavior rather than a mix of reported and observed language behavior), future research may consider expanding the scope of the study to get a more holistic understanding of the complex relationship between the Lannangs and language. For example, it would be interesting to see if the sociolinguistic patterns observed for the Manila Lannangs follow those of the Lannang communities in other cities (e.g., Richmond in Canada), where the sociohistories and linguistic ecologies have been reported to differ from Manila (Ang See, 1990, 1997; Gonzales, 2022b). Furthermore, because the sociolinguistic information used is linked to the Lannang Corpus (LanCorp), a multilingual corpus of Lannang speech (Gonzales, 2022c), quantitative sociolinguistic investigations that involve these variables can be done. An investigation of age and ethnic orientation differences in Lannang language production might be a fertile avenue for future study given evidence of age and orientation effects on self-reported language use found in this study.


Despite the limitations, the findings of this study still hold great value, as they provide a much-needed overview of the dynamic, intricate, and multilayered sociolinguistic situation in the contemporary metropolitan Manila Lannang community. The findings on the Lannangs are invaluable to the global readership, as work on minority groups – particularly marginalized ones – tend to be overshadowed by studies of dominant groups or those with economic and political power.


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Appendix A. Correlation matrices of selected variables

(colors indicate degree of correlation, green = positive, magenta = negative)

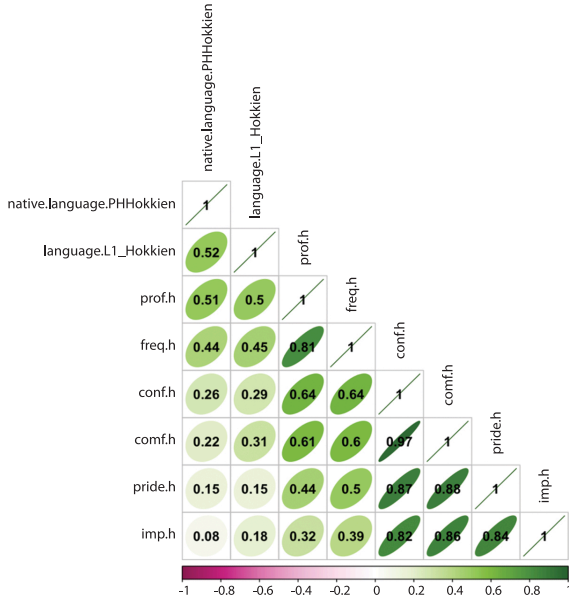


Figure 18. Selected variables related to Hokkien

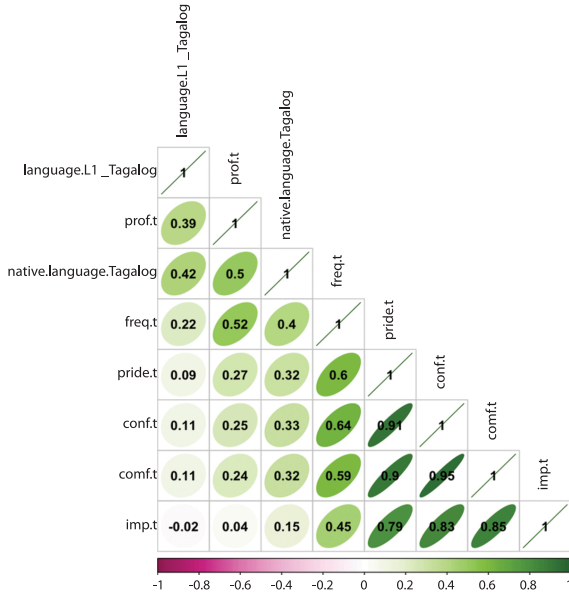


Figure 19. Selected variables related to Tagalog

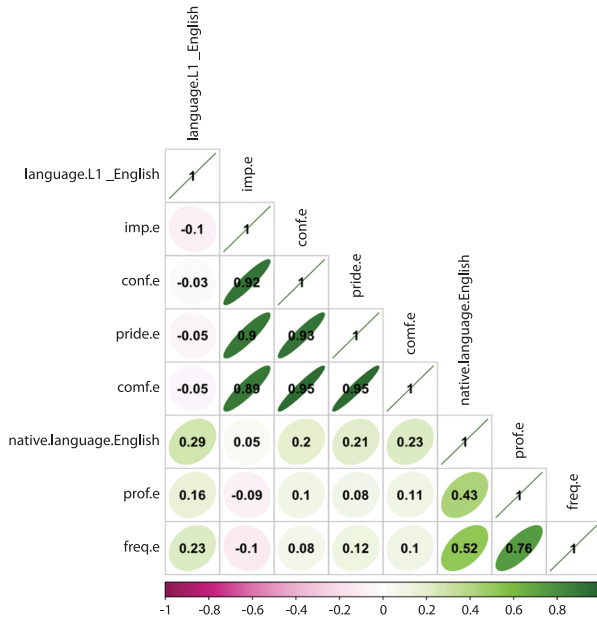


Figure 20. Selected variables related to English

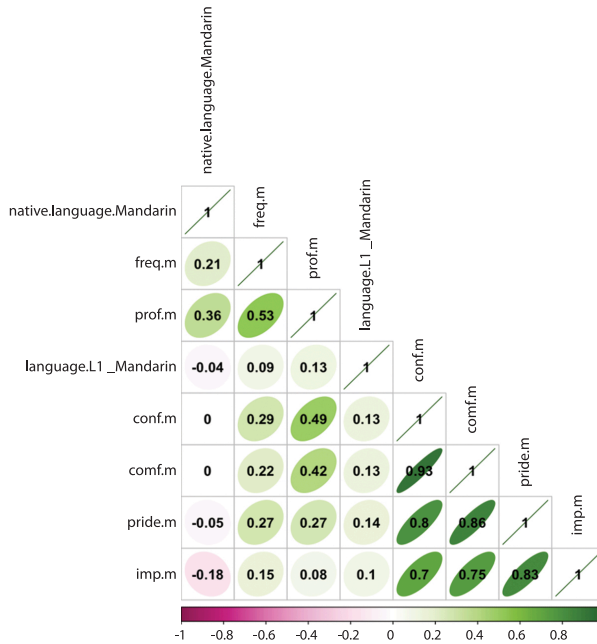


Figure 21. Selected variables related to Mandarin

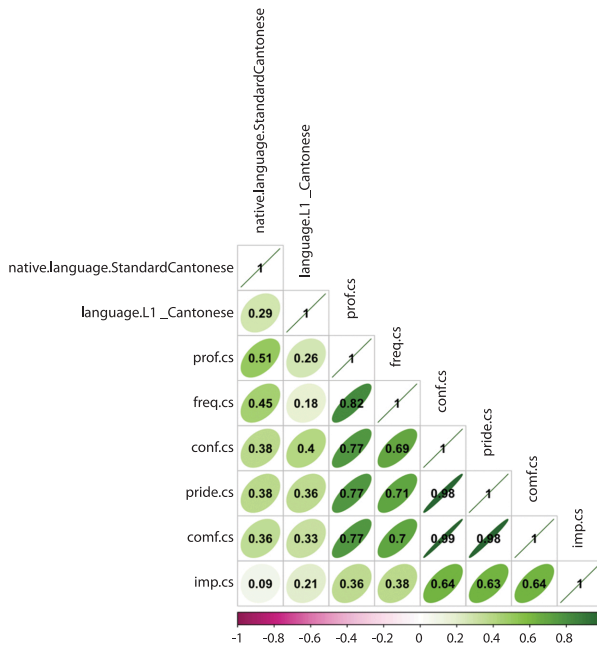


Figure 22. Selected variables related to standardized Cantonese

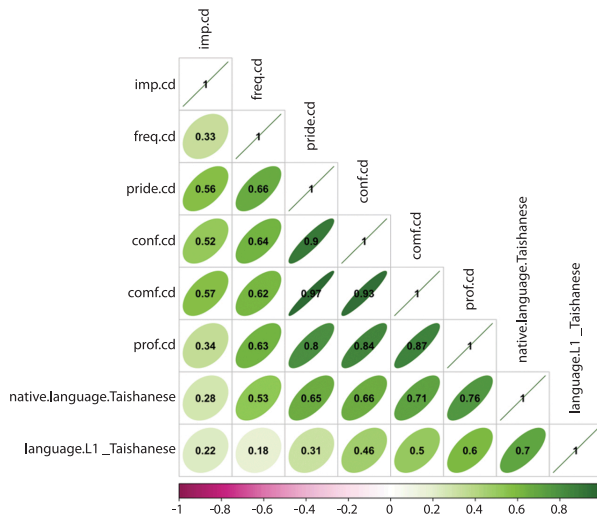


Figure 23. Selected variables related to Taishanese (‘Cantonese dialect’ according to some speakers)

Appendix B. Coordinates/factor loadings of the variables in relation to the first four dimensions

(colors indicate degree of correlation, green = positive, red = negative)

Variable		Variable name in FAMD	Dim 1	Dim 2	Dim 3	Dim 4
Native Language	Tagalog	native.language.Tagalog	0.07	-0.04	0.55	0.02
	English	native.language.Tagalog	-0.08	-0.06	0.62	0.02
	Hokkien	native.language.PHHokkien	0.10	0.08	-0.61	0.06
	Mandarin	native.language.Mandarin	-0.03	0.48	0.03	0.18
	Lánnang-uè	native.language.Lannangue	0.36	-0.17	0.22	-0.07
	Cantonese	native.language.StandardCantonese	-0.02	0.63	0.14	-0.22
	Taishanese	native.language.Taishanese	0.35	0.77	0.20	0.16
L1	Cantonese	language.L1_Cantonese	0.11	0.18	-0.16	-0.90
	English	language.L1_English	-0.12	0.13	0.28	0.00
	Hokkien	language.L1_Hokkien	0.14	-0.02	-0.67	0.29
	Lánnang-uè	language.L1_Lánnang-uè	-0.06	-0.13	0.21	-0.05
	Mandarin	language.L1_Mandarin	0.10	-0.08	0.04	0.02
	Tagalog	language.L1_Tagalog	-0.12	-0.10	0.39	-0.11
	Taishanese	language.L1_Taishanese	0.25	0.64	0.07	0.08
L2	English	language.L2_English	-0.06	-0.19	0.28	-0.03
	Hokkien	language.L2_Hokkien	0.25	0.64	0.07	0.08
	Lánnang-uè	language.L2_Lánnang-uè	-0.02	0.04	0.19	0.03
	Mandarin	language.L2_Mandarin	0.07	0.15	-0.23	-0.41

	Tagalog	language.L2_Tagalog	-0.01	-0.04	-0.32	0.19
Proficiency	Hokkien	prof.h	0.41	0.11	-0.64	0.32
	Tagalog	prof.t	-0.06	-0.15	0.49	0.22
	English	prof.e	-0.22	0.02	0.53	0.32
	Mandarin	prof.m	0.21	0.28	-0.28	0.21
	Lánnang-uè	prof.l	0.16	-0.06	0.01	0.29
	Taishanese	prof.cd	0.43	0.79	0.16	0.17
	Cantonese	prof.cs	0.36	0.79	0.04	-0.09
Comfort	Hokkien	comf.h	0.87	-0.16	-0.30	0.09
	Tagalog	comf.t	0.82	-0.33	0.31	0.05
	English	comf.e	0.82	-0.34	0.32	0.10
	Mandarin	comf.m	0.87	-0.04	-0.18	-0.08
	Lánnang-uè	comf.l	0.89	-0.31	0.01	0.02
	Taishanese	comf.cd	0.79	0.52	0.15	0.12
	Cantonese	comf.cs	0.77	0.53	0.03	-0.20
Confidence	Hokkien	conf.h	0.85	-0.12	-0.35	0.00
	Tagalog	conf.t	0.77	-0.40	0.31	-0.03
	English	conf.e	0.80	-0.34	0.32	0.05
	Mandarin	conf.m	0.82	-0.01	-0.22	-0.05
	Lánnang-uè	conf.l	0.90	-0.29	0.01	-0.07
	Taishanese	conf.cd	0.75	0.49	0.13	-0.07
	Cantonese	conf.cs	0.76	0.54	0.03	-0.27
Frequency	Hokkien	freq.h	0.44	0.11	-0.62	0.11
	Tagalog	freq.t	0.37	-0.34	0.39	0.09
	English	freq.e	-0.24	-0.02	0.65	0.22
	Mandarin	freq.m	0.14	0.11	0.06	0.18
	Lánnang-uè	freq.l	0.20	0.03	0.04	-0.02
	Taishanese	freq.cd	0.36	0.52	0.19	0.19
	Cantonese	freq.cs	0.35	0.80	0.08	0.01
Language used with father	Cantonese	language.with.father_Cantonese	0.11	0.18	-0.16	-0.90
	Hokkien	language.with.father_Hokkien	0.34	-0.17	-0.67	0.30
	Lánnang-uè	language.with.father_Lánnang-uè	-0.02	-0.24	0.52	-0.16
	Tagalog	language.with.father_Tagalog	-0.56	0.21	0.20	-0.02
	Taishanese	language.with.father_Taishanese	0.35	0.77	0.20	0.16
Language used with mother	Cantonese	language.with.mother_Cantonese	0.11	0.18	-0.16	-0.90
	English	language.with.mother_English	-0.14	0.04	0.00	-0.04
	Hokkien	language.with.mother_Hokkien	0.37	-0.15	-0.67	0.27
	Lánnang-uè	language.with.mother_Lánnang-uè	0.02	-0.27	0.44	-0.12
	Tagalog	language.with.mother_Tagalog	-0.55	0.19	0.24	-0.01
	Taishanese	language.with.mother_Taishanese	0.35	0.77	0.20	0.16
Pride	Hokkien	pride.h	0.89	-0.16	-0.10	0.00
	Tagalog	pride.t	0.76	-0.36	0.36	-0.02

	English	pride.e	0.82	-0.33	0.33	0.08
	Mandarin	pride.m	0.86	-0.18	0.03	-0.05
	Lánnang-uè	pride.l	0.85	-0.22	0.24	-0.09
	Taishanese	pride.cd	0.79	0.44	0.16	0.12
	Cantonese	pride.cs	0.75	0.55	0.05	-0.22
Importance	Hokkien	imp.h	0.91	-0.26	-0.06	-0.03
	Tagalog	imp.t	0.84	-0.31	0.05	-0.07
	English	imp.e	0.88	-0.31	0.18	-0.05
	Mandarin	imp.m	0.86	-0.25	0.09	-0.07
	Lánnang-uè	imp.l	0.90	-0.27	0.08	-0.08
	Taishanese	imp.cd	0.69	0.07	0.07	0.09
	Cantonese	imp.cs	0.72	0.11	0.01	-0.11
Attitudes towards Lánnang-uè	Barok (Broken)	barok.l	0.38	0.03	-0.20	0.14
	Natural	natural.l	0.13	0.10	0.11	0.02
	Prestigious	prestige.l	-0.33	0.31	0.27	-0.06
	Reflective of Lánnang identity	ref.l	-0.08	0.02	0.09	0.11
	Bad-sounding	badsounding.l	0.39	0.01	-0.13	0.13
	Conyo	conyo.l	0.13	0.20	0.17	0.15
	Bastardized	bast.l	0.70	-0.22	-0.14	-0.12

Abstract (Chinese)

本研究於2017至2020年間，探討了馬尼拉大都會的一個Lánnang (咱儂) 族群的社會語言狀況。本研究對117個個體進行調查，以探究語言使用（例如：熟練程度、舒適度、信心）及態度（例如：自豪感）的各個方面。結果顯示，咱儂族群中語言使用和態度有一系列不同，年齡及其他社會因素，如身份，都會影響這種變異程度。在某些區域，這種變異呈現連續性，而在其他區域則形成凝聚模式。將當代數據與上世紀80年代末和90年代的調查結果進行比較，發現存在某些差異，指出語言使用存在代際變化。這些發現表明，馬尼拉地區的咱儂社區的社會語言狀況是獨特的、動態的和複雜的，可以為我們對更廣泛的亞太地區的社會語言景觀的認識提供一些見解和細緻入微的觀點。

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Publication history

Date received: 18 October 2022

Date accepted: 12 April 2023